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## **“THE BLUE LABOURISM” AND “THE GOOD SOCIETY” CONCEPT OF THE MODERN LABOURITES OR THE ATTEMPT OF THE RELOADING “THE THIRD WAY” CONCEPT**

The new theoretical changes of the ideological laborite's field were discovered in this article. The modern social democracy in Europe with its approaches to the society classes, direct state involvement into the economy, the social distribution of resources, and common labor market, essentially, exhausted themselves and try to build the new principles of the social welfare considering significant changes in the capitalist relations those supply the new quality of life. There is an uneasy task before the modern laborites, and especially before their new leader Ed Miliband: to preserve the old electorate of the Labor Party and to enlarge the new one, while distancing from traditional trade unions and maintaining the neutrality with the supporters of T. Blair “The Blairists”, giving the own alternative of the development of the social democracy in the country.

**Key words:** the electorate, the blairism, the third way, the blue laborism, labor market, social democracy, ethical individualism, trade unions.

Today the dominance of the Labour Party in the trust degree from the side of the British electorate is apparent. According to rough estimates for the 2014, there are 45% of electorates, who are ready to vote for this party. This is 15% more than the Conservatives. In its campaign the Labor Party should focus on the critics of the ruling coalition economic policy. However, the “New Laborites” are in a rather difficult political situation now.

The party, in the political sense, is split into several pressure groups which, not much, not enough, have a desire to see their henchmen at the helm of the party, without compromising with each other. The financial affairs of the party are directed by the British trade unions, which are, in fact, the party sponsors, who see the party in role of the “bourgeoisie punitive sword” and the working class voice.

For example, the amount of the cash injections in 2012 was £ 3.5 millions. «Unite» provided £ 900 thousands. «Unison» - £ 500 thousands, The National Union of public and municipal workers – £ 400 thousands. Wholesale workers and related professions trade unions – £ 340 thousands.<sup>1</sup> In the reminder, the trade-unionism is the base of the conflict and protest against inequality. “The workers need a voice, and this cannot be ignored” – Len McCluskey, the general secretary of trade union "Unite" has declared<sup>2</sup>. Additionally, the new leader Ed Miliband has become the leader of the Labor Party as a protégé of trade unions. Ed himself was born on the 24<sup>th</sup> of December 1969 in London in a family of well known Marxist theorist Ralph Miliband and Marion Kozak, Jewish emigrant from Poland. He graduated from the Oxford University (bachelor of philosophy, political science and economics) and the London School of Economics (Master of Economics).

In 2005 he was elected to the House of Commons, and in 2007 he was appointed as the Minister of the Government Secretariat. Since October 2008 till the 11<sup>th</sup> of May 2010 he held the post of the Minister of Energy and Climate Change.

On the election of a new leader of the Labour Party, the 25<sup>th</sup> of September 2010, Ed Miliband defeated his brother David; In the fourth round, Ed received 50.65% of the votes, and David got only 49.35%<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Громогласова, Е.С. (2014). Лейбористы между электоральной стратегией и идеологией. *Дилеммы Британии поиск путей развития*. Москва: Издательство «Весь Мир», 173.

<sup>2</sup> Len McCluskey Lecture: The Labour movement and protest.

<<http://www.unitetheunion.org/campaigning/events/lecturethelabourmovementandprotestaworkingclasspoliticsforthe21stcentury/>>.

<sup>3</sup> Форум Лейбористской партии Великобритании открывается сегодня в Манчестере. <<http://echo.msk>.

The second group of the Laborites is headed by the former leader and the ex-Prime Minister Tony Blair, who has repeatedly warned the party leadership from the temptation to express only the protests, without having any progressive program. Blair considers that the idea that the response to the financial crisis can be given only by the left approaches is erroneous. The contradiction between the left-wing and the right-wing politics should remain in the past twentieth century. Being in the relative oblivion, in difficult times, these contradictions revive into the forms of debates on the fiscal discipline, economical growth stimulate measures, reforms of social security, immigration, the EU membership. Exactly at those times the left and the right wing populism revive<sup>1</sup>. In such a situation, we cannot drift to the right in the matters of immigration and EU membership and to the left in matters of taxation and state spending<sup>2</sup>. Ed has got a difficult situation to remain the support of its patrons in a face of trade unions and the Blair's group, who think about the future movement of the party. Both of these groups are essentially important for the parties, who are going to win the parliamentary elections in May of 2015.

