

PRIME MINISTER

Scottish Conference Speech

When we discussed the Scottish speech this morning you asked if you could see Malcolm Rifkind's speeches in your weekend box. I attach these speeches and a couple of further contributions.

Flag A	Bruce Anderson's module
Flag B	ideas from Gerry Malone
Flag C	Malcolm Rifkind's speeches

JFW
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JOHN WHITTINGDALE

6.5.88

BRUCE ANDERSON

I am told that in some quarters, my Englishness is held against me. I can't believe that it's true - but anyway, in the Party of Arthur Balfour, Andrew Bonar Law, Harold Macmillan and Alec Douglas Home - isn't it about time the English had their turn?

I can't help the fact that I was born in England - and would you really want me to try? Would you like me to hunt for the Thatcher tartan, or do as the London stockbroker did in the film of 'Whisky Galore' - start every morning by saying 'Scots Wha Hae'.

Anyway, though I may not be Scottish, I am a great admirer of Scotland. How could I be otherwise? Two hundred years ago, in the Scottish universities, Adam Smith, xy and others created the theory of the free market. Most of the political ideas I hold dearest had their origins in the Scottish enlightenment.

~~Now we are told that the Scots don't like Thatcherism. Well I can't believe that - and I can't help it either. It's all your fault.)~~ You invented Thatcherism - long before I was thought of.

The Scots contribution was not confined to theory. The history of the industrial revolution, the history of the growth of British trade, is the history of Scottish enterprise and Scottish entrepreneurs. ~~The contribution the Scots made was indispensable. The United Kingdom could never have flourished and prospered the way it did in the Victorian era without the Scots.~~ look lead

Of course, as so often in economic matters, the successes of one generation created the problems of the next generation. Any economy so heavily bound up with the heavy industries of the first Industrial Revolution was bound to face major problems in adjusting to new challenges and new conditions. Scotland did - and it has coped remarkably well.

The traditional industries are now in shape to meet the demands of new markets, and to cope with their competition (details).

But Scotland is also a world leader in the crucial new industries - in electronics (details), computer sciences (details), and financial services (details).

Within one square mile in the centre of Edinburgh, over £100 billion of funds is managed and controlled. The City of Edinburgh is now one of the world's fastest growing financial centres (details).

... so the Scottish economy is in good shape to meet the challenges of the 21st century. Why then the pessimism?

Why is it that visitors to Scotland, including foreigners who want to invest here, can see the promise and the potentialities in the Scottish economy, while so many native Scots cannot?

Why is it that when every visitor to Scotland is immediately conscious of the flourishing distinctiveness of all things Scottish when Scotland of all nations has least to fear in the way of threats to its national identity, a number of Scots seem to feel that this identity is in jeopardy?

Mr. Chairman, if I may speak frankly, if only the Scots would see themselves as others see them. Foreigners who do business in this country have plenty of confidence in Scotland - only can't the Scots have a bit more?

After all, it would be the people of Dundee who have lost it. — Let's look at it.

The answer lies, I think, in the way that the State has failed Scotland - failed in, not by doing too little, but by promising too much.

Successive governments tried to insulate Scotland from reality. They said to the Scots "alright, you have problems, some of your long-standing industries are under threat - but don't worry you don't have to do anything we'll protect you."

But they couldn't - and didn't. Shipyards closed. Factories closed. Men lost their jobs. The result was not only a deep disillusion with Government, but gloom and despondency. It was as if many Scots concluded 'if even the Government cannot help us, who on earth can?'

There is such a simple answer to that question - they themselves.

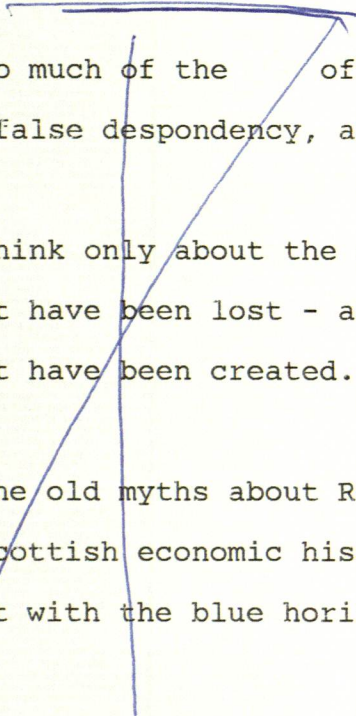
The Scots can help themselves, and have helped themselves - the new industries and service industries I spoke about are the results.

Certainly Government has a role to play and is playing it. This Government is spending more on Scotland than ever before (details).

But we're not only spending more - we're spending differently, and wisely. Spending on pump primary, not indiscriminate subsidies.

Spending to supplement enterprise, not to supplement ^{ent-} ~~ement~~ enterprise.

Spending to help Scots entrepreneurs to help themselves - not to hobble and hinder them.

Mr. Chairman, too much of the  of Scottish public life is influenced by a false dependency, and by myths about the past.

Too many Scots think only about the industries that have declined, and the jobs that have been lost - and not about the new industries and the jobs that have been created.

Then there are the old myths about Red Clydeside - rather than the reality of Scottish economic history - which was not to do with red anything, but with the blue horizons of opportunity.

Alas

/ We are not dealing only with myths. There was a Red Clydeside - in social engineering. It was the aim of successive Labour administrations, both nationally and locally, to come between the Scots and home ownership - to imprison millions of Scottish families in publicly owned housing, so that their voting behaviour could be manipulated and controlled.

We are putting a stop to that. I pledge that over the next x years, we are going to sell half a million (??) council houses in Scotland.

~~_____~~
Mr. Chairman, it is no accident that the fortunes of our Party in Scotland declined at a period when Scottish self-confidence declined.

The two go-together - and will revive together.

Tory values are Scottish values - and vice-versa. The values of hard work, self-reliance, thrift, enterprise - the relishing of challenges, the seizing of opportunities. That's what the Tory Party stands for - that's what Scotland stands for.

I have come here to encourage you to assert our Party's place in the centre of Scotland's national life.

I won't be discouraged by temporary set-backs - and neither should any of you. I didn't come into politics to take short-cuts, or court easy popularity. My principles are not at the mercy of the opinion polls - neither I trust, are any of yours.

As Scotland regains its self-confidence, as more Scots realise that they have every right to be proud of Scotland's economic recovery, so our fortunes will revive.

I urge you all to go forth from this hall and crush the falsehood that Tory ideals and Tory frustrations are in any way alien to Scotland - when in fact so many of them were created here.

Tory values are in tune with everything that is finest in the Scottish character and with the proudest moments in Scottish history.

Only by the practical implementation of Tory principles has the recovery of the Scottish economy been possible.

Now if it is the Scottish spirit which must recover. Our Party must and will place itself in the vanguard of that recovery.

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IDEAS FROM GERRY MALONE

EDUCATION

Nowhere do we trust the people more than in our policy on education.

It's hardly revolutionary.

Parents should play a principal role in the education of their children.

In Scotland there is a tradition of excellence in education which our opponents constantly threaten.

Some of you may have heard of Paisley Grammar!

That school and others like it were under threat from Labour because their values and traditions were resented.

They were popular with parents.

They had high academic standards.

They enforced high standards of discipline.

We saved them.

Labour hated it. The parents loved it.

Let Labour be in no doubt about the message. We will always defend the parents that they seek to attack.

THE SCOTTISH ECONOMY

Let me remind you of the target that we set for Britain and for Scotland nine years ago.

Never to be at the mercy of foreign bankers again.

Never to accept that economic decline was irreversible.

Never to cheat our foreign competitors by devaluing our currency to paper over failure at home.

To build new industries that would provide secure jobs in a competitive market.

To stop the flood of money from your pockets to state run industries where it was wasted.

In Scotland where economic failure had become a way of life, encouraged by a Labour Party whose vested interest was in

failure, and still is, the task seemed impossible. Even now that we are on the road to success our opponents shut their eyes and say it isn't happening. - And one of our problems is that the media close their eyes as well. Mr.

President, perhaps I should take the opportunity to point out that news of Scotland's success is NOT covered by section 2 of the official Secrets Act! ✓

And look at that success.

Inward investment. In the 70's, Scotland was a byword for industrial strife. Now foreign companies flock here.

Compaq etc. etc. (list examples).

2.

They don't come because they just like the scenery. They don't come because they owe Scotland a living. They certainly don't come on the basis of Labour's view of what Scotland has to offer!

They come because Scotland has the talent that they need.

They come because Scotland's industrial relations have been transformed by our legislation.

They come because Scotland is the best place for them to do business and earn profits. And its our policies, that have made it so.



THE SCOTTISH PROBLEM

Last year's election result in Scotland was a bitter disappointment.

Of course our opponents try to make us shift and change our policies as a result.

But we are made of sterner stuff. We know that our policies are in the interests of Scotland, all the evidence is there.

We don't win our battles by changing our weapons half way through.

We won't put Scotland's future at risk by abandoning the policies that have brought economic success.

Our task is to convince the Scottish people that we are

I am convinced that we have the strength to do it.

Very good - will
some of Nationalists
interest, women.

DEVOLUTION.

Let me make one point absolutely clear. The historical role of Scotland is as a ^{distinct} nation within the United Kingdom. Now that every other party in Scotland is challenging that role it is vital that we defend it.

They want a Scotland that is overgoverned and overtaxed.

We believe in a Scotland that plays a full part in the U.K. economy on equal terms.

At least the Nationalists have the honesty to say that they want to break up the United Kingdom. Labour say they don't, but their policies mean that they ^{would} ~~will~~.

At this conference we have resoundingly rejected the prospect of a second class Scotland, cut off from the rest of the United Kingdom by tax barriers that would destroy her economy.

We have endorsed a different devolution policy in debate after debate, far bolder than that of our opponents.

Not devolution to politicians - devolution to the Scottish people themselves.

Housing, Education, share-ownership, return of state run industries to individuals.

It is these policies, enthusiastically endorsed by Scottish people when they are put into practice, which underpin the political philosophy that separates us from our opponents.

"Trust the people" Our opponents wouldn't dare

SECRETARY OF STATE'S SPEECH TO CBI: HOLIDAY INN, GLASGOW -
19 FEBRUARY 1988

THE GOVERNMENT SHARES WITH INDUSTRY SATISFACTION IN THE REGENERATION OF SCOTTISH ENTERPRISE THAT IS TAKING PLACE THROUGHOUT SCOTLAND.

I SAY 'REGENERATION' DELIBERATELY. SCOTLAND HELPED LEAD THE WORLD DURING THE FIRST INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION WHEN ITS PRODUCTS FOUND READY MARKETS; ITS FACTORIES PROVIDED GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT AND GLASGOW WAS THE SECOND CITY OF THE EMPIRE. SCOTLAND THRIVED THEN ON THE ENTERPRISE, THE INITIATIVE AND THE EXPERIENCE OF ITS PEOPLE RATHER THAN ON A CAREFUL ASSESSMENT OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE PER CAPITA COMPARED TO ENGLAND OR WALES.

THAT SPIRIT IS RETURNING ALTHOUGH IT STILL HAS SOME WAY TO GO. ~~TRADITIONAL~~ SCOTTISH INDUSTRIES HAVE COME THROUGH A SERIOUS RECESSION AND WHETHER IN STEEL OR HEAVY ENGINEERING ARE FACING THE FUTURE IN AN INCOMPARABLY HEALTHIER STATE.

THE NEW HIGH TECHNOLOGY INDUSTRIES ARE THRIVING IN CENTRAL SCOTLAND, THE NORTH-EAST LEADS WESTERN EUROPE IN OIL RELATED TECHNOLOGY AND EDINBURGH HAS BLOSSOMED AS A MAJOR FINANCIAL CENTRE OF EUROPE. CLYDEBANK IS THE FAVOURED LOCATION FOR INTERNATIONAL HEALTH CARE, IRVINE FOR A PAPER MILL, AND GARTCOSH SEEMS SET TO HOST A NEW WASTE RECYCLING FACTORY.

MORE GENERALLY, UNEMPLOYMENT HAS NOW BEEN FALLING FOR OVER A YEAR AND BOTH THE SCOTTISH CBI AND THE FRASER OF ALLANDER SURVEYS SHOW BUSINESS OPTIMISM HIGH AND SCOTTISH INDUSTRY MORE CONFIDENT THAN FOR YEARS.

