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### ONE INTRODUCTION

The case for left-wing nationalism has been asserted more often than argued. This pamphlet seeks to correct the balance. It argues that the only nationalism with a serious chance of winning and keeping the level of electoral support required to carry Scotland to independence is a nationalism which, disregarding romantic concepts of nationhood, builds its appeal on an unsentimental view of the social and economic interests of the Scottish people.

This claim will offend and puzzle many Scottish Nationalists. Probably the majority of SNP activists believe that an appeal to a common feeling of Scottishness is the only way in which Scots of different social and economic interests can be united behind the demand for independence. The historically minded will point to successful Nationalist movements in history and ask if they were not built on a common sense of nationality. Others may ask where the source of contemporary Catalan, Basque, or Quebec nationalism lies if not in a distinctive feeling of nationality.

### TWO NATIONAL IDENTITY

2.1 The Nation in History

Henry Ford claimed that history was bunk. It can certainly be misleading. The leaders of the Nationalist movements of 19th century Europe couched their appeals in an exalted language of patriotism. But behind the rhetoric powerful social forces were at work - new educated elites eager for bureaucratic jobs, ambitious manufacturers seeking protected markets for their products, peasants hungry for land.

The same is true of today's Nationalist movements. Quebec nationalism draws much of its energy from the social and economic ambitions of a new Francophone educated elite. Catalan nationalism expresses the impatience felt by a sophisticated, economically advanced, middle class towards the conservative and underdeveloped Spanish hinterland. The Polish patriotism of Solidarity expresses the frustration of Polish workers with the economic failures...
of a corrupt and conservative Communist regime. Without these social pressures the nationalist rhetoric would be of little political account.

This does not mean that nationalism is nothing but camouflage for the social and economic interests of powerful groups or ambitious individuals. The sense of national identity can be a genuine bond between people of different social classes and economic interests and once aroused it can serve to crystallise social discontent into political action. But it is a mistake to think of the sense of nationality as a fixed quantity evenly divided among the nations and simply waiting to be exploded into action by the right nationalist slogan in the mouth of the right Nationalist leader. Its significance as a political factor depends on the total circumstances of the nation - its history, the balance of social and economic forces, its relations with its neighbours.

Thus the impact on Irish opinion of the execution in 1916 of Connolly, Pearse and other leaders of the Easter Rising was determined by the long history of Ireland's suppression by the English since at least the conquest by Henry VIII. The impact of Solidarity's appeal to Polish patriotism depends on the anti-Russian feeling bred in the Poles by two hundred years of struggle against the Czars. The sympathy which Gwynfor Evans' hunger strike for a Welsh language Fourth Channel attracted even beyond the Welsh speaking community in Wales had its roots in a historical memory of the English suppression of the Welsh language as well as in more immediate anger at the effect in Wales of Mrs. Thatcher's economic policies. Therefore to assess the political potential of an appeal to a sense of Scottish nationality, we must examine Scotland's history and circumstances.

2.2 Political Identity

Scotland's early history offers abundant material for the fashioning of Nationalist myths. Scotland had to assert her political independence by the sword in the 13th and 14th centuries and defend her territorial integrity against periodic English incursions for the next two centuries. But even during those centuries of national assertion forces were working to erode a distinctive Scottish identity.

For one thing, Scotland's political identity rested on insecure foundations. One factor was the weakness of the Scottish monarchy, hence of Scotland's central political authority, relative to the power of the Scots nobility. Another was the Scots' appreciation of their inferiority...
to the more powerful partner that Anglo-Irish social relations presented in the assimilation of Ireland. After the 18th century Scots in England were seldom the target of English chauvinism. Unlike the Irish immigrants, Scots shared the religion of their host community. The Scots differed from the Irish again in escaping the social stereotyping which fed the racialism of the English response to the mass Irish immigration of the 19th century. The professional classes were strongly represented among Scots immigrants and by virtue of their superior education Scottish working class immigrants were socially mobile. Certainly some Scots, even educated Scots, felt culturally and socially inferior in metropolitan English society and resented the condescension which they detected in English attitudes towards Scotland. But these were the responses of a provincialised not an oppressed culture.

The parallel development of the Industrial Revolution in the two countries was another factor which eroded the sense of a separate Scots political identity. Coinciding with the heyday of Empire, industrialisation created an area of common experience between Scots, English and Welsh which fed the growth of a united British labour movement.

