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Years of Excellence

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THE INTERSTATE TEAM

Greetings and Welcome from Interstate!

PHOTO BY: EILIF SWENSEN

What a year 2009 was. It has been quite a year for me and my newly assembled team. Not only have we gorged our way through another year of academic study but we've revived an old friend of Aberystwyth's. Interstate, our very own journal of world affairs, is back after over 6 years of being shelved. And although 2009 has been a tough year for the world, I believe, as always, there is much to be grateful for. Accordingly, this will be a message of thanks, my first of which must of course go to you, the reader, and also my excellently enthusiastic team of fellow students whose hard work has made this celebratory issue possible.

It has been an important year for the Department of International Politics too. After taking on yet another industrious batch of undergraduates and continuing to cruise with the best of them at the top of the league tables we've also welcomed new academic staff. In 2009 the Department turned 90 years old, a milestone that allows us all to reflect upon the history of international relations. Thinking back to 1919 and the work of the Department's founder, David Davies, I cannot help but to think of trenches, no-man's-land and endless lengths of barbed wire draped in the fog of war. So my second round of thanks goes out to human calibre shown by those who have or still occupy places like these. My thanks goes to the human, any human, civilian and soldier, who battle for peace and international harmony - the ideas that so embody our Department's conception. It goes to those who stood with Ghandi, Luther King or Mandela and achieved legacies which have become the gold-medals of the 20th Century. I am grateful for the human sprit that can be found amidst our greatest tragedies. When the world turned its back on Rwanda, the UN Force Commander, Roméo Dallaire, sacrificed every ounce of his strength, in the face of unwinnable odds, to do all in his power for peace and humanity.¹ German officers like Wilm Hosenfeld,

himself made famous through the film *The Pianist*, who placed their lives on the line to feed and shelter the violently oppressed Poles and Jews.² From their lives we can learn that behind the most dreadful of regimes and in the darkest of times, hope can find her allies. There are many, many names I would like to list in thanks here; their selflessness in times where cowardice often dominates is an inspiration for all mankind.

So what of the future? The world staggers into 2010 bruised, shaken and sobered. For us students there has been one overriding source of optimism, positivity and, above all, **hope**. Students in America and around the world flocked in their thousands to the aid of Senator Barack Obama and formed the bedrock of his successful grassroots campaign to become the most powerful man on Earth. For many of our generation, George W. Bush has been all we've known. It is to Barack Obama, a man who continually drives us to challenge ourselves to and to rise above history, where my third and final round of thanks resides. Thanks for reminding us of what we can do at our best.

Sam Garbett

Managing Editor: 2009/2010

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From Heraclitus to Marx, intellectuals have often recognised changes in the flow of history. Certain periods tend to be more dynamic than others but, in the end, all things move. Just as the past ninety years have been some of the most memorable mankind has known, the next ninety years are promising to be no less intensive. Whilst it is not possible to predict the full ninety years, it is at least possible to see what the current developments and patterns in International Relations might bring in the immediate future. Whether as a result of human nature, folly or the hand of God, we can be almost certain that wars, famines, disappearances and appearances of states and alliances will still occur. Often enough history repeats itself, and sometimes avenges itself with the most devastating effect.

EUROPEAN UNION

From the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) to the European Union, the bureaucracy of Brussels has evolved from a trading organisation of the post-

war era into a supra-national organisation, co-ordinating socio-economic policies of its member states. Whilst bitter arguments rage between Europhiles and Europhobes over the effects of EU's increased powers on the sovereignty of its member-states, the main focus should be on the direction and effectiveness of the EU policy strategy.

Along with the Lisbon Treaty, the positions of a President of the European Council and High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs have been established in order to provide a strengthened forum for common policies. Herman Van Rompuy, President of the Council, has already pledged a more dynamic role for the European Union in solving the current economic crisis, considering it the most important part of the domestic agenda for 2010.¹ With the BBC terming it a long-term economic coordination plan, it may be possible to say that the EU institutions are finding a new confidence to deal with issues that were once dealt with by the member-state.²

As the current economic crisis in Greece

is showing, the Union may find itself in a position strong enough to prevent in future one of its member-states from announcing bankruptcy, despite the current EU rules that prohibit its members from lending money to member states struggling with high deficits. But, with the Greek debt at 121 per cent of its GDP and a deficit of 12.2 per cent, the German magazine *Der Spiegel* believes that the EU is prepared to bend the rules, as the 'consequences would also be dire' and 'confidence in the euro shattered'.³

RUSSIA AND THE US

Despite it being too early to suggest whether the increased powers of the European Union and its President will eventually lead to anything comparable to Schlesinger's 'Imperial Presidency', it is also too soon to predict the direction of the European Common Foreign Policy. Whilst Kissinger will soon be granted the long-awaited dialling code for Europe, the lack of European Armed Forces may prompt the major powers to ask the twisted Stalinist question, 'how many battalions does Europe have?' Thus, one can cautiously argue, that if Europe is aspiring to become a major global player it must, in the style of Count Andrassy, be prepared to back its policies with a cannon, whether it is to be interpreted metaphorically or literally.

Whilst a new Partnership and Cooperation Agreement was reached between the EU and Russia, and the US abandoned its original plans for missile bases in Poland and the Czech Republic, a degree of tension exists between the West and Russia. Just as the West strongly condemned the

Russian intervention in South Ossetia, so Russia took an uncompromising stance on the issue of the missile bases.

But, whilst the first year of the Obama Administration has seen Russia allowing 4,500 over flight rights through Russian territory per year and a promise (however vague it may be) to help in preventing Iran from creating nuclear missiles, political analysts believe that both sides expect too much. Fyodor Lukyanov, editor of Moscow's *Russia in Global Affairs*, for example, claims that it is a Western 'fantasy' that Russia holds a key to solving the Iranian problem, arguing that the best Russia can do is to intensify its diplomatic efforts in the near future. On the other hand, Alexander Rahr of the German Council on Foreign Relations doubts the Western, particularly American and Central European, desire to accept President Medvedev's rapprochement and desire for 'eternal peace', by creating 'an expanded alliance in which Russia and the West act in concert to stabilize the European continent'.⁴

However, the Middle-East may prove the testing point for such future alliance. With Turkish-Israeli relations currently being re-considered in Ankara (as, for example, Israeli's exclusion from the planned military exercises in Turkey shows), the country's foreign policy is becoming more 'multi-dimensional', as it seeks new partnerships with Syria and Iran.⁵ What is disturbing the West (particularly Israel and the US) is Prime Minister's Erdogan's regard for President Ahmadinejad, the man who is threatening to wipe Israel off the map, as 'a good friend'. Similarly, while Russia

agreed to purchase pilotless planes from Israel and Medvedev's uses rhetoric against the Iranian enrichment programme, there is further tension because of the flow of Russian weapons to Iran and Syria, which are destined for Hamas and Hezbollah, something Israel under Benjamin Netanyahu is not prepared to tolerate and may even prompt West to review

THE UN AND THIRD WORLD DEVELOPMENT

If the UN is to function more effectively and is to take on an increasing role in global affairs, it may have to consider the current discontent over the leadership of its Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. Most recently, a leaked report by the Norwegian Foreign Ministry states that at a time of world economic crisis and an on-going deadlock in the Middle-East peace process, when the UN should seek solutions, the Secretary-General and the UN are 'conspicuous in their absence'.⁶ If such report is to be taken into consideration, then it is not enough for a Secretary-General to just put on a brave face at the end of what has been perceived as a disappointing conference in Copenhagen, but he must become a mediator between nations and a character with a clear agenda able to bring forth a clear agreement on the subject.