THESE CHANGES ARE HAPPENING AT A TIME WHEN OTHER MAJOR OPPORTUNITIES PRESENT THEMSELVES. FOR YEARS, SOME SELF-PROCLAIMED SPOKESMEN FOR THE SCOTTISH ECONOMY HAVE CONCENTRATED ALL THEIR ENERGIES ON BEMOANING SCOTLAND'S PERCEIVED DISADVANTAGES, BEWAILING A CRUEL FATE THAT ALLEGEDLY DOOMS SCOTLAND TO UNCOMPETITIVENESS AND CALLING FOR

EVERY ARTIFICIAL AND INDISCRIMINATE GRANT OR ALLOWANCE IN THE MISTAKEN ASSUMPTION THAT ALL THAT STANDS BETWEEN ECONOMIC SUCCESS AND FAILURE IS A SUBSIDY, AND THE LARGER THE BETTER.

NOW THERE IS A NEW REALISATION THAT THE BEST SERVICE ONE CAN DO TO SCOTLAND IS TO IDENTIFY ITS STRENGTHS AND ITS ADVANTAGES. THEY ARE GETTING MORE NUMEROUS NOT LESS.

IN THE MODERN WORLD GEOGRAPHY IS RARELY A BARRIER TO THE EFFICIENT AND COMPETITIVE. HOW ELSE HAVE THE JAPANESE BEEN ABLE TO PENETRATE OUR MARKETS FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF THE WORLD? IF THE THOUSANDS OF MILES THAT SEPARATE US FROM THE FAR EAST HAVE NOT INHIBITED THE JAPANESE, TO SUGGEST THAT THE FEW HUNDRED MILES BETWEEN SCOTLAND AND THE SOUTH OF ENGLAND IS A MAJOR PROBLEM IS AN UNCONVINCING AND UNIMPRESSIVE EXCUSE.

THE REALITY IS THAT THE FREE OPERATION OF THE MARKET COULD INCREASINGLY FAVOUR SCOTLAND AND THE REGIONS IF WE RESPOND POSITIVELY. THE SOUTH-EAST IS INCREASINGLY BECOMING CONGESTED, WITH MASSIVE EXTRA COSTS, HIGH OVERHEADS AND A RELATIVELY POOR QUALITY OF LIFE.

THE GROWTH OF COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY ENABLES MANY ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES TO BE CARRIED OUT AS EASILY IN SCOTLAND AS IN LONDON OR THE SOUTH. COSTS ARE LESS, THE QUALITY OF LIFE IS INFINITELY SUPERIOR, A TRAINED AND EXPERIENCED WORKFORCE IS AVAILABLE, HIGHER EDUCATION IS UNPARALLELLED.

How does
FURTHERMORE, THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE CHANNEL TUNNEL AND THE UPGRADING OF THE A74 TO MOTORWAY WILL ENABLE FREIGHT, WHETHER CARRIED BY RAIL OR ROAD, TO REACH ITS EUROPEAN DESTINATION MORE CHEAPLY, MORE QUICKLY AND MORE RELIABLY.

EVEN COMPARED TO THE ENGLISH REGIONS SCOTLAND HAS INESTIMABLE ADVANTAGES. THE YEARS SINCE THE ACT OF UNION HAVE SEEN THE GROWTH OF AN INDIGENOUS BANKING, INSURANCE AND INVESTMENT

INDUSTRY THAT SERVES BUSINESS AND PROVIDES LOCAL PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE, SUPERIOR CONVEYANCING PRACTICE, INTEGRATED GOVERNMENT BACKING THROUGH THE SCOTTISH OFFICE AND A MORE RELEVANT EDUCATIONAL TRADITION ARE ADVANTAGES THAT WE MUST EXPLOIT FOR ALL THEY ARE WORTH.

TWO MAJOR AREAS OF CONCERN REMAIN IN ADDITION TO RESIDUAL HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT. THE FIRST IS THE LONG-TERM FUTURE OF THE TRADITIONAL INDUSTRIES SUCH AS STEEL AND SHIPBUILDING. THESE ARE, OF COURSE, THE EMPLOYERS OF ONLY A RELATIVELY SMALL NUMBER OF PEOPLE. STEEL, COAL AND SHIPBUILDING EMPLOY, IN TOTAL, ONLY TWENTY FIVE THOUSAND PEOPLE, LITTLE MORE THAN HALF THE FORTY THREE THOUSAND EMPLOYED IN THE ELECTRONICS INDUSTRY ALONE.

HOWEVER, THEY REMAIN IMPORTANT INDUSTRIES PROVIDING VITAL JOBS FOR LANARKSHIRE, THE CLYDE AND OTHER COMMUNITIES AS WELL AS HAVING WIDER IMPLICATIONS FOR SUPPLIERS AND OTHER LOCAL BUSINESSES. TRADITIONAL PLANTS LIKE RAVENS CRAIG AND YARROWS ARE SHOWING THAT THEY CAN NOW COMPETE EFFECTIVELY IN THE MARKET. THEIR FUTURE IS INDEED BETTER ASSURED BY THE HEALTH OF THEIR INDUSTRY THAN BY POLITICAL COMMITMENTS WHICHEVER GOVERNMENT IS IN POWER. COMPANIES THAT APPEAR TO DEPEND ON POLITICAL GUARANTEES FOR THEIR SURVIVAL ARE, BY DEFINITION, ASSUMED TO HAVE LITTLE ECONOMIC RATIONALE. THAT IS NOT, AND NEVER SHOULD HAVE BEEN, AN ACCEPTABLE BASIS FOR THE STEEL INDUSTRY OR FOR SHIPBUILDING IN SCOTLAND.

THE LAST DECADE MAY HAVE BEEN A PAINFUL TRANSITION FOR THESE INDUSTRIES BUT FEW NOW DOUBT THAT RATIONALISATION WAS INEVITABLE AND WOULD HAVE BEEN WORSE THE LONGER IT WAS DELAYED. WHERE WOULD RAVENS CRAIG HAVE BEEN TODAY IF BSC WAS STILL OPERATING AT AN ANNUAL LOSS OF £500M WITH OVERMANNING AND LITTLE PROSPECT OF INTERNATIONAL COMPETITIVENESS? A SEVEN YEAR ASSURANCE MAY NOT BE A FULLY BANKABLE GUARANTEE BUT IT IS FAR BETTER THAN MOST EXPECTED AND FAR LONGER THAN OTHER EMPLOYEES IN OTHER INDUSTRIES RECEIVE.

An industry which has to depend on a large subsidy is an industry which has - *Crus had made over the*

future. An industry will find some projects for young people in or about a complete effort, now developing the industry as possible.

HMP04708

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Handwritten notes at the top of the page, including 'Keep in touch with...'

Extensive handwritten notes on the right margin, including 'on a...'

RAVENS CRAIG HAS NOW A SERIOUS PROSPECT OF BEING A VIABLE AND SIGNIFICANT PART OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR. THAT IS WHAT THE STEEL INDUSTRY WAS UNTIL NATIONALISATION IN THE 1960S AND THAT IS HOW IT SHOULD BE.

THIS LEADS ME TO THE OTHER OFT-EXPRESSED CONCERN; WHETHER SCOTLAND IS GRADUALLY BECOMING A BRANCH ECONOMY THROUGH MERGERS, TAKEOVERS AND THE GROWTH OF MULTI-NATIONAL COMPANIES.

IT IS, OF COURSE, THE CASE THAT OVER THE LAST 40 YEARS MANY SCOTTISH COMPANIES, SOME LARGE, SOME SMALL, HAVE SEEN THEIR SEPARATE IDENTITY DISAPPEAR AND CONTROL MOVE ELSEWHERE. THIS PHENOMENON HAS NOT BEEN PECULIAR TO SCOTLAND OR EVEN TO THE UNITED KINGDOM. IT IS A WORLDWIDE TREND WHICH HAS WORKED BOTH WAYS. AMERICA'S STANDARD OIL WAS BOUGHT BY BP, ENGLAND'S MATTHEW BROWN WAS TAKEN OVER BY SCOTTISH & NEWCASTLE. SCOTTISH TAKEOVERS OF ENGLISH OR OVERSEAS COMPANIES HAVE, HOWEVER, BEEN FAR FEWER THAN THE REVERSE.

THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE DEPENDS ON THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF EACH TAKEOVER. IN SOME CASES INDIGENOUS SCOTTISH COMPANIES MAY BE HARMED BY TAKEOVERS; IN OTHERS IT IS A PREREQUISITE TO SAVING JOBS, TO GROWTH, OR TO VIABILITY. AS A GENERAL RULE GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE IS UNDESIRABLE ALTHOUGH THERE HAVE BEEN, AND THERE REMAIN, SPECIFIC CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE THE NATIONAL INTEREST DOES JUSTIFY A REFERENCE TO THE MMC OR COMPARABLE INTERVENTION.

BUT THESE FEW CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE GOVERNMENT CAN INTERVENE, EVEN IF THEY WERE TO BE INCREASED, AS SOME INEVITABLY ARGUE, TO COVER ALL THE HEADLINE CATCHING CASES, COULD NEVER PREVENT AN INTERNATIONAL TREND THAT IS INSEPARABLE FROM A MARKET ECONOMY. A RING-FENCE AROUND SCOTLAND WOULD NOT ONLY BE INCOMPATIBLE WITH AN INTEGRATED BRITISH ECONOMY; IT WOULD ALSO BE RESENTED BY SCOTTISH COMPANIES EXPANDING OUTWARD, IT WOULD BE IN CONFLICT WITH OUR OBJECTIVE OF A SINGLE INTERNAL

MARKET WITHIN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND IT WOULD BE A MAJOR DISINCENTIVE TO FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN SCOTLAND.

THE REAL, RELEVANT STRATEGY TO DEVELOP SCOTTISH PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND CREATE A SUBSTANTIAL SECTOR OF THE SCOTTISH ECONOMY WITH OWNERSHIP AND DECISION MAKING IN SCOTLAND IS NOT BY A STERILE PROTECTIONISM THAT WOULD BE DEGRADING AND ULTIMATELY UNSUCCESSFUL. THE PROPER APPROACH IS TO INITIATE AND ENCOURAGE NEW INDIGENOUS SCOTTISH COMPANIES, TO BOOST THE COMPETITIVENESS OF THE BRITISH ECONOMY OF WHICH SCOTLAND IS A VITAL PART, AND, VERY SIGNIFICANTLY, TO CREATE MAJOR NEW SCOTTISH PRIVATE SECTOR COMPANIES THROUGH THE PRIVATISATION OF NATIONALISED INDUSTRIES LOCATED IN SCOTLAND.

THESE OBJECTIVES REPRESENT THE KERNEL OF THE GOVERNMENT'S INDUSTRIAL STRATEGY IN SCOTLAND AND MAJOR PROGRESS IS BEING MADE AT THE PRESENT TIME. THE REFORM OF REGIONAL POLICY AND THE ADDED EMPHASIS ON SMALL BUSINESSES ARE CRUCIAL TO THIS APPROACH. THE NEW REGIONAL INVESTMENT GRANTS, THE REGIONAL INNOVATION GRANTS, THE MAJOR SUPPORT FOR BUSINESS CONSULTANCY AND THE CONCENTRATION OF HELP FOR THOSE FOR WHOM SUCH SUPPORT IS ESSENTIAL ARE A MAJOR BOOST FOR NEW SCOTTISH BUSINESSES AND HAVE BEEN WELCOMED AS SUCH BY THE SCOTTISH CBI AND THE SCOTTISH COUNCIL.

THE NEXT STAGE IS THE PRIVATISATION OF MAJOR NATIONALISED INDUSTRIES IN SCOTLAND. MANY OF THE ARGUMENTS FOR PRIVATISATION ARE COMMON TO THE UNITED KINGDOM AS A WHOLE. GREATER EFFICIENCY, BETTER RESPONSIVENESS TO CONSUMER NEEDS, MORE COMPETITION, REMOVAL OF GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE ARE CONSIDERATIONS RELEVANT THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

IT IS, HOWEVER, DIFFICULT TO EXAGGERATE THE CONTRIBUTION THAT PRIVATISATION WILL MAKE TO THE ONGOING REGENERATION OF SCOTTISH INDUSTRY AND THE GROWTH OF THE ENTERPRISE CULTURE IN SCOTLAND.

