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CIVILISATION BRITANNIQUE

BRITISH INSTITUTIONS



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BRITISH INSTITUTIONS

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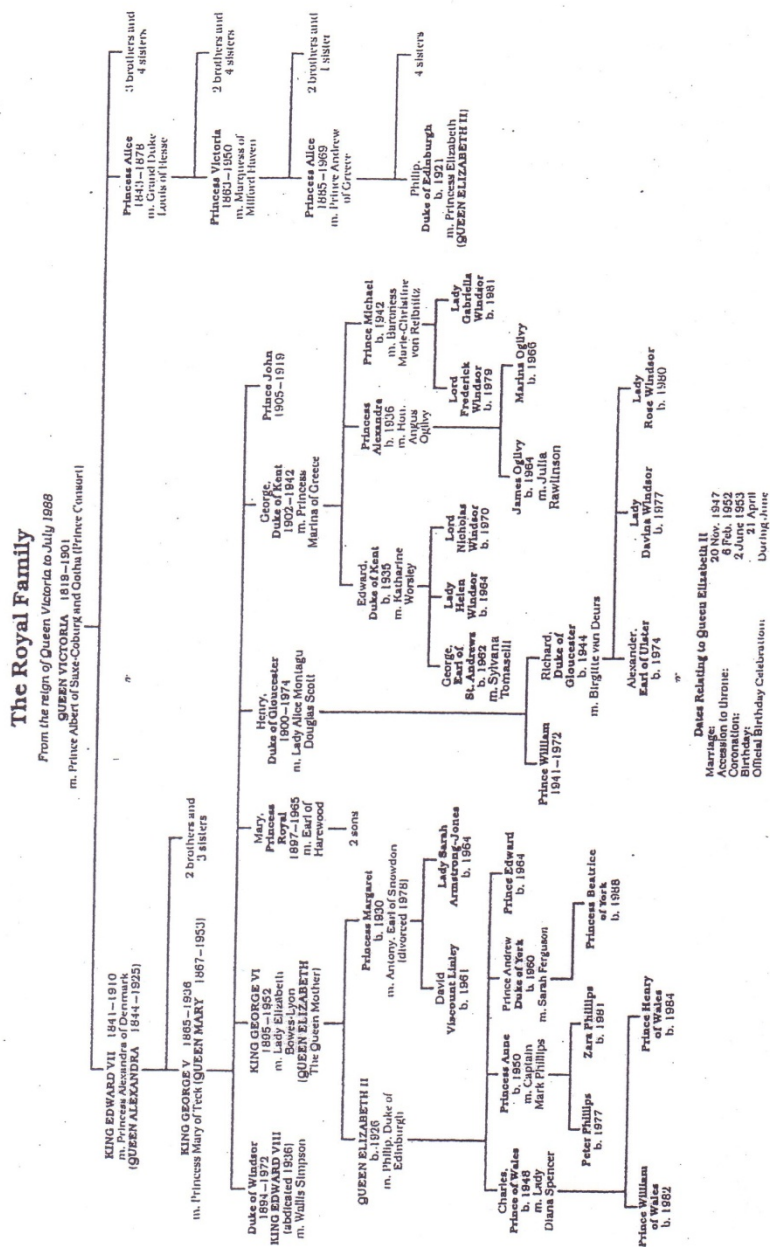
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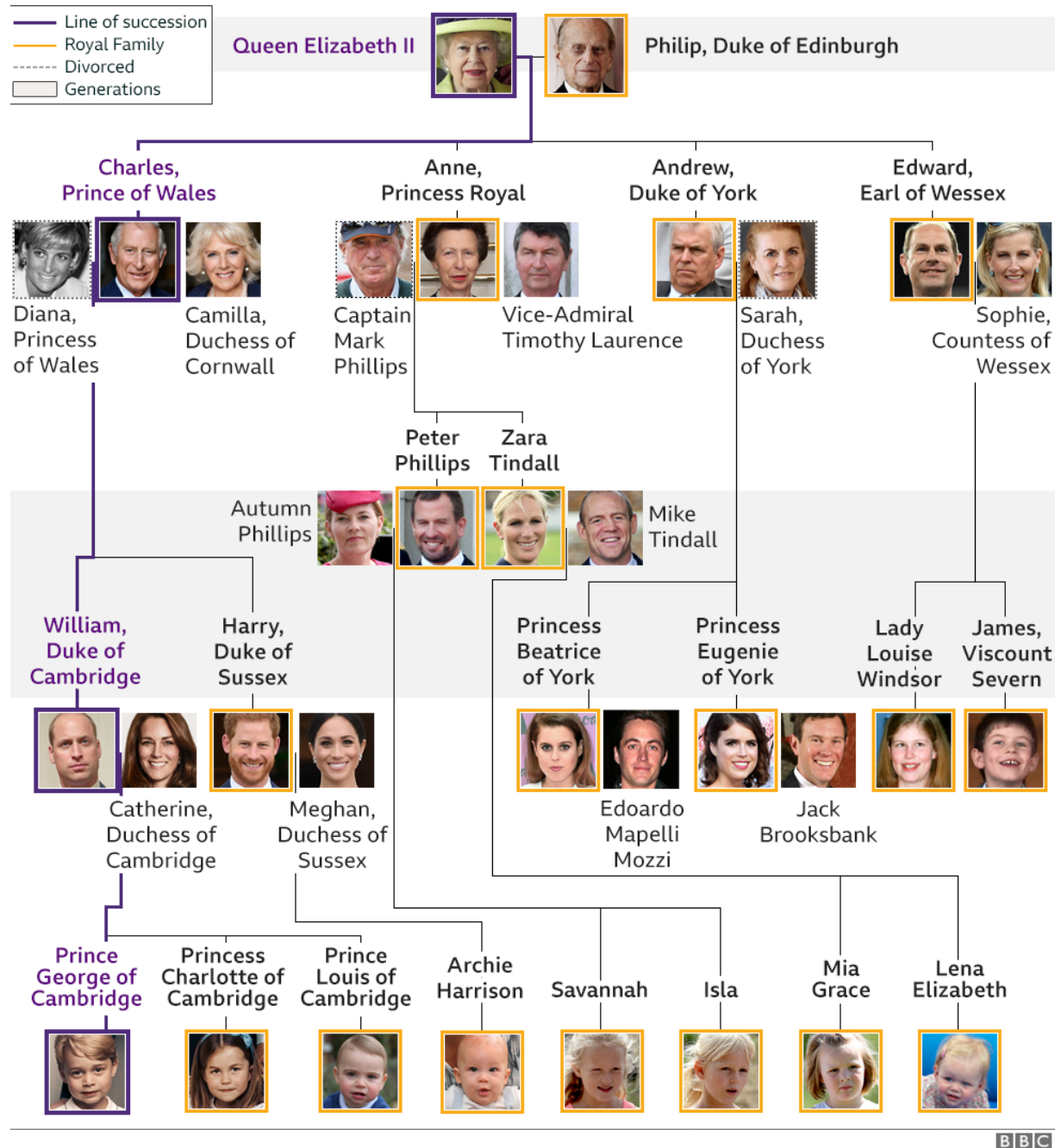
The Royal Family



Paul Brennan, Monica Charlot, Bernard d'Hellencourt. *Political Issues*. Paris : Longman, 1991, p. 148.

Document 1 (2): The Royal Family Tree (14/12/2020)

Source : <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-23272491>

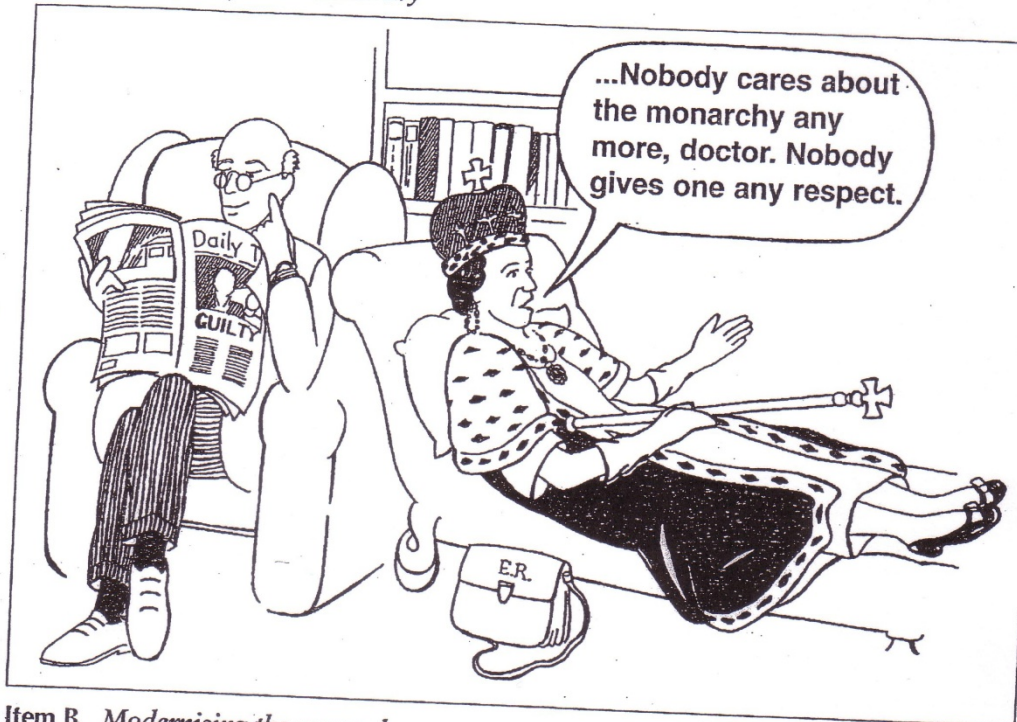


Document 2

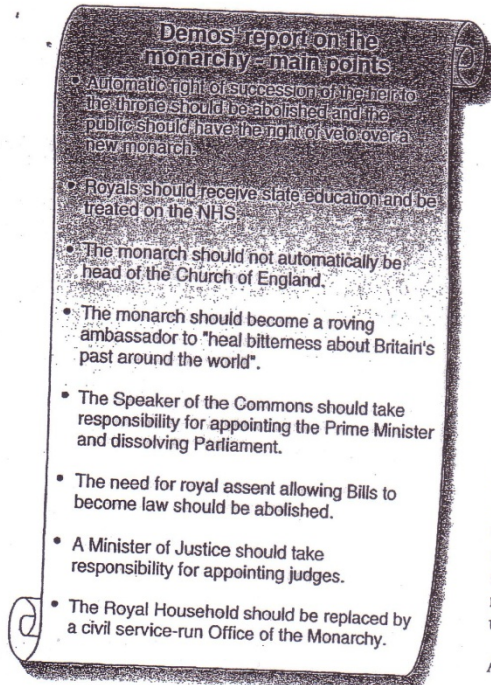
The British constitution

Attitudes towards the monarchy

Item A *Respect for the monarchy*



Item B *Modernising the monarchy*



In September 1998, the think tank Demos published a report which argued that the monarchy required dramatic reform if it was to match public expectations. The report ruled out a republic. Instead, it aimed to modernise the monarchy by allowing it to keep its ceremonial role, but removing its political and religious functions. The Queen would lose her power to dissolve Parliament, appoint Prime Ministers or give the Royal Assent to Bills. Church and Crown would be separated. The report also called for a democratic monarch whose legitimacy is drawn from the will of the people. There would be no automatic right of succession. Rather, the people would be asked whether they support the heir to the throne in a referendum. If the heir was rejected, a second referendum would be held. If the next in line was also rejected, there would be a third referendum. The report also suggested regular referendums throughout a reign to ensure the monarch retains the support of the people. Other ideas in the report include: abolishing the civil list, replacing royal courtiers with civil servants and setting up an independent honours commission. In a poll published on 6 September 1998, 60% of people thought the monarchy should be modernised and 49% thought the Queen should give up her political role.

Adapted from the *Guardian*, 7 September 1998.