2.3 Cultural Identity
A society may retain a strong sense of cultural identity even when it has lost its sense of political identity. In Scotland, however, the process of linguistic and cultural assimilation to southern models had begun even before the Wars of Independence of the 13th and 14th centuries. It was greatly accelerated by the adoption of English texts by the Scottish reformers of the 16th century and further reinforced by the removal of the Court to London on the accession of James VI to the English throne. Although the centralisation of political power in London and the growing prestige of English cultural norms eroded the public status of Scots identity, a strong Scottish sentiment survived. Indeed the tension between the Scots' surrender to force majeure in political affairs and their continuing emotional attachment to their Scottish nationality is a constant theme of Scottish history from the 16th century to the present. Even while they acknowledged their ultimate dependence on English power, John Knox and succeeding generations of Scottish Reformers celebrated Scotland as a nation specially called by God to carry out His great work of reformation. David Hume, the star of Scotland's 18th century Enlightenment, took elocution lessons to eliminate Scotticisms from his speech, while boasting that despite all their handicaps the Scots were "the People most distinguish'd for Literature in Europe".

The tension is shown at its sharpest and its most poignant as British power and prestige approached their 19th century climax. With one breath the Edinburgh Whig, Henry Cockburn, could praise the Reform Act of 1832 for giving Scotland a "political constitution for the first time", while with the next he lamented the passing of distinctive Scottish manners. And from the Tory side Walter Scott defended the Union as the indispensable basis of Scotland's prosperity while deploiring the destruction of Scottish tradition which it entailed.

The history of 19th century Europe supplies many examples of societies, politically and culturally dependent, setting out to reconstruct a national identity from a cultural and linguistic base. In some cases, Norway and Czechoslovakia for example, the linguistic base had itself to be reconstructed by the labours of philologists and antiquarians. In different historical circumstances Scotland, herself one of the principal sources of the literary romanticism which fed 19th century cultural nationalism, might have followed a similar road to national revival. But Scotland, unlike no other of Europe's 'submerged' nations, had to face a double ordeal. Its status as a junior partner in The Empire exposed the already attenuated sense of Scottish nationality to the full glamour of the British Idea at the zenith of its prestige. Simultaneously the massive dislocation caused by industrialisation struck at the social base of Scottish cultural identity. It is not surprising that under such a battering Scottish nationality retreated to the twilight regions of the imagination where subsequent mutations bred the deformities of the kailyard and the Great Tartan Monster. Thus Scotland's cultural identity had been devastated even before its exposure in the 20th century to the standardising impact of the mass media.

Cultural revival, even linguistic revival, must remain a major aim of Scottish nationalism. But cultural or linguistic revivalism on the 19th century model cannot provide a base for a popular Scottish nationalism in the closing decades of the 20th century.

As early as the 17th century then the pattern of Scotland's relationship with England had been established. Unlike Wales and Ireland, Scotland had had the strength to withstand the military challenge to her statehood. But she had neither the population nor the wealth to share the British Isles with England as a political and cultural equal. In an unequal compromise with her powerful
neighbour she sacrificed her political independence to her economic prosperity. Other key national institutions were spared, only to preside helplessly over the steady assimilation of the national culture to the English model.

Some Nationalists spend a lot of time wishing Scotland's history had been cast in a more melodramatic mould. If only Scotland had been the victim of English armed might as Ireland was. If only the Scots language and culture had been suppressed by the English in the way Welsh language and culture were suppressed. If only the Gaelic Scotland crushed by Cumberland had been the whole of Scotland and not just one part at war both with itself and with Lowland Scotland. If only history had treated Scotland with a less subtle cruelty, what a lion of a nation we might now be!

But Nationalism must build on reality. Scots have little cause to be grateful to English governments but Westminster has not acted towards Scotland as a despotic colonial power. We may resent the English but we do not hate them. To the great majority of Scots the English are not foreigners as Germans or French are foreigners. Most Scots think of themselves with little difficulty as both Scottish and British. Nationalist strategy must start by acknowledging that for easily understood reasons of history the sense of nationality exists in most Scots today only at a sentimental level remote from public affairs and political debate.

THREE  CLASS

3.1 Class and Nation
Nationality and class are the two most powerful forces shaping political behaviour. When a vital sense of nationality combines with the interests of a powerful class, the nationalism which results is a formidable force. The paralysis of Scottish politics in face of the dual challenge of Britain's post-Imperial decline and the oil-fired transformation of Scotland's economic potential is due to the fact that what remained of Scottish nationality by the end of the 19th century was strong enough to colour the ethos of Scotland's commitment to the emerging Labour Party but too weak to provide the basis for an alternative political strategy. The ironic result is that the Labour Party is better able to exploit the residual sense of nationality for its own conservative and defensive purposes than is the SNP for its radical purposes.

The task facing Nationalists is to challenge the unionist bias of Scottish class-consciousness with a new sense of political nationality. Traditional Nationalists will look for this new nationality to rise, Phoenix-like, from the remnants of the old, born upwards on the shoulders of Weelum Wallace, Rabble Burns and the rest of MacDairmid's 'heterogeneous hotch and rabble' of Scottish heroes [1]. Realists on the other hand will accept that the inspiration of a new Scottish nationality will not be found among the wreckage of Scotland's past but in the ambitions for Scotland's future.

