

UNIVERSITE MICHEL DE MONTAIGNE BORDEAUX III

UF DES PAYS ANGLOPHONES

1^o Année LLCE

BRITISH POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

TEXTS AND DOCUMENTS

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 - ii *The Sun*, 21.01.99
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6 ou 7 heures d'amphi ne suffisent pas: il faut AP-PRO-FON-DIR

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A. BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Sauf mention contraire, les cotes sont celles de la BUFR Lettres-Anglais (bât A2).

1. METHODOLOGIE DU COMMENTAIRE DE TEXTE

(le temps investi ne sera pas essentiel qu'en 1^{ère} année,
mais servira également pour toutes les années suivantes)

Constituer des fiches de méthodologie à partir des 5 livres suivants (au brouillon d'abord, notes à ré-organiser définitivement ensuite). Au moins 5 Fiches:

Conseils généraux / Démarche systématique / Introduction / Conclusion / Plans

- BERNAS Colette, GAUDIN Elizabeth, POIRIER François, *The Document in British Civilisation Studies: understanding, analysis, commentary*, Ophrys, 1992 (942 BER)

Lire p 30 à 44 en prenant des notes → **FICHES de méthodologie**

Lire p 47, pour le contexte

- ARQUIE Marie-José, *A Key to Contemporary British Civilisation*, Vuibert, 1999 (942 ARQ)

Lire p 327 à 329 en prenant des notes complétant le livre précédent

- FRISON Danièle, BENSOUSSAN Nicole, HUTCHINSON Wesley, *Civilisation Britannique, Documents Constitutionnels*, Ellipses, 1993 (BU: N820:3 BEN)

Lire p 5 à 7 en prenant des notes complétant le livre précédent

- KOBER-SMITH Anémone, WHITTON Timothy, *Le commentaire de texte par l'exemple*, Editions du Temps, 2002 (428 KOB)

Lire p 7 à 11 en prenant des notes complétant le livre précédent

puis analyser/noter le contenu et les formulations de

✓ toutes les introductions

✓ toutes les conclusions

✓ tous les plans (titres et sous-titres)

puis lire chaque commentaire en détail en analysant la démarche et les procédés.

- CHARLOT Monica, HALIMI Suzy, ROYOT Daniel, *Le commentaire de civilisation britannique et américaine*, A.Colin, 2002 (428 CHA / BU: N820:3 CHA)

Lire du 3) de la p 5 à la p 9, en prenant des notes complétant les livres précédents

puis analyser/noter le contenu et les formulations de

✓ toutes les introductions

✓ toutes les conclusions

✓ tous les plans (titres et sous-titres)

puis lire chaque commentaire en détail en analysant la démarche et les procédés.

2. OUVRAGES DE REFERENCE sur les institutions politiques britanniques

Tous les livres suivants se complètent

(ils se répètent aussi, bien entendu → plus vous lirez, mieux cela rentrera)

- OAKLAND John, *British Civilization*, Routledge, (BU: N820:3 OAK)

Au fil du cours d'amphi:

Suivant les éditions,

p 70-74 / 80-83 / 84-89 (House of Lords = périmé, mais historiquement important pour le débat actuel) / 95 / 97-108 / 73-77 / 90-96

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- BROMHEAD Peter, *Life in Modern Britain*, Longman, (942.085 BRO / BU: N 820:3 BROM)

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p 13-15 / 30-43 / 48-57 / 15-20 / 20-30 / 43-45

- LURBE Pierre, *Le Royaume-Uni aujourd'hui*, Hachette Supérieur, 2000 (942 LUR)

En français, assez court, posant de bonnes questions sur le système.

Au fil du cours d'amphi:

p 31-35 / 35-41 / 41-52 / 53-74

- LERUEZ Jacques, *Les institutions du Royaume-Uni*, La Documentation Française, série "Droit Constitutionnel", 1999 (BU: N820:3 INST)

En français → permet de mieux saisir certaines nuances + nombreux textes fondamentaux traduits.

Au fil du cours d'amphi:

p 4-7 / 13-15 / 31-40 / 25-28 / 15-19 / 41-42 / 46-51

- KINDER-GEST Patricia, *Les institutions britanniques*, Que sais-je?, P.U.F., 1995 (BU Droit: B494102-1386)

Même commentaire que pour le livre précédent

p 4-6 / 6-11 / 24-51 / 52-59 / 11-23

- CHARLOT Claire, CHARLOT Monica, *Glossaire des institutions politiques du Royaume-Uni*, Nathan Université, (128), 1999 (BU: N820:3 CHA)

A consulter ponctuellement

+

- GRELLET Françoise, *Contemporary British Institutions and Culture, A Glossary*, Hachette Supérieur, 1998 (942 GRE)

(glossaire = par ordre alphabétique)

Lire toutes les entrées en gras et toutes les autres entrées énumérées dans chacune des listes suivantes de l'index thématique:

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- p 291 Treasury
- ARQUIE Marie-José, *A Key to Contemporary British Civilisation*, Vuibert, 1999 (942 ARQ)
 - p 79-130
- BLAMONT Gérard, PAQUETTE Anne, *Les Clés de la civilisation britannique*, Ellipses, 2000 (BU: N820:3 BLA)
 - p 23-31 / 42-56 / 61-72 / 77-89 / 93-104 / (109-155)
- DELECROIX Michel, PIQUET Martine, *Précis de civilisation anglo-américaine*, Ellipses, 1995: (942 DEL)
 - Essentiel: polémiques soulevées par chaque institution: constitution: p 16-17 / monarchie: 21-23 / Communes: 36-43 / système électoral: 68-69 / + idéologie des partis: 58-65
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Pour éclaircir quelques notions fondamentales et à titre de comparaison, il serait peut-être bon de vous rafraîchir les idées sur les institutions françaises:
 GUNTEN B, MARTIN A, NIOGRET M, *Les institutions de la France*, Nathan, Collection Repères Pratiques, 2000 (BU Droit-Sciences Eco, salle de recherche A: JA GUN i+N000 / JA GUN i+N000+2): cf p 12-15, le Royaume-Uni et les Etats Unis + p 18-19 / 42 / 44 / 46-49 / 52 / 54-57

B. DOCUMENTS

déposés à la bibliothèque Jean Loiseau

Histoire constitutionnelle / Chronologie de la Chambre des Communes / Chronologie de la Chambre des Lords / Historique de la réforme de la Chambre des Lords / autres documents sur la royauté, le Parlement...

C. SITES INTERNET

Surfez, surfez, il en restera toujours quelque