Document 3: Representations of the Royal Family



Elizabeth II, Banksy, Upper Maudlin Street, Bristol, 2012



Jason Bell, Clarence House, 23/10/2013



Queen Victoria holds the future King Edward VIII with Edward VII (left) and George V (right), White Lodge, Richmond Park, 1894

Document 4 : Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution*, 1867, Chapter: No. III.: *The Monarchy*.

The use of the Queen, in a dignified capacity, is incalculable. Without her in England, the present English Government would fail and pass away. Most people when they read that the Queen walked on the slopes at Windsor—that the Prince of Wales went to the Derby—have imagined that too much thought and prominence were given to little things. But they have been in error; and it is nice to trace how the actions of a retired widow and an unemployed youth become of such importance.

The best reason why Monarchy is a strong government is, that it is an intelligible government. The mass of mankind understand it, and they hardly anywhere in the world understand any other. It is often said that men are ruled by their imaginations; but it would be truer to say they are governed by the weakness of their imaginations. The nature of a constitution, the action of an assembly, the play of parties, the unseen formation of a guiding opinion, are complex facts, difficult to know and easy to mistake. But the action of a single will, the fiat of a single mind, are easy ideas: anybody can make them out, and no one can ever forget them. When you put before the mass of mankind the question, “Will you be governed by a king, or will you be governed by a constitution?” the inquiry comes out thus—“Will you be governed in a way you understand, or will you be governed in a way you do not understand?” The issue was put to the French people; they were asked, “Will you be governed by Louis Napoleon, or will you be governed by an assembly?” The French people said, “We will be governed by the one man we can imagine, and not by the many people we cannot imagine”. [...]

We have whole classes unable to comprehend the idea of a constitution—unable to feel the least attachment to impersonal laws. Most do indeed vaguely know that there are some other institutions besides the Queen, and some rules by which she governs. But a vast number like their minds to dwell more upon her than upon anything else, and therefore she is inestimable. A republic has only difficult ideas in government; a Constitutional Monarchy has an easy idea too; it has a comprehensible element for the vacant many, as well as complex laws and notions for the inquiring few.

A *family* on the throne is an interesting idea also. It brings down the pride of sovereignty to the level of petty life. No feeling could seem more childish than the enthusiasm of the English at the marriage of the Prince of Wales. They treated as a great political event, what, looked at as a matter of pure business, was very small indeed. But no feeling could be more like common human nature as it is, and as it is likely to be. The women—one half the human race at least—care fifty times more for a marriage than a ministry. All but a few cynics like to see a pretty novel touching for a moment the dry scenes of the grave world. A princely marriage is the brilliant edition of a universal fact, and, as such, it rivets mankind. [...] Just so a royal family sweetens politics by the seasonable addition of nice and pretty events. It introduces irrelevant facts into the business of government, but they are facts which speak to “men’s bosoms” and employ their thoughts.

To state the matter shortly, royalty is a government in which the attention of the nation is concentrated on one person doing interesting actions. A Republic is a government in which that attention is divided between many, who are all doing uninteresting actions. Accordingly, so long as the human heart is strong and the human reason weak, royalty will be strong because it appeals to diffused feeling, and Republics weak because they appeal to the understanding.

Document 4 (2)

The monarchy is at odds with a modern Britain

The Observer, Saturday 27 July 2013.

Welcome to the royal baby, but his family represents an outdated tradition. Christopher Hitchens said we should emancipate ourselves from the mental habits of royalism.

As republicanism gathered a little wind in the 1990s, following Her Majesty's "annus horribilis" and helped by the founding of Charter 88, a campaign for a democratic written constitution and "a culture of citizenship for Britain", Ian McEwan announced: "It is time to say boo! to the big goose." Several decades on and it seems obvious from the sugary sycophancy that has spread like treacle over most of the media's coverage of the arrival of "gorgeous George", the future George VII of what may or may not be a United Kingdom, that there is little appetite for even the slightest challenge, let alone a reasoned critique of why the monarchy may not be good for us. But that, arguably, makes it all the more urgent that an attempt at some corrective is made, lest we, as subjects, forfeit all sense of perspective and vigilance. It is remarkable how often, in relatively recent times, the British monarchy has been dragged up from the depths of unpopularity again and again by a woman. Following the abdication of Edward VII, and the awkwardness of George VI, his wife, the late queen mother, did the trick. Her daughter Elizabeth has similarly steered the royal family through several rocky straits. Princess Diana added the populist touch and, in death, initiated the partial defrosting of the court. Now, the Duchess of Cambridge is succeeding in polishing what the constitutionalist Walter Bagehot called the mystery and magic of the charm of royalty. Last year, even before she became a mother, one not untypical Ipsos Mori poll took a measure of "the Kate effect". It showed that 80% of Britons wish to remain loyal subjects of the Queen, with just 13% in favour of living in a republic, the lowest proportion for 20 years. The arrival of a baby is always a joyous occasion, but when the much improved presentational and PR skills of the House of Windsor are added, republicanism takes an even harder knock. George's birth was greeted with all the "ancient" pageantry of a royal household, most of whose ermine-draped rituals were invented in Victorian times. A 41-gun salute, the pealing of the bells of Westminster Abbey and the knowledge that not one but three male monarchs are lined up to ensure that, while the law of male primogeniture has been abandoned, tradition is maintained, all add wind to the stately royal galleon's sails. The modern twist, speeding its progress, of course, is, ironically, the Middletons, a middle-class, non-blue blood family who actually appear to like each other. They have no titles but, when required, they prove that commoners can behave with as much decorum as the theoretically more elevated.

That almost disguises the fact that Kate, their daughter, is university educated but has reverted to a 1950s model of wife and now mother, strangely out of step with the lives of the vast majority of women over whom she will one day reign. The Duke and Duchess of Cambridge plus, for the first time, the co-existence of three generations (amounting to 100 years' supply) of regal throne sitters, has to mean that the current royal resurgence, after a general cooling at the idea of Prince Charles donning the crown, will probably continue. So where's the harm? Royalists contend that the monarchy provides continuity and stability. It reflects back, at times of high ceremony, a vision of how we, as a nation, like to see ourselves. It draws tourists. It links the Commonwealth and thus gives the UK international clout. It saves us

from the perils of an elected presidency. It provides colourful distraction and reasons to be cheerful when times are grim.

So, where to begin the counter-argument? Windsor Castle is as good a place as any. According to the campaign group, Republic, in the top 20 UK tourist attractions, Windsor Castle is the only "living" royal tourist draw. However, it only just creeps in at number 17. It is trumped by Windsor Legoland at number seven. Tourists will visit whether or not we have a sovereign. There are, of course, more serious points to make. Even as the Middle East and Africa tear themselves apart in the bloody battle to assert democratic rights, we accept a hierarchical, secretive, non-accountable regal "firm", the membership of which is far from representative of the diverse pluralistic society of which we are all part. We have no written constitution, no right to call ourselves citizens. In a time of alleged increasing transparency, the royal household is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act. Instead, it is at the apex of a pyramid of power from which ordinary people are excluded [...] In the 21st century, how can breeding and lineage be allowed to count for so much more than capabilities, talent, aspiration and drive?

In 2005, Mark Bolland, former press officer to Prince Charles said: "The Windsors are very good at working three days a week, five months of the year and making it look as if they work hard." Undoubtedly, some members of the royal household pull their ceremonial weight, especially the Queen and Princess Anne, but the price paid for that labour (and for us also carrying the indolent and richly indulged) is the reinforcement of privilege and the expectation of deference – what Richard Hoggart called "rank attitudes". It is absurd that under the Act of Settlement (1701), no Catholic, no one born out of wedlock and no person who has been adopted is allowed to ascend the throne. It is an anachronism that church and state are still so wedded that the monarch says he or she "shall join in communion with the Church of England". We live at a time when the democratic deficit – the reluctance of people to engage in the process of casting their hard-won vote – is a growing crisis. The first step in finding a solution, as the late Christopher Hitchens advocated, lies in "emancipating ourselves from the mental habits of royalism". In that spirit, after weeks of royalism overload, while we give good wishes to the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, we would also hope that the arrival of George Alexander Louis heralds a renewed and robust debate on the role and relevance of the modern monarchy.

Document 4 (3) Should Britain Abolish the Monarchy?

- 1 *The Economist* writers present three different arguments for the role of the royal family.

The case against the monarchy

- CEASE campaigning, Hillary Clinton; get back to business, Donald Trump: America's 2016 election has been cancelled. The White House has announced that in the interests of
5 political stability the next president and all future ones will be chosen using the British model. Barack Obama will remain in office until he dies, at which point Americans will welcome their next head of state: his daughter, Queen Malia.

- Americans would not stand for this. Why do Britons? The case against hereditary appointments in public life is straightforward: they are incompatible with democracy and
10 meritocracy, which are the least-bad ways to run countries. Royalists say this does not matter because the monarch no longer "runs" Britain. Yet in theory, at least, she has considerable powers: to wage war, sign treaties, dissolve Parliament and more.

- There is little danger of Queen Elizabeth II throwing her weight around. But the trouble with hereditary succession is that you never know quite who you're going to get. The
15 Windsors are no less likely than any other family to produce an heir who is mad or bad. What then?

- The second pitfall is subtler: in the belief that the monarchy forms some kind of constitutional backstop against an overmighty Parliament, Britain is strangely relaxed about the lack of serious checks on its government. It has no written constitution; the
20 current government has plans to repeal a law implementing the European Convention on Human Rights, which many Britons recklessly consider a nuisance rather than a safeguard.

- Opinion polls and healthy sales of commemorative junk suggest that Britons and foreigners alike love the Windsors. But the royals may not be entirely good for the country's image abroad, or its view of itself. Britain still has a reputation as a snooty, class-
25 obsessed place. Britain would be stronger if its head of state were elected. And if the winner were Elizabeth, then good for her.

The case for the monarchy

- IPSOS-MORI has been tracking opinion on the monarchy for the past 20 years, and the responses have been remarkably consistent over that time. By a margin of well over three
30 to one, respondents have favoured keeping the institution over turning Britain into a republic. It is hard, in fact, to find any political question on which the British people are more united, except perhaps their dislike of politicians. That sets the bar for a change to an institution that commands a great deal of affection (think of the millions who celebrated the royal wedding or the Queen's golden jubilee) pretty high.

- Those who would like to scrap a popular monarchy need to be able to show that there is a significant demand for a change (which there is not) or that the institution does significant harm, which is just as hard to do. It is accused of being expensive, but offset against the
35 few tens of millions of cost the fact that Britain's royal heritage is a big part of its tourist appeal, not to mention the unquantifiable but surely substantial brand- management efforts that the Queen in effect performs on overseas trips. An alternative, elected head of
40 state would not be cost-free either.

The monarchy is accused of entrenching elitism and the class system, but it is a fantasy to imagine that those things would vanish in a republic; they certainly have not in America. It is accused of damaging democracy because (on paper) the Queen retains vast

45 constitutional powers. But this ignores the fact that there is not the remotest chance that she or her successors would actually use them; if ever she or they did, then Britain could and indeed should consider becoming a republic.

On the other hand, it is just as plausible to assert that there are benefits to a monarchy. At a time when most government institutions everywhere are unpopular and even hated, any
50 part of the state which people still actually like is a rare plus, something not to be discarded lightly. And what would replace the monarch? An elected and therefore political head of state is sure to upset at least one large section of the electorate a lot more than an uncontroversial one who is above politics.

Admittedly, the value of continuity and tradition, and of a focus for Britain's quiet brand
55 of patriotism are difficult to assess. The reality is that the monarchy does not do much harm and does not do much good; but it is accepted and liked by most Britons. Getting rid of it simply isn't worth the fuss.

And the case for modest reform

CRITICS of Britain's monarchy will often say that if you were starting a 21st-century
60 democracy from scratch you wouldn't dream of having an hereditary head of state.

The fact that a monarchy is not intellectually justifiable does not mean that it does not have a stabilising role. This may be particularly true in Britain, a composite nation. The division of the currently United Kingdom is a goal that some value dearly, but for Britons who do not particularly identify with one of the kingdom's constituent parts, the crown
65 may seem a more binding element. And in the absence of a written constitution, it is probably a better focus for the loyalties of the armed forces than the prime minister would be.