Finally, it is very important that there is a review of aid flowing into the Third World. As Jacek Rostowski, the Finance Minister of Poland, recently exclaimed it is neither wise nor sensible that countries such as Poland should be supporting the likes of Brazil which is in real terms richer.⁷ At the same time, it should be questioned

whether countries such as Zimbabwe are capable of directing world aid programmes. Therefore, the UN has the potential to co-ordinate more effective ways of dealing with the Third World just as having a clear stance on other aspects of global affairs. In other words, we must take control of events and not let them run their own course.

As the current developments in IR shows, the next ninety years are promising to be almost as colourful as the past although, let us hope, less extreme. The former ninety years saw the emergence of the European Union and the UN, the fall of the Soviet Union (followed by the subsequent rise of modern Russia) and increased fears about the consequences of the climate change. In the next ninety years new challenging events will no doubt occur, but we will still live with the effects of the current ones. Therefore, we must take control of events and not let them run their own course. If we don't, in the future history may revenge itself upon us.

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GRAPHICS BY: MATHILDE ABELSON SAHLÉN

On the 20th January, 2009, millions of people celebrated the inauguration of Barack Obama, the 44th President of the United States and also the first African- American President. Yet the news that he had been awarded a Nobel Peace Prize in October 2009 shocked and confused many people. Their infatuation for this man had not faded but the question escaping everyone’s lips was, “What had he done to deserve this prestigious prize?”

Within nine months in office, Obama has managed to help re-build the US economy, create new regulations to limit the effects of climate change, has expressed his desire for better relations between the US, Russia and the Middle East and attempted

to negotiate with Iran. However, do any of these constitute being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize?

The Head of the Nobel Committee for the prize believes so stating, “It is because we would like to support what he is trying to achieve.” The emphasis on many of the congratulatory reports focus on what Obama is going to do or trying to do. It soon becomes apparent that the question shouldn’t be “What has Obama done?” but, “What is Obama going to do?” Paul Reynolds from BBC News stated that the, “award was unexpected and might be regarded as more of an encouragement for intentions rather than a reward for achievement.”¹ According to a BBC news article, the majority of world leaders had

expressed their support for Obama receiving the award whilst 75% of the comments received from the public showed them to be bewildered by the decision.

In previous years the prize was awarded to people after they had completed or contributed to an act that led to greater peace amongst the international community. Theodore Roosevelt was awarded the prize in 1906 after helping put an end to the Russo-Japanese war; Wilson received the prize in 1919 due to his participation in the creation of the Versailles Treaty and vision for world peace. The end of the Cold War saw Mikhail Gorbachev being recognised for the prize. Yet others deem the Nobel Peace Prize to be losing its prestige. After Henry Kissinger won the prize for his participation in the Paris Peace Accords of 1973, shortly before the catastrophic accounts of war crimes were leaked to the press, Tom Lehrer stated that, "political satire becomes obsolete when Henry Kissinger was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize."

Yet World Leaders seem to be congratulating Obama on his premature award and see it as a template for the future. Germany's Angela Merkel stated that it was an "incentive to the President and to us all to do more for peace."² French President Nicholas Sarkozy believes that the Nobel Peace Prize has, "confirmed America's return to the hearts of the people and the world."³ Although many of the World Leaders are congratulating Obama for the award, some figures have refuted the idea and believe that it has completely undermined the traditions of the prize. Mehdi Hasan disagrees with the nominated winner and suggested that, "the cult of Obama has elevated

him to a god-like, saint-like superhuman."⁴ Awarding this prize based on, "what he is trying to achieve," surely is placing him on a pedestal, where if he fails to bring about the necessary changes to the international order there will be a harsh reprisal awaiting him.

Since it became public knowledge that he would be entering the Presidential race, he has become such a well-known and loved figure. Yet is it fair to deem him the miracle maker? As the former President of Finland suggests, "the world expects that he will also achieve something."⁵ After the controversy surrounding the Bush Administration and the bad press they received their foreign policy, Obama is seen in a more hopeful light. A mediator not a fighter, interested in the affairs of the world, not just affairs affecting US interests. As Glenn Greenwald stated, "Obama has changed the tone America uses to speak to the world."⁶

In a world with corruption, terrorism and global crime, will peace ever be attainable? And can it ever be achieved by one man? It seems to me that Obama's Nobel Peace Prize has been orchestrated in such a way that despite the pessimism in the world today, Obama has been a ray of hope not only within his own country but on a larger international scale, that by developing this superior, unification seeking image then the world's leaders will follow suit and only then can we, in a united hope for peace, begin the necessary steps in creating a world focused on harmony.

It may be optimistic to grant such a prestigious award based on a promise. But by promoting that promise and encouraging

others to support and carry forward that promise. Obama must succeed and carry forth the vision of peace or risk another humiliating blow to America's superpower status.

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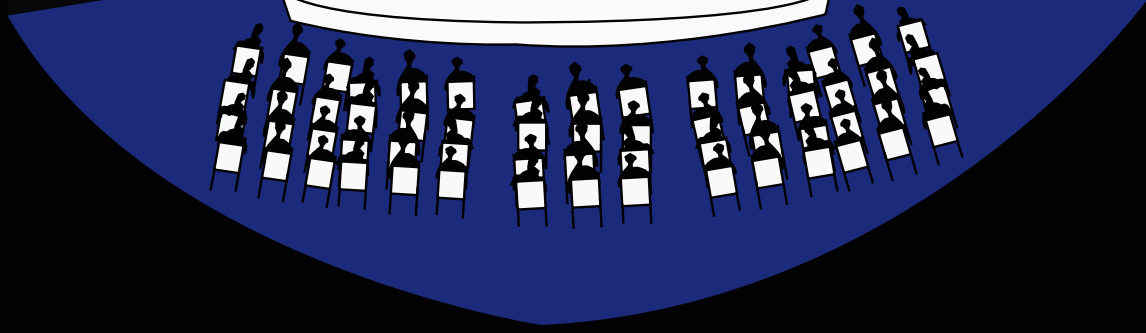
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The Lisbon Treaty: Am I A Real Boy Now?

TRATADO DE LISBOA

By Sofiya Kartalov



“But you can’t grow,” answered the Fairy.

GRAPHICS BY: ANJA BERGERSEN

“Why not?”

“Because Marionettes never grow. They are born Marionettes, they live Marionettes, and they die Marionettes.”

“Oh, I’m tired of always being a Marionette!” cried Pinocchio disgustedly. “It’s about time for me to grow into a man as everyone else does.”

“The Adventures of Pinocchio” by Carlo Collodi

The European Union has always been a unique phenomenon. For half a century this experiment of international co-operation “attempts to deal with the fact that politics is local and economics global”¹ and walks the thin line between national and supra-national interests. The Lisbon Treaty is supposed to help reform this unusual institution, so as to utilise its full potential and take it to the next level.