3.2 Scottish Society
By the occupational categories used by the Registrar-General approximately 66% of Scotland's male working population is in a manual occupation and 33% in a non-manual occupations [1971 Census Figures]. Refining the Registrar-General's figures, David McClone identified 54.5% of Scottish male workers as being employed in manual occupations compared to 49.9% in England and Wales; 21.2% in lower non-manual occupations compared to 22.7% in England and Wales; and 17.2% in upper non-manual occupations (employers, managers, professional, farm owners or managers and own account workers) compared to 18.9% in England and Wales [2].

To call Scotland a 'class' society is, of course, to do more than point to a division of the labour force into occupational categories. It is to recognise that the 'life chances' of a Scottish child are determined to a significant extent by his father's occupation - that a Scottish doctor's son or daughter is far more likely to stay on at school beyond the statutory leaving age, to go to university, to earn a high income from a high prestige job, to enjoy good health and to have healthy children than the son of a local authority labourer or bus driver.

3.3 Jock Tamson's Bairns
Since 1944 Scotland like other parts of the UK has had a system of universal free education, topped by the universities. Yet only 29% of Scottish school-leavers in 1972 who went on to university were from working class backgrounds - i.e. had a father in a manual occupation.

[1] Hugh MacDairmid, "A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle".

(according to the Registrar-General's unrefined classification). Even more disturbing is the fact that between 1962 and 1972 the proportion of Scottish university students with a manual background declined by 6% compared to a decline of 3.4% in the proportion of manual workers in the labour force. There is no reason to believe that the trend has been reversed in the last nine years.

Students of working class background make up a higher proportion of the student population in other sectors of post-school education. One study estimates that 47% of the 1972 school-leavers who went to Colleges of Education were from working class backgrounds, as were 43% of those entering fulltime courses in further education. But this is from an estimated 71% working class share of the comparable age-group. The disparity in working and middle class education chances is measured by the fact that whereas 39% of all middle class school-leavers went on to higher or further education only 9% of working class children did so [3]. With under 50% of the Scottish school leavers receiving any form of post-school education Scotland lags behind most other developed countries including England. So much for the Democratic Intellect.

Of course there is movement between occupations. Non-manual jobs have grown by over 33% since 1921 and a significant proportion of these new jobs have been filled by people from manual backgrounds. Using a seven-category occupational classification, one study has revealed that no less than 60% of professional and administrative jobs (Class 1) are filled by individuals from lower occupational groupings, with the two lowest groups, the semi-skilled and the unskilled (Classes 6 and 7), contributing 20%. But using slightly different categories the fact remains that 42% of fathers in the professional and administrative group have sons working in their own top occupational group, compared to only 9% of skilled manual fathers and 5% of semi-skilled and unskilled fathers. When the seven-category classification is used, 42% of the Scottish male working population is revealed as upwardly mobile, 27% immobile and 30% downwardly mobile. On a two-category division between manual and non-manual, 65.7% of the population is socially immobile, 23% upwardly mobile and 11.3% downwardly mobile. The authors of the study record their belief, based on circumstantial evidence, that social mobility is lower in Scotland than England [4].

The extent of social division is not determined by the degree of social mobility alone. The social 'distance' between occupational groups also depends on how sharply one group is separated from another by differences of income, wealth, values and attitudes. Some of the differences of income and wealth in Scottish society are described below. Attitudes and values are not open to such precise measurement but if, as some Nationalists claim, Scottish norms and values are less 'class-specific' than English - if Scotland is indeed a more open and democratic society than England - that can only be because England is one of the most class conscious societies in the world. By less eccentric standards the gap between the life-styles and values of the upper middle and manual classes in Scotland is wide and has probably been little diminished by the increase in upward social mobility stimulated by the growth of professional and administrative employment.

3.4 Class and Health

The class into which a Scottish child is born determines his physical as well as his educational and economic 'life chances'. A recent study reports that in 1977 the infant mortality rate in the professional class was 9.2 per 1000 live births; in the clerical and skilled manual classes it was 14.2; in the semi-skilled manual classes it was 15.3; and in the unskilled manual class it was 21.5.

The inequality continues into adulthood. The incidence of lung cancer was 3.9 times higher among male manual workers than among male professional workers and 2.4 times higher among female manual workers than female professional workers (1972-74 figures). Post neo-natal mortality rates in the first year of life (excepting the first four weeks) - the period in which the child is most vulnerable to social and environmental hazzards - were 2.6 times higher for the children of manual workers than for those of professional workers. The incidence of many other physical defects, from small stature to poor eyesight and poor dental health, confirms the importance of the social class into which the Scottish child is born. The study concludes that the social inequalities in health


are not diminishing but may be increasing [5].

3.5 "A Man's a Man"

The distribution of wealth in Scotland is more unequal than south of the border. In 1975, according to the Royal Commission on the Distribution of Income and Wealth, the top 1% of the population in England and Wales owned 22.9% of personal wealth compared to a share of 27.3% for the top 1% of the Scottish population. The top 10% in England and Wales owned 61.6% of personal wealth compared to 68% in Scotland.