But to keep Britain's monarchy does not entail keeping it in its current form. Its entangled history of democracy and monarchy has left Britain with a highly centralized constitution
70 that locates the nation's sovereignty in "the king in parliament"—a situation that gives the leader of the majority party in the legislature a disturbingly large part of the power that was once vested entirely in the monarchy. This situation could be remedied quite easily by keeping the crown but changing its constitutional basis to one along the lines of that most excellent of countries, Belgium. Belgium is a popular monarchy. Its constitution makes
75 clear that sovereignty rests in the people; the King (or Queen, though it has yet to have one)—who is King of the Belgians, a people, not Belgium, a territory— becomes monarch not by right, but by taking an oath to uphold the people's constitution.

A change to the British constitution which made the kingdom's various peoples sovereign and the head of state the guardian of that sovereignty, not the source of it, would be a
80 welcome plank in the more general programme of reform that the British state clearly needs. The British helped to give the Belgians their constitution in 1830. If the Belgians were to give some of it back 200 years on that would be a worthy return.

The Economist, September 8th, 2015

QUESTIONS

I. Explain the following references:

“Queen Malia” (l. 7); “Queen Elizabeth II” (l. 13), “The Windsors” (l. 15), “overmighty Parliament” (l. 18), “Ipsos-Mori” (l. 28), “Queen’s golden jubilee” (l. 34)

II. Answer the following questions and justify:

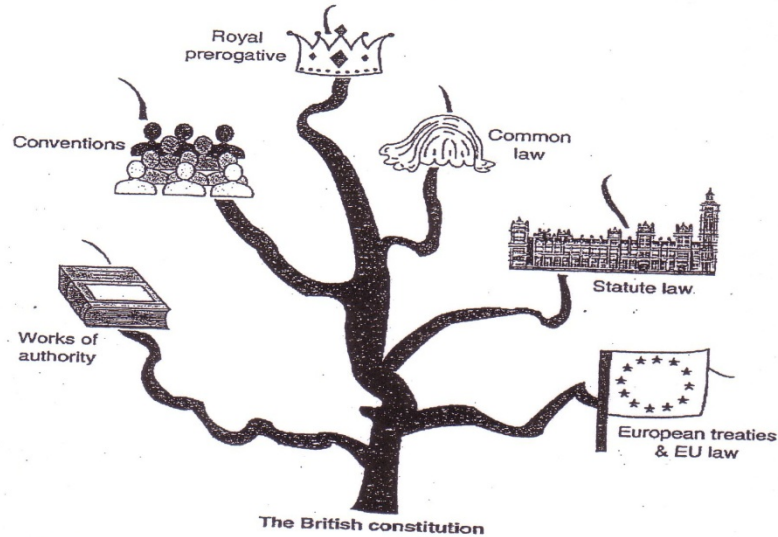
1. Why are Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump, Barack Obama and Malia Obama mentioned?
2. What are the arguments against the monarchy?
3. What are the arguments for the monarchy?
4. What does the reform mentioned by the authors consist in?

III. Introduce the document:

1. What is the nature and origin of this document?
2. Identify both author(s) and addressee(s).
3. Place this document in its immediate relevant context:
 - a. What historical event is about?
 - b. What is the main idea of the text? (Sum up the text in 2/3 sentences)
 - c. What is the main aim of the text?
4. Find a general question (problematique) in order to organise a well-argued commentary of the text. Give the 2/3 main parts organising your commentary.
5. With the help of the answers given in 1-4, write a full introduction to a well-argued commentary of the text.

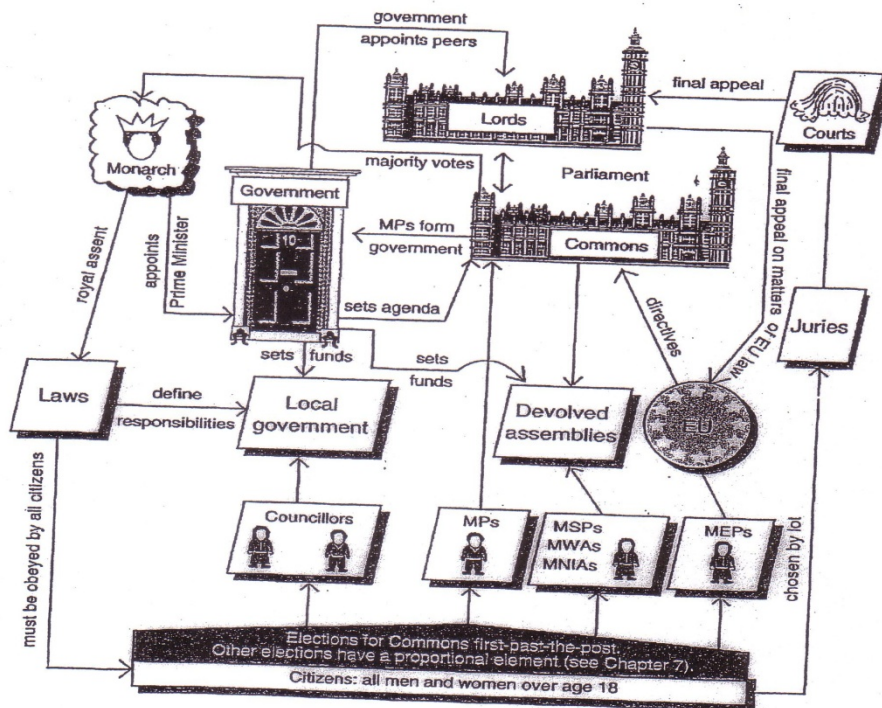
Document 5

The sources of the British constitution (1)



Adapted from Kingdom 1991.

The British constitution



David Roberts (ed.), *British Politics in Focus*, Second Edition, Causeway Press Limited, Lancs, p. 83, 2004.

Document 6

The sources of the British constitution (2)

Source	Examples
<i>Acts of Parliament</i>	<p><i>Concerning Parliament</i></p> <p>The Bill of Rights 1689. The Act of Settlement 1701. The Act of Union with Scotland 1707. The Acts of 1832, 1867, 1884, 1918, 1928 and 1969 dealing with the Reform of Parliament The Parliament Acts of 1911 and 1949 (see page 119) The Life Peerage Act 1958 and the Peerage Act 1963 (see pages 120-21)</p> <p><i>Concerning civil liberties</i></p> <p>The Habeas Corpus Act 1679 (see page 23) The Public Order Act 1936 (see page 24) The Race Relations Acts 1965 and 1976 (see page 24)</p>
<i>Common law</i>	With the exception mentioned above, a good deal of the law relating to civil liberties in Britain is made by judges (see page 198)
<i>Conventions and customs of Parliament</i>	<p>That the leader of the party commanding a majority in the House of Commons shall be invited by the Sovereign to form a Government (see page 34)</p> <p>That the Sovereign shall appoint as ministers those recommended to her by the Prime Minister (see page 113)</p> <p>That the Sovereign shall give her assent to every bill which has been accepted by both Houses of Parliament (see page 114)</p> <p>That the Prime Minister shall sit in the House of Commons</p> <p>That a Government shall resign without meeting Parliament if it has been clearly defeated at a general election</p> <p>That a backbench member of the opposition party shall be appointed chairman of the Public Accounts Committee (see page 80)</p> <p>That the Speaker of the House of Commons shall be impartial (see page 71)</p>
<i>Community Law</i>	Some laws of the European Community (of which Britain became a member in 1973) are 'directly applicable' in Britain without being made the subject of a separate Act of Parliament (see page 199)
<i>Authoritative books</i>	Great importance is attached at times to the opinions expressed in classic writings on the Constitution, such as Walter Bagehot's <i>The English Constitution</i> , Dicey's <i>The Law and Custom of the Constitution</i> and Erskine May's <i>Treatise on the Law, Privileges, Proceedings and Usage of Parliament</i>

A. J. Baker. *Examining British politics*. London : Hutchinson, 1986, p. 22.

Document 7

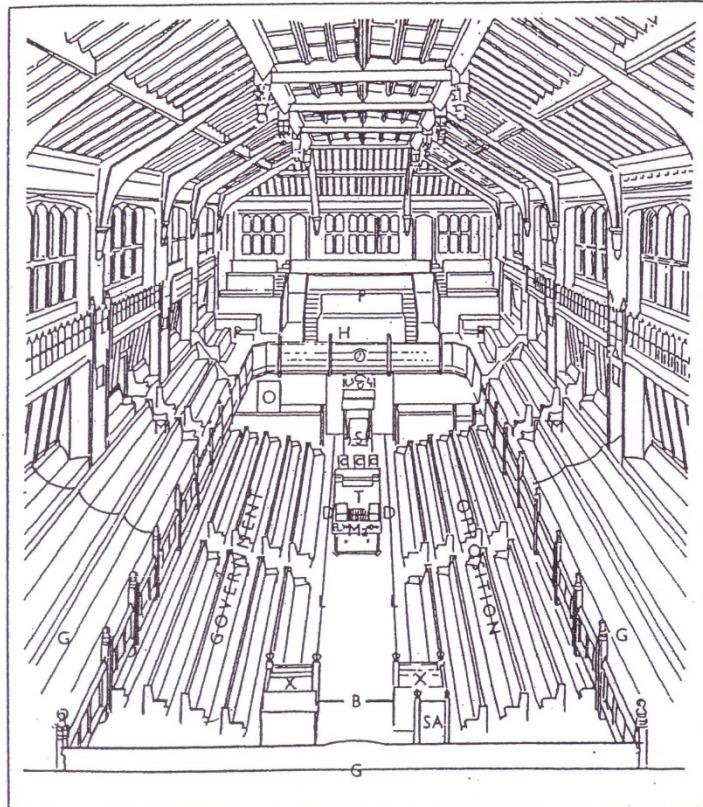
An elective dictatorship?

- 1 I have called this lecture 'Elective Dictatorship'. You may think that a strange title. And you may think it all the stranger when I tell you that I mean by it our own system of government, which we have evolved through the centuries, and which we are apt to think of as the best and most democratic in the world.
- 5 Now, please do not misunderstand me. I am as proud of our country and its institutions as anyone. For 700 years, we have been governed by one sovereign body – Queen, Lords, and Commons in Parliament assembled. It has served us well. For century after century, it has seen us safely through one change after another, from mediaeval monarchy to modern democracy. Under it, in our own time, we have survived and been victorious in two immense world wars, largely because of the very qualities I am about to criticise. Even more strikingly, it is surely due to its unique combination of flexibility and authority that, for more than 300 years, we have managed to live together as a nation, in periods of constant change, without the searing experience of violent revolution or civil war.
- 10 Above all, I would wish to emphasise that our constitution has one advantage of priceless value: its immemorial antiquity, which, with its power of continuous growth, gives it a prestige and mystique not shared by any other nation in the world.
- 15 All the same, I think the time has come to take stock, and to recognise how this nation, supposedly dedicated to freedom under law, has moved towards a totalitarianism which can only be altered by a systematic and radical overhaul of our constitution.
- 20 We are sometimes unaware that our constitution is unique. There is nothing quite like it, even among nations to whom we have given independence. They believe, of course, they have inherited the so-called Westminster model. Nothing of the kind. The Westminster model is something we have never exported, and, if we tried to do so, I doubt whether any nation would have been prepared to accept it. The point is not that all other nations have what is called, in a literal sense, a 'written constitution'. After all, much of our own constitution is in writing, and much more could be reduced to writing if we wanted, without making any appreciable change.
- 25 No, the point is that the powers of our own Parliament are absolute and unlimited. And in this, we are almost alone. All other free nations impose limitations on their representative assemblies. We impose none on ours. Parliament can take away a man's liberty or his life without a trial, and in past centuries, it has actually done so. It can prolong its own life, and in our own time, has done so twice, quite properly, during two world wars.
- 30 No doubt, in recent times, Parliament has not abused these particular powers. Nonetheless, the point I am making is that, as a result of the changes in its operation and structure, the absence of any legal limitation on the powers of Parliament has become quite unacceptable. And the questions which I desire to leave for your consideration are, first, whether the time has not come to end or modify this legal theory, and, secondly, whether and how it is possible to do so.
- 35 Of course, this doctrine of absolute sovereignty of Parliament has been fully recognised for very many years. Judges may pass judgment on the acts of ministers, as they have recently done in the Tameside dispute, and in the arguments about Laker Skytrain or the payment of sewerage rates. To this extent, the rule of law applies and prevails here as in other free countries. But once the courts are confronted with an Act of Parliament, all they can do is to ascertain its meaning, if they can, and then apply it as justly and mercifully as the language of the law permits. So, of the two pillars of our constitution, the rule of law and the sovereignty of Parliament, it is the sovereignty of Parliament which is paramount in every case.
- 40 The limitations on it are only political and moral. They are found in the consciences of members, in the necessity for periodical elections, and in the so-called checks and balances inherent in the composition, structure and practice of Parliament itself.
- 45 Only a revolution, bloody or peacefully contrived, can put an end to the situation which I have just described. We live under an elective dictatorship, absolute in theory, if hitherto thought tolerable in practice. How far it is still tolerable is the question I want to raise for discussion.
- 50 A good deal of water has flowed under Westminster Bridge since the sovereignty of Parliament was first established. And almost every drop has flowed in one direction: an enhancement of the actual use of its powers. To begin with, there has been a continuous enlargement of the scale and range of government itself. Then there has been a change in the relative influence of the different elements in government, so as to place all the effective powers in the hands of one of them; in other words, the checks and balances, which in practice used to prevent abuse, have now disappeared. So both sets of changes have operated in the same direction – to increase the extent to which elective dictatorship is a fact, and not just a lawyer's theory.
- 55 Until comparatively recently, Parliament consisted of two effective chambers. Now, for most practical purposes, it consists of one. Until recently, the powers of government within Parliament were largely controlled either by the opposition or by its own back-benchers. It is now largely in the hands of the government machine, so that the government controls Parliament, and not Parliament the government. Until recently, debate and argument dominated the parliamentary scene. Now, it is the whips and the party caucus. [...]
- 60
- 65
- 70
- 75