The Lisbon Treaty operates under the presumption that the EU is an incomplete individual, seeking to remedy the defects and omissions in its body. This organisation has taken on a quest for self-improvement similar to that of Pinocchio, the wooden marionette whose only wish is to become a real boy, in

that it demonstrates a desire to change and evolve. The EU has already acquired personal will and now it seeks integrity as a whole individual. The Lisbon Treaty makes a bold claim towards this final goal by not only preserving the soul of the Union, but also striving to turn democracy, transparency and efficiency into concepts of flesh and blood, part and parcel of a functioning organism. This piece explores the Lisbon Treaty as a highly controversial attempt towards making the EU a structural entity capable of dealing with the challenges that lie ahead.

The Lisbon Treaty promises to ensure a more democratic and transparent decision-making process at an internal level. The new voting procedure, the enhanced role of

the Parliament, the further reaching influence of the national governments and the direct link between the citizens and the Commission are all said to be the instruments of this positive change. Clearly, these reforms are aimed at doing away with the inherent bureaucratic clumsiness of the system. One of the main provisions of the Lisbon Treaty introduces a new voting system. Qualified majority voting will now have a broadened scope of influence, covering areas such as climate change, security and humanitarian aid. The innovative element here is the fact that decisions in the Council of Ministers will need the support of 55% of Member States (currently 15 out of 27 EU countries) representing a minimum of 65% of the EU's population. Theoretically the only impediment towards a decision being adopted would be a blocking majority of four member states. The new system is expected to take effect in 2014.²

The Lisbon Treaty guarantees a new role for the Parliament which will share the same level of power with the Council in terms of the co-decision procedure. Its authority will be reinforced in the sphere of EU legislation, EU budget and international agreements.³ As to new areas of influence, the Parliament will have a say in farm subsidies, fisheries, asylum and immigration policies.⁴

National parliaments are for the first time fully recognised as part of the democratic fabric of the European Union. Their primary task is to facilitate the implementation of the principle of subsidiarity, a te-

net ensuring that "decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen and that constant checks are made as to whether action at Community level is justified in the light of the possibilities available at national, regional or local level."⁵ National parliaments will have a greater control over the contents of draft proposals, which is expected to improve the interaction with other EU institutions and promote a greater level of democracy.⁶

However, the genuinely noble ambition for self-improvement may encounter unpredicted hurdles. The Lisbon Treaty makes a heroic attempt to deal with some of the most obvious flaws in the current EU situation and to pull the organisation together once and for all. Sadly, it fails to foresee that the interaction between the new voting system and the enhanced role of the Parliament may have a surprising outcome. It has been argued that the Parliament failed to perform its main function – to guarantee the connection with the voters. The problem is that the level of awareness of the Parliament activities and significance has fallen drastically, which is mirrored by a small turnout in European elections. Though the Parliament is endowed with great decision-making power by the small states, it still lacks the necessary level of authority to induce them to comply with its orders.⁷ This analysis exposes one point of clash between the "good intentions" of the officials that drafted the Treaty and the practical application of their design.

The Treaty is supposed to help maintain a more coherent image and clear voice of the EU on the international stage. The new positions High Representative for the Union in Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the Commission will constitute the representative figures that will be in charge of utilizing the diplomatic potential and economic resources the EU has in stock in order to achieve this new goal.⁸

“The introduction of the two new positions of a High Representative and a President of the EU are expected to promote institutional stability. The Lisbon Treaty is a bit hazy about what the president is to do, beyond organising summit meetings of the European Council and representing the EU in meetings with world leaders. One of his unexplored functions, suggests the Brussels-based ambassador, is to act as gatekeeper for countries unhappy with a decision made under majority rules, who wish to kick the dossier up to the more consensual European Council. In other words, the president, who for the first time will be a permanent presence in Brussels, may become a standing dispenser of national vetoes. Or then again, he may not.”⁹

All these ambitious undertakings mirror the admirable struggle of Eurocrats to maintain stability and internal harmony within the complex interconnections between the main organs. However, political minds cannot but experience a considerable degree of skepticism towards the actual benefits flowing from

the Treaty: “Lisbon is not just a bad treaty because it facilitates centralization and the prospective militarization of Europe. It also erodes the core principle of subsidiary, and is baroque, incomprehensible and does nothing to make Europe itself more legible to its citizens.”¹⁰

It should be noted that it is no longer a matter of ratification, but of distrust towards the assumption that this step will be sufficient to bring the long-awaited balance. Currently, the question at hand is whether the Lisbon Treaty will be the pathway towards an evolution in the Union leading to the fulfillment of the promise originally invested in its creation – a haven of democracy and unity. Only time will tell if the Treaty has equipped the Union to deal with the challenges of the future. “Critics say the Lisbon Treaty will already be out of date when it comes into force. A new global economic order has emerged in the eight years it took Europe to ratify it. The G-20 has replaced the G-8 as the global forum of leading economic powers and the EU has lost some of its global clout. While the Lisbon Treaty will improve the EU’s outward representation, critics say the bloc isn’t good enough at defending its economic interests against those of the US and China. Most EU states continue to behave like competitors, which leads to internal European battles for prestige within the G-20.”¹¹

The Lisbon Treaty may or may not turn out to be the miracle that will transform the European Union with the swish of a wand. But real life rarely turn out to be the ex-

act duplicate of a fairy tale. In the end it is the desire to become a better version of yourself that is the inducement of progress and this ought to count for something. Unfortunately, it is doubtful that after adopting the Lisbon Treaty the EU will be able to look back like Pinocchio, seeing his former wooden body lying in the corner, and sigh "How ridiculous I was as a Marionette! And how happy I am, now that I have become a real boy!"¹²

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K I E L P A T R I C K
SURVEILLANCE SOCIETY

S E L L I N G O U R S E C R E T S ?

“
**Personal information is increasingly
 the basic fuel on which economic ac-
 tivity runs.**”¹ - *Perri 6*

As early as 1978 the Henley Center identified that household interactions were becoming increasingly ‘cellular’ rather than ‘nuclear’²; that is increasingly family interaction as a unit was becoming far less regular and more divided - combined with the diversification of TV channels it was recognized that the growth in individualism would require new marketing strategies which in turn shifted from the promotion of universal products in mass markets through the mass media such as BBC 1 & 2 to the promotion of highly differentiated product’s target to particular niche markets³ - enter geodemographic profiling.

Geodemographics is an information technology that enables marketers to identify trends and patterns in various databases and create profiles of a consumer preferences distributed over a given area. Geodemographics works by collecting spatially referenced data on society, constructing statistical models of identity, and mapping distributions of social characteristics or types.⁴ Experian, the UK’s **largest data profiler utilises one such geodemographic program called MOSAIC that collects and overlays data from numerous sources including government collected data such as the electoral roll, council tax property valuations, house sale prices, police crime statistics and consumer data including store loyalty cards.**⁵ From this data Experian can socially sort and categorise the population into one of 141 person (stereo)types, 67 household types and

15 groups, to create a three-tier classification.⁶

While geo-demographic services claim to have irrefutably benefited profit driven organisations, this form of surveillance and social sorting brings with it major risks of exclusion to certain segments of society. According to a government report by the Surveillance Studies Network, geo-demographically inspired store placement and consumer targeting is resulting in public spaces being restructured resulting in the decline of universal access to services based on traditional notions of democratic citizenship, universal open access and universal tariffs in favour of targeted services accessible only to those who are allowed access, and priced very differently to different people and places⁷, as government services are being target to select audiences instead of the traditional model of democratic access for all.