FIRST, PRIVATISATION OF SCOTTISH NATIONALISED INDUSTRIES WILL MEAN THE TRANSFER OF CONTROL OF THESE INDUSTRIES FROM

LONDON BACK TO SCOTLAND. NO LONGER WILL THE INVESTMENT NEEDS OF, FOR EXAMPLE, THE SCOTTISH ELECTRICITY INDUSTRY OR OF THE SCOTTISH BUS GROUP BE DECIDED BY THE ANNUAL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE SCOTTISH OFFICE AND THE TREASURY IN WHITEHALL IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GOVERNMENT'S PUBLIC SECTOR BORROWING REQUIREMENT STRATEGY. IN FUTURE THESE DECISIONS WILL BE DETERMINED BY THE INDUSTRY ITSELF, IN SCOTLAND, ON THE BASIS OF THE NEEDS OF THE INDUSTRY UNTRAMMELLED BY OTHER CONSIDERATIONS.

SECONDLY, PRIVATISATION, IRRESPECTIVE OF THE STRUCTURE CHOSEN, WILL RESULT IN THE CREATION OF A NUMBER OF MAJOR NEW SCOTTISH COMPANIES, GIVING A MASSIVE BOOST TO THE SCOTTISH PRIVATE SECTOR. THE TWO ELECTRICITY BOARDS AND THE SCOTTISH BUS GROUP HAVE, BETWEEN THEM, VAST ASSETS, MANY THOUSANDS OF EMPLOYEES AND A PROFOUND INFLUENCE ON THE SCOTTISH ECONOMY. THEIR PRIVATISATION WILL REPRESENT THE LARGEST SINGLE BOOST TO SCOTTISH PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

THIRDLY, PRIVATISATION WILL PROVIDE AN EXCITING NEW OPPORTUNITY FOR THE EMPLOYEES IN THESE COMPANIES, FOR SCOTTISH INSTITUTIONS AND FOR THE SCOTTISH PUBLIC AS A WHOLE TO ACQUIRE A MAJOR STAKE IN THE OWNERSHIP OF SCOTTISH INDUSTRY. THE GROWTH OF SHARE OWNERSHIP HAS BEEN A BRITISH PHENOMENON WITH PREFERENCE OFTEN GIVEN TO THE EMPLOYEES AND CONSUMERS OF THE INDUSTRY CONCERNED. FOR THE FIRST TIME THESE EMPLOYEES AND CONSUMERS WILL BE EXCLUSIVELY SCOTTISH BASED AND THIS PROVIDES MAJOR NEW POTENTIAL.

PRIVATISATION THUS REPRESENTS A MASSIVE BOOST FOR SCOTTISH ENTERPRISE AND A SIGNIFICANT ENLARGEMENT OF THE SCOTTISH PRIVATE SECTOR. IT EXEMPLIFIES, IN THE clearest possible way, THE RELEVANCE OF THE CONSERVATIVE REVOLUTION TO THE SCOTTISH ECONOMY.

IN THE LAST YEAR SCOTS HAVE BEGUN TO TURN THEIR BACK ON THE GLOOM AND PESSIMISM, AND TO SHED THE INFERIORITY COMPLEX THAT MANY SEEMED TO WEAR ALMOST AS A BADGE OF PRIDE.

SCOTTISH INDUSTRY AND THE SCOTTISH ECONOMY ARE THUS ENTERING A MAJOR NEW PHASE; A DEVELOPMENT THAT COULD BE AS IMPORTANT AS THE SCOTTISH CONTRIBUTION TO THE FIRST INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.— SCOTTISH-BUSINESSMEN-ARE-MORE OPTIMISTIC-AND LESS DEFENSIVE; MORE ENTERPRISING AND LESS TIMID THAN FOR MANY YEARS.

SCOTTISH INDUSTRY COMPARES FAVOURABLY WITH THE BEST ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD. THE GOVERNMENT IS PLAYING ITS PART IN THE REGENERATION OF SCOTTISH ENTERPRISE. I SALUTE SCOTTISH INDUSTRY FOR RESPONDING SO WELL.

SPEECH BY THE RT HON MALCOLM RIFKIND QC MP,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR SCOTLAND

SCOTTISH UNIONISM

THERE IS AN IMPORTANT NEED TO PROVIDE A FRESH ASSESSMENT OF SCOTTISH UNIONISM AND OF ITS RELEVANCE TO THE NATIONAL IDENTITY AND CHARACTER OF SCOTLAND.

THE NECESSITY ARISES NOT FROM ANY SEPARATIST CHALLENGE WHICH IS MINIMAL BUT FROM BOTH THE CHARACTER OF BRITAIN IN THE LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY AND FROM THE INTEREST, IN CERTAIN QUARTERS, IN DEVOLUTIONARY EXPERIMENTS.

IT WAS A MATURE PERCEPTION OF SCOTTISH INTERESTS THAT LED TO THE UNION IN THE FIRST PLACE AND IT IS A UNION WHICH, IN ITS PRESENT FORM, HAS STOOD THE TEST OF TIME FOR OVER A QUARTER OF A MILLENNIUM. INDEED IT IS DIFFICULT TO IDENTIFY ANY OTHER EXAMPLE IN EUROPE, OR ELSEWHERE, WHERE TWO SOVEREIGN STATES HAVE COME TOGETHER AS A UNITED KINGDOM AND LIVED IN HARMONY WITHOUT CIVIL STRIFE OR DISCORD FOR WELL OVER 200 YEARS. THAT HAS ONLY BEEN POSSIBLE BECAUSE OF THE BASIC IDENTITY OF INTEREST THAT HAS BEEN SHARED BY THE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN THROUGHOUT THAT PERIOD, AN IDENTITY OF INTEREST THAT HAS EXTENDED TO ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL VALUES AND WHICH IS AS VALID TODAY AS IT EVER WAS.

UNIONISM AND A DEEP BELIEF IN THE CONTINUING BENEFIT TO SCOTLAND OF THE TREATY OF UNION ARE NOT, OF COURSE, ONLY TORY PREROGATIVES. THE LABOUR, LIBERAL AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES REMAIN UNIONIST BY INSTINCT AND BY CONVICTION BUT THEIR RECENT INFATUATION WITH ONE FORM OF CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE HAS PREVENTED ANY SERIOUS ANALYSIS BY THEM OF HOW ONE RECONCILES CERTAIN SCOTTISH ASPIRATIONS WITH BASIC SCOTTISH INTERESTS.

IT THUS FALLS TO SCOTTISH TORIES TO BE THE EXPONENTS OF WHAT UNIONISM MEANS IN THE LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY AND HOW IT CAN BEST ADVANCE SCOTLAND'S DESTINY. THAT THIS SHOULD BE THE ROLE FOR SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVES SHOULD NOT SURPRISE ANYONE AS WE HAVE BEEN TO THE FOREFRONT IN RECOGNISING TRUE SCOTTISH INTERESTS EVER SINCE THE ACT OF UNION. FIRST UNDER DUNDAS, THEN UNDER THE INSPIRATION OF SIR WALTER SCOTT AND FINALLY AS THE PACE-MAKERS OF ADMINISTRATIVE DEVOLUTION IN THE SCOTTISH OFFICE, UNIONISTS HAVE RECONCILED ASPIRATIONS AND INTERESTS IN A PRACTICAL AND REALISTIC WAY WHICH HAS STOOD THE TEST OF TIME. JUST AS NO ONE PARTY IN SCOTLAND HAS A MONOPOLY OF BELIEF IN THE UNION SO TOO, ALL PARTIES SEEK TO IDENTIFY AND PROMOTE SCOTTISH INTERESTS. I AND MY COLLEAGUES CAN BE PROUD OF OUR RECORD IN THIS RESPECT WHICH COMPARES FAVOURABLY WITH THAT OF OTHERS.

IN IDENTIFYING THE STRENGTH AND RELEVANCE OF MODERN UNIONISM ONE MUST RECOGNISE THE CRUCIAL CHANGES THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE BOTH IN THE 19TH CENTURY AND DURING OUR OWN LIFETIME. FOR MANY EARLY 19TH CENTURY SCOTTISH LIBERALS THE UNION MEANT THE ANGLICISATION OF SCOTLAND IN ORDER FOR IT TO REAP THE BENEFITS OF PERCEIVED PROGRESSIVE OPINION IN SOUTH BRITAIN. FOR MANY OTHERS IN BOTH THE 19TH AND THE 20TH CENTURIES THE UNION ENABLED SCOTLAND TO REAP THE BENEFITS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, OF ITS TRADE, ITS RESOURCES AND ITS OPPORTUNITIES. SCOTLAND NOT ONLY BENEFITED; OUR CONTRIBUTION TO THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE CANNOT BE EXAGGERATED AS ANY CITIZEN OF AFRICA, INDIA, CANADA OR AUSTRALIA CAN TESTIFY.

THESE ARE MATTERS OF HISTORY BUT THEY UNDERLINE MUCH OF THE SENSE OF SCOTTISH IDENTITY WHICH REQUIRES FRESH EXAMINATION TODAY. FEW DOUBT THAT WITHIN THESE SMALL ISLANDS IT STILL MAKES SENSE TO PRESERVE A SINGLE BRITISH STATE AND THE INSTITUTIONS THAT GO WITH IT. FOR THE MODERN SCOT THE OBJECTIVE THEREFORE MUST BE TO MAINTAIN THE INTEGRITY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM WHILE RETAINING AND ENHANCING THE NATIONAL IDENTITY AND CULTURE OF SCOTLAND.

*Now regarding
the words of
the Unionist
Tories*

they do

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN IN THE CONTEXT OF CURRENT POLITICAL ISSUES? IN POLITICAL TERMS IT MEANS THAT ANY CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE, TO BE IN SCOTLAND'S REAL INTERESTS, WOULD HAVE TO BE COMMON TO THE UNITED KINGDOM AS A WHOLE. IT WOULD HAVE TO APPLY TO ENGLAND AND WALES AS WELL AS TO SCOTLAND. FEW WOULD SERIOUSLY DOUBT THAT SUCH A FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONAL UPHEAVAL DOES NOT SEEM LIKELY IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

IF CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM AS A WHOLE IS ON NO-ONE'S AGENDA IS IT IN SCOTLAND'S INTERESTS TO BECOME THE ONE DEVOLVED COUNTRY IN WHAT WOULD REMAIN, OTHERWISE, A UNITARY STATE? THE ANSWER CAN ONLY BE NO FOR ANYONE OTHER THAN A SEPARATIST. IT IS INEVITABLE THAT UNILATERAL DEVOLUTION FOR SCOTLAND ALONE WOULD LEAD TO THE PROVINCIALISATION OF SCOTLAND AND ITS MARGINALISATION WITHIN THE UNITED KINGDOM. IN EXCHANGE FOR SOME GREATER AUTONOMY ON THE DOMESTIC ISSUES OF HOUSING, EDUCATION OR HEALTH SCOTLAND WOULD BECOME IRRELEVANT AT WESTMINSTER WHERE REAL POWER WOULD REMAIN. WITH FEWER MPS, NO SECRETARY OF STATE FOR SCOTLAND AND NO SCOTTISH DEBATES OR ISSUES DISCUSSED IN PARLIAMENT, SCOTTISH INTERESTS WOULD BE SORELY NEGLECTED, OUT OF SIGHT, OUT OF MIND WOULD BE THE ORDER OF THE DAY AS SCOTTISH ISSUES AND INTERESTS BECAME INCIDENTAL RATHER THAN A FULL PART OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF BRITISH GOVERNMENTS AND OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT. IT IS EASY TO SEE WHO WOULD BENEFIT FROM SUCH AN OUTCOME.

SUCH A CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IS THUS INIMICAL TO SCOTLAND'S REAL INTERESTS. ANYONE WITH A KNOWLEDGE OF SCOTLAND'S HISTORY KNOWS THAT IN ANY EVENT IT IS ALSO UNNECESSARY IN ORDER TO PRESERVE AND ENHANCE SCOTLAND'S NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL IDENTITY. IT IS THAT IDENTITY THAT SCOTS ARE MOST ANXIOUS TO PRESERVE AND THAT UNIONISM CAN EASILY ENSURE.

IT IS SIGNIFICANT FOR EXAMPLE THAT SCOTLAND'S GOLDEN AGE CAME AFTER AND NOT BEFORE THE UNION OF PARLIAMENTS. THE SCOTTISH ENLIGHTENMENT LED EUROPE IN THE ARTS IN LETTERS, IN SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY AND MEDICINE WITHOUT THE NEED FOR AN ASSEMBLY. LIKewise IN THE 19TH CENTURY SCOTLAND HELPED LEAD THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND GLASGOW BECAME THE SECOND CITY OF THE EMPIRE WITHOUT DEVOLUTION EVEN BEING ON THE AGENDA.