Nor is the English standard a demanding one. In the UK as a whole the distribution of personal wealth is more unequal than in most other Western countries, including the United States.

The difference between England and Scotland in the distribution of wealth is partly explained by the narrower spread of home ownership north of the border. Only 35% of Scottish homes are owner-occupied compared to 55% of English homes.

Another cause of the difference is the extreme concentration of land ownership in Scotland. A fraction of Scotland's population, 0.3%, owns 63% of Scotland's acreage. The UK imposes fewer statutory restraints on the size and use of land holdings than other Western European countries.

The great majority of Scots count their wealth in the form of income not capital. But income too is unequally distributed. In the United Kingdom as a whole the top 20% of the population receives 42% of the pre-tax income while the bottom 20% receives only 6.2%. The progressive character of the tax system has been so eroded that the distribution of post-tax income differs only slightly - the top 20% receiving 39% post-tax income and the bottom 20% receiving only 7.5%.


Again the Scottish pattern is more polarised than the UK pattern. In 1977/78 13.2% of Scottish households had an income of £30 a week or less compared to 11.6% of English households. At the other end of the income scale, 27% of Scots households had a weekly income of £150 or more compared to 26.2% of English households and 7% had over £200 a week compared to 6.6% of English households.

The high concentration of wealth and income is accompanied by what is by the standards of other developed countries an exceptionally large proportion of the population living in relative poverty. According to the Child Poverty Action Group's definition of poverty as the standard of living obtainable with an income below 140% of supplementary benefit rates, at least 1 in 5 of the Scottish population is living in poverty. A former Depute Chairwoman of the Supplementary Benefits Commission has claimed that it could be as high as 1 in 4.

Successive surveys, including the National Children's Bureau report, "Born to Fail" [1973] and the Department of the Environment's "Census Indicators of Multiple Deprivation" [1976], have established that Scotland's high incidence of income poverty is matched by an exceptional level of environmental poverty. Needless to say it is manual workers, particularly unskilled manual workers, and their families who are the chief victims. The burden of Scotland's rising unemployment also falls quite disproportionately on manual workers, increasing yet further the gross inequalities which disfigure Scottish society.

3.6 Class and Power

The class-based inequalities of education, wealth and health, are paralleled by class-based inequalities of power. The 'superstructure' of Scottish society - those public institutions which take decisions on our behalf about the future of society and which mould its values - is dominated by the middle class. The senior civil servants in St Andrews House are predominantly middle class. The Scottish legal profession is overwhelmingly middle class. Cultural institutions like the Scottish Arts Council and BBC Scotland are dominated by middle class personnel and values. The staff of Scotland's universities and colleges are mostly middle class. The majority of


school teachers are from middle class and lower middle class rather than working class backgrounds. Scotland's political parties are firmly bound into the class system. The Conservative, Liberal and Scottish National parties are almost exclusively middle class in their leadership and their MPs. Even in the Labour Party two-thirds of the MPs are of obviously of middle class background or occupation [10] and in the last 10 years middle class activists, many with jobs in the public sector, have begun to assume the leadership of Labour constituency parties and to challenge Labour's working class activists in their former preserve of local government.

Middle class dominance of the major institutions is a feature of all liberal democracies. But in Scotland the middle class grip is all the tighter for the absence of the countervailing class power which in other industrial societies is supplied by a politically assertive trade union movement. The British trade union movement may be an imperfect vehicle for working class interests and ambitions but for most of the period since the beginning of the Second World War it has successfully asserted, through the TUC, Labour's right to a share in economic policy making. The centralisation of power within the British trade unions has, however, left the Scottish TUC and Scottish regional councils of most unions without any industrial muscle or any significant role in the political process, a lack for which the STUC consoles itself by a good deal of political breast-beating and make-believe.

The social distance between the majority of the Scottish population and Scotland's public institutions is increased further by the growing number of English personnel in senior positions. Part of this distancing effect arises from a residual nationalist resentment of the English. But the more important part is a consequence of the middle and upper middle class stereotype which most Scots pin on Englishmen.

To sum up: Scotland in 1981 remains a socially divided community with relatively low levels of social mobility, a more unequal distribution of wealth, income and power than in England let alone countries like Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands, and with an exceptionally high proportion of its population living in relative poverty.

3.7 How Many Nations?
Against this background of social division Scottish Nationalists should not be surprised if their talk of 'the Scottish nation' is often dismissed as sentimental rubbish. The Edinburgh advocate in his New Town Flat and the Glasgow bus driver in a Red Road High Rise may share a sentimental attachment to Scotland on the football field or athletics track and feel a similar irritation when 'England' is used for 'Britain' by TV newscasters. But in their everyday concerns - their jobs, their incomes, their hopes for their children, their anxieties about retirement, the quality of their housing, their health - they might as well live in different countries. When Nationalists talk of Scotland the nation they must expect the questions: whose nation, what kind of Scotland?