Social exclusion and isolation resulting from demographically inspired store locations, aimed at targeting key consumers and maximising profits for a given company, is most noticeable in the lower income areas of inner cities where the loss of retail businesses such as supermarkets, pharmacies, non-fast food restaurants, banks and other leisure facilities are lacking, creating a ‘retail desert’. The lack of retail facilities has several effects upon society and social behaviours in affected communities such as contributing to high unemployment, increases in crime rates as well as severe implications for health and social mobility.

Geodemographic marketing research is not cheap and as such it is usually the chain stores or larger service providers that utilise such marketing methods, and it is these chain corporations and services that are usually absent from the lower socio-economic segments of towns and cities. Research carried out over the past

few decade's shows that chain supermarkets on average have lower prices than independent groceries stores, but independent stores are more common in poorer areas. As such those with less income generally pay more for basic produce,⁸ reducing both quality and quantity of consumption options. In addition to the price paid for food the nutritional importance of access to fresh fruit, vegetables, and meat which is reduced when access to the diverse selection of goods provided by large chain supermarkets are removed from a community is highlighted by a report by Shaffer.⁹

The emphasis placed on postcodes in determining status by geodemographics also has the effect of reducing prospects of social mobility: for example if geodemographic profiling classifies an area as high risk or in a low socio-economic income grouping, organizations such as banks, insurance and credit companies make decisions partly based on this information; resulting in the residence of a given area receiving higher interest rates on loans or mortgages; increased premiums or lower credit ratings increasing the difficulty in accessing selling a home; insuring property or indeed accessing credit. Individuals in turn become aware that having an address in a given area attracts a lower credit rating or higher insurance premium then has good reason to leave that area,¹⁰ in effect creating a self fulfilling prophecy as those with greater access to economic resources relocate; something that then has a knock on effect for remaining residents who lack social ties to more affluent neighbors, a factor that Wilson identifies as facilitating in social mobility.¹¹

A recent government report titled 'place matters' highlights the importance of location in decision making in both the public and private sectors. The report recommends the implementation of universal standards in geographic based data collection and the integrations and implemen-

tation of data sharing within the government, meaning that data collected once can be used effectively and efficiently for other similar uses, saving time and effort. The justification for this is that when different types of information about a particular place are compared or related to each other, it can considerably increase the understanding and therefore the power to make effective decisions about a particular 'place'.¹² While this is entirely true, the government acknowledges that while the data it collects will be utilised to help benefit the community and citizen and government policy decisions, the data will also be used by businesses in formulating the best location for stores: with increasingly accurate information the stores will have access to more reliable information to discriminate against locations, and store location seldom is based on moral over profit based consideration.

While the concept of data sharing in this manner is incredibly efficient in concept, may well have many considerable advantages over previous forms of data collection by government, and be a natural extension from other current policy indicatives by the government such as the national identity card and DNA databases and the general labour strategy of joined up government; the issue of privacy for the individual citizen too must be considered in all of this.

While geodemographics is largely marketing hype, the implications of its usage by profit driven industries inevitably has direct implications for society at large. Unfortunately however geodemographics are not as omnipotent as one may be led to believe; not all data used in the construction of profiles is accurate, most notably due to age or reliability of sources. Moreover Gross identifies that geodemographic models operate on several flawed principles such as the assumption that social identity is reducible to a finite

number of characteristics and that these characteristics can be classified into a limited number of static stereotypes; second, that social sorting and stereotypical identity is predictive of behaviour - particularly that of consumption - and third, that location is a determinant of both identity and behaviour, following “the fundamental sociological truism that ‘birds of a feather flock together’¹³.

While it is easy to dismiss government surveillance and data collection as harmless and geodemographic profiling as merely a consumer marketing tool, its usage has significant implications for society and the social behaviours of those targeted or indeed excluded. Geodemographics is contributing to the reshaping of our urban environment as profit driven businesses move location to seek the greatest potential customer coverage, they often in doing so exclude less desirable segments of society - either directly or indirectly - denying them democratic access to services and goods with a myriad of social repercussions such as unemployment, diminished long term health, social exclusion and reduced social mobility. Remember in 2011 when filling out census data or when next completing a survey, you are being watched, and you are being recorded.

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By Matthew Cambell

“Scotland is a foreign country. Strange, often beguiling. It is so foreign because of its very familiarity.” - Jonathan Meades^[1]

An article about Scotland. In an **International** Politics Journal. This may seem odd, but it could become relevant in the next few years. It is possible that in twenty years that Scottish Politics **will** be International. Nationalists in Wales and Scotland can both be said to have an International slant – they want the current cultural and social issues between them and England to be international issues.

Wales and Scotland are Nations, but they aren't States. They have a National Identity, but not Political Independence. Despite all the powers that have been devolved – education, environment, culture and more – perhaps some of the most important powers are the ones that remain with Westminster – defence, and sovereignty.

Not surprisingly, Independence (the flagship policy of the Scottish National Party) is one of the hot topics in Scottish Politics right now. Having danced around the issue for two years, Alec Salmond has declared that a Referendum on the issue is one of the Bills he wants to

push through this parliamentary year.^[2]

This article will look not at whether Independence is popular with the Scottish Populace, or whether Independence would be good for Scotland. Rather, it will look at where the political parties stand on the issue. This is for three reasons: One, it would be impossible to cover all of the issue in one article. Two, because the Bill may never make it out of parliament – it could live or die in the debating chamber. And three, because the wrangling of the parties is one aspect of the issue that is rarely examined from a neutral perspective.

What does the current political climate in Scotland say about Devolution and the British political parties in General?

Let us examine each party in turn...

THE SCOTTISH NATIONALIST PARTY

The SNP may be the ruling party, but currently they only hold 47 of the 129 seats in the parliament, well short of a majority.

^[3] Unlike in Wales, the Nationalists have

not formed a coalition with another party – the two Members of Scottish Parliament (MSPs) from the Green Party voted for Alec Salmond's appointment as First Minister, but did not join his cabinet. They rule as a minority Administration. This is difficult at the best of times, but with an issue as important and divisive as Independence, this becomes almost impossible.

In short, the SNP need to persuade 18 other MSPs to vote with them. Can Salmond rustle up the required votes? Which of the other parties is most likely to support (or benefit from) his flagship policy?

THE SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVES

The Tories (or more precisely "The Conservative & Unionist Party") have perhaps the most curious position. Because of proportional representation, they have a healthy 16 MSPs - the same number as the Lib Dems. Indeed they would have been the 3rd largest party at Holyrood, had Alex Ferguson not become the Presiding Officer.

As the Unionists, their manifesto clearly states that they wish Scotland to remain part of the UK.^[4] While the party were initially opposed to the creation of a Scottish Parliament, David Cameron has since said that he would allow it to remain if he wins the next election. The Conservative position would seem to be straight forward.