WHAT WAS IMPORTANT TO UNIONISTS AND REMAINS SO IS THE PRESERVATION AND ENRICHMENT OF OUR TRADITIONAL SCOTTISH INSTITUTIONS AND NOT AN ARTIFICIAL AND SUPERFICIAL ATTEMPT TO CREATE NEW ONES THAT HAVE NO ROOTS IN SCOTTISH HISTORY OR EXPERIENCE.

THUS AS UNIONISTS, AS WELL AS CONSERVATIVES, WE ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO SCOTS LAW, TO THE NATIONAL CHURCH, TO OUR UNIVERSITIES, TO OUR SCOTTISH BANKS AND FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, TO OUR DISTINCTIVE EDUCATIONAL TRADITION, TO OUR LEARNED SOCIETIES, TO THE CONTRIBUTION OF SCOTTISH REGIMENTS TO THE BRITISH ARMY AND TO OUR CEREMONIAL HERITAGE. THESE EXPRESS THE SCOTTISH IDENTITY AND SCOTTISH VALUES HAVING STOOD THE TEST OF TIME AND, FOR THE MOST PART, BLOSSOMED DURING THE PERIOD OF UNION.

LIKewise, WE CAN WELCOME AND SEEK TO STRENGTHEN NEWER EXPRESSIONS OF THE SCOTTISH IDENTITY LIKE SCOTTISH OPERA, THE SNO, THE NATIONAL MUSEUMS OF SCOTLAND AS WELL AS OUR DISTINCTIVE SPORTING TRADITIONS IN GOLF, FOOTBALL, RUGBY AND ELSEWHERE. THESE COMPLEMENT SIMILAR EXPRESSIONS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN ENGLAND, WALES AND ULSTER AND THEREFORE SERVE TO STRENGTHEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND NOT TO WEAKEN IT.

BUT MODERN UNIONISM RECOGNISES NOT ONLY THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL DIMENSION BUT ALSO THE CULTURAL DIVERSITY WITHIN SCOTLAND, THE UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION OF THE GAELIC-SPEAKING COMMUNITY, THE CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SHETLAND AND OF ORKNEY, THE MULTI-FACETED IDENTITY OF THE BORDERS AND THE CHARACTER OF THE HIGHLANDS ARE ALL INDIVIDUAL SPECIAL COMPONENTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AS WELL AS OF SCOTLAND. A NARROW NATIONALISM WOULD DAMAGE THEIR IDENTITY AND ABILITY TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES IN THE WIDER BRITISH CONTEXT.

NO MODERN FORMULATION OF UNIONISM CAN OVERLOOK THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION. IT WAS AFTER ALL THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES THAT PERSUADED MANY SCOTS OF THE NECESSITY OF UNION IN 1707.²⁰⁰⁷ THESE ARGUMENTS ARE AS RELEVANT TODAY AS THEY WERE THEN EVEN IF ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES HAVE VASTLY CHANGED. SCOTLAND WITH A POPULATION OF ONLY 5 MILLION COULD NOT PROVIDE A SUFFICIENT MARKET FOR ITS OWN PRODUCE NOR AN INCENTIVE TO OVERSEAS INVESTMENT THAT WOULD ENSURE THE EMPLOYMENT AND PROSPERITY THAT IS REQUIRED. IF BRITAIN NEEDS A SINGLE EUROPEAN MARKET TO PROSPER FEW WOULD DOUBT THAT THE DAYS OF ECONOMIC NATIONALISM HAVE GONE NEVER TO RETURN.

SCOTLAND FACES THE SAME CHALLENGES AS ALL OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES; ① THE NEED TO STRENGTHEN THE COMPETITIVE ECONOMY, ② TO ENCOURAGE INDIGENOUS SMALL AND LARGE INDUSTRIES, TO USE ③ PRIVATISATION TO CREATE NEW PRIVATE SECTOR GROWTH POINTS AND THEREBY REALISE OUR FULL ECONOMIC POTENTIAL. THESE OBJECTIVES WE SHARE WITH THE REST OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. IT IS NOT ONLY UNITED WE STAND. THE REVERSE ALSO APPLIES.

THERE IS A TENDENCY IN CERTAIN QUARTERS TO ARGUE THAT THE STABILITY OF THE UNION AND THE BELIEF OF SCOTS IN ITS DESIRABILITY IS THREATENED BY THE CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL REALITY OF A CONSERVATIVE HEGEMONY IN ENGLAND WHILE LABOUR PREDOMINATES IN SCOTLAND. IT IS SUGGESTED THAT THIS DANGER IS GREATLY EXACERBATED IF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DAY DECLINES TO MODIFY ITS POLICY TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THOSE PARTS OF THE KINGDOM WHERE ITS SUPPORT IS LIMITED.

AS A CONSTITUTIONAL DOCTRINE THIS VIEW IS NOVEL AND HAS NOTHING IN HISTORY AND LITTLE IN LOGIC TO SUPPORT IT. THE UNITED KINGDOM HAS THROUGHOUT ITS LONG EXISTENCE HAD NUMEROUS GOVERNMENTS, LIBERAL, CONSERVATIVE AND LABOUR, THAT HAVE BEEN WEAK IN CERTAIN PARTS OF THE COUNTRY BUT HAVE NEVER IN THE PAST BEEN INVITED TO LIMIT THEIR AUTHORITY TO WHERE THEY ARE STRONG. NUMEROUS LIBERAL AND LABOUR LEADERS WOULD NEVER HAVE OCCUPIED 10 DOWNING STREET IF THEY HAD REQUIRED A MAJORITY IN ENGLAND IN ORDER TO DO SO. THE CONTEMPORARY LABOUR PARTY SHOULD BE THE LAST TO ESPOUSE SUCH A DOCTRINE IF THEY HOPE EVER TO ENJOY THE FRUITS OF POWER.

THE REALITY IS THAT NO GOVERNMENT IN A UNITARY STATE CAN BE EXPECTED TO LIMIT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS POLICY TO THE CONSTITUENCIES IT HAS WON; NOR CAN ANY PART OF THE COUNTRY EXPECT TO BE EXEMPTED FROM THE PROGRAMME OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DAY SIMPLY BECAUSE IT DID NOT VOTE FOR IT. THERE MAY BE REASONS WHY A GOVERNMENT WILL WISH, AT ITS OWN INSTANCE, TO IMPLEMENT SPECIAL POLICIES IN AREAS WHERE IT IS UNPOPULAR IN ORDER TO SEEK TO BUILD ITS SUPPORT BUT THAT MUST BE A MATTER FOR POLITICAL, NOT CONSTITUTIONAL, JUDGEMENT AND MUST TAKE ACCOUNT OF WHAT IS PERCEIVED TO BE THE NATIONAL INTEREST.

NOTWITHSTANDING THAT THE 'NO MANDATE' ARGUMENT IS A FICTION IT IS OFTEN USED TO TRY AND JUSTIFY THE CASE FOR DEVOLUTION. IT IS SUGGESTED BY SOME WHO NEVERTHELESS CALL THEMSELVES UNIONIST THAT THE ONLY APPROPRIATE WAY TO RECONCILE MANY SCOTS TO THE UNION IS TO ESTABLISH AN ASSEMBLY WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. EVEN A CURSORY EXAMINATION OF THIS THESIS SHOWS IT TO BE DEEPLY FLAWED. IF SCOTS ARE ENTITLED TO FEEL AGGRIEVED AND ALIENATED FROM WESTMINSTER BECAUSE THEY HAVE A HOUSING OR EDUCATIONAL POLICY THAT THEY DID NOT VOTE FOR IMPLEMENTED, WHY IS IT ASSUMED THAT THEY WOULD BE CONTENT, ONCE AN ASSEMBLY HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED, TO HAVE NUCLEAR BASES, STEEL PRIVATISATION, OR LOWER INCOME TAXES THAT THEY ALSO DID NOT VOTE FOR, GIVEN THAT THESE AREAS OF POLICY WOULD NOT BE DEVOLVED BUT WOULD CONTINUE TO BE DETERMINED AT WESTMINSTER?

THE REALITY IS THAT IF ONE BELIEVES THAT SCOTLAND (OR FOR THAT MATTER ENGLAND, WALES OR NORTHERN IRELAND) SHOULD NOT SEE IMPLEMENTED POLICIES THEIR ELECTORATE DID NOT SUPPORT THEN ONE IS NOT A UNIONIST BUT A NATIONALIST.

INDEED, IF THE OPPOSITION IN SCOTLAND IS CURRENTLY EXPERIENCING GREAT FRUSTRATION AMONGST ITS SUPPORTERS BECAUSE THEY BELIEVE THAT THEY WON THE ELECTION BUT ARE DENIED POWER THEN THEY MUST REALISE THAT THEY ARE THE AUTHORS OF THEIR OWN MISFORTUNE. FOR SEVERAL YEARS THEY HAVE AS UNIONISTS BEEN CONSTANTLY USING NATIONALIST RHETORIC. EVERY TIME THEY COMPLAIN THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT CARRY OUT A PARTICULAR POLICY IN SCOTLAND BECAUSE WE DO NOT COMMAND A MAJORITY HERE THEY ARE SPEAKING AS NATIONALISTS AND CREATING EXPECTATIONS WHICH, AS UNIONISTS, THEY CANNOT DELIVER. INSTEAD OF CONCENTRATING THEIR EFFORTS ON WHAT MIGHT ASSIST IN THE RETURN OF A BRITISH GOVERNMENT OF THEIR CHOOSING THEY ALLOW THEMSELVES TO BE DISTRACTED AND DISAPPOINTED BY A POPULIST NATIONALISM THAT WILL ULTIMATELY UNDERMINE THEIR OWN RAISON D'ETRE AS PARTIES SEEKING POWER AT WESTMINSTER.

IF THEREFORE SCOTLAND'S INTERESTS ARE, IN FACT, BEST SERVED BY FULL PARTICIPATION IN THE UNION PARLIAMENT DOES MODERN UNIONISM REQUIRE US TO SEEK A UNIFORMITY OF LAW, OF LEGISLATION AND OF POLICY THROUGHOUT THE UNITED KINGDOM? DO WE NEED A SCOTTISH OFFICE, A SCOTTISH LEGAL SYSTEM OR SCOTTISH INSTITUTIONS? THE MODERN UNIONIST'S ANSWER IS AN UNEQUIVOCAL YES. THE UNITED KINGDOM IS JUST THAT; IT IS A UNION OF COUNTRIES THAT HAVE MERGED THEIR SOVEREIGNTY WITHOUT LOSING THEIR IDENTITY.

IT HAS, INDEED, BEEN THE GENIUS OF BRITAIN TO HAVE EVOLVED OVER THE YEARS A UNIQUE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT THAT ALLOWS THE SPECIFIC REQUIREMENTS OF SCOTLAND AND OF WALES TO BE FULLY REALISED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A UNITARY STATE.

THAT SYSTEM DOES NOT MAKE A VIRTUE OF UNIFORMITY IN ALL CIRCUMSTANCES BUT ONLY WHERE IT IS ESSENTIAL IN THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AS A WHOLE.

WHERE UNIFORMITY IS ESSENTIAL IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST, THE NECESSITY AND DESIRABILITY OF SUCH AN APPROACH SHOULD BE FULLY EXPLAINED. THE ONUS SHOULD BE ON THOSE WHO WANT UNIFORMITY TO SAY WHY THIS SHOULD BE SO. CONVENIENCE OF ADMINISTRATION SHOULD CERTAINLY NOT BE A RULING CONSIDERATION.

IT FOLLOWS THAT WHERE SCOTTISH PROBLEMS EXIST THAT HAVE NO COUNTERPART IN ENGLAND OR IN WALES, THEN CLEARLY, SCOTTISH SOLUTIONS NEED TO BE IDENTIFIED AND APPLIED.

I SHOULD ADD THAT EVEN WHERE A UNIFORM UNITED KINGDOM POLICY IS APPROPRIATE A MODERN UNIONIST SHOULD NOT NECESSARILY LOOK TO ENGLAND TO FIND THE SOLUTION. THIS IS NO MERE ASPIRATION. DURING THE TERM OF OFFICE OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT ENGLAND HAS LEARNT FROM SCOTTISH EXPERIENCE WITH REGARD TO THE CROWN PROSECUTION SERVICE, LICENSING LAW AND A NATIONAL CURRICULUM IN SCHOOLS TO MENTION ONLY A FEW EXAMPLES.