FOUR VOTING BEHAVIOUR

4.1 Class Voting
Neither the electoral nor the policy case for left-wing nationalism follows automatically from the persistence of the class system in Scotland. Indeed in the United Kingdom there has been a significant weakening of the link between class identity and Party loyalty. Professor Richard Rose of the University of Strathclyde found that only 49% of voters in the 1979 election supported their traditional class 'Party, compared to 54% in 1970 and 57% in 1964. Of all the social groups the working class was the most 'deviant'. Whereas 62% of the upper middle class (professional, administrative and business) voted Conservative, only 45% of the working class (skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled manual and welfare recipients) voted Labour. While the Conservative lead over Labour among the upper middle class has declined from 53% in 1964 to 44% in 1979, Labour's lead over the Conservatives among working class voters declined from 28% to only 7%.

However the United Kingdom figures conceal important differences between England, Wales and Scotland. Whereas in England in 1979 41% of the working class voted Conservative, in Wales only 29% did so, and in Scotland only 24%. Labour gained the support of 50% of the Scottish working class vote, SNP 19% and Liberals 6%.


If the Scottish working class remains predominantly anti-Tory, the Scottish middle class is deeply split in its political loyalties. While 66% of the English upper middle class voted Conservative, only 53% of the proportionately slightly smaller Scottish middle class did so, and in Wales only 34%. The Scottish lower middle class, also slightly smaller than its English counterpart, gave only 43% to the Conservatives against 56% in England.

4.2 Why is Scotland Anti-Tory?
The effective introduction of the adult male franchise in 1885 confounded those who had predicted that it would destroy the Conservative Party. Instead the Conservative Party has flourished. In few elections this century has it failed to win at least 30% of the English working class vote. One source of Conservative support among the English working class has been the survival into industrial England of the rural 'deference' vote. But a more important factor in the post-war period has been the impact of direct taxation on rising working class incomes. The impact has been felt most keenly in the economically most confident regions of England, like the Midlands and South-East, where sections of the working class have come to regard home and car ownership, foreign holidays, and the other pleasures of middle class affluence, as the norm. Under financial pressure from such new commitments these newly affluent sections of the working class began to sympathise with the middle class preference for tax cuts over improved public services. So they moved from Labour, the party traditionally associated with the welfare state and high public expenditure, to the Tories, the party of tax cuts.

Although the Scottish working class has not been immune to these influences it has been subject to a wider range of countervailing influences. Scotland's post-war boom was too short to repair the damage to Scottish confidence done by the inter-war depression. The effects of Britain's post-war decline were beginning to be felt in Scotland by the late 1950s, while the Midlands and South-East of England continued relatively buoyant into the 1970s. So the balance sheet of costs and benefits between cuts in personal taxation and increases in the social wage was judged differently in Scotland, to the benefit of the Labour Party.

But Scotland's anti-Tory bias has deeper historical roots. As Presbyterians, Scots had a natural suspicion of the Tories as the party of the episcopalian establishment. After all what is the Church of England but the Tory Party at prayer? Some at least of that religious antipathy survived into the 19th century to join with a residual anti-English sentiment to prejudice the Scottish industrial working class against the Tories as the party of the English establishment. That same image offended both the religious faith and the sense of nationality of the Irish sections of Scotland's working class. Meanwhile the third element, the dispossessed highlanders, identified the Tories as the party of the landowners.

Industrialisation brought a new element of class awareness to reinforce Scotland's anti-establishment sentiment. Even by 19th century standards Scotland's experience was harsh. Scottish housing was of a lower standard than south of the border, Scottish wages were lower until the end of the century, the Poor Law was harsher and the disciplinary attitudes of Scottish employers were less likely to be softened by the sort of paternalism which inspired the reforms of Shaftesbury and his colleagues in England. Until its split in 1886 over Irish Home Rule the Liberal Party with its strong radical traditions succeeded in absorbing the emerging class consciousness. But the formation of the first Scottish Labour Party in 1888 was an early sign that working class political institutions were preparing to challenge the Liberals' failing grip. Meanwhile those Orange sections of the Scottish working class, who began to look to the Tories as an alternative to the unreliable Liberals, did so for religious-cum-ideological reasons quite different from the social and economic interests of working class Tories in England.