Lord Hailsham. *The Dimpleby Lecture. The Listener*, 21/10/1976.

Documents

The House of Commons



KEY: S — Mr Speaker P — Press galleries H — *Hansard* reporters O — Government officials' box C — Clerks of the House (when the House goes into committee, Mr Speaker leaves the chair, and the chairman sits in the chair of the Clerk of the House, which is the one on the left) T — Table of the House D — Dispatch boxes Ma — Mace (when the House goes into committee, the Mace is put 'below the Table' on hooks) L — lines over which members may not step when speaking from the front benches B — Bar of the House X — Cross benches SA — Serjeant-at-Arms M — Members' galleries G — Public galleries.

A Guide for Visitors to the House of Commons, HMSO.

Document 9

Parliamentary Reform What the Lords are for

A new plan to shake up an ancient assembly, and plenty of disagreement about it

1 When pondering what a representative democracy should look like, one option the authors of America's *Federalist Papers* never entertained was to give eminent crime-writers a say in shaping the nation's laws. Yet that is what Britain's constitution currently allows: Ruth Rendell, creator of Chief Inspector Wexford, and P.D James who dreamt up Commander Adam Dalgliesh, are both members of
5 the House of Lords. The place is not short of such quirks. Since there is no formal way of calling speakers, the chamber decides collectively who should take precedence, by hollering¹. And whereas in most bicameral systems the upper house has fewer members than the lower, the Lords outnumber the Commons by 746 members to 639. Many seldom show up.

Yet for all that the House of Lords is currently working better than it has for a long time. On
10 February 5th it inflicted another defeat on the government, over a bill to hold managers responsible for deaths at work. The Home Office wanted an exemption for those who died in police custody or in prison; the Lords said no. Since a newish Labour government reformed the house in 1999, removing most of the (mainly Conservative) tweed-clad² hereditary peers and leaving the appointed peers in command, the assorted businessmen, scientists, party hacks³ and lawyers in the Lords have defeated
15 the government more than 350 times. They do a better job of scrutinizing laws than MPs, debate more interesting subjects (on inheritance tax last week, on Chinese investment in Africa this week) and often produce better reports.

Yet even though the reforms seem to have made the Lords bolder, the system looks anachronistic and untidy. It has also landed the government in trouble for trying to give peerages to people who lent Labour money. Which is why Jack Straw, the leader of the House of Commons,
20 published on February 7th a proposal to change the composition of the Lords again. Mr Straw is keen for the reform to stick and has come up with a new way of expressing preference for different options that should lead to an agreement - in the Commons, at least - on reform. Elections to the Lords, were they agreed, would probably happen at the same time as elections to the European Parliament and like them be based on proportional representation. The peers would be pruned⁴ to 540.

Most in the Commons support an upper chamber that is at least partially elected. The Conservatives have had a clear policy in favour of a largely elected upper house for the past five years, even if plenty of their MPs feel uneasy about it. Mr Straw prefers a mixture in which half of the peers would be elected and half appointed (some, as now, by political parties) which sounds like a mess. But
25 plenty of thoughtful people (many of them in the Lords) are holding out⁵ for oligarchy⁶. (...)

Powerful upper houses occur in federal states, and they are powerful because their senators are elected to represent a discrete interest. Since Britain is not federal, it is not clear whom the elected peers would be there to represent. And without a veto, they would be in the odd position of having a mandate from the electorate but not much chance to exercise it. (...)

30 Even ardent democrats like Andrew Tyrie, a Conservative MP who worries about power being concentrated in too few hands, do not want it to become a veto-wielding rival to the lower house. And only a few people on the Labour left think the thing should be scrapped altogether, which would at least be neat.

The Economist, 10/02/07

¹ To holler: to shout, to yell.

² Tweed-clad: dressed in a woollen cloth with a rough surface, often woven with mixed colours.

³ Hacks: persons paid to do hard and uninteresting work.

⁴ To prune: to reduce the extent of something by cutting unnecessary parts.

⁵ To hold out for: to deliberately delay reaching an agreement in the hope of gaining something.

⁶ Oligarchy: form of government in which a small group of people hold all the power.

Document 9 (2)

Boris Johnson describes bishops in the House of Lords as “clerical fossils”

<http://www.secularism.org.uk/news/2015/03/boris-johnson-describes-bishops-in-the-house-of-lords-as-clerical-fossils>, Tue, 24 Mar 2015

London Mayor Boris Johnson has described Anglican bishops with the automatic right to a seat in the House of Lords as "clerical fossils." Speaking to LBC, the Conservative politician discussed the separation of church and state in the UK and said that the division "is not perhaps as thoroughgoing in this country as you might like to think." The Mayor told listeners, "don't forget we have bishops sitting by right in our upper house" and added that it was an "an interesting fact" that the UK has "some clerical fossils still in our legislature."

In recent months bishops in the House of Lords have opposed mitochondrial donation, and they opposed equal marriage legislation in 2013.

Twenty-six bishops, including two archbishops, currently have the automatic right to a seat in the House of Lords. The National Secular Society, which campaigns against religious privilege, welcomed the Mayor's comments. NSS campaigns manager, Stephen Evans, commented: "It's refreshing to hear a politician advocating for the principle of the separation of church and state. We see all around the world the conflict that is created when religion and government are entwined. The position of the bishops in the House of Lords means that they have privileged access to the political process and the ability to vote on laws that apply to us all. Britain is incredibly religiously diverse and many of us don't hold or practise any religious beliefs. Mr Johnson is therefore right to recognise that our political structures should reflect the reality of changing times by separating religion from the state."[...] Mr Evans added: "Secularism is much maligned by those seeking to maintain religious privilege by supporting a multi-faith approach, but secularism remains the only sensible framework for ensuring that all citizens' personal freedoms of religion or belief and conscience are equally respected."

Document 9 (3)

House of Lords: Pros and Cons of an Unelected Upper Chamber

1 Proposals to curb the powers of the House of Lords have been shelved by the government.

 Last year, the then prime minister David Cameron published a report from Lord Strathclyde, a former Conservative leader of the Lords, recommending that peers should
5 lose the right to veto secondary legislation.

 Cameron and his chancellor George Osborne had asked Strathclyde to come up with a method of reforming the power of the Lords, where the Tories do not have a majority, after a number of government defeats in the upper chamber.

 But in a speech to fellow MPs, David Liddington, the leader of the Commons, has since
10 said that "while the government found the analysis of Lord Strathclyde compelling, and we are determined that the principle of the supremacy of the elected House should be upheld, we have no plans for now to introduce new primary legislation".

 Strathclyde originally floated three options, but said the one he recommended was for a new law saying the Lords should only have the right to reject secondary legislation once,
15 and that if the Commons passes the measure a second time, it should go through.

 His proposal has been rejected because "ministers want a more constructive relationship with the Lords", says the BBC's Laura Kuenssberg.

 The decision to shelve the plans is "not surprising", says The Guardian's Andrew Sparrow, "because Theresa May is going to need every ounce of goodwill she can squeeze
20 out of the upper house as it begins the marathon task of passing Brexit legislation".

 Reform of the House has been the subject of debate by politicians for more than 100 years, but few real changes have been made. So what should happen to the House of Lords and who should be eligible for peerage?

Who sits in the House of Lords?

25 The chamber currently has 695 eligible life peers, appointed by the Queen on the advice of the prime minister. It also has 91 hereditary peers and 26 bishops. Three in four members are men. The Conservatives have the highest number of peers (255), followed by Labour (206) and the Lib Dems (104). There are also a handful of other parties represented, including one Green Party member and three from UKIP. High-profile
30 appointments in the past few years have included Alan Sugar, star of The Apprentice, and Doreen Lawrence, mother of murdered teenager Stephen Lawrence. Members meet in Westminster and are expected to scrutinise Bills approved by the House of Commons. While they cannot normally prevent laws from being passed, they can delay Bills and force elected politicians to reconsider their proposals.

35 How much are peers paid?

 Peers are not paid a salary but can claim a flat daily allowance of £150 or £300 if they attend a sitting. Members of the Lords can also take on roles as Government ministers, for which they do receive a salary, in which case they are not entitled to claim the attendance allowance.

40 What's wrong with the current system?

 Campaigners, such as the Electoral Reform Society, argue that it is undemocratic to have hundreds of unelected politicians passing laws and deciding how Britain is run. With more than 780 peers (despite only 400 seats being available), the House is the world's second largest decision-making body after China's National People's Congress.

45 Former Labour leader Ed Miliband said the issue is not just constitutional, but economic, social and one of fairness. The House of Lords as it stands "fails to represent

large parts of the UK", he says. For example, the north-west of England has nearly the same population as London but the capital has five times more members in the House of Lords.

50 In 2013, a Survation poll showed that 76 per cent of the public wanted members of the House of Lords to be elected for fixed terms, with just 11 per cent supporting the current system.

What's right about the House of Lords?

55 The Daily Telegraph's Peter Osborne says it is important to acknowledge that the House of Lords continues to work remarkably well. He claims that an elected House of Lords would never have the will or the courage to stand out against public opinion and he highlights the "very valuable" peers, such as retired generals, trades union leaders, leading academics and judges, who currently sit in the house. "These are people with immense expertise, an important counterbalance to the Commons," he says.

60 Many Conservatives have also raised fears about losing expertise if an elected senate was introduced. They believe that the Lords would be filled with career politicians who have worked their way up through political parties, reducing the house's independent character. A directly elected House of Lords is also likely to become more assertive, some argue, with potential for the political gridlock that is sometimes seen in the US.

65 What are the alternatives?

All the main parties have pledged to cut the number of peers, and many politicians agree that hereditary peers should be phased out. Labour limited their number to 92 in 1999 and Miliband proposed a wholly elected senate, with more proportionate numbers from Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and the English regions, rather than constituencies like
70 MPs. Three years ago, the Lib Dems put forward a proposal to halve the total number of members and ensure that at least 80 per cent of peers are elected. The party initially proposed single staggered 15-year terms with members paid as full-time parliamentarians. However, the plans were "shelved" after an agreement with Tory opponents could not be reached.