THIS EMPHASISES THAT THE VALUE OF THE UNION DOES NOT LIE SIMPLY IN THE BENEFITS SCOTLAND ENJOYS BUT ALSO THE CONTRIBUTION THAT OUR DISTINCTIVE HISTORY, TRADITIONS AND VALUES HAVE MADE AND WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE TO OUR FELLOW CITIZENS ELSEWHERE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

IT IS AGAINST THAT BACKGROUND THAT I SPELL OUT THE CRUCIAL PREMISES THAT CONSTITUTE SCOTTISH UNIONISM IN THE LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

PARAMOUNT AMONGST THESE IS OUR UNSHAKABLE BELIEF THAT THE PEOPLES OF THESE SMALL ISLANDS SHARE A COMMON DESTINY AND THAT BOTH THEIR SHARED AND THEIR DISTINCTIVE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS REQUIRE AND JUSTIFY A COMMON CROWN, PARLIAMENT AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE.

THE SECOND BASIC PREMISE OF MODERN UNIONISM IS THAT THE UNITY OF THE KINGDOM IS STRENGTHENED BY DIVERSITY AND DOES NOT REQUIRE UNIFORMITY. THAT DOES NOT MEAN WE SHOULD PURSUE DIFFERENTIATION FOR ITS OWN SAKE. INDEED, IN THE MODERN WORLD IT OFTEN MAKES SENSE TO HARMONISE AND UNIFY POLICY FOR THE GOOD OF ALL. BUT UNIFORMITY SHOULD ONLY BE ENFORCED WHEN IT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF THE CONSTITUENT PARTS AS A WHOLE AND NOT IN THE PURSUIT OF BUREAUCRATIC OR THEORETICAL TIDINESS.

THE THIRD BASIC PREMISE OF MODERN UNIONISM IS THAT THE UNION NEITHER REQUIRES NOR WOULD BENEFIT FROM THE ANGLICISATION OF SCOTLAND. MUCH OF THE STRENGTH OF THE UNITED KINGDOM IS IN ITS RICH CULTURAL DIVERSITY, ITS DISTINCTIVE TRADITIONS AND ITS INDIVIDUAL HISTORICAL CONTRIBUTIONS. THESE REMAIN VIBRANT AND SCOTLAND, AS WELL AS THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, STILL HAS MUCH TO CONTRIBUTE TO OUR COMMON BRITISH IDENTITY IN THE YEARS TO COME. NOT ONLY SCOTLAND BUT ENGLAND AS WELL WOULD SUFFER IF A BARREN, MONOTONOUS UNIFORMITY WAS TO SMOTHER OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE.

FOURTHLY, THE ETHOS OF MODERN UNIONISM CAN BEST BE EXPRESSED BY THE BELIEF THAT THE UNION MUST REMAIN A PARTNERSHIP OF ITS CONSTITUENT TERRITORIES AND SCOTLAND MUST ENJOY ALL THE BENEFITS AS WELL AS THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF FULL PARTNERSHIP. THERE ARE SOME SCOTS, NO DOUBT SINCERE, WHO BELIEVE THAT SCOTLAND'S INTERESTS IN THE UNION COULD BETTER BE SERVED BY THE CREATION OF A NEW ASSEMBLY IN THAT ONE PART OF THE KINGDOM ALONE. THE UNAVOIDABLE TRUTH IS THAT UNILATERAL DEVOLUTION OF THAT KIND WOULD DESTROY THE REALITY OF PARTNERSHIP AND SHUNT SCOTLAND OFF TO THE SIDELINES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. THAT IS NOT NOR MUST EVER BE SCOTLAND'S DESTINY.

WHAT IS NEEDED IS A CONTINUING MAJOR SCOTTISH CONTRIBUTION TO THE VITALITY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THAT MEANS TO THE VITALITY OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND OF PARLIAMENT AS A WHOLE. THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT ARE AS MUCH OUR BIRTHRIGHT AND THE SOURCE OF OUR LIBERTIES AS THEY ARE THOSE OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, WALES AND NORTHERN IRELAND. THOSE WHO SEEK TO DENY IT OR TO DIMINISH IT DO NOT SERVE SCOTLAND'S INTERESTS WELL.

FOR THE TIME BEING SCOTTISH TORIES MUST BE IN THE FOREFRONT PROTECTING SCOTLAND'S NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE INTEGRITY AND UNITY OF THE UNION PARLIAMENT. IN DUE COURSE OUR FELLOW UNIONISTS IN OTHER PARTIES WILL RECOGNISE WHERE SCOTLAND'S REAL STRENGTH LIES. UNTIL THEY DO WE HAVE A WORTHY AND HISTORIC TASK.

1.

EXTRACT OF SPEECH BY SECRETARY OF STATE FOR SCOTLAND,
THE RT HON MALCOLM RIFKIND QC MP TO SCOTTISH ENGINEERING
EMPLOYERS' FEDERATION ON TUESDAY, 1 SEPTEMBER 1987

THE CHALLENGE FACING SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVES AND THE GOVERNMENT IS FORMIDABLE BUT IT IS A CHALLENGE OF OUR OWN MAKING.

QUITE CONSCIOUSLY AND DELIBERATELY WE ARE DETERMINED TO CHANGE MANY OF THE ATTITUDES AND POLICIES THAT HAVE DOMINATED SCOTLAND FOR YEARS AND WHICH ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR MANY OF SCOTLAND'S SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS. SUCH AN OBJECTIVE IS BOUND TO BE HIGHLY CONTROVERSIAL AND FULL OF POLITICAL RISK BUT IT IS ESSENTIAL IF SCOTS AND SCOTLAND IS TO REALISE ITS FULL POTENTIAL.

THESE ATTITUDES AND POLICIES WHICH HAVE DOMINATED SCOTTISH LIFE HAVE BEEN ESSENTIALLY PATERNALIST. IT HAS BEEN ASSUMED BY THE LABOUR PARTY, BY THE TRADE UNIONS AND EVEN BY A SIGNIFICANT PROPORTION OF SCOTS WHO DO NOT ASCRIBE TO SOCIALIST VALUES THAT ONLY GOVERNMENT, CENTRAL OR LOCAL, IS CAPABLE OF PROVIDING THE RESOURCES, THE INITIATIVE AND THE LEADERSHIP THAT CAN PROVIDE OUR PEOPLE WITH THEIR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REQUIREMENTS. A PATERNALIST, WELL-MEANING BUREAUCRACY HAS BEEN THE DESIRED FRAMEWORK FOR GENERATIONS OF SCOTS.

THE LEGACY OF THAT APPROACH CAN BE SEEN THROUGHOUT SCOTLAND. HALF OF ALL SCOTS ARE DEPENDENT ON LOCAL OR CENTRAL GOVERNMENT FOR THE VERY HOUSES THEY LIVE IN. AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OPERATES WHICH HAS OVER THE YEARS DENIED THE PARENTS ANY MEANINGFUL INVOLVEMENT IN THEIR CHILDREN'S SCHOOLS. A SUSPICION OF ENTERPRISE AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR IS FOSTERED WHICH HAS LED MANY OF OUR BEST BUSINESSMEN TO DEPART SOUTH TO PURSUE THEIR CAREERS.

IT IS IRONIC THAT IT IS THOSE WHO HAVE FOSTERED AND PROMOTED SUCH POLICIES WHO ARE THE FIRST TO COMPLAIN BITTERLY THAT SCOTLAND DOES NOT ENJOY TO THE SAME EXTENT THE PROSPERITY, THE ECONOMIC GROWTH AND THE LOWER LEVELS OF UNEMPLOYMENT OF THE SOUTH-EAST OF ENGLAND. IT HAS NOT YET DAWNED ON THEM THAT THE EXPLANATION FOR THIS MIGHT BE FOUND ON OUR OWN DOORSTEP.

OFTEN WE ARE TOLD THAT SCOTLAND SUFFERS A FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC DISADVANTAGE COMPARED TO THE SOUTH-EAST BECAUSE OF ITS GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION SEVERAL HUNDRED MILES FURTHER AWAY FROM THE MARKETS OF CONTINENTAL EUROPE. IT IS A PRETTY SPURIOUS EXCUSE WHEN ONE CONSIDERS HOW SUCCESSFUL THE JAPANESE HAVE BEEN IN PENETRATING OUR MARKETS FROM SEVERAL THOUSAND MILES AWAY ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE WORLD.

OUR REAL DISADVANTAGE COMPARED TO THE SOUTH-EAST OF ENGLAND IS THE ANTI-ENTERPRISE, PATERNALISTIC, QUASI-SOCIALIST CULTURE FOSTERED IN SCOTLAND FOR SO LONG. A TRADE-UNIONIST IN THE SOUTH-EAST HAS LONG EXPECTED AND BEEN ENABLED TO OWN HIS OWN HOME, ORDINARY PARENTS HAVE FOR MANY YEARS SERVED AS GOVERNORS OF STATE SCHOOLS, PEOPLE WITH MODEST MEANS HAVE OFTEN USED THEM TO START UP THEIR OWN SMALL BUSINESSES. SCOTS HAVE THE SAME ASPIRATIONS AND ABILITIES BUT FOR GENERATIONS HAVE BEEN LED TO EXPECT BENEVOLENT BUREAUCRATS, PATERNALIST COUNCILS AND OMNIPOTENT GOVERNMENTS TO ASSUME THESE RESPONSIBILITIES ON THEIR BEHALF. SUCH A DEPENDENCE CULTURE HAS RETARDED OUR ECONOMIC GROWTH AND NATIONAL SELF-CONFIDENCE.

IT IS NOW RECOGNISED THROUGHOUT THE WESTERN WORLD AND INCREASINGLY EVEN IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES THAT THE KEY TO ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AND GROWTH IS INDIVIDUAL INCENTIVE AND THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR. TRADITIONALLY SUCH FEATURES OF CAPITALIST SOCIETY WERE DENOUNCED AS SELFISH, IMMORAL AND ANTI-SOCIAL. HOWEVER, IT IS NO COINCIDENCE THAT

THE UNITED STATES, JAPAN AND WEST GERMANY WHICH HAVE HAD THE MOST SUCCESSFUL CAPITALIST ECONOMIES ARE THE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE PROVIDED THE GREATEST INCREASES IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING FOR THEIR POPULATION AS A WHOLE AND NOT JUST FOR THOSE WHO HAVE DIRECTLY CREATED THE WEALTH. IN CONTRAST, THOSE WHO HAVE CONCENTRATED ON A FRAMEWORK OF LAWS TO ENSURE HIGH TAXATION, A DOMINANT PUBLIC SECTOR AND AN ANTIPATHY TO ENTERPRISE MAY HAVE CREATED MORE EGALITARIAN SOCIETIES BUT ALSO MORE IMPOVERISHED ONES.

THE KEY TO SCOTLAND'S ECONOMIC PROSPERITY THEREFORE LIES IN FOSTERING BY EVERY SENSIBLE MEANS AT OUR DISPOSAL THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCOTTISH PRIVATE SECTOR AND IN CONVERTING AS MANY SCOTS AS POSSIBLE TO THE VIEW THAT ENTREPRENEURSHIP, INNOVATION AND ENTERPRISE WILL NOT ONLY BE BENEFICIAL TO THEM AND TO THEIR FAMILIES BUT ALSO TO SCOTTISH SOCIETY AS A WHOLE.

BUT CHANGING ATTITUDES IN A WAY THAT WILL BENEFIT THE SCOTTISH ECONOMY CANNOT BE ACHIEVED BY INITIATIVES AND POLICIES IN THE ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL SPHERE ALONE. OUR SOCIETY IS NOT AND SHOULD NOT BE SO EASILY COMPARTMENTALISED. IF PEOPLE ARE TO BE ENCOURAGED TO ACCEPT GREATER RESPONSIBILITY AND DEVELOP PERSONAL INITIATIVES IN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY THEN IT IS ESSENTIAL, AND IN ANY EVENT DESIRABLE IN ITS OWN RIGHT, TO DEVELOP SIMILAR VALUES IN THE OTHER AREAS OF OUR SOCIAL AND PERSONAL LIVES.