The effect of the inter-war Depression on Scotland's economic confidence has already been mentioned. But the experience of those years had a wider impact on working class attitudes. The strong export bias of its capital goods industries made the Scottish economy exceptionally vulnerable to the Depression. As unemployment rose, Scottish employers were among the most enthusiastic advocates of wage cuts as the way to restore competitiveness. The bitterness which the employers' attitudes created in the working class was compounded by the political defeats which the working class suffered in the General Strike of 1926 and in the 1931 election. The immediate effect was a swing towards conservatism, in the shape of the National Government, at the expense of the emerging Labour Party. The longer term effect was to impress even more deeply on the Scottish working class a psychology of defensiveness which came to identify the Labour Party as its natural vehicle. That mood yielded temporarily to Scotland's
post-war reconstruction boom, helping to give the Tories just over 50% of the Scottish vote in 1955, as it yielded in the early 1970s to the oil boom to swing support to the SNP. But as the UKs economic decline gathered momentum from the late 1950s, the defensiveness established itself as the most persistent theme in working class political attitudes.

4.3 The Middle Class
The ambivalence of the Scottish middle class towards the Conservative Party also has an historical role. More than the working class, the middle class was sensitive to the religious dimension of politics. Westminster's handling of Scottish church issues continued to generate political controversy for most of the 19th century. Although the Liberals and Tories shared responsibility for the mishandling of the Veto Act which led to the Disruption of 1843, that traumatic event confirmed important sections of the Scottish middle class in 'dissenting' attitudes which predisposed them against the Tories. As chief legatees of the Union settlement the Scottish middle class also resented the retreat of the remaining Scottish institutions before the superior political power and social prestige of English institutions. In the twentieth century an awareness of Scotland's economic and social vulnerability among sections of the Scottish middle class predisposed them in favour of the public sector, which by the 1970s supplied 34% of total Scot's employment compared to 30% of English employment.

4.4 Socialism
To be anti-Tory is not necessarily to be in favour of socialism. The survey evidence suggests that many of the individual socialist policies of the British Labour Left are only slightly less unpopular among Scottish than among English working class voters. While the SNP has the opportunity to develop a Left-wing programme for Scotland, free of the anti-democratic and centralist tendencies of the British Left, it certainly could not expect all of its policies to be popular.

The electors however do not decide their votes by their response to individual policies but by how far they are able to identify with the party as a whole. The overall tendency of the party's policies and the position it takes up on controversial issues are the important factors. Given the strength of class feeling in Scotland a socialist reputation may be attractive even to voters who reject individual socialist policies. And for a party like the SNP which has a reputation for being opportunistic on social and economic issues and which cannot claim a long track-record of identification with working class interests at the grassroots, a clear ideological commitment to the Left would signal to working class voters a new readiness to stand with them on the socially divisive issues of the day.

The survey evidence gives no support to those Nationalists who believe that the SNP's future lies in competing with the Social Democrats for the moderate/centre vote. A large proportion of the potential Social Democratic vote consists of former Labour voters who swung to the Tories at the last election and who are now, in their disillusionment, looking for a moderate alternative. Such disappointed Labour converts to Thatcherism are rarer in Scotland than in England. In Scotland the SNP, not the Tories, has been the natural working class alternative to Labour.

The Labour defector to the SNP however appears to have a different range of political values from the English Labour defector to the Tories. The Strathclyde Election Survey reveals that SNP voters in 1979 were much closer on social and economic issues to Labour voters than to Conservatives. Furthermore, almost twice as many Conservative as Labour voters (64% to 34%) thought there was a big difference between their own party and the SNP. Also only 17% of Conservative voters in the General Election had voted 'Yes' in the Assembly Referendum compared to 42% of Labour voters. So the evidence suggests that the SNP should challenge for the Labour vote by presenting itself, inter alia, as a party better equipped than Labour to achieve the goals of full employment and social welfare.

Opinion surveys are not a substitute for a political strategy. Parties of radical change like the SNP are in business to challenge public opinion not to echo it. Their strategy should follow not from nice electoral calculations but from an analysis of society's needs and problems. The class structure of Scotland has already been summarised. This is not the place to detail the reforms necessary to achieve the egalitarian goals which the Labour Party has so conspicuously failed to achieve in Scotland. Suffice it here to say that Scotland's class system will not yield to anything less than a co-ordinated and mutually reinforcing redistribution of income, power and wealth.
Scotland's economic problems point no less emphatically than her social problems to Left-wing solutions.

The two dominant trends in the Scottish economy in the 20th century have been the decline of its manufacturing industry and the progressive take-over of its economic assets by external capital. Since 1951 Scottish manufacturing industry has suffered a net loss of over 150,000 jobs. Service employment has meanwhile grown more slowly in Scotland than in other industrialised countries. Between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s it grew by only 13% to reach 56% of total employment - compared to 18% in the UK, 43% in the United States, 40% in the Netherlands and Sweden, and 16% in West Germany. Since 1959 Scottish unemployment has grown from 88,000 to 286,000.

The external take-over of Scottish assets, which began in the 19th century, accelerated in the 1960s and 1970s. Today 60% of Scotland's manufacturing labour force is employed in non-Scottish firms and the remaining Scottish controlled jobs are concentrated in the older and technologically less sophisticated sectors of Scottish industry. In the last decade external capital has also invested heavily in Scotland's natural resources - land, timber and above all energy.