But the position becomes more interesting if one looks at how the House of Commons would be affected by the removal of all the Scottish MPs. The Tories have only one MP in Scotland^[5] (the constituency of **Dumfriesshire, Clydesdale and Tweeddale**), out of a grand total of 193 UK wide.^[6]

Labour, by comparison would lose no less than 39 MPs. While this is less than their current majority, it is still a significant number of MPs, especially if you consider that Scotland contains some of Labour's safest seats, as well as the constituencies of the current Prime Minister, Chancellor and two other Cabinet Members. Many of these seats are probably out of the Tories reach anyway, as Labour's main opposition in Scotland has been the SNP for some time now. At the recent Glasgow North East by-election (held to find a replacement for former speaker Michael Martin) Labour had 12,231 votes, the SNP 4,120 and the Tories just 1,075 (only 62 more votes than the BNP).^[7]

So while they are opposed to Independence in terms of policy, the Tories have perhaps the most to gain politically, should the Union be sundered.

Does this mean that David Cameron wants to see an independent Scotland? Probably not, he will most likely be our next Prime Minister anyway, but he must be aware of the possible political implications. There have been occasions when controversial Labour Bills have only gone through with the support of Scottish MPs, whose constituencies the legislation had no effect on – "Top Up Fees" for universities went through by only 5 votes, for example.^[8] This is the so called "West Lothian Question", which the Tories have raised on several occasions, but no simple solution has presented itself.

An independent Scotland would cut this problem off at the source: It solves the "West Lothian Question" and reduce any Labour majority in the future to a level here con-

controversial legislation is a lot harder to pass.

THE LABOUR PARTY

In light of this, it is unsurprising that Labour have the most straightforward position. The second largest party in the Parliament (46 MSPs), they are both politically opposed to a split and have the most to lose at Westminster.

Labour were of course the party who re-established the Scottish Parliament in the first place. At the time, Donald Dewar and other senior Scottish figures believed that a Scottish Parliament would lessen support for the SNP. In reality, the SNP have gone from strength to strength – partly because of Proportional Representation, partly because of a greater national awareness of Self-Determination and partly because of the film **Braveheart**, which provided a palpable boost to the SNP following its release in 1994.^[9]

In a bizarre turn of events in May last year, Wendy Alexander (the then Scottish Labour Leader) called for Alec Salmond to put forward the referendum bill immediately.^[10] Labour's thinking was that if the Bill passed but the public voted no (which was seen as likely), the SNP administration would lose its primary mandate. Salmond did not call her bluff. Instead he declined to put forward the bill, saying that he would wait until 2010, and that he would expect Labour support then. Alexander's subsequent removal as Scottish Labour leader allowed the party to climb down from this potentially dangerous position, and they have since reverted back to their old policy.

THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATS

The Lib Dems (12 MPs, 16 MSPs) are also opposed to Independence and would in fact lose an even greater proportion of their Westminster seats than Labour.

In early November, the Lib Dems confirmed their opposition to a referendum, the position they took in their manifesto.^[11] But at this year's Party conference, there were rumblings about a possible change of position. Even now, the Lib Dems are regarded as the party most likely to change their minds and support a referendum. Why is this?

As the BBC's Brian Taylor points out, they are the Liberal **Democrats**, and may wish to see the public get the chance to vote, even if it risks a result that they don't want.^[12] This is comparable to their past policy of wanting to hold a Referendum on Britain's membership of the EU: Wanting to let the public make their own choice, even if the Party is pro Europe.

This suggestion reflects a wider concern among Scotland's politicians: That even if the people are opposed to Independence, they may resent the decision being taken for them by politicians. This would be a legitimate concern at the best of times, and is even more when public confidence in our politicians is at an all time low.

THE OTHER MSPS

The final three seats in the Parliament are occupied by two Green Party MSPs and Margo MacDonald. The Greens support Independence "not out of nationalistic fervour, but as a means to create a more locally-based, sustainable, and democratic society" **to quote their manifesto.**^[13] Indeed,

the Greens voted for Alex Salmond's appointment as First Minister. Margo MacDonald is both an Independent and a supporter of Independence. She was deputy leader of the SNP from 1974 to 1979, but left the party between 1982 and the mid 1990s and then again in 2003.^[14] Even though they occupy just three seats between them, the Green's and Margo's support for Independence is important.

DO THE VOTES ADD UP?

The more mathematically minded among you will already be ahead of me here: The SNP needs 65 of the 129 votes to secure a referendum: They have 47 MSPs, plus Margo and the Greens. That's 50 – leaving them 15 votes short.

But if they were to court the Tories or the Lib Dems (16 MSPs each) into voting for their bill then they would have reached the required number. (Incidentally, a tie would probably result in a failed bill, as the Presiding Officer is obliged to vote for the Status Quo.)

CONCLUSION

As time of writing, it does not appear that the SNP will be able to push through a referendum. While Labour and the Lib Dems have flirted with the idea of supporting a Bill, their positions have solidified as time has gone on. Without a shift from another party the Bill simply will not pass. But Salmond is a skilled political operator – you never know what might be possible. Watch this space.

What would the question on such a Bill be? Would it include the possibility of extra powers for Holyrood, but stop short of independence? What will happen to the

SNP if they can't get the bill through? How are people likely to vote in a referendum? And what will happen to the parties after a referendum, depending on the result?

Those are questions for another article.

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STILL THE GOOD FIGHT?



THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS TURNS 60

by Rory Lowings

“A Sentimental, disintegrating club for Blimps”

Such was the BBC's indictment of the Commonwealth after its 1950 Foreign Minister's conference in Colombo.¹ Yet despite the lampoons in its infancy, the Commonwealth of Nations has, in 2009, reached its 60th Anniversary, having increased in size since its foundation from ten to fifty-three independent states. Nonetheless, the soul-searching process within the post-colonial Commonwealth continues.

Where do we go from here? This was the question posed by the Royal Commonwealth Society on the 20th of July this year when RCS Director Danny Sriskandarajah and British Foreign Secretary David Miliband launched the Commonwealth Conversation, a massive public consultation aimed at gauging the opinion of Commonwealth Citizens on the organisation's future.² What follows is an attempt to answer this question, by analysing the Commonwealth's origins, its historical goals, its achievements, and finally, the views of modern critics regarding its future.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

Once upon a time, Britain ruled the world.

Fully a quarter of the Earth's surface and population was united under the red, white and blue of the Empire. Had the British Empire remained a sclerotic, sedentary racial hierarchy, like the contemporary French and Portuguese empires, it might have died a slow, painful death, as did they. But Britain's development of infrastructure, both in education and industry, facilitated the growth of national identities within the Commonwealth, whose claims upon independence grew in direct proportion to British decline during the Inter-War period.³

After the Second World War, Britain, partly to facilitate the dismantling of an empire it could no longer maintain, but partly too out of a genuine belief in democratisation and racial equity in politics, facilitated the independence of all its former colonies between the period 1947-1997. As early as the Balfour declaration in 1926, the term British Commonwealth of Nations was used to describe Britain and her "White Dominions", and the 'British' element of the title seemingly fell into disuse following the independence of India and Pakistan.⁴ In 1965, the Commonwealth Secretariat was founded, shifting control away from the Britain's

Commonwealth Relations Office towards a genuinely independent association.⁵

Geographer David Lowenthal, writing in 1989, described the new independent states of the Commonwealth as an exemplar of “the anti-Imperialist ethos of self-determination”.⁶ This conception of the Commonwealth has held true throughout the twentieth century. The Commonwealth has championed majority rule in many post-colonial countries around the world. During the period of decolonisation the Commonwealth was able, by brokering the Lancaster House Agreement in 1979, to resolve the bloody and contentious Rhodesian War, granting majority African Rule in the new state of Zimbabwe. The Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) at Lusaka, where pressure from member states resulted in the Agreement, has been cited as one of the “Greatest Successes” of the Commonwealth by Malcolm Fraser, former Prime Minister of Australia.⁷