THAT IS WHY SCOTTISH TORIES AND THE GOVERNMENT ARE DETERMINED TO ENSURE A MASSIVE EXPANSION OF HOME OWNERSHIP AND TENANT PARTICIPATION IN SCOTLAND. THAT IS WHY WE ARE PROPOSING A RADICAL INCREASE IN THE INVOLVEMENT AND POWERS OF PARENTS IN OUR SCHOOLS. THAT IS WHY WE ARE INTRODUCING A SYSTEM OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT FINANCE THAT WILL ENSURE FOR EVERY ADULT RESPONSIBILITIES AS WELL AS RIGHTS FOR THE SERVICES THEY RECEIVE. THAT IS WHY IN THE PRIVATISATION OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR IN SCOTLAND WE WILL WISH TO ENSURE PROPER PROVISION FOR EMPLOYEES AND FOR CONSUMERS IN THE OWNERSHIP OF THESE NEW AND WELCOME ADDITIONS TO THE SCOTTISH PRIVATE SECTOR.

IT IS TRUE THAT IN A NUMBER OF AREAS OUR PROPOSALS WILL LEAD TO A REDUCTION IN THE POWERS OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES BUT IT IS CRUCIAL TO APPRECIATE THAT THE POWERS LOST WILL NOT BE TRANSFERRED TO CENTRAL GOVERNMENT BUT TO ORDINARY SCOTS AS HOME OWNERS, TENANTS, PARENTS OR SHAREHOLDERS. LOCAL AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EXIST TO SERVE THE PUBLIC AND SHOULD ONLY TAKE DECISIONS ON OUR BEHALF WHEN IT IS NOT POSSIBLE OR REASONABLE TO EXPECT ADULT CITIZENS TO TAKE THESE DECISIONS ON THEIR OWN BEHALF AND ON BEHALF OF THEIR FAMILIES.

PERHAPS AT A TIME WHEN THE PUBLIC WERE POORLY EDUCATED AND THE RESOURCES WERE NOT AVAILABLE TO CREATE PROSPERITY FOR ALL, A PATERNALIST CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT HAD A NECESSARY ROLE TO PLAY. THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REALITY OF LIFE IN SCOTLAND TODAY RENDERS THAT PATERNALIST PHILOSOPHY OBSOLETE.

SCOTTISH CONSERVATISM'S PURPOSE AND FUNCTION IS TO ENABLE SCOTLAND TO LEAD BRITAIN IN ENTERPRISE, INDUSTRIAL SUCCESS AND SELF-CONFIDENCE. THE TASK WHICH LIES AHEAD IS FORMIDABLE FOR IT CHALLENGES THE PREVAILING ORTHODOXY, BUT THE PRIZE TO BE WON IS THE OPPORTUNITY OF A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF SCOTLAND.

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What is the point of educating people to help out their
 ability to think to reach answers, if you then by some high level
 deny them the right to the fruit of their work, and the decision which affect
 their own lives.

EXTRACT OF SPEECH BY SECRETARY OF STATE FOR SCOTLAND,
THE RT HON MALCOLM RIFKIND QC MP TO SCOTTISH COUNCIL
DEVELOPMENT AND INDUSTRY FORUM, GLENEAGLES
THURSDAY 5 NOVEMBER

THE GOVERNMENT'S OBJECTIVES FOR ITS THIRD TERM OF OFFICE WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE THAN IN EARLIER YEARS BUT WILL ALSO HAVE AN EVEN PROFOUNDER EFFECT ON OUR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL WELL-BEING. THEY ARE OBJECTIVES WHICH ARE OF PARTICULAR RELEVANCE TO SCOTLAND AND WHICH DEPEND ON QUALITIES AND ATTITUDES ESPECIALLY IDENTIFIED WITH THE SCOTTISH CHARACTER.

DURING OUR FIRST TWO TERMS THE EMPHASIS OF OUR POLICIES AND OF OUR APPEAL WAS ON INCENTIVES. IN EACH MAJOR AREA OF POLICY THERE WERE CLEAR AND IMMEDIATE BENEFITS TO THE INDIVIDUAL WHICH FLOWED FROM THE IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR REFORMS. THIS MADE THEM STRAIGHTFORWARD TO ADVOCATE, SIMPLE TO UNDERSTAND, AND EASY TO WELCOME.

FOR EXAMPLE, OUR POLICY ON THE SALE OF COUNCIL HOUSES WAS BOUND TO BE POPULAR WITH TENANTS. NOT ONLY WERE THERE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BENEFITS TO THE COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE BUT EACH AND EVERY TENANT WHO AVAILED HIMSELF OF THE RIGHT TO BUY ACQUIRED A CAPITAL ASSET WHOSE VALUE, AS A RESULT OF THE DISCOUNTS AVAILABLE, WAS SIGNIFICANTLY GREATER THAN THE PRICE PAID.

*Av. comm
esp. B.23
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LIKewise, THE INCOME TAX REDUCTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN SUBSTANTIAL AND CONTINUING WERE, NOT SURPRISINGLY, POPULAR AND WIDELY WELCOMED. NOT ONLY DID THEY RESTORE INCENTIVES AND THEREBY BOOST THE NATIONAL ECONOMY BUT THEY ALSO ENABLED TAXPAYERS TO RETAIN MORE OF THEIR OWN EARNINGS, AND THAT WAS HARDLY LIKE TO BE A SOURCE OF HOSTILITY OR EVEN INDIFFERENCE.

IN SIMILAR VEIN THE PARENTS CHARTER GIVING PARENTS THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE THE STATE SCHOOL WHICH THEIR CHILDREN SHOULD ATTEND, AND THE TRADE UNION REFORMS PROTECTING TRADE UNIONISTS FROM INTIMIDATION THROUGH VIOLENT PICKETING AND FROM LOSS OF EARNINGS THROUGH UNWANTED STRIKES WERE ALWAYS

BOUND TO BE WELL RECEIVED. FOR THE INDIVIDUALS FOR WHOM THESE REFORMS WERE DESIGNED THERE WERE CLEAR BENEFITS BUT RARELY ADDITIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES. AS A RESULT THE NATIONAL ECONOMY WAS REVIVED AND STRENGTHENED BY WORKING WITH THE GRAIN OF HUMAN NATURE AND RESPONDING TO INDIVIDUAL AND FAMILY ASPIRATIONS.

THERE HAVE BEEN THOSE WHO HAVE ARGUED THAT HOWEVER APPROPRIATE AND POPULAR THESE REFORMS MAY HAVE BEEN SOUTH OF THE BORDER THEY WERE NOT SUITED TO THE SCOTTISH CHARACTER WHICH, IT IS SUGGESTED, IS LESS MATERIALISTIC, MORE EGALITARIAN AND MORE ATTRACTED TO COLLECTIVIST SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES. THIS SCHOOL OF THOUGHT SUGGESTS THAT WHAT IS OFTEN REFERRED TO AS "THATCHERISM" IS ONLY ATTRACTIVE TO THE ENGLISH CHARACTER WHICH IS ASSUMED TO BE OF A DIFFERENT MOULD.

THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER IS THAT THERE IS PRECIOUS LITTLE EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT SUCH A THEORY. OVER 100,000 SCOTTISH TENANTS HAVE BOUGHT THEIR COUNCIL HOUSES, OVER 90,000 SCOTTISH PARENTS HAVE USED THE PARENTS CHARTER, FEW SCOTS HAVE DECLINED THEIR INCOME TAX REDUCTIONS AND SCOTTISH TRADE UNIONISTS HAVE BENEFITED TO THE SAME EXTENT AS THEIR ENGLISH COUNTERPARTS FROM THE VASTLY IMPROVED INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS SCENE.

HOWEVER, FOR THOSE WHO REMAIN UNCONVINCED, THE GOVERNMENT'S OBJECTIVES FOR OUR THIRD TERM SHOULD BE REASSURING AND WELCOME. THE REFORMS THAT WE WILL BE IMPLEMENTING DURING OUR THIRD TERM WILL BE MAINLY DIRECTED TOWARDS EXTENDING RESPONSIBILITY AS WELL AS INCREASING INCENTIVES.

THE MAIN IMPACT IN HOUSING, EDUCATION, LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND ELSEWHERE WILL NOT BE TO PUT MORE POUNDS INTO PEOPLE'S POCKETS. RATHER, THESE REFORMS WILL LEAD TO GREATER RESPONSIBILITY, TIME-CONSUMING OBLIGATIONS AND BENEFITS TO THE COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE.

THUS, FOR EXAMPLE, OUR PROPOSALS TO ENCOURAGE COUNCIL TENANTS IN THE PERIPHERAL ESTATES TO FORM TENANT CO-OPERATIVES AND HOUSING ASSOCIATIONS WILL MEAN INDIVIDUAL TENANTS GIVING TIME AND EFFORT TO DEAL WITH MATTERS THAT ARE, AT PRESENT, CARRIED OUT BY LOCAL AUTHORITY OFFICIALS IN THE COUNCIL OFFICES. SUCH TENANTS WILL HAVE THE SATISFACTION OF GREATER CONTROL OVER THEIR OWN LIVES, AND SEEING THEIR HOMES ADMINISTERED AND IMPROVED ACCORDING TO THEIR OWN PREFERENCES. THIS WILL IMPROVE THEIR QUALITY OF LIFE ALTHOUGH THERE WILL BE LITTLE IMMEDIATE FINANCIAL BENEFIT AS A RESULT OF THEIR GREATER EXERTION.

LIKewise OUR ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOL BOARDS WILL MEAN MUCH GREATER INFLUENCE FOR PARENTS, THE SATISFACTION OF KNOWING THAT THEIR CHILDREN'S EDUCATION WILL BE CLOSER TO THEIR OWN ASPIRATIONS AND THE ASSURANCE OF A MUCH BETTER FLOW OF INFORMATION FROM SCHOOLS ABOUT HOW THEIR CHILDREN ARE BEING EDUCATED. BUT THESE REFORMS WILL REQUIRE MANY PARENTS TO GIVE TIME AND ENERGY WITH NO MATERIAL REWARDS FOR THOSE MOST INVOLVED.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE COMMUNITY CHARGE PROVIDES A FURTHER EXAMPLE. WE ARE DETERMINED TO ENSURE PROPER ACCOUNTABILITY OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES TO THE ELECTORATE AND THIS MUST MEAN ALL ADULTS WHO BENEFIT FROM LOCAL SERVICES CONTRIBUTING TO THE COST OF PROVIDING THEM. OBVIOUSLY MANY RATEPAYERS WILL BENEFIT FROM THE NEW SYSTEM BUT THERE ARE ALSO MANY EARNING ADULTS WHO WILL PAY IN THE FUTURE BUT WHO PAY NOTHING NOW. WE DO NOT EXPECT THEM TO BE ENTHUSIASTIC THAT THEIR PRIVILEGED EXEMPTION FROM LOCAL TAXATION IS TO END BUT AN ADULT DEMOCRACY REQUIRES RESPONSIBILITIES AS WELL AS RIGHTS AND THE MORE MATURE WILL ACKNOWLEDGE THE FAIRNESS AND NECESSITY OF SUCH A LONG OVERDUE REFORM.

The price of votes is with a conscience & civic responsibility

THUS THE HALLMARK OF OUR FIRST TWO TERMS WAS INCENTIVE; THAT OF OUR THIRD IS RESPONSIBILITY. IF, AS WE ARE OFTEN TOLD, OUR FELLOW SCOTS ARE LESS INTERESTED IN MATERIAL INCENTIVES AND MORE ATTRACTED BY SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS AND SERVICE TO THE COMMUNITY THEN THE IMPORTANCE AND DESIRABILITY OF OUR

HOUSING, EDUCATIONAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORMS COULD HARDLY BE OVERSTATED. DOUBTLESS, THESE SAME CRITICS WILL NOW SUGGEST THAT NEITHER RESPONSIBILITY NOR INCENTIVE IS WHAT THEY HAD IN MIND AND SOME OTHER ELUSIVE QUALITY IS CRUCIAL TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE SCOTTISH CHARACTER!

IN A PREVIOUS SPEECH I INDICATED THAT THE ATTITUDES AND POLICIES WHICH HAVE DOMINATED SCOTTISH LIFE FOR YEARS HAVE BEEN ESSENTIALLY PATERNALIST AND THAT THERE HAS BEEN AN ASSUMPTION THAT ONLY GOVERNMENT, CENTRAL OR LOCAL, IS CAPABLE OF PROVIDING THE RESOURCES, THE INITIATIVE AND THE LEADERSHIP THAT CAN PROVIDE OUR PEOPLE WITH THEIR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REQUIREMENTS.