Tanya Gold, *The Week*, November 17th, 2016

QUESTIONS

I. Explain the following references:

“House of Lords”; “House of Commons”, “right to veto secondary legislation”, David Cameron, Theresa May, “MP”, BBC, *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph*

II. Answer the following questions and justify:

1. What did Lord Strathclyde’s report recommend?
2. What did David Cameron expect when he commissioned this report?
3. How was Lord Strathclyde’s recommendation welcomed? Why, according to *The Guardian*?
4. How many Lords sit in the House of Lords? Who are they?
5. What political parties are represented in the House of Lords?
6. What is the role of the Lords?
7. Are the Lords paid?
8. According to the article, what is working in the current system?
9. According to the article, what is not working in the current system?
10. What are the alternatives to the current system?

III. Introduce the document:

1. What is the nature and origin of this document?
2. Identify both author(s) and addressee(s).
3. Place this document in its immediate relevant context:
 - a. What historical event is about?
 - b. What is the main idea of the text? (Sum up the text in 2/3 sentences)
 - c. What is the main aim of the text?
4. Find a general question (problematique) in order to organise a well-argued commentary of the text. Give the 2/3 main parts organising your commentary.
5. With the help of the answers given in 1-4, write a full introduction to a well-argued commentary of the text.

Document 10: The Composition of the House of Lords

<https://members.parliament.uk/parties/lords/by-peerage> (9 December 2020)

Lords membership - by peerage

This page shows eligible Members of the House of Lords, broken down by peerage, who can scrutinise bills, investigate government activity through committee work, and questions government through oral and written questions, as well as debates.

Summary **By peerage** By gender

Party/group	Life peers*	Excepted hereditary peers**	Bishops	Total
 Conservative	213	45	-	258
 Crossbench	150	30	-	180
 Labour	174	3	-	177
 Liberal Democrat	85	3	-	88
 Non-affiliated	45	5	-	50
 Bishops	0	0	26	26
 Democratic Unionist Party	5	0	-	5
 Green Party	2	0	-	2
 Ulster Unionist Party	2	0	-	2
 Conservative Independent	1	0	-	1
 Independent Labour	1	0	-	1
 Independent Social Democrat	1	0	-	1
 Labour Independent	1	0	-	1
 Lord Speaker	1	0	-	1
 Plaid Cymru	1	0	-	1
Totals	682	86	26	794

Document 11

Her Majesty's most gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament, 19 December 2019

<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/queens-speech-december-2019>



My Lords and Members of the House of Commons.

My Government's priority is to deliver the United Kingdom's departure from the European Union on 31 January. My Ministers will bring forward legislation to ensure the United Kingdom's exit on that date and to make the most of the opportunities that this brings for all the people of the United Kingdom.

Thereafter, my Ministers will seek a future relationship with the European Union based on a free trade agreement that benefits the whole of the United Kingdom. They will also begin trade negotiations with other leading global economies.

The integrity and prosperity of the United Kingdom is of the utmost importance to my Government. My Ministers will work urgently to facilitate talks to restore devolved Government in Northern Ireland.

My Government will embark on an ambitious programme of domestic reform that delivers on the people's priorities. For the first time, the National Health Service's multi-year funding settlement, agreed earlier this year, will be enshrined in law.

Steps will be taken to grow and support the National Health Service's workforce and a new visa will ensure qualified doctors, nurses and health professionals have fast-track entry to the United Kingdom. Hospital car parking charges will be removed for those in greatest need.

My Ministers will seek cross-party consensus on proposals for long term reform of social care. They will ensure that the social care system provides everyone with the dignity and security they deserve and that no one who needs care has to sell their home to pay for it. My ministers will continue work to reform the Mental Health Act.

A modern, fair, points-based immigration system will welcome skilled workers from across the world to contribute to the United Kingdom's economy, communities and public services.

My Government will bring forward measures to support working families, raising the National Insurance threshold and increasing the National Living Wage. To ensure every child has access to a high-quality education my Ministers will increase levels of funding per pupil in every school.

Measures will be brought forward to encourage flexible working, to introduce the entitlement to leave for unpaid carers and to help people save for later life. New measures will be brought forward to protect tenants and to improve building safety. My Government will take steps to support home ownership, including by making homes available at a discount for local first-time buyers. My Ministers will develop legislation to improve internet safety for all.

My Government is committed to a fair justice system that keeps people safe. My ministers will establish a Royal Commission to review and improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the criminal justice process. New sentencing laws will ensure the most serious violent offenders, including terrorists, serve longer in custody. New laws will require schools, police, councils and health authorities to work together to prevent serious crime. My Government will ensure those charged with knife possession face swift justice and that the courts work better for all those who engage with them, including victims of domestic abuse. Legislation will be brought forward to support victims of crime and their families. Measures will be developed to tackle hostile activity conducted by foreign states.

My Ministers will bring forward measures to ensure that every part of the United Kingdom can prosper. My Government will invest in the country's public services and infrastructure whilst keeping borrowing and debt under control; maintaining the sustainability of the public finances through a responsible fiscal strategy. My Government will prioritise investment in infrastructure and world-leading science research and skills, in order to unleash productivity and improve daily life for communities across the country. It will give communities more control over how investment is spent so that they can decide what is best for them.

To support business, my government will increase tax credits for research and development, establish a National Skills Fund, and bring forward changes to business rates. New laws will accelerate the delivery of gigabit capable broadband. To ensure people can depend on the transport network, measures will be developed to provide for minimum levels of service during transport strikes.

My Government will continue to take steps to meet the world-leading target of net zero greenhouse gas emissions by 2050. It will continue to lead the way in tackling global climate change, hosting the COP26 Summit in 2020. To protect and improve the environment for

future generations, a bill will enshrine in law environmental principles and legally-binding targets, including for air quality. It will also ban the export of polluting plastic waste to countries outside the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, and establish a new, world-leading independent regulator in statute.

A Constitution, Democracy and Rights Commission will be established. Work will be taken forward to repeal the Fixed-term Parliaments Act.

My Government will continue to invest in our gallant Armed Forces. My Government will honour the Armed Forces Covenant, which will be further incorporated into law, and the NATO commitment to spend at least two per cent of national income on defence. It will bring forward proposals to tackle vexatious claims that undermine our Armed Forces and will continue to seek better ways of dealing with legacy issues that provide better outcomes for victims and survivors.

My Government will work to promote and expand the United Kingdom's influence in the world. An Integrated Security, Defence and Foreign Policy Review will be undertaken to reassess the nation's place in the world, covering all aspects of international policy from defence to diplomacy and development. My Ministers will promote the United Kingdom's interests, including freedom of speech, human rights and the rule of law. My Government will work closely with international partners to help solve the most complex international security issues and promote peace and security globally. It will stand firm against those who threaten the values of the United Kingdom, including by developing a sanctions regime to directly address human rights abuse, and working to ensure that all girls have access to twelve years of quality education.

Members of the House of Commons

Estimates for the public services will be laid before you.

My Lords and Members of the House of Commons

Other measures will be laid before you.

I pray that the blessing of Almighty God may rest upon your counsels.



My Guarantee

If there is a majority of Conservative MPs on December 13th, I guarantee I will get our new deal through Parliament. We will get Brexit done in January and unleash the potential of our whole country.

I guarantee:

- Extra funding for the NHS, with 50,000 more nurses and 50 million more GP surgery appointments a year.
- 20,000 more police and tougher sentencing for criminals.
- An Australian-style points-based system to control immigration.
- Millions more invested every week in science, schools, apprenticeships and infrastructure while controlling debt.
- Reaching Net Zero by 2050 with investment in clean energy solutions and green infrastructure to reduce carbon emissions and pollution.
- We will not raise the rate of income tax, VAT or National Insurance.

If Jeremy Corbyn's Labour and Nicola Sturgeon's SNP team up and take control on December 13th, we will have two referendums on Brexit and Scotland in 2020.

Please support a majority Conservative Government so our country can move on instead of going backwards.



https://assets-global.website-files.com/5da42e2cae7ebd3f8bde353c/5dda924905da587992a064ba_Conservative%202019%20Manifesto.pdf

IT'S TIME FOR REAL CHANGE

THE LABOUR PARTY MANIFESTO 2019



**FOR THE MANY
NOT THE FEW**

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<https://labour.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Large-Print-Manifesto-2019-pdf.pdf>

PLAN FOR BRITAIN'S FUTURE:

Tackle the climate emergency

Tackle the climate emergency by generating 80% of our electricity from renewables by 2030 and insulating all low-income homes by 2025.

Give every child the best start in life

Give every child the best start in life by recruiting 20,000 more teachers as part of an extra £10 billion a year for schools.

Build a fairer economy

Build a fairer economy by providing free childcare from 9 months and giving every adult £10,000 to spend on skills & training throughout their lives.

Transform our mental health services

Transform our mental health services by treating mental health with the same urgency as physical health.

2019 LIBERAL DEMOCRAT MANIFESTO

<https://www.libdems.org.uk/plan>



A CLEAN-BREAK BREXIT IS THE KEY TO CHANGING BRITAIN FOR GOOD

Our priority is to Leave the European Union and deliver the Brexit that 17.4m voted for in 2016. Acting on the biggest popular mandate in British history is crucial to restore faith in our democracy. What sort of democratic society do we live in, if a few Parliamentarians can defy the expressed will of the people?

Leaving the undemocratic EU is just the beginning. It will be the first step in a political revolution. We want fundamental democratic reforms to fix our broken political system and make Parliament serve the People.

A Clean-Break Brexit can also shape the future of our economy and society. It will give us the freedom to shape our future by taking immediate control of our own laws, borders, money, fishing and defence.

We want to cancel HS2, save 50% of the foreign aid budget and save another £13bn a year in payments to the EU. That money can form part of a Brexit dividend to invest billions in Britain's Regions, cut the cost of living, and build a better future for millions of our people.

<https://www.thebrexitparty.org/contract/#contract-top>

MY VISION

This manifesto sets out how to build a better Scotland.

It's a manifesto to benefit this and future generations.

At the heart of our case is the belief that decisions about Scotland's future are best taken by the people who live in Scotland, wherever they come from.

We are an extraordinary country, diverse and outward-looking, with great potential and much to look forward to. But the future of our country is at stake.

This election really matters.

People are heartily sick of Brexit and the mess at Westminster. But there is no end in sight to the Westminster Brexit chaos.

A vote for the SNP is a vote to escape Brexit.

It's a vote to put Scotland's future in Scotland's hands.

SNP MPs will always stand up for Scotland. We answer to the people who live here – not to any leader at Westminster.

This manifesto sets out our plans to keep Scotland and the UK in the EU, protect the NHS, reverse Westminster cuts to the Scottish budget, help with the cost of living, protect the environment and win a fair deal for pensioners.

There is a real chance the SNP could hold the balance of power after the election on December 12 and the larger the number of SNP MPs, the more we can do for Scotland.

The SNP is willing to take part in a progressive alliance to lock the Tories out of office.

In any discussion, we will demand that the democratic right of people in Scotland to decide their own future is respected.

As an independent European nation we will always get the governments we vote for; the Scottish Parliament will have full control of tax and social security policy; no Westminster government could ever threaten our NHS and we could choose to spend money on Scotland's priorities instead of wasting billions of pounds on Trident.

So, at this election there is a choice for Scotland.

A chaotic, Brexit-obsessed Westminster could decide our future for us. Or we can demand our right as a country to decide our own future.

It's time to put Scotland's future in Scotland's hands.



https://s3-eu-west-2.amazonaws.com/www.snp.org/uploads/2019/11/11_27-SNP-Manifesto-2019-for-download.pdf



http://www.manifesto.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Plaid-Cymru-Manifesto-2019_ENGLISH_DIGITAL.pdf

The future, it's us.
Our Five Key Priorities
For Wales:

01

Welsh Green Jobs Revolution
Create tens of thousands of new jobs throughout Wales by kick-starting a multi-billion investment programme in renewable energy, transport infrastructure and digital technology, with the goal of making Wales a carbon and single-use plastic free nation by 2030.

02

Caring for Everyone
Free social care for the elderly and other vulnerable citizens through a new National Health and Social Care Service, with an additional 1,000 new doctors, 5,000 new nurses, and 100 new NHS dentists offering seamless access to health and care for everyone throughout Wales.