But, according to Phill Wilson opinion, in the Ed Miliband's mind the trade unionism wins, which by all means should be encouraged and the members should receive the individual membership in the party. If T. Blair was the reformer of the Labor Party in the twentieth century, then Ed is a reformer of this party in the XXI century<sup>3</sup>.

Today the modern social democracy has faced a number of problems: this is a bundles of the traditional electorate that does not look to the party trough the angle of class struggle and social justice; this is the strengthening of the anti immigration mood among the "Native British" and, of course, the new population attitude to the new quality of capitalist relations on the basis of a new life-quality.

The New Laborites have to react on all these challenges. Aside from the party members of the trade union groups and the Tony Blair intellectuals, there's a third group of intellectuals which, in principle, demonstrate the new political quality of the party. This group is headed by the leader adviser D. Kruddas and the fellow of the London University "Metropolitan" M. Glasman. They allow Miliband to distance as from the "Blairists" as from the trade unions.

According to E. S. Hesin, after the parliamentary elections in 2010 the Laborites started to turn "their faces to the Nation" downgraded the style of the "International rhetoric", calling themselves the representatives of the "blue Laborism"<sup>4</sup>. The development of the new style of the party rhetoric is often attributed to M. Glasman.

The basic postulate of this definition became the thesis that "the laborism is a unique and a paradoxical tradition that strengthens the freedom and the democracy, combining the faith and the citizenship, the patriotism and the internationalism and is, in its best features, both the radical one and the conservative one"<sup>5</sup>. It is noteworthy that the "Blue Laborites" consider themselves the followers of the early "New Laborism" ideas.

Important, that during the election process for Parliament in 2010 "The New Laborites" "hunted" for the voters in every possible way and, therefore, were ready to sacrifice the certain principles if it could lead them to the victory. In particular, Blair has established the good relations with the mass media magnate Rupert Murdoch, whose newspapers supported the Conservatives in the past (additionally, Murdoch has a very successfully operating satellite television station «Sky TV»)<sup>6</sup>.

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ru/news/935521-echo.html>.

<sup>1</sup> Blair T. Labour must search for answers and not merely aspire to be a repository for people's anger. *New Statesman*.

<[www.newstatesman.com/politics/2013/04/labourmustsearchhanswerssandnotmerelyyaspireebeerpositoryy peoplessanger](http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2013/04/labourmustsearchhanswerssandnotmerelyyaspireebeerpositoryy peoplessanger)>.

<sup>2</sup> Blair T. Labour must search for answers and not merely aspire to be a repository for people's anger. *New Statesman*.

<[www.newstatesman.com/politics/2013/04/labourmustsearchhanswerssandnotmerelyyaspireebeerpositoryy peoplessanger](http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2013/04/labourmustsearchhanswerssandnotmerelyyaspireebeerpositoryy peoplessanger)>.

<sup>3</sup> Phil Wilson The Labour Party must have a relationship with trade unionists not just a trade union. *The Independent Saturday*. <<http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/the-labour-party-must-have-a-relationship-with-trade-unionists-not-just-a-trade-union-8706030.html>>.

<sup>4</sup> Хесин, Е.С. (2014). Экономические отношения: продвижение вперед. *Дилеммы Британии поиск путей развития*. Москва: Издательство «Весь Мир», 357.

<sup>5</sup> Glasman M. My Blue Labour Vision Can Defeat the Coalition. *The Observer*.

<<http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2011/apr/24/blueelabourmauu riceglasman>>.

<sup>6</sup> Ричард Саква Третий путь новых лейбористов. <[http://www.whoiswho.ru/old\\_site/russian/](http://www.whoiswho.ru/old_site/russian/)>

That was the golden age for the public relations professionals, invited by the party. One of them was Alastair Campbell, the chief spokesman of Blair, who put under the strict control the all information related to the prime minister. Blair consulted with him regarding the adoption of certain decisions and regarding his every performance, while the head of the administration Jonathan Powell kept under the control the Blair's office. Exactly the powerful influence of those who shape the image of the party in the eyes of the public, prompted many people to blame "The New Laborites" in that they care more about exterior style of government than on solving problems in fact.