IF WE ARE TO CHALLENGE SUCCESSFULLY THESE INHERITED ASSUMPTIONS AND REPLACE THEM WITH AN ENTERPRISE CULTURE, AN INNOVATIVE TEMPERAMENT AND A SELF-CONFIDENT NATIONAL CHARACTER THEN RADICAL POLICIES ARE ESSENTIAL.

INCENTIVE AND RESPONSIBILITY ARE THE TWIN PILLARS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S STRATEGY. INCENTIVE IS CRUCIAL BECAUSE IT IS ESSENTIAL TO WORK WITH THE GRAIN OF HUMAN NATURE AND TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE LEGITIMACY OF A PERSON'S DESIRE TO BETTER HIMSELF AND HIS FAMILY. RESPONSIBILITY IS VITAL BECAUSE A WILLINGNESS TO SHOW LEADERSHIP, TO TAKE DECISIONS AND TO ESCHEW INDIFFERENCE IS A MARK OF MATURE AND ADULT SOCIETY.

You cannot build a modern country unless it is one where citizens take their responsibilities

INCENTIVE WAS THUS THE KEY TO OUR APPROACH DURING THE FIRST EIGHT YEARS AND DETERMINED OUR POLICY ON TAXATION, HOUSING, SHARE OWNERSHIP AND ELSEWHERE. RESPONSIBILITY, THE THEME OF OUR THIRD TERM WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT AND MAY BE REJECTED BY THE FAINT-HEARTED BUT SCOTLAND'S SELF-RESPECT AND ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL ADVANCEMENT CAN BE ACHIEVED BY NO OTHER MEANS.

THESE THEMES OF INCENTIVE AND RESPONSIBILITY ARE AS RELEVANT TO SCOTTISH BUSINESSMEN AND INDUSTRIALISTS AS THEY ARE TO OTHER SCOTTISH CITIZENS. INDUSTRY HAS MATERIALLY BENEFITED IN RECENT YEARS FROM REDUCTIONS IN CORPORATION TAX, ABOLITION OF PRICE AND DIVIDEND CONTROLS AND THE REFORM OF INDUSTRIAL

RELATIONS. NOW SCOTTISH COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY HAS THE RESPONSIBILITY TO USE ITS NEW FREEDOMS AND REWARDS TO SEARCH OUT EVERY CONCEIVABLE OPPORTUNITY OF CREATING USEFUL EMPLOYMENT AND CONTRIBUTING TOWARDS THE REGENERATION OF OUR PERIPHERAL ESTATES, OUR UNEMPLOYMENT BLACKSPOTS AND OUR MORE DEPRESSED LOCALITIES.

THIS IS NOT TO SUGGEST THAT SCOTTISH INDUSTRY SHOULD TURN THEMSELVES INTO SOCIAL WORK DEPARTMENTS OR CHARITABLE ORGANISATIONS. RATHER, AN ACCEPTANCE OF RESPONSIBILITY MEANS RESPONDING NOT JUST TO THE OBVIOUS OPPORTUNITIES IN THE GROWTH AREAS BUT ALSO IDENTIFYING THE POTENTIAL FOR PROFITABILITY AND GROWTH IN THE ENVIRONMENTS WHERE IT IS LEAST OBVIOUS.

OUR UNEMPLOYMENT BLACKSPOTS HAVE RESERVOIRS OF UNUSED SKILLED LABOUR, OUR HOUSING NEEDS WOULD BENEFIT FROM A REGENERATION OF THE PRIVATE RENTED SECTOR, MANY SMALL BUSINESSES COULD BENEFIT FROM A MORE IMAGINATIVE USE OF VENTURE CAPITAL. SEARCH OUR THE OPPORTUNITIES; DO NOT JUST RESPOND TO THOSE PUT ON A PLATE BEFORE YOU.

THUS SCOTTISH INDUSTRY AND NOT JUST SCOTLAND'S CITIZENS SHOULD WELCOME THE EMPHASIS ON RESPONSIBILITY AND SEE IT AS BOTH A CHALLENGE AND AN OPPORTUNITY THAT IS TO BE USED FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE SCOTTISH ECONOMY AND THE SCOTTISH PEOPLE.

ATTITUDES ARE CHANGING AND WILL CONTINUE TO CHANGE BUT THIS SHOULD NOT BE A CAUSE FOR CONCERN. IT WAS IN EDINBURGH IN 1867 THAT DISRAELI SAID "CHANGE IS INEVITABLE. IN A PROGRESSIVE SOCIETY, CHANGE IS CONSTANT;" THAT IS AS TRUE NOW AS IT WAS THEN.

Driving deep into Scotland's psyche

All politicians know that, whether they like it or not, some of the trick of their trade lies in recognising the degree to which politics is also theatre. It does not denigrate the necessarily pompous constitutional role of the House of Commons, for example, to remark that it is frequently at its best when it understands that it is a theatrical arena with an unscripted performance to stage. By the same token, it does not understate the real-purpose of a television programme like Sir Robin Day's *Question Time* to observe that its popularity derives not from the fact that it offers an exchange of political views, but from the fact that it provides a medium for exhilarating entertainment. Politicians know all this. But very few are adept at exploiting that knowledge. One of the politicians who does have this sense of theatre is Malcolm Rifkind, the Secretary of State for Scotland. One could say many things about him, but one would scarcely dream of insulting him by calling him dull. He was not being dull in September when, just a matter of weeks after his party was trounced in Scotland, he joyously celebrated by dedicating it and his Government "quite consciously and deliberately" to challenging the prevailing orthodoxy of paternalism from which, he acknowledged, Labour drew its strength but which, he asserted, had sapped Scotland's spirit of individualism. And he was not being dull again yesterday when, at the Scottish Council's International Forum, he extended that theme and sought to explode what he perceives as the myth that there is some inherent dissonance of cross-Border character which makes "Thatcherism" unpalatable to the egalitarian Scottish soul.

This is genuine theatre of the highest calibre. It is in the best traditions of theatre, in the first place, because it is so startling. Here is a Scottish Secretary whose representation at Westminster has been sickeningly marginalised and whose "mandate" has been called into question more vividly than at any time in post-war politics. Here is a Scottish Secretary who relies, more obviously than any of his predecessors, on English numbers to implement policies — the poll tax, the school boards, for example — which, on any standard interpretation of election results, Scotland surely voted to reject. Yet, far from recognising that as a reason for retreat, he sees it as a signal to attack. This is startling. But the second reason why it is good theatre is that, beyond the surprise, there is a large grain of truth. The real politik of the Scottish election result is that, while it was the Tories who took a beating, it is Labour who have the long-term problem. They may have the constituency muscle, but precious little constitutional scope to flex that muscle unless they are to risk destroying their own position as a Unionist party. Voters who have used Labour as their bolt-hole may find, in time, that there is scant practical protection in that warren. Rifkind knows that just as he knows that the Scottish Tories have little to lose any more, and a good deal to gain by being combative and assertive in challenging Scotland's habit of collectivism.

What he had to say yesterday, therefore, was valuable theatre because it was intended to provoke. He used parent-power in the schools, tenant-power on the estates, employee-power in trade unions as examples — mobilised with all the partiality of a committed politician — of the ways Scots were being confronted with their individual responsibilities. He acknowledged that selling this message would not be easy in a country which had become used to expecting council and governmental bureaucracies to know best. Perhaps the clearest illustration both of his difficulty and his partiality lay in his words about the poll tax which would oblige many to pay for local services who paid nothing now: "We do not expect them to be enthusiastic that their privileged exemption from local taxation is to end, but an adult democracy requires responsibilities as well as rights." Rifkind's challenge drives deep into the Scottish psyche. This may make Scotland feel uncomfortable. But that does not invalidate the exercise. That is after all the purpose of the best theatre.

industries are perceived as being southern neighbours as being their exclusive preserves.

For instance, with the history of Linwood and Bathgate behind us before this latest sabotage attempt blew up, it should now be obvious that there is no prospect of Scotland ever having a viable involvement in the motor-vehicle industry until the basic concept of independent Scottish trade unionism is recognised and dealt with in a satisfactory way.

Of course I accept that what is good, or desirable, or even just acceptable, in a purely Scottish context may not always be so to an organisation whose traditions and weight of membership are seen from the outside as being primarily based on a selfish "Little Englander" approach.

It is away past time that the Scottish trade-union membership got their act together before they are out-manoeuvred and robbed of more job opportunities by their southern brothers.

Irvine Inglis.

Radio 4 on VHF

13 North West Circus Place, Edinburgh, October 29, 1987

Sir, — I read with interest Anne Mainland's letter regarding the non-availability of Radio 4 on VHF in Scotland. I believe I am able to shed some light on the subject as I wrote to the BBC in July and received a very full and optimistic reply at the beginning of August.

It seems that the BBC is "interested in making Radio 4 available in the national regions, that includes Wales and Northern Ireland as well as Scotland... We are... aware of the deprivation and we are now actively assessing our resources and frequencies to provide a high-quality VHF service for deprived listeners in Scotland... Subject to other priorities, we would hope to be

able to provide a service within about 12 months. It seems reasonable to me that, if the BBC plans to use its long-wave frequency for the broadcasting of Parliament, etc. in order to satisfy the demand for Radio 4 in the "national regions," an alternative frequency is bound to be provided; the above extracts from the BBC's letter to me would seem to be consistent with that view.

Gregan Crawford.

Over 55 years

16 Shamrock Street, Dundee, October 29, 1987

Sir, — Many thanks to Mr John Henderson for replying to my letter on the above subject.

Mr Henderson states that dole money for a man and his wife and three children was, in 1932, £1.50 per week; today, 55 years later, it is £50.85, 33 times what it was in 1932.

Now if things keep going in the next 55 years as they have in the last 55 years, in the year 2042 the dole will be £1,678.00 per week.

Then if you remember the dole is usually 50 per cent of the basic wage you will see that in 55 years my milk-boy will be living in an age where the basic wage will be £3,356 per week.

On top of all this the poor chap may never have a job if we still have an English Government.

So how M come to the talk with the foolish seem know.

As far as the unemployment 1932, my father labourer at the 1914-15 eldest of the sons and I know a little.

Bath

Sir, — Neil Butt bath in different ing.

Clearly affected one bath for anyone or not.

Anoi

Sir, "Point" "mons" of a Water 1942



Akram acrimony

THE case of Mohammed Akram, which loomed over Lothian Community Relations Council for two years, doesn't seem to have quite gone away after all. Mr Akram was the council's senior community relations officer who was accused by three female members of staff of sexual harassment and aggressive behaviour. He made a counter-accusation of sexual and racial harassment by the women. This was soon dismissed; but the women's case was upheld when one of them was awarded £3,240 compensation by an industrial tribunal for

the way she had been treated... and various funding bodies threatened to withdraw their support of the council.

The book seemed to be closed on the matter last May when Mohammed Akram handed in his resignation. Now, the Diary learns, the issue has sprung up again, with Mr Akram taking his former employers, Lothian Regional Council, before the industrial tribunal and alleging wrongful dismissal. Two days in December are being set aside for the hearing.

There has been an even more curious development. When Mr Akram's former post was advertised, one of those putting himself forward (we are reliably informed) was Mohammed Akram. Apparently, he wasn't called for an interview. There was no successful applicant and the post is to be re-advertised. Mr Akram was not at home yesterday to discuss these surprising events.

Fast mover

MORE on above: None of this concerned yesterday's meeting of the region's special social work sub-committee on community services, in which business was completed in a

members of the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg.

The proposal originated with Lord MacKenzie Stewart, president of the European Court, which handles European Community litigation arising under Treaty of Rome and community regulations.

The Court of First Instance would deal with about a third of the European Court's caseload including competition cases and appeals against fines under the

European Communities, recognised the need to provide some machinery to cope with the Luxembourg court's excessive caseload which, it said, was causing unacceptable delays and prejudicing the administration of justice.

The number of cases going to the court has more than tripled since 1970, with delays in obtaining judgments growing from nine months in 1975 to 21 months last year.

not provide a lasting solution to the problems.

The report believed that the proposed jurisdiction of the Court of First Instance was unduly restricted. It also emphasised the need for the court to have high-calibre judges with expertise in commercial matters and suggested that one of the judges with specialist knowledge might give an opinion to a three-judge court in complex cases.

still 7 per cent higher than in the preceding six months and 15 per cent higher than in the corresponding period a year ago.

Seasonally-adjusted output of commercial vehicles at 20,600 units was little changed from that of the preceding month. For the latest six months as a whole, output was 4 per cent above the preceding six-month period and 8 per cent higher than in the corresponding period last year.