If Scotland today has many of the features of a 'neo-colony' it was not always so. In the 19th century Scotland was the centre of an international trading and transport network covering much of Asia and Africa. She also developed a range of financial institutions geared to overseas portfolio investment. Since the founding of the first investment trust in Dundee in 1873 a significant share of the profits of Scottish industry has been exported, chiefly to the Dominions and North America. One estimate is that by the 1900s Scottish institutions had overseas investments worth £500m. In the post-war period, Scotland's financial sector has grown while her manufacturing base has shrunk. Today Scottish investment trusts alone have overseas investments worth about £1,000m [12].

Scotland's financial institutions have certainly brought new jobs to the service sector. But as they have become progressively more integrated with the international financial system they have encouraged the Scottish investor to disengage further from the Scottish economy and to look for investment opportunities overseas.


The decline in Scottish manufacturing, the slow growth of Scottish services, the progressive take-over of Scotland's firms and natural resources by foreign capital, the integration of Scotland's financial institutions in an international system in which Scotland features chiefly as a location for high-yielding energy investments - these are among the symptoms of a chronic sickness in the locally controlled private sector of the Scottish economy. The Scottish private sector is simply no longer large enough or independent enough to serve as the basis of a revived Scottish 'mixed' economy. Scottish controlled manufacturing firms now supply only 12% of total Scottish employment. Small firms will certainly have an important role in Scotland's economic revival but they cannot carry the burden of economic reconstruction. In any case without a determined policy of state support the most successful of the small firms would succumb to take-over bids by multinational companies determined to defend their market dominance.

Scotland's economic revival therefore depends on a major extension of the public sector in the form of improved public services, increased public finance for industry conditional on the adoption of co-operative ownership and other forms of industrial democracy, and public control of Scotland's financial institutions (as I write the Royal Bank of Scotland is negotiating a merger with the South African Standard Chartered Bank).

4.6 Bourgeois Nationalism

The long decline of the Scottish private sector has destroyed the social and economic base in Scotland for 'bourgeois nationalism'. When such a base existed in the 19th century the strong orientation of Scottish industry towards imperial markets tied the industrial bourgeoisie to the Union and the world-wide trading system which the Union supported.

The Scottish industrial bourgeoisie retained an identifiable social base, albeit it gravely weakened, into the 20th century. But even in the exceptional circumstances of the Depression, the Scottish bourgeoisie's continued interest in overseas markets and in armaments' manufacture dependent on Britain's world role, prevented it from conceiving a nationalist political strategy to support the corporatist programme of economic reconstruction which it evolved through such bodies as the Scottish Development Council and the Scottish Economic Committee [13].
The accelerated take-over of Scottish assets by foreign capital since the War has virtually eliminated the Scottish industrial middle class as an independent sector in Scottish political life, except occasionally in a defensive role. Its impotence is confirmed by its failure to exploit the bargaining power of Scottish oil in the way that the Alberta business community has used the province’s energy wealth to extend its economic and political clout in Canada or the way that the Norwegian business community has secured the use of Norway’s oil revenues to subsidise Norwegian industry at the time of the world recession.

The Scottish professional middle class meanwhile is ill-equipped to provide an alternative base for middle class nationalism. The Church is dying in Scotland as elsewhere. The Scottish legal community appears largely content with its captive market and with the shabby provincial privileges conferred by the Union. And such key groups as academics, journalists and broadcasters are dependent on the British state or some other external agency and anyway are increasingly dominated by English personnel.

There remains the wider public sector middle class in the civil service, local government, the health social and educational services. These groups have a clearer economic interest than any other middle class group in supporting the creation of a political system which would insulate the public sector from the periodic assaults of British governments struggling with a shrinking economic base and confronting an English electorate with a pronounced list to the right. But strong integrating forces are at work too. One is the power of centralised public service unions. Another is the extent to which senior posts are held by non-Scots. But perhaps the most important is the fact that the great post-war expansion of the public sector was sponsored by central government. In Quebec where the extension of the public sector in the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s was largely the result of provincial initiative, the new public sector middle class has supplied the Parti Quebecois with many of its most determined cadres.

economic system of post-Imperial Britain. The cycle of Britain's industrialisation and deindustrialisation has exacted a higher price, socially, economically and culturally, from the Scottish working class than any other section of the native British working class. And in the last ten years the transformation of Scotland's economic potential has thrown the continued wasting of the Scottish working class into harsh, even grotesque, profile.

The Challenge for Scottish Nationalists is to articulate this working class interest into a new sense of political nationality capable of challenging the defensive and self-deluding nationality which helps to attach the working class to the Labour Party.

This argument does not mean that a Nationalist party should look for support only from the urban working class. A clear commitment to the public sector should prove attractive to elements of the public sector middle class.