Throughout, the Commonwealth presented a clear moral consensus and a united front on post-colonial issues. In the view of Shridath S. Ramphal, Commonwealth Secretary-General in 1986, the organisation represented the “supremacy of community over otherness”, in relation to the “common purpose” of deconstructing racial inequality both in Sub-Saharan Africa and worldwide.⁸ In his article of 1966, twenty years before, Canadian Professor William B. Hamilton referred to the Commonwealth as “an association unique in world history”,⁹ in its preservation of political ties despite cultural dissociation. So much is history. When Britain’s Prime Minister Harold Macmillan announced in

1960 to the South African Parliament that the “Wind of Change”¹⁰ was sweeping Africa, institutionalised racism was commonplace in the post-colonial world and a clear adversary for Commonwealth governments to unite, despite societal antipathy, against. Since the fall of the Apartheid regime, the Commonwealth dream of a free and equal world has seemingly been realised. Consequently, the organisation finds itself facing a new challenge: how to remain relevant when its traditional purpose – to maintain amicable links and cooperation during the progress of decolonisation – has apparently been served?

THAT MYSTERIOUS INSTITUTION CALLED THE COMMONWEALTH

In truth, today the Commonwealth faces problems similar to those it faced sixty years ago. Racism, bad governance, and cultural division between member states are as pertinent issues today as they were in 1949.

The Commonwealth’s core principles, as presented in the Harare Declaration of 1991, include “Peace and order, global economic development, and the rule of international law”, as well as “The Liberty of the Individual” and “Equal rights for all”.¹¹ It has never lacked opportunities to promote these principles abroad.

The Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG)’s ‘Good Offices’, a multilateral peace negotiation body, have administered, within the last decade, conflict resolution missions in Kenya, Fiji, Zanzibar, Swaziland and Lesotho, as well as overseeing the election process in the Maldives.¹² Despite experiencing some success, the editor of Commonwealth Journal

The Round Table, Peter Lyon, nonetheless views CMAG's contribution as disappointing;¹³ one of the most publicly visible world disasters of the early 21st Century, the violence surrounding the 2008 Zimbabwean elections has seen the Commonwealth, (from which Zimbabwe seceded in 2003 following its suspension in 2002) powerless to help.¹⁴ Fiji has been suspended from Commonwealth involvement since the First of September 2009, and little progress in restoring the democratic process has been made.¹⁵ Due to differences of opinion in member states, the Commonwealth also faces a difficult decision on whether or not to engage Sri Lankan authorities on the controversial Tamil internment camps in the North of the country.¹⁶

The Commonwealth is also involved heavily in economic development – at time of writing, the Commonwealth Secretariat is managing a \$400 million USD investment in African private enterprise by The Aureos Africa Fund aimed at consolidating the development gains made by Member States' economies, and to compensate for the massive loss of capital in the developing world as a result of the 2008-2009 economic crisis.¹⁷ Economic support, whether through this type of direct management, by giving business training to individuals with small businesses, as in Botswana,¹⁸ or by advising and working with Member Governments in order to construct their own regulators, as with the Petroleum Revenue Management fund in Belize,¹⁹ has led, once again, to considerable gains for member states.

That this is virtuous work is without question. The Commonwealth's approval among member states is considerable:

- From Britain's Lord Janvrin, former private secretary to the Queen;

"The Commonwealth is in a unique position to help people understand some of the global issues of climate change and economy in this day and age"²⁰

- From Trinidad and Tobago, football star Dwight Yorke;

"The Commonwealth unites the world. It brings different ethnic backgrounds together."²¹

- And from Kenya's Vice President, Kalonzo Musyoka;

"The Commonwealth has the best credentials of any grouping in the world".²² Optimism is commonplace among world leaders and officials from within 'the establishment'.

But, as Mr. Musyoka adds in the same interview, "We don't hear the voice of the Commonwealth enough".

It may be partly due to the Commonwealth's media silence that there are considerable misconceptions and a growing tide of disillusion with the Commonwealth, especially in the more advanced Member States. Canadian journalist Doug Saunders puts his finger on the problem; "It no longer means anything to us, for a very good reason: it no longer does anything for us." Later, he adds; "It's just as well we're pulling away from the Commonwealth."²³

Mr. Saunders' feelings are mirrored in the polls run by the Commonwealth Conversation in early 2009. The understanding of the Commonwealth in Canada is especially dire, with 51% of citizens polled being una-

ble to name any of the activities undertaken by the Commonwealth. In Britain the figure was 49%, and in Jamaica, 63%. 10% of Canadians and 19% of Australians would be actively happy to see their respective countries secede from the Commonwealth.²⁴

Perhaps one reason for the ignorance and negativity in the societies of the Organisation's oldest Members is the degree to which it is still associated with very negative memories of Empire. Or in the words of Australian journalist, Richard Flanagan: "There was no Commonwealth, only a... memory of a master race and its dominion people."²⁵

Zimbabwean Minister for Regional Integration and International Cooperation Priscilla Misihairabwi-Mushonga, in her position as a representative of a government which may be considering reintegration with the Commonwealth, sheds light on the disconnection which many citizens of the Commonwealth feel today; "What has been lacking is the translation of that relationship [With the Commonwealth] into things people can relate to at a practical level."²⁶

Ms. Misihairabwi-Mushonga is part of a new Zimbabwean government which may be considering reintegration into the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth needs to present an organisation with something valuable and unique to offer. If the existing Commonwealth does not show itself to be tackling practical issues, it will continue to lose support and interest around the world.

The Royal Commonwealth Society has heard many suggestions regarding the Commonwealth's future in the international relations of its members. Fortunately for the Secretariat, there are pat-

terns emerging which may provide clues to the Commonwealth's future role.

THE ONCE AND FUTURE COMMONWEALTH

M. Sayeedur Khan, Bangladesh High Commissioner in London argues that "Because of this global warming-up, due to climate change... Bangladesh is going to be the worst sufferer in the world"²⁷It appears that climate change will receive top billing at the 2009 CHOGM, possibly paving the way for Commonwealth cooperation in dealing with its effects upon Member States.

The dangers posed to Commonwealth countries across the spectrum of size and economic potential are evident. For example, according to the Global Humanitarian Forum's 2009 report from Geneva, Members affected by severe climate change-induced drought or flood will include Mozambique, Malawi, Tanzania, and Nigera. In addition to this, small island Members such as Kiribati, Tuvalu, and the Maldives may suffer severe damage from erratic weather conditions, including cyclones. Bangladesh is expected to suffer severely from coastal flooding. Yearly deaths directly resulting from climate change could rise 59% to 500,000.²⁸

This is a considerable risk, both in terms of human life and wider social upheaval across the globe. Population displacement and the mass relocation of up to 75 million refugees would put untold pressure on the International Community's ability to respond.