03

A Fair Deal for Families
Universal free childcare for 40 hours a week, and a new £35 a week payment for every child in low income families, lifting 50,000 children in Wales out of poverty. Plus £300m extra for schools and colleges to give our children the best start in life.

04

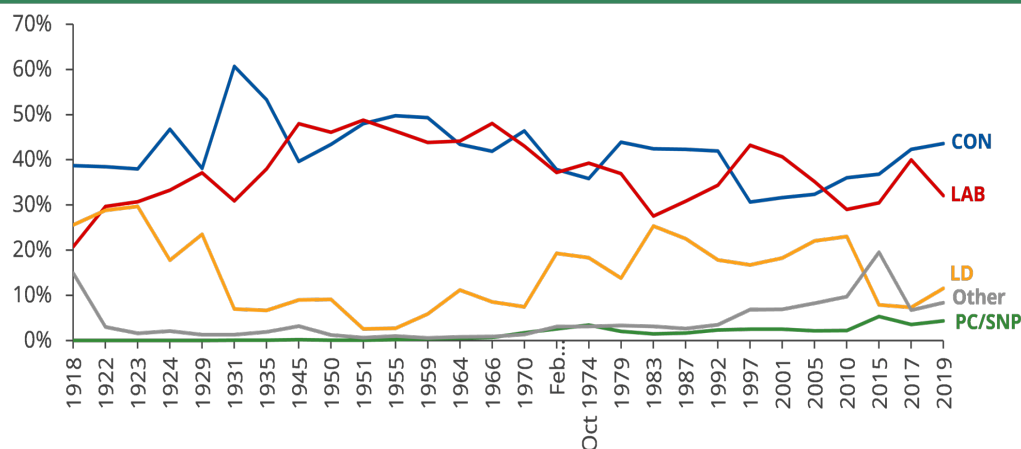
Action on Housing
Major investment in environmentally sustainable affordable homes and rent relief for people who pay more than 30% of their income on rent.

05

Combating Crime
Create a Welsh justice system, devolve policing and create a new crime prevention fund to recruit 1,600 extra police officers, at least two for every community in Wales, to keep us safe.

Document 13: The Voting Statistics

Share of the vote by party: UK General Elections



<https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-7529/>

Table 1a: General Election Results, 1918-2019: United Kingdom¹

		Votes (millions)					Total
		CON2	LAB	LD3	PC/SNP	Other	
1918	4	4,14	2,25	2,79	..	1,61	10,79
1922		5,50	4,24	4,14	..	0,51	14,39
1923		5,51	4,44	4,30	..	0,29	14,55
1924		7,85	5,49	2,93	..	0,37	16,64
1929		8,66	8,37	5,31	0,00	0,31	22,65
1931		13,16	6,65	1,48	0,02	0,35	21,66
1935		11,76	8,33	1,44	0,03	0,44	22,00
1945		9,97	11,97	2,25	0,05	0,86	25,10
1950		12,49	13,27	2,62	0,03	0,36	28,77
1951		13,72	13,95	0,73	0,02	0,18	28,60
1955		13,31	12,41	0,72	0,06	0,26	26,76
1959		13,75	12,22	1,64	0,10	0,16	27,86
1964		12,00	12,21	3,10	0,13	0,22	27,66
1966		11,42	13,10	2,33	0,19	0,23	27,26
1970		13,15	12,21	2,12	0,48	0,39	28,34
1974	Feb	11,87	11,65	6,06	0,80	0,96	31,34
1974	Oct	10,46	11,46	5,35	1,01	0,92	29,19
1979		13,70	11,53	4,31	0,64	1,04	31,22
1983		13,01	8,46	7,78	0,46	0,96	30,67
1987		13,76	10,03	7,34	0,54	0,86	32,53
1992		14,09	11,56	6,00	0,78	1,18	33,61
1997		9,60	13,52	5,24	0,78	2,14	31,29
2001		8,34	10,72	4,81	0,66	1,83	26,37
2005		8,78	9,55	5,99	0,59	2,24	27,15
2010		10,70	8,61	6,84	0,66	2,88	29,69
2015		11,30	9,35	2,42	1,64	6,00	30,70
2017		13,64	12,88	2,37	1,14	2,18	32,20
2019		13,97	10,27	3,70	1,40	2,69	32,01

Table 1b: General Election Results, 1918-2019: United Kingdom¹

		Candidates					Total
		CON ²	LAB	LD ³	PC/SNP	Other	
1918	4	445	361	421	..	396	1 623
1922		482	414	485	..	60	1441
1923		536	427	457	..	26	1 446
1924		534	514	339	..	41	1 428
1929		590	569	513	3	55	1 730
1931		583	516	117	7	69	1 292
1935		583	552	161	9	43	1 348
1945		618	603	306	15	141	1 683
1950		619	617	475	10	147	1 868
1951		617	617	109	6	27	1 376
1955		624	620	110	13	42	1 409
1959		625	621	216	25	49	1 536
1964		630	628	365	38	96	1 757
1966		629	622	311	43	102	1 707
1970		628	625	332	101	151	1 837
1974	Feb	623	623	517	106	266	2 135
1974	Oct	622	623	619	107	281	2 252
1979		622	623	577	107	647	2 576
1983		633	633	633	110	569	2 578
1987		633	633	633	109	317	2 325
1992		645	634	632	107	931	2 949
1997		648	639	639	112	1 686	3 724
2001		643	640	639	112	1 285	3 319
2005		630	627	626	99	1 572	3 554
2010		631	631	631	99	2 158	4 150
2015		647	631	631	99	1 963	3 971
2017		638	631	629	99	1 307	3 304
2019		635	631	611	95	1 348	3 320

		Share of vote (%)			PC/SNP	Other	Total
		CON2	LAB	LD3			
1918	⁴	38,7%	20,8%	25,6%		14,9%	100%
1922		38,5%	29,7%	28,8%		3,0%	100%
1923		38,0%	30,7%	29,7%		1,6%	100%
1924		46,8%	33,3%	17,8%		2,1%	100%
1929		38,1%	37,1%	23,5%	0,0%	1,3%	100%
1931		60,7%	30,9%	7,0%	0,1%	1,3%	100%
1935		53,3%	38,0%	6,7%	0,1%	1,9%	100%
1945		39,6%	48,0%	9,0%	0,2%	3,2%	100%
1950		43,4%	46,1%	9,1%	0,1%	1,3%	100%
1951		48,0%	48,8%	2,6%	0,1%	0,6%	100%
1955		49,7%	46,4%	2,7%	0,2%	1,0%	100%
1959		49,4%	43,8%	5,9%	0,4%	0,6%	100%
1964		43,4%	44,1%	11,2%	0,5%	0,8%	100%
1966		41,9%	48,0%	8,5%	0,7%	0,9%	100%
1970		46,4%	43,1%	7,5%	1,7%	1,4%	100%
1974	Feb	37,9%	37,2%	19,3%	2,6%	3,1%	100%
1974	Oct	35,8%	39,3%	18,3%	3,4%	3,1%	100%
1979		43,9%	36,9%	13,8%	2,0%	3,3%	100%
1983		42,4%	27,6%	25,4%	1,5%	3,1%	100%
1987		42,3%	30,8%	22,6%	1,7%	2,6%	100%
1992		41,9%	34,4%	17,8%	2,3%	3,5%	100%
1997		30,7%	43,2%	16,8%	2,5%	6,8%	100%
2001		31,6%	40,7%	18,3%	2,5%	6,9%	100%
2005		32,4%	35,2%	22,0%	2,2%	8,2%	100%
2010		36,1%	29,0%	23,0%	2,2%	9,7%	100%
2015		36,8%	30,4%	7,9%	5,3%	19,5%	100%
2017		42,3%	40,0%	7,4%	3,5%	6,8%	100%
2019		43,6%	32,1%	11,5%	4,4%	8,4%	100%

		Seats won			PC/SNP	Other	Total
		CON ²	LAB	LD ³			
1918		382	57	163	..	105	707
1922		344	142	115	..	14	615
1923		258	191	158	..	8	615
1924		412	151	40	..	12	615
1929		260	287	59	0	9	615
1931		522	52	36	0	5	615
1935		429	154	21	0	11	615
1945		210	393	12	0	25	640
1950		298	315	9	0	3	625
1951		321	295	6	0	3	625
1955		345	277	6	0	2	630
1959		365	258	6	0	1	630
1964		304	317	9	0	0	630
1966		253	364	12	0	1	630
1970		330	288	6	1	5	630
1974	Feb	297	301	14	9	14	635
1974	Oct	277	319	13	14	12	635
1979		339	269	11	4	12	635
1983		397	209	23	4	17	650
1987		376	229	22	6	17	650
1992		336	271	20	7	17	651
1997		165	418	46	10	20	659
2001		166	412	52	9	20	659
2005		198	355	62	9	22	646
2010		306	258	57	9	20	650
2015		330	232	8	59	21	650
2017		317	262	12	39	20	650
2019		365	202	11	52	20	650

Document 14: How Different Electoral Systems Work

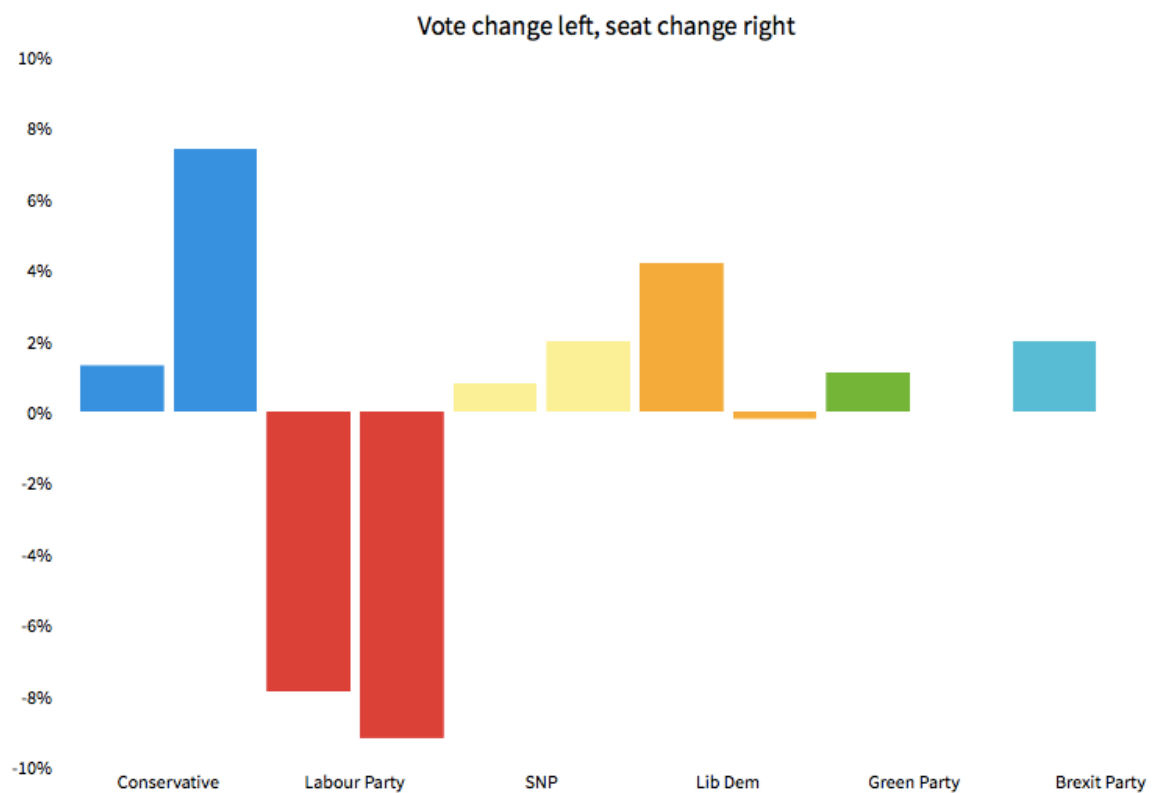
Source:

