NEW TIMES
THE CHANGING FACE
OF POLITICS IN THE 1990s
Edited by Stuart Hall & Martin Jacques

In association with Marxism Today
NEW TIMES

The Changing Face of Politics in the 1990s

edited by
Stuart Hall
and
Martin Jacques

LAWRENCE & WISHART
in association with Marxism Today
LONDON
Preface 9

Introduction – Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques 11

I NEW TIMES
The New Times – Manifesto for New Times 23
Fordism and Post-Fordism – Robin Murray 38
Benetton Britain – Robin Murray 54
Green Times – Fred Steward 65
After the Masses – Dick Hebdige 76
The End of Organised Capitalism – John Urry 94
The Two-Thirds, One-Third Society – Göran Therborn 103
The Meaning of New Times – Stuart Hall 116

II IDENTITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL
Power to the Person – Charlie Leadbeater 137
The Politics of Identity – Rosalind Brunt 150
The Politics of Consumption – Frank Mort 160
Citizens and Citizenship – Stuart Hall and David Held 173

III GLOBALISATION AND LOCALISATION
The Decline of the Nation State – David Held 191
The Irresistible Tide of Europeanisation
– David Marquand 205
Eastern Europe on the Move – Neal Ascherson 222
The Crisis of Communism – Gareth Stedman Jones 230
Britain and Europe – Martin Jacques 236
Tartan Power – Tom Nairn 245
The Onward March of the Small Nation
– Gwyn A Williams 254
The Changing Shape of the City – Geoff Mulgan 262
New Times Towns – Beatrix Campbell 279

IV RESPONSE OF THE CRITICS
The Trouble With New Times – Michael Rustin 303
After Henry – Paul Hirst 321
V  POLITICAL CULTURE
The Decline of the Party – Sarah Benton 333
The Power of the Weak – Geoff Mulgan 347
Paths to Renewal – Manifesto for New Times 364
Beyond Left and Right: The Need for a New Politics
   – David Marquand 371
Uncertainty, Reversibility and Variety – Geoff Mulgan 379

VI  THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME
Thatcherism and Progress – Charlie Leadbeater 395
Novel Approaches: A Tale for New Times
   – David Edgar 412
Vorsprung Durch Rethink – Göran Therborn 434
Realignment of Politics – Manifesto for New Times 448

Notes on Contributors 454

Index 457
Preface

This book is a compilation of essays, for the most part reprinted from Marxism Today, some as they first appeared, others adapted to varying degrees.

Two of these essays appeared in 1985: Göran Therborn, ‘The Two-Thirds, One-Third Society’ (June) which is based on an extract from Why Some People Are More Unemployed Than Others (Verso 1985), and Robin Murray, ‘Benetton Britain’ (November). Frank Mort, ‘The Politics of Consumption’ was substantially revised from an article written with Nicholas Green (May 1988). Tom Nairn, ‘Tartan Power’ (June 1988) is a revised version of an address made at the launch of The Campaign for a Welsh Assembly (November 1988). David Marquand, ‘Beyond Left and Right: The Need for a New Politics’ appeared in July 1988.

Variety' (September 1989).


The editors would like to thank the Barry Amiel Memorial Trust for their financial support for the Marxism Today seminar in May 1988 which gave birth to the New Times project and Mauro Andreini and staff at Gavorrano town hall for various technical assistance.