British Foreign Secretary the Right Honourable David Miliband seems determined to organise the resources of the Commonwealth against this threat. According to an interview with the RCS in September,

Mr. Miliband has chaired a meeting of his counterparts in the Commonwealth, and intends to use the 2009 CHOGM as an opportunity to build a consensus on environmental issues among Member States before the much-anticipated United Nations Conference on Climate Change to be held in Copenhagen from December the 7th. In the interview, he suggests that "The Commonwealth can be a place to send a warning about the dangers of climate change; it can be a place to forge and argue out the compromises that are going to be necessary".²⁹

Certainly, the Commonwealth will possess considerable credibility where international compromise is required, seeing as it consists of both developed and undeveloped states; it has members from every continent on Earth; and it has a long and productive history of cooperation on international issues.

It is this cooperation which seems to be the central issue and rallying point of many contributors to the Commonwealth Conversation. For British Economist and MP Vince Cable, the spirit of consensus is a particularly central theme for the Commonwealth to focus on. Member states, according to Cable, should be concerned with "Keeping an interconnected system alive, so we don't retreat into nationalism."³⁰ It may be that this is the essence of the Commonwealth – the sense of connection, of consensus despite geographical and cultural distance. Sir Peter Marshall, former Deputy Secretary-General, certainly values "the way in which people treat one another, a sublime blend of maturity, tolerance, respect, responsibility, commitment and warmth – recognition of our mutual affinities as well as our common values and interests."³¹

WHERE NEXT?

Such values as expressed by Sir Peter are laudable – is this not the Commonwealth dream? The Secretariat's ongoing efforts to establish these ideals at centre stage in Member States and the International Community are undoubtedly of great value. Yet the sense of disengagement, the fact that concrete, practical results of the Commonwealth's work in the world are rarely seen – and its limitations, its inability to come to terms with the 'big issues' of the modern world are all too obvious.

The Commonwealth clearly feels the need for renewal. Current Secretary-General Kamalesh Sharma wants to make sure that his organisation is "No longer seen to be working along rigid paths or something belonging to the past." It may be that by bringing modern issues like climate change to the table, by continuing to build consensus among Members whose cultural and social differences grow wider each year, the Commonwealth can revitalise its role in the world and usher in a new age of world community and cooperation.

For many, the Commonwealth Conversation will represent but another forum for high principles and platitudes to be bandied about. Nothing practical, certainly, has been achieved as yet; the 2009 CHOGM is, at time of writing, a fortnight away – it is simply another example of the organisation's only real function as a talk shop for politicians and diplomats.

But is there anything inherently wrong with this? Should the Commonwealth be vilified simply for trying to find common ground? At time of writing, consensus within the

European Union during the build-up to Copenhagen seems unlikely;³² For Britain at least, the Commonwealth is perhaps an opportunity to find allies for the long-term future; not only on the subject of the environment, but also regarding future relations with the African Union and a more powerful India. Self-evidently, nothing practical can possibly be achieved by non-engagement.

The Commonwealth could do worse than keep talking.

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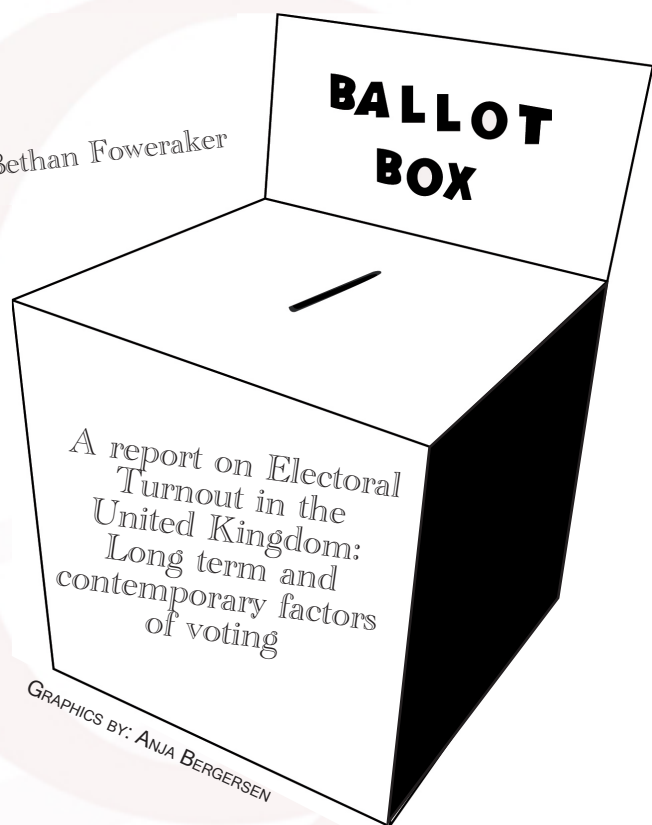
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By Bethan Foweraker



Electoral turnout in the United Kingdom varies significantly from one election to the next, be that in a general election or in local elections.¹ We originally wanted to discover the reasons as to why the public choose to vote or not. Having read research by academics such as Denver, we discovered that this question has already been asked on numerous occasions and therefore wouldn't be very beneficial. For many years voting has been seen as irrational.² To expand our idea, we decided to establish what persuades a voter when voting. We were curious to know what persuaded the voter in deciding as to what party they would vote for, be that due to a contemporary factor such as the state of the economy, or a long term factor such as family voting habits. In total, the four of us collectively gathered 300 questionnaires from a mixture of locations

across the United Kingdom through the form of e-mail, phone, post and town.

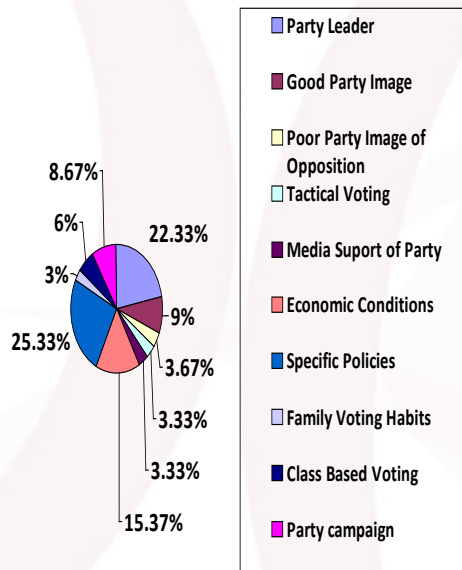
When we started the questionnaire, our goal was to ask a sufficient amount of people from different ages and backgrounds. Due to the fact that Aberystwyth is such a highly populated student area, we thought this spectrum would be hard to achieve; we would have had to have asked a large proportion of students in order to have a fair and robust survey sample. We decided that we would extend our question gathering to the whole of the United Kingdom. By using the census data from 2001, we could establish as to how many people we needed from various age ranges, and male and female. To succeed in this aspect of the task, we had to get 48.61% of our sample male and 51.32% female.³ With regards to age, we also looked at the census to discover how many people from each age range we needed, which in the 56+ age range we needed over 70 people.

To achieve the correct number of people in age and gender range we targeted certain groups that we knew of for age ranges, such as the Women's Institute, offices and students. We were successful to a certain extent, attaining 47.66% male and 52.33% female. This gave us fair representational results gender wise. The majority of the people surveyed were from Cardiff, Cornwall and Reading, the places where we knew had the offices or the Women's Institute.