<https://www.electoral-reform.org.uk/latest-news-and-research/publications/the-2019-general-election-voters-left-voiceless/#sub-section-2>

(a) Results General Elections 2019 – First Past the Post System

Party	% Votes	% Vote Change	Seats	% Seats	Seat Change	% Seat Change
Conservative ²	43.6	1.3	365	56.2	48	7.4
Labour ³	32.1	-7.9	202	31.1	-60	-9.2
Liberal Democrat	11.5	4.2	11	1.7	-1	-0.2
Scottish National Party	3.9	0.8	48	7.4	13	2
Green Party	2.7	1.1	1	0.2	–	–
Brexit Party ⁴	2	2	0	0	–	–
Democratic Unionist Party	0.8	-0.1	8	1.2	-2	-0.3
Sinn Féin	0.6	-0.1	7	1.1	–	0
Plaid Cymru	0.5	0	4	0.6	–	0
Social Democratic and Labour Party	0.4	0.1	2	0.3	2	0.3
Alliance	0.4	0.2	1	0.2	1	0.2
Others (including Speaker)	1.6	N/A	1	0.2	-1	-0.2

(b) Percentage Point Change since 2017



(c) PR (Proportional Representation) proportion

	Seats under List PR (GB)	Difference in Seats from FPTP (GB)
Conservative	288	-77
Labour	216	+13
Liberal Democrat	70	+59
Scottish National Party	28	-20
Green Party	12	+11
Brexit Party	11	+11
Plaid Cymru	4	0
Others (excluding Speaker)	3	+3
Total	632	

(d) Single transferable vote (STV) projection

	Seats under STV (GB)	Difference in Seats from FPTP (GB)
Conservative	312	-53
Labour	221	+18
Liberal Democrat	59	+48
Scottish National Party	30	-18
Plaid Cymru	5	+1
Brexit Party	3	+3
Green Party	2	+1
Others (excluding Speaker)	0	0
Total	632	

Document 15

The Cabinet, 14/12/2020

<https://www.gov.uk/government/ministers>

Cabinet ministers



The Rt Hon
Boris Johnson MP

Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury, Minister for the Union, Minister for the Civil Service



The Rt Hon
Rishi Sunak MP

Chancellor of the Exchequer



The Rt Hon
Dominic Raab MP

Secretary of State for Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Affairs; First Secretary of State



The Rt Hon
Priti Patel MP

Secretary of State for the Home Department



The Rt Hon
Michael Gove MP

Minister for the Cabinet Office, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster



The Rt Hon
Robert Buckland QC MP

Lord Chancellor and Secretary of State for Justice



The Rt Hon
Ben Wallace MP

Secretary of State for Defence



The Rt Hon
Matt Hancock MP

Secretary of State for Health and Social Care



The Rt Hon
Alok Sharma MP

Secretary of State for
Business, Energy and
Industrial Strategy



The Rt Hon
Elizabeth Truss MP

Secretary of State for
International Trade and
President of the Board of
Trade, Minister for Women
and Equalities



The Rt Hon
Thérèse Coffey MP

Secretary of State for Work
and Pensions



The Rt Hon
**Gavin Williamson
CBE MP**

Secretary of State for
Education



The Rt Hon
George Eustice MP

Secretary of State for
Environment, Food and
Rural Affairs



The Rt Hon
Robert Jenrick MP

Secretary of State for
Housing, Communities and
Local Government



The Rt Hon
Grant Shapps MP

Secretary of State for
Transport



The Rt Hon
Brandon Lewis MP

Secretary of State for
Northern Ireland



The Rt Hon
Alister Jack MP

Secretary of State for
Scotland



The Rt Hon
Simon Hart MP

Secretary of State for
Wales



The Rt Hon
**Baroness Evans of
Bowes Park**

Leader of the House of
Lords, Lord Privy Seal



The Rt Hon
**Oliver Dowden CBE
MP**

Secretary of State for
Digital, Culture, Media and
Sport



The Rt Hon
Amanda Milling MP

Minister without Portfolio
Unpaid

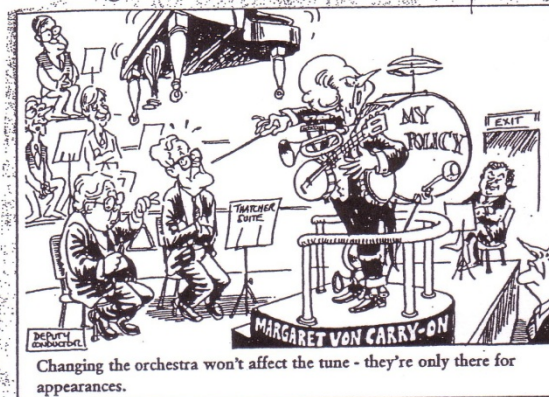
Document 16

Her Majesty's Prime Ministers



Document 17 - Leadership Styles Compared.

Margaret Thatcher's style



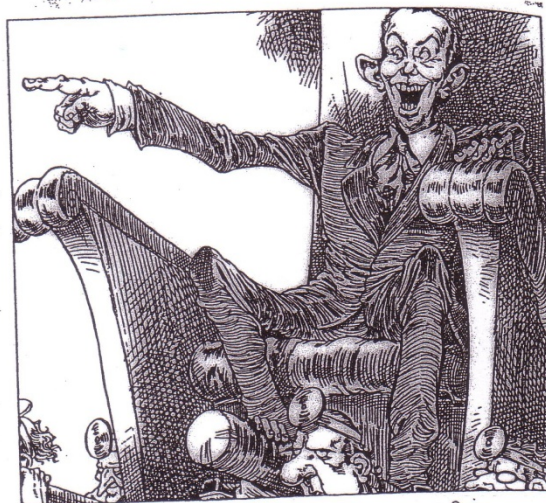
1988

John Major's style



1997

Tony Blair's style



1997

David Roberts (ed). British Politics in Focus,
2nd ed. Cengage Learning Press Limited, London. pp411-412, 2004

Document 18

Two contrasting views on the Prime Minister

1 The post-war epoch has seen the final transformation of Cabinet Government into Prime Ministerial Government. Under this system the "hyphen which joins, the buckle which fastens, the legislative part of the state to the executive part" becomes one single man. Even in Bagehot's time it was probably a misnomer to describe the Premier as chairman, and *primus inter pares*. His right to select his own Cabinet and dismiss them at will; his power to decide the Cabinet's agenda and announce the decisions reached without taking a vote; his control, through the Chief Whip, over patronage – all this had already before 1867 given him near-Presidential powers. Since then his powers have been steadily increased, first by the centralisation of the party machine under his personal rule, and secondly by the growth of a centralised bureaucracy, so vast that it could no longer be managed by a Cabinet behaving like the board of directors of an old-fashioned company. Under Prime Ministerial government, secondary decisions are normally taken either by the department concerned or in Cabinet committee, and the Cabinet becomes the place where busy executives seek formal sanction for their actions from colleagues usually too busy – even if they do disagree – to do more than protest. Each of these executives, moreover, owes his allegiance not to the Cabinet collectively but to the Prime Minister who gave him his job, and who may well have dictated the policy he must adopt. In so far as ministers feel themselves to be agents of the Premier, the British Cabinet has now come to resemble the American Cabinet.

R.H.S. Crossman, introduction to Bagehot, *The English Constitution*.
© Collins, 1963.

It has become part of the conventional wisdom expressed by some academics and journalists that the position of the Prime Minister in the British system of government has altered significantly in recent years. No longer, they assert, is he merely *primus inter pares* or just the leading member of the Cabinet, but he has been transformed into something quite new, perhaps a quasi-President, or an elected

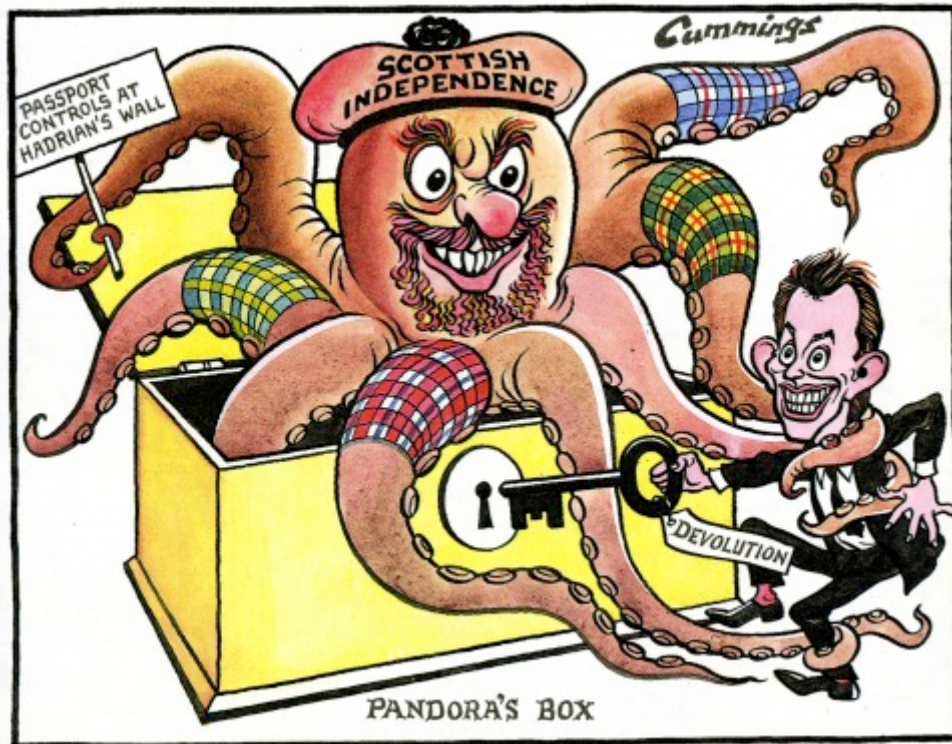
monarch or even an autocrat. The Prime Minister's predominance, attained by Churchill during the Second World War, is said to have persisted in peace-time during the administration of Attlee, Churchill again, Eden, Macmillan, Douglas-Home and [...] Wilson. If this view is correct then Cabinet Government is a dignified façade behind which lurks the efficient secret of Prime Ministerial power.

It may not be possible to test the validity of these suppositions until the Cabinet papers are made available, fifty years after the events they refer to have taken place, and until the politicians and civil servants involved in the process have published their memoirs. But even with the scanty evidence at present before us, there are grounds to argue that the Prime Minister's power has been exaggerated and that the restraints on his ascendancy are as strong as ever, and in some ways even stronger.

G. W. Jones, *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 18 (1965) 167.
© The Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government.

Document 19

Tony Blair and Pandora's Box



Michael Cummings, *The Times*, 01 Mar 1997

Document 20

Britain survives

The Economist, Sep 19th 2014

THE Union flag will still fly. By a margin of 55% to 45%, and on a vast 85% turnout, Scots voted to stick with the United Kingdom on September 18th. Thereby they ensured the continuation of the nation state that shaped the modern world, one which still retains great capacity for good. They also preserved the British identity which over a third of Scots, English, Welsh and Northern Irish consider of primary importance. Had around 200,000 more Scots answered “Yes” to the question “Should Scotland be an independent country”, these precious attributes would have been damaged, or destroyed, and Britain with them [...]

The campaign had been gruelling, especially on the Yes side. Though designed and steered by the SNP, the Yes Scotland banner was carried by many different groups—including Radical Independence, Women for Independence and the Scottish Greens—many of them locally based, and all hugely motivated. By any measure, they outgunned the cross-party Better Together campaign, knocking on more doors, delivering more leaflets, placing more advertisements in newspapers and on billboards. In Dundee, Glasgow and even genteel Edinburgh, blue “Yes” stickers are everywhere; stepping in off a Glasgow street, your correspondent discovered two stuck beneath his shoe.

By contrast, purple “No, thanks” badges, advertising Better Together’s prim slogan, are hard to find. Yet on the day of voting, thousands of unexpected unionist volunteers were reported to have turned out, across Scotland, to help get out their vote.