And, building on the existing strengths of the Nationalist case, the SNP's platform should embrace land and agricultural policies attractive to the rural working class, policies on the EEC and on fishing attractive to fishing communities, policies on energy attractive to conservationists of the anti-nuclear movement, policies on social issues attractive to the women's movement and to a range of welfare dependants such as old age pensioners and single parents.

But what it does mean is that the SNP must look to the urban working class to supply the indispensable core of its vote. Without that support, the other votes which the SNP can hope to attract will always fall short of the popular and stable mandate required to break England's grip on Scotland's future.

There is no prospect of Scotland's decline being reversed from a British base. Even leaving aside the implications of the emergence of the Social democratic Party for the Labour vote, English voting patterns, in particular the large minority of the English working class which habitually votes Tory, make it improbable that any British Labour Government will survive into a second five year term. In any case, while the social democratic policies of recent Labour governments have failed in Scotland, the policies of the new Labour Left, based on a massive increase in centralised decision making with 'democratic' control channelled through the Labour Party itself rather than new public institutions, offer little hope to Scotland. Indeed, their only certain result would be to intensify British exploitation of Scotland's energy resources as the Left-wing Government, lacking a stable

popular base in either the English electorate of the labour movement, faced the retaliation of the international financial agencies and the multinationals.

4.8 Scottish Labour
The Scottish Council of the Labour Party will provide a poor defence against the new wave of British centralisation and exploitation. It has failed hopelessly to exploit the new bargaining power which North Sea oil has given Scotland. Although it has a wide base in Scottish local government, the trade unions, media, higher education and voluntary organisations, it has made no contribution of any significance to the recent strategic debates about the future of the Labour Party. Indeed, in almost ninety years since the foundation of the Independent Labour Party by Keir Hardie, only two other Scottish personalities have made any contribution of note to the Party's major debates: John Wheatley in the 1920s and John Macintosh in the 1970s.

Perhaps Scottish Labour's lack of political and intellectual vitality reflects its own self-definition as a provincial and subordinate component of the British Labour Party. It was only this year (1981) that the Scottish Conference of the Party founded by the noted internationalist Kier Hardie even allowed international issues on its agenda.

The Labour Party in Scotland was born of a desire to challenge the class structure of power. Today it reflects and sustains both the class structure of Scottish society and Scotland's subordinate role within the United Kingdom power structure. Two-thirds of Scotland's Labour MP's come from middle class backgrounds or occupations and at constituency and local government level working class activists are being steadily replaced by recruits from the public sector middle class, many of whom are English incomers.

In spite of Scotland's constancy to the Labour cause, Scottish Labour MPs feature as the NCOs of Labour Parliamentary politics, seldom officers. The recent Labour leadership contest was fought between four Oxbridge educated Englishmen with another public school and Oxford educated Englishman waiting in the wings. Apart from the Scottish Secretary only three Scottish MP's have been members of Labour Cabinets since the War - and one of those was an Englishman sitting for a Scottish seat. More and more the Labour Party in Scotland operates as a device by which a provincial - and provincialised - middle class mobilises the Scottish working class vote in support of a
'dissenting' section of the English middle class which cannot count on the loyalty of its own working class. In return the Scottish middle class is given a properly subordinate place in the British power structure and the Scottish working class, the poor bloody infantry of the civil war within the English middle class which passes for politics in Britain, is repaid with chronic unemployment, some of the worst housing in Western Europe, record rates of ill health and forced migration. What matter if they fall, the council estates and industrial wastelands of Scotland will furnish abundant replacements.

FIVE CONCLUSION

To summarise the argument: the historic sense of Scottish political and cultural nationality is too weak to serve as the basis for modern political nationalism.

With the decline of the Scottish middle class the Scottish working class offers the only possible social base for a Nationalist movement in Scotland.

Given the persistence of class divisions in Scotland, a nationalist case which concentrates on the promise of economic growth while ignoring the divisive issue of how the fruits of growth are to be distributed will never win the trust of the largest block of Scottish voters, the urban working class.

The SNP's credibility - with working class and middle class voters alike - depends on the Party pursuing a consistent line on the key issues of the day based on an analysis of Scotland's economic and social needs.

Given the collapse of the Scottish private sector and the major social and economic inequalities which persist in Scottish society, that analysis will lead to a socialist response.

The growing gap between the reality and the potential of the Scottish economy, and the growing divergence between English and Scottish voting patterns, offers Nationalists an opportunity to create a new, aggressive sense of political nationality to challenge the traditional defensiveness which ties the working class to Labour.

The SNP's target should be to establish itself as the radical Scottish alternative to the Labour Party.

To succeed Left-Wing Nationalism must look to Scotland's future not her past. It could do worse than adopt as its slogan Hugh MacDairmid's prescription for a Scottish renaissance:

"NOT TRADITIONS - PRECEDENTS!"
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