As head of government, Blair considerably strengthened the personal prime office and the group of prime counselors, including the leading scientists from the London School of Economics and Political Science, among them there was the well known author of the book "The Third Way" (1998) Anthony Giddens. Assessing Blair made changes in the structure and composition of the decision-making senior. "The Economist" wrote on the 17<sup>th</sup> of August 1999 and on the 21<sup>st</sup> of August 1999, that Blair has made a kind of "cultural revolution", in the result of which "the new ruling elite" has been formed, which overshadowed the one that was making the weather within the previous governments<sup>1</sup>.

Thus, the New Labor "third way" associated then with the idea of market socialism that former Yugoslavia experimented in its self-enterprises. Whatever it was, but the fundamental importance was in the fact that the policy, based on the class approach to such the traditional concepts as left-wing or right-wing was no longer appropriate to the social reality of the consumer society. Blair strongly rejected the policy, based on the class struggle, and asked for support from the general public. This was the way, which has already been partially led by Clinton's "New Democrats".

The aforesaid concept represented a radical revision of the traditional Labor policy. Eventually it changed the very basis of policy under the current liberal democracies. Though the critics accused Blair and his government in defeatism before the Thatcherism<sup>2</sup>. But at the same time, we must notice that the Blair government did not move away from the Socialist postulate about that the public sector has to play the major role. Blair and his government also disagreed with the traditional social democracy when he suggested gentle replacing of the Keynesian management model based on the customer demand which exhausted itself. That time the New Laborites viewed that markets and private enterprises were more efficient than a planned economy and state enterprises. The forms of property were no longer on the agenda. The supporters of the "third way" understood that the secret of success in the economy lies in the development of human factors. Such wealth as knowledge, ideas and creativity, have no less importance than the financial and physical capital.

According to the "New Laborite", the Social Democrats have exhausted their potential and instead of them the economy needs a "flexible labor market". The traditional collective values conceded the values by which people unify together to defend their own interests. The traditional social solidarity gave a way to new forms of ethical individualism<sup>3</sup>.

The critics of the New Labor threw them that they not much differed from the old style conservatives. From their view the "third way" is reminiscent of Thatcherism only "with a human face". Then they often said that in the name of confidence of voters, the party abandoned from the core values of left wings power and betrayed the ideals of its supporters. There is no doubt that the "New Labor" welcomed many changes initiated by Margaret Thatcher, including the privatization of major utilities, including the railways, openness before the face of the international capital, the restrictive measures in the field of law in attitude to the trade unions, the rejection from the regulation in a number of areas, and other. It should be noted that the other countries are progressing, albeit at different rates but in the same direction. Other words, the Laborites had adopted the known neoliberal ideas and failed in the forming of their own radical and focused on the human values perspective on the social changes.

Tony Blair ended with the old dilemma of the Social Democrats: should the capitalism be managed humanly or should it be canceled completely? Although, at the same time, it should be noticed, that Blair

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Password/papers/2r/bler/st1.htm>.

<sup>1</sup> Anthony Giddens The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy.

<<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/54673/richard-n-cooper/the-third-way-the-renewal-of-social-democracy>>.

<sup>2</sup> Ричард Саква Третий путь новых лейбористов.

<[http://www.whoiswho.ru/old\\_site/russian/Password/papers/2r/bler/st1.htm](http://www.whoiswho.ru/old_site/russian/Password/papers/2r/bler/st1.htm)>.

<sup>3</sup> Glasman M. My Blue Labour Vision Can Defeat the Coalition. *The Observer*.

<<http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2011/apr/24/blueelabourmauu riceeglasman>>.

and his “the third way” were far from being able to refuse of the state intervention. While Blair was forced to approve the privatization, the state was continuing to play an active role in ensuring that the expanded in recent years sector of the private enterprises works in the public interests. There were the new targets in the government, which tried to move away from the old debate between those who sought to strength the role of the state, and those who opposed it. His goal was to redefine the role of government intervention, ensuring its activity in some areas and the complete absence of the other ones. The privatization for the New Labor does not mean the abandonment of the regulation. It applies both to the economy and to the policy in the social sphere, as well as reforms in the other areas. The purpose of Blair’s program, which some people called the democratization of the democracy was to activate the life of the civil society. The personal position of Tony Blair and his commitments started to take the form of the new ideology and it still has support of the society, known as “Blairism”.