James Buxton talks to Malcolm Rifkind on his hopes for Scotland Breaking the dependency habit

"A LOT of people are surprised that we haven't actually gone into a corner to lick our wounds and feel sorry for ourselves," says Mr Malcolm Rifkind, the Scottish Secretary.

"I think I am entitled to say that we have dominated the political debate in Scotland since the general election by continuing to pursue our policies."

Mr Rifkind is in charge of stepping up the dose of Thatcherism in Scotland in spite of the fact that the Conservatives received what he admits was a "mauling" in the general election, when 11 out of 21 Tory MPs lost their seats.

And while government policies on such matters as education, the economy and the community charge may dominate the debate in Scotland, opinion surveys and consultation procedures show that a large majority of Scots disagree with them. Many see them as being imposed on an unwilling populace by Downing Street.

But for Mr Rifkind the policies - adaptations for Scotland of the Government's third-term strategy - are "particularly relevant to Scottish requirements". They are part of a "strategic framework" aiming to foster an enterprise culture. "The development of an enterprise culture is more important to Scotland than almost any other part of the kingdom," he says.

The enterprise culture has not disappeared in Scotland in the past 40 or 50 years, he says. "It exists and thrives in many parts of Scotland. But we still have a disproportionately large expectation that the solution to economic problems must lie with government, whether central or local."

Mr Nigel Lawson, the Chancellor, told Scots recently that a "dependency culture" is to a large extent concentrated in the west of Scotland. There, Mr Rifkind says, it has been "reinforced by the political domination of the Labour Party in Strathclyde".

Mr Rifkind emphasises that although parts of Scotland required higher public spending - and the whole of Scotland needed special economic treatment such as that offered by the Scottish Development Agency - "the economic regeneration of Scotland is happening because of

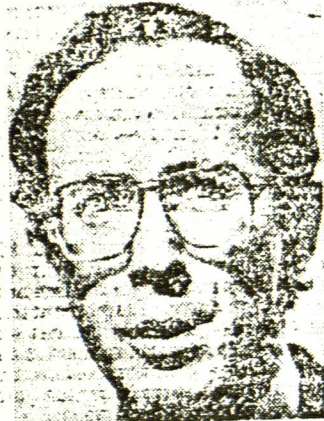
'I think we have dominated the political debate in Scotland since the general election'

the private sector rather than the public sector."

"What we are seeking is a transformation of the Scottish scene through home ownership, parental involvement in education, and privatisation," he says. The forthcoming privatisation of the two Scottish electricity boards, the form of which has yet to be decided, would create a large Scottish-based industry free of the control of the Treasury in Whitehall. If preference was given to employees and consumers in the allocation of shares "there is an opportunity for a major boost to Scottish share ownership."

Mr Rifkind's present strategy contrasts strongly with previous Conservative policy for Scotland, which contained an element of shielding the Scots from the full force of Thatcherism. In a recent speech he said that while the theme of the first two terms of Conservative government had been to give Scots incentives to better themselves - such as tax cuts and council house sales - the theme of the third term was making Scots take more responsibility in their lives, for example by serving on the boards that are to be formed to supervise schools.

"If you have a mature, responsible society, the chap who loses his job uses his redundancy money to start a new business. He does not do what many in Scotland have done - and other parts of Britain - which is wait for someone else to bring employment to him."



Malcolm Rifkind

But having done so badly in the general election in Scotland, what right did Conservatives have to impose their remedies on Scotland? In the general election, he says, 86 per cent of the Scottish electorate had voted for parties that wanted to form a UK government, which "means you believe it is in Scotland's interests to have a British economic strategy". If one wanted a separate economic strategy for Scotland "the only coherent way to respond" was to vote Scottish Nationalist - but only 14 per cent of the electorate had done so.

"There may be a lot of people who think they can get the best of both worlds, who want the benefits of the UK with none of the responsibility. Well, that's a fairy land." He was "mildly irritated" with such people. Many Scots who had enjoyed tax cuts had not voted Conservative at the election, "relying on the Home Counties fifth cavalry to ensure that a Conservative government actually continued in office".

Did he think, as even some Conservative party analysts have said, that the unpopularity in Scotland of Mrs Thatcher accounts for many of the Tory Party's problems there? "No I don't. Not because she is wildly popular in Scotland, but because I can't remember any leader of any party being wildly popular in any part of the UK."

"She's English - she doesn't maintain to be anything else, and I am always bemused why

Scots who are intensely proud to be Scots should take offence at an Englishwoman who is intensely proud of being English.

Mr Rifkind is leading a major strengthening of the Conservative Party's organisation in Scotland. Part of this consists of "drawing support from a lot of people who have had their heads below the parapet until now". He points to the committee of leading Scottish businessmen set up last week to advise the party - "people who undoubtedly voted for us but who didn't identify with the party".

The biggest single problem the party now had was one of identity. "If you ask someone, who do the English Tories represent, a lot of people in Scotland would respond wrongly that they represent the English Tories. Our objective is to ensure that when people ask that question in future, their answer will be that they represent Scottish ratepayers, Scottish home-owners, Scottish industry, Scottish parents, a whole series of Scottish interests which may not add up to a majority. But there won't be any doubt in anyone's mind that the party has its roots in Scotland and is deeply relevant to a very important section of the Scottish community."

"Take the devolution debate. The polls suggest that around 20 per cent to 25 per cent want no change. Let's even accept, just for the sake of argument, that the other 75 per cent want devolution. Who's going to represent the 25 per cent? If you become a me-too party then you have a quarter of the electorate effectively disenfranchised." In any case, he says, most people have no more than a "vague preference" for devolution, not a strong desire.

Building up the Conservative vote will be a matter of cultural change, he says. Eventually the Scot who owns his own home and benefits from the parents charter will join the dominant culture and become a Conservative. For many people it will be easy. It will be more difficult if someone in the Labour strongholds such as Motherwell or Glasgow. But, he says: "I think it will happen. I can't prove it will happen."

F.T. 17/12/87

rochs, and then buried it in a neat and organised way — probably with much of its meat still attached.

The animal's feet were buried in a group, as were its ribs. The rear end was buried whole, as was much of its backbone. Its head was placed in the centre of the segmented carcass. No attempts seem to have been made by the hunters to recover valuable ar-

burial are known but without arrowheads. In Anglesey archaeologists found a calf buried outside the entrance of a large tomb, while in Orkney, dog and eagle burials have been unearthed.

The date of the aurochs burial is close to the time that the aurochs became extinct in Britain, which raises the possibility that the last wild cattle were hunted to extinction.

discoveries included the deepest cave in China, Wu Jia Dong, at 1,385 feet.

Dick Willis, who was with the November expedition, is planning the new five-week project. The main party will leave England on 28 December. The cave divers are Rob Parker and Gavin Newman, of Bristol, Geoff Crossley, of Leeds and Steve Jones, of Carmarthen.

new men efforts to monitor dangerous gases produced at waste disposal sites.

Explosive gases are generated at sites that have been filled with domestic waste. In the past these have caused death, injury and damage to property.

The Inspectorate of Pollution, part of the Department of the Environment, is worried that local authorities, which are respon-

sible for the licensing of land-fill sites, are not monitoring them properly afterwards. The sites can continue to produce gas for up to 20 years after in-filling.

A spokesman for the inspectorate said that every year 18m tonnes of domestic waste are used to in-fill land.

Although this method is by far the most economical and environ-

produces 30m tonnes of land-fill gas — mainly methane — over the next 20 years. Most of this dissipates harmlessly but some is trapped in the ground.

Methane seepage has already caused one death this year, when a child playing with matches died as a result of igniting methane that had seeped inside the conduit in which he was sitting.

Rifkind ready to govern by Gatling gun

SCOTLAND has wasted up to 60 years on a culture of state dependency and resistance to change, Malcolm Rifkind believes.

He adds that Scottish Conservatives, now with only 10 MPs, had themselves imbibed some of the same problem and should have pursued a more positive political strategy earlier.

In comments which implicitly criticise the more consensual image of his predecessor, George Younger, now Secretary of State for Defence, Mr Rifkind said that Scottish Tories had to accept "a fair bit of responsibility" for the failure of Thatcherism to catch on earlier in Scotland.

He made the remarks when asked for his response to the recent barrage of criticism undergone by Scottish Tories. "First of all there was an expectation in many quarters that because of the election outcome Scottish Tories would simply crawl into a cave and weep and dread the future — and that's not our style . . .

"So we have taken the offensive in a fairly substantial way and I think it's fair to say that both in House of Commons terms and in the political debate in Scotland, we have set the agenda and that's no mean feat given our relative numbers and position," he said.

Mr Rifkind argued that, despite the loss of 11 of the Tories' 21 Scottish seats, the election didn't represent a dramatic fall in support: "It was a fall of one to two per cent only. But our support had been falling steadily for 20 years and it only re-

Malcolm Rifkind, Secretary of State for Scotland, speaks to Andrew Marr about the decline of Conservatism north of the border and the problems he now faces.

quired a fairly small extra fall to lose those seats."

This 20 year decline was deeply rooted in a larger Scottish decline. He and his Cabinet colleagues did not believe that there was no enterprise in Scotland, "but it has co-existed with a degree of dependency on the state. There are, in a sense, two Scotlands — in industrial and economic terms and, as a consequence, in political terms.

"And there are many, including some who do not think of themselves as socialists, who think that if there's a problem of an economic or industrial kind, you must flee to the Government for a solution. If you are constantly claiming that the level of prosperity is higher in the South-east of England and the level of unemployment is lower in the South-east of England, then part of the reason might be this very dependency. More small businesses are started in the South-east than in the North . . . Scotland, I would argue, has for the last 50 or 60 years gone down a blind alley in terms of its dependency on public expenditure. When Glasgow was the second city of the Empire, that wasn't because of public expenditure, but because Glasgow was the most thriving



Malcolm Rifkind: "Scotland has become too dependent on public expenditure"

city for enterprise and industry through the genius of its own community."

He said the growth of dependency had affected "the national character" and was paralleled by Labour's rise, particularly in the west of Scotland. There had been an assumption that the role of the Government "must be to protect old, decaying industries from the changing world we live in." He accepted that governments had responsibility to assist the transition from old industries to the new,

"but essentially what our political opponents and what many in Scotland assumed was that government's responsibility, government's main job, was to stop change — 'there has been a major coal, shipbuilding, steel, railway industry in Scotland, and therefore there must always be' — irrespective of markets, irrespective of demand, irrespective of economic logic. It is the logic of despair."

But why, since the Conservatives had been in power since 1979, had the Thatcherite message which rang through the rest of the country fallen on deaf ears in Scotland? "We have to accept a fair bit of responsibility. We have said a particular policy was a UK policy and therefore it applies throughout the United Kingdom, or we have said we are taking a United Kingdom policy and adapting it to Scotland.

"Something we should have done, and a lot earlier, and something we are now doing, is saying here is an economic and political and social strategy which is particularly suitable to Scottish circumstances, and the Scottish economy and the Scottish character."

But if Scotland suffered from dependency, it also, according to the polls, wanted a qualified political independence or devolution of power. Mr Rifkind once spoke and voted for devolution: why was he so resolutely opposed now? Mr Rifkind said it was important to distinguish between a demand for something "as opposed to a preference."

"Politicians always know when some-

thing has become essential. . . . We had the Festival of Scottish Democracy [the rally for devolution in Glasgow this autumn], well, the smaller parties dropped out but still it was a Labour Party/STUC [Scottish Trade Union Congress] initiative. It was on Glasgow Green.

"Fifty years ago, the Clydesiders could have produced 50,000 people on Glasgow Green to protest at some policy of the wicked Conservatives. Despite the weather (it poured) there were still only 3,000 or 4,000 people at the festival." This, he suggested, showed that devolution was not a demand, merely a preference.

Mr Rifkind then discussed his new three-pronged strategy of massively revamping the Tory machine in Scotland, building better links with Scottish industrialists; and keeping the Opposition reactive in the Commons.

The Secretary of State said he had been surprised by how poorly Labour's 50 MPs had performed in the chamber. "But we cannot assume that that degree of supreme incompetence will necessarily continue."

Whatever happens, the sheer weight of numbers stacked against him in the Commons will make the next few years tiring and difficult. How was he going to cope? Mr Rifkind smiled and said he comforted himself with Hilaire Belloc's couplet:

*Whatever happens, we have got
The Gatling gun. And they have not.*

And with that, he left for the night sleeper from King's Cross, across the border to Dependent Scotland.