In order to achieve a clearly structured questionnaire, we created 3 sections; an

introduction section, a ranking question and expansive questions. Our first section was to establish who the person was and to ease the person into the questionnaire. We then had our primary question which is what inspired our project, a ranking system section where we had a series of options that they had to rank from 1 to 10 in concern with what influences you the most when voting, these had a mixture of contemporary and long term factors. Following this, we had some expansive questions. These

1: FIRST

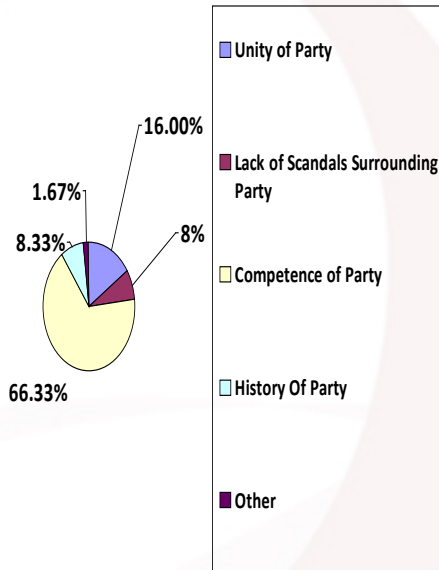


were questions that expanded from some of the 1 to 10 ranking system. We thought this would be of use when we had our most influential and least influential factor, be that a contemporary or a long term factor. We could then analyze into more depth as to what precisely the reasons were for voting the way people do.

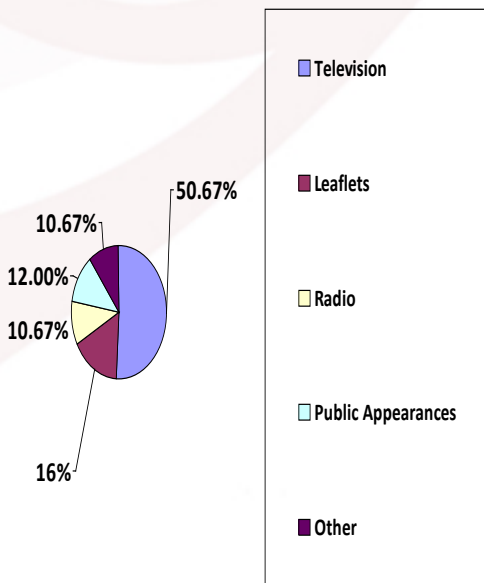
Having put all the information into an SPSS computer data analysing programme, we found that the most important factor to people when voting was specific policies, followed by party leader and then the economic conditions (appendix 1). We had anticipated as a group that these would have been on the top of the list, but were surprised to find that Media support of the party and the party campaign were not high up in the ranking system at all. We predicted that these two contemporary

factors would be a significant influence on people when deciding to vote, as this is how the public hear their campaigns. This is something argued by Scammell, who says that political marketing, i.e. the campaign "is seen primarily as a response to developments in media, and communication technologies."⁴ It seems that the public don't listen to this as much anymore, but decide to vote on the basis of what they have experienced or can see, such as how they have done economically or how their policies are relevant to them. Party leader is something that is shown to

the public by the media in general, such as TV interviews or newspaper articles. It is again therefore interesting that the public failed to connect the fact that they see these things through the effect of the media. We found that the majority of the top ranking factors were contemporary factors, demonstrating that public opinion on a party can change very quickly. Good party image was the fourth highest factor, and from our expansive questions we found that the most important factor in determining party image was significantly the competence of the party (appendix 2.). Competence of party is built up over time thus making it a long term factor, which is something we had considered, but had not thought that it would rank as highly, and thought that lack of scandals surrounding the party could have been higher.



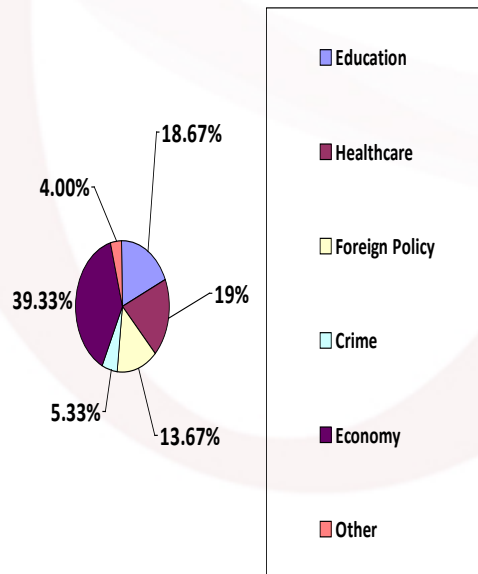
2: WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR IN DETERMINING PARTY IMAGE?



3: WHAT WOULD INFLUENCE YOU THE MOST DURING A CAMPAIGN?

Despite this, we were intrigued to find that when asked, “What would influence you the most during a campaign”, television was ranked first (appendix 3.) We were confused as to why public appearances didn’t rank higher if the image of the party leader is the second most important factor,

and the media isn’t such an important factor. Perhaps the fact that the television is a contemporary factor, are the reasons behind this. Bartle argues that “the media is important for elections because it is assumed to influence the attitudes and opinions of voters. If the press and broadcasters have any influence on voters; moreover, it is via the steady drip-drip of information rather than through either their election coverage or formal endorsements.”⁵ This again demonstrates the factor that the media is important, despite our findings.

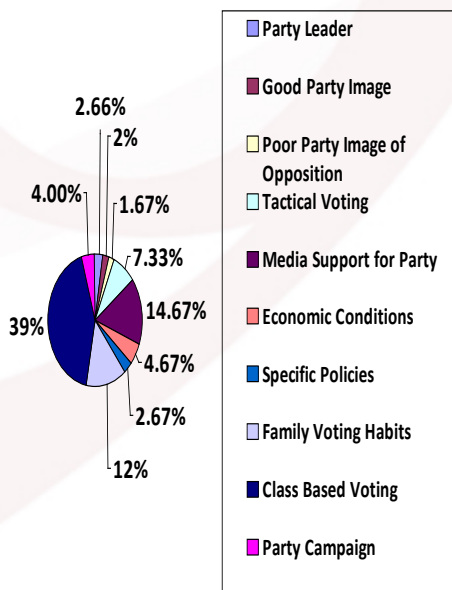


4: WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT POLICY AREA TO YOU WHEN VOTING?

The factor that answered our question as to what influenced the voter most when voting was answered by the economy. In every situation in which the economy was mentioned in our survey, it was placed higher than we had originally anticipated. When asked, “What is the most important policy area to you when voting?” the economy was an overwhelming majority

(appendix 4). When we did the survey there was hype within the media concerning the global financial crisis, which demonstrates how a short term factor can sway the way in which people vote. Had we asked this when the state of the economy wasn't at its lowest, perhaps it would not have been such an issue. Our findings for the least important factor (appendix 5), were things we had known already through reading.⁶ Class based voting is no longer an important factor, and neither is family based voting.

found to be the important factor when voting. I feel that this was the most important finding in our project, as we had not expected the economy to be such an important factor, and had not considered the possibilities at the time we conducted this survey would have made it such a bigger impact that expected.



5: TENTH

In conclusion, by answering out question "Long term and contemporary factors of voting", finding that contemporary factors seemed to be the most important factors; we found some of the findings contradicting themselves. We discovered that the factor that was the most influence to the public at the time of our survey was the economy, something that reflected what was happening politically at that time, demonstrating that the contemporary factors are what the majority of people

(ENDNOTES)

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