This points to the likeliest of three possible explanations for the late hardening of the unionist vote: a determined rallying of unionists, startled by the previously unimagined possibility of a Yes triumph and costly bifurcation. They received additional encouragement from the second possible reason, a belated and tempestuous entry into the campaign by Gordon Brown, the former Labour prime minister. Having previously played little role in Better Together, Mr Brown has emerged over the last fortnight as the charismatic, positive and forceful voice of unionism it had previously lacked. Whether lacerating the Yes side’s wishful, or mendacious, predictions for an independent Scotland’s economic prospects; or glorifying the benefits of scale and co-operation that lie in the current arrangement, often using Biblical rhetoric, Mr Brown gave a glimpse of a brilliance that was seldom evident during his time in 10 Downing Street. His final turn of the campaign, delivered to a packed-out Glaswegian audience, was the speech of his life [...]

In addition, Mr Brown relayed a panicked response to the late Yes surge from Westminster, a promise of further devolution to the Scottish Parliament, which was the third possible explanation for the strengthened No vote. This also led to his successor, David Cameron, the Conservative prime minister, and his rivals, Ed Miliband, leader of the Labour Party, and Nick Clegg of the Liberal Democrats, scurrying north, in an emergency mission to promise these powers and protest their love for the Scots [...] Mr Cameron has sworn to begin cross-party negotiations on the promised new powers on September 19th, even as hangovers throb through the Yes and No camps. Already, all three party leaders have pledged to increase Scotland’s powers to raise income and other taxes, and it is hard to see how they could renege on this. That would be the death of their parties in Scotland. It would also turn the current

clamour for independence into a deafening roar. Yet the outcome of the cross-party talks are unlikely to be so swiftly or easily deliverable as they made out, in their pledge to Scottish voters—not least because of the demands for new English powers, in Westminster and the regions, that it has elicited back home.

So the negotiations will be fraught; and new constitutional arrangements may not emerge, as Mr Cameron and the rest have promised, ahead of the next general election, due in nine months. But emerge they must, because Britain depends on it. A million Scots have just voted to quit the union, even in the knowledge that this would probably make them poorer. Only a strong turnout by Scottish pensioners—the only age-group thought likely to have voted mainly for the union—foiled them. This, on a night of huge relief for most Britons, is truly shocking. It means the British nation state has survived; yet it remains on life support.

Document 21

Orange Order march in Belfast begins peacefully

Marching season in Northern Ireland begins calmly despite overnight stabbing and clashes, and letter bomb at sorting office

Henry McDonald in Belfast, theguardian.com, Saturday 12 July 2014

The first leg of the most contentious Orange Order march in Northern Ireland has passed off relatively peacefully in north Belfast although a man was stabbed and eight others were arrested during sectarian clashes in the city overnight.

Roads around Ardoyne in north Belfast were reopened after the Orange feeder parade passed by the republican district on Saturday morning and onwards into the city centre. Members of the local Orange lodge, from the nearby Ligoniel district, and their supporters are banned from returning via the same route in the early evening. Their response to that ban will determine if the 12th of July – unionism's most sacred day of the year – will be peaceful compared with last summer when riots erupted at the sectarian interface between the Protestant Greater Shankill area and Catholic Ardoyne.

One man was stabbed during fighting on the Ormeau Bridge between rival Catholic and Protestant gangs in south Belfast early on Saturday morning. The Police Service of Northern Ireland said the 28-year-old victim was taken to hospital but his injuries were not thought to be life-threatening. A PSNI spokesman said: "At approximately 3.10am, police received a report that a man had been stabbed and that rival factions were fighting in the area. "Police attended the area and the two groups were separated at approximately 3.30am. Police stayed in the area for several more hours to ensure that the area remained calm." The Police Service of Northern Ireland said eight men had been arrested over night in relation to a number of sectarian disturbances across Belfast. Commenting on the eight arrests, Assistant Chief Constable Will Kerr said: "I am pleased that last night was one of the most peaceful in recent years and am encouraged by the responsible behaviour of the vast majority of people involved."

Tens of thousands of Orangemen and their supporters are preparing to march at a number of venues across the region, with the overwhelming majority of parades being peaceful.

Meanwhile the PSNI has confirmed that a suspicious package found at the main postal sorting office in Northern Ireland was a viable explosive device. The letter bomb was found at the Royal Mail's distribution centre at Mallusk on the northern outskirts of Belfast early on Saturday. Army bomb disposal experts were called to the scene and made the device safe. In the recent past dissident republican organisations opposed to the peace process have sent letter bomb-type devices to cabinet ministers, the Northern Ireland secretary, Theresa Villiers, the officers of the power-sharing government at Stormont, and a number of army recruitment centres in England. The new IRA posted two devices to the office of the Public Prosecution Service in Derry city last October.

Ahead of the climax to the loyalist marching season, the senior Orangeman and Grand Lodge of Ireland grand secretary, Drew Nelson, appealed to younger Protestants not to be drawn into rioting or street disorder. Over the last 18 months 700 people, mostly under the age of 24 and

almost all Protestant, have been convicted for rioting and other public order offences connected to disputes over banned parades and the flying of the union flag over Belfast city hall. "I would have a message for young Protestants or any Protestant or unionist who feels strongly about what's happening now – if you lift a stone or a bottle on the twelfth day you are falling into a republican trap," Nelson said.

Around 3,500 PSNI officers have been deployed across Northern Ireland, with almost a third of them drafted into north Belfast in case of trouble over the disputed Ardoyne-Crumlin Road parade. In the last two years the PSNI has spent an estimated £50m on policing controversial marches and street protests. Among those standing with the rank-and-file officers at Ardoyne on Saturday was the PSNI's new chief constable, George Hamilton. Senior police commanders and leading figures in the Orange Order have expressed "cautious optimism" that the return leg of the north Belfast feeder parade will be peaceful. However, the Orange Order has asked all of its main demonstrations to halt en route to a number of venues in Belfast, Larne, Limavady, Omagh and other towns for a six-minute silent protest. They said it marked the length of time it would take Ligoniel Orangemen to walk back along the Crumlin Road.

Plans have been put in place by the Orange Order, the main unionist parties and parties linked to loyalist paramilitary groups to create a buffer zone between police lines and protestors when the return parade is stopped on the Protestant Woodvale Road. Marshals wearing traditional Orange Order sashes will stand at the front of the protest to ensure there are no attacks on PSNI riot squad officers.

Document 22

What is the West Lothian Question and Why Does It Matter?

Most simply The question famously posed by Tam Dalyell in 1977 over non-English MPs' role at Westminster remains a tricky one

What is the West Lothian question?

Most simply put, it asks why Scottish, Welsh or indeed Northern Irish MPs have the same right to vote at Westminster as any English MP now that large areas of policy are devolved to national parliaments and assemblies in areas such as health, housing, schools and policing.

Often translated as "English votes for English laws", the question also comes up if non-English MPs become UK ministers and push through controversial England-only measures, even as their devolved government rejects them.

The question itself is famously attributed to the then Labour MP for West Lothian, Tam Dalyell, who raised it in 1977 when Jim Callaghan's Labour government proposed a devolved assembly in Edinburgh. An anti-devolutionist, Dalyell argued it would be unfair for Scottish MPs to have equal rights to vote on English-only legislation. Callaghan's plan failed to win a large enough Scottish majority in a referendum, and collapsed. (...)

What is the answer to the question?

That is the most troubling issue. It is often very difficult to make a clear-cut decision on whether any measure is wholly English since many bills have a financial impact on the UK as a whole, often affecting Treasury grants for the devolved nations. And different devolved governments have power over different policy areas: Holyrood controls fisheries patrols and policing; Cardiff Bay does not.

Short of a federal UK or an elected second chamber, the political scientists Guy Lodge, Meg Russell and Oonagh Gay describe it as a "question without answer".

The hardline response is to ban non-English MPs from voting on any measure which relates only to England. The UK justice secretary Kenneth Clarke's democracy taskforce proposed allowing only English MPs to sit at the committee stage of an English-only bill until a final vote, when it would return to the full Commons. Sir Malcolm Rifkind, a former Scottish secretary and Edinburgh MP and now Tory MP for Kensington and Chelsea, proposed an English grand committee with similar powers.

What do critics of the West Lothian question say?

They argue that making second-class MPs would undermine the entire purpose of the universal franchise: that everyone's vote is equal. It damages the principle of collective responsibility too: why should a talented Scottish MP not run a UK department?

MPs regularly vote on policies which affect other constituencies and not theirs. They also vote on going to war in a country they don't represent or spending money in countries they never visit. And the Tories only complained because they were losing out, some say.

But one of the most politically charged issues is whether downgrading Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish MPs plays into the hands of nationalists who want to show that Westminster is hostile and England-dominated. The Commons is, after all, the institution which most binds the UK into one. This, in part, is why no one has really wanted to answer the question.

Severin Carrell, *The Guardian*, 19 September 2014

QUESTIONS

I. Explain the following references:

1. “devolved government” / “devolved assembly”
2. “devolved matters” / “reserved matters”
3. What matters are devolved to the Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish parliament/assembly?

II. Answer the following questions and justify:

1. Explain in your own words what is the West Lothian Question?
2. Who asked the West Lothian question for the first time? When?
3. Was Dalyell in favour or against devolution? Why?
4. What would be the possible answers to the West Lothian Question?
5. Why is the West Lothian Question criticised?
6. According to the author, why has this question not been answered yet?

III. Introduce the document:

1. What is the nature and origin of this document?
2. Identify both author(s) and addressee(s).
3. Place this document in its immediate relevant context:
 - a. What historical event is about?
 - b. What is the main idea of the text? (Sum up the text in 2/3 sentences)
 - c. What is the main aim of the text?
4. Find a general question (problematique) in order to organise a well-argued commentary of the text. Give the 2/3 main parts organising your commentary.
5. With the help of the answers given in 1-4, write a full introduction to a well-argued commentary of the text.

Document 23

English votes for English laws plan branded 'charter for end of the union'

'Scotland is watching this, and the mood is darkening,' SNP says, before MPs vote through controversial measures after fractious debate

The Guardian, Rowena Mason and Libby Brooks, Thursday 22 October 2015

The government has pushed through plans to give English MPs the right of veto over English laws – a move that the shadow leader of the Commons described as “a charter for breaking up the union”. Following an often angry and fractious debate, the Commons voted the measures through by 312 to 270.

Labour’s Gerald Kaufman, the longest-serving member of the house, declared “a day of shame for the House of Commons”. He decried the debate as “one of the nastiest, most unpleasant I have attended in 45 years”, prompted by “a government with no respect for the House of Commons”. The leader of the house, Chris Grayling, said the changes would bring “fairness to our devolution settlement and it is fairness that will secure the future of our union”. He said the proposals were likely to affect three or four bills in the coming months, allowing for a trial period. “I regard this as a process of development rather than one-off,” Grayling said. The shadow leader of the house, Chris Bryant, said the proposals would create “confusion and division in parliament while doing nothing to give any more power to English voters over the things that matter to them”.

Under the plans, English MPs will be able to block legislation deemed to solely affect England, but the bill would ultimately be subject to a full vote of the House of Commons.

The Scottish National party’s Pete Wishart expressed his frustration that the debate went on for more than an hour and half before any Scottish parliamentarian was called to speak. Dismissing the changes as “meagre, threadbare, inept and stupid”, Wishart told the chamber: “Scotland is watching this, and the mood is darkening.” [...]

The new rules, known as English votes for English laws (Evel), have drawn criticism from a cross-party watchdog. The Commons procedure committee, chaired by the Conservative MP Charles Walker, branded the proposals “over-engineered and potentially burdensome”.

A few Conservatives objected to the complicated nature of the plans but ended up backing the government anyway.

At the heart of objections is the plan to let John Bercow, the Commons Speaker, decide what constitutes an English law. The SNP has raised concerns that many pieces of legislation that appear only to relate to England will have a huge knock-on effect in Scotland, such as any plans to build a third runway at Heathrow. Pressed on whether this could be considered English-only legislation, Grayling suggested it could if it was just a planning decision.

The measures are an attempt to answer the West Lothian question and decide what to do about the fact that English MPs do not vote on devolved matters affecting Scottish people, such as health and education, but Scottish MPs have a say on those areas in England.