“The Blue Labourism” today is in tune with such slogans as taking care of a family, strengthening of a sense of individual responsibility. “The Blue Labourites” strongly dissociate themselves from “Blarists”, criticizing T. Blair and G. Brown governments’ sympathy to the globalization. Currently, there is a shade of conservatism, which gave the name to this ideological evolution of labourism.

To “The Blue Labourism” radicalism is also inherent. For example, they insist that people are not the commodities and should not travel the world in searching of the maximum wage. Consequently, the national political systems must control their borders and migration. The free movement of the labor and the competition between employees, that degrades the salary levels, are beneficial for the owners of production and managers, but the concept of solidarity of workers has nothing common with it<sup>1</sup>. As a result, the “Blue Labourites” deny the benefits of a common market, stressing that the implementation of the principles of free movement of capital and labor were the mistakes. Calling into the question the very foundations of the economic integration into the EU “The Blue Laborites” stand for such a kind of “Europe Homeland” without supporting the creation of a strong supranational regulation in the social policy spheres.

The concerns about the immigration is a point of contact for the modern conservatives and “The Blue Laborites”. Both of them criticize the policy of multiculturalism. The European “Think Tanks” of the social democratic orientations started to discuss actively the ideas of “The Blue Laborism”: on the conferences on «Policy network» organization, on the conferences of F. Ebert Foundation, in the «Social Europe» magazine. Along with the ideas of “The Blue Laborism” there is also a concept of “a good society”, the promoters of which are D. Kruddas and A. Nales, the secretary general of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. In one of their publications they represent the concept of “a good society” as an alternative of “the third way” which, ironically, was proposed by the Englishman T. Blair and the German Gerhard Schröder also in 1998.

The concept of “the good society” identifies the thesis about necessity for more supervision under the financial sector. It concerns with such values as equality, justice and solidarity. Here starts the more egalitarian vision of the economy. “The Good Society” does not deny the multiculturalism. On the contrary, it is the recognition of the respect of individual cultural identities. In the result, the concept blurs without giving answers to the questions of immigration policy, though trough the challenges which arise in the face of rising of the popularity of the far-right parties which take the tough stances on migration questions, Social Democrats face throughout Europe.

Unlike the concept of “The good society”, the ideas of “The Blue Labourism” are more focused on the specific solutions of the self-determination of the social democracy at the circumstances when its historical mission (creation of the “welfare” company) in many European countries is almost completed. For example, the overshadowing of the social democratic parties in Northern Europe (primarily in Sweden, and till 2011 - in Denmark) is connected with that in these countries, which have traditionally strong social-democratic sentiments, there are many ideas how to solve the specific problems in the social policy spears which are simply intercepted from the Left Democrats by their opponents.

The influence of “The Blue Labourism” affected on the more moderate (in comparison with the rhetoric of “The New Laborites”) valuations of European integration realities, which E. Miliband makes today. Supporting the European integration project, as in whole, as the UK’s membership in the EU, Miliband outlined the priorities of EU reforms, the first of which was called the budget reform. Laborites’

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<sup>1</sup> Glasman M. My Blue Labour Vision Can Defeat the Coalition. *The Observer*.  
<[http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2011/apr/24/blueelabourmauu\\_riceeglasman](http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2011/apr/24/blueelabourmauu_riceeglasman)>.

leader believes that it is necessary to shift the focus from agricultural sphere to the infrastructure projects in transport and energy supporting<sup>1</sup>.

“The Europeanization” of the party policy has always been characterized for the UK. Of course, the relations with the EU will become one of the most important topics of the election campaign 2015. Most likely, the current Labour manifesto will have more negative assessments in the relation to the EU in general and in the specific spheres of policy. It is possible that the Laborites in the terms of inter-party struggle may include in their pre-election manifesto the proposal to hold a referendum on Britain's membership in the EU.

“The Blue Labourism” has influenced on the approach of E. Miliband to the integration of the immigrants into British society. Pointing to the shortcomings of the multiculturalism policy, Laborites’ leader urges on more cooperative, bilateral model of the relationships between the migrants and local British communities.

In general, the Labour Party, as a political institution, keeps connection with its ideological tradition. The ideological component was important before for the self determination of the party in changing environments, though within the campaign frame it is usually eroded by the populist elements which allow the broad interpretations and temporary reconciliation of different groups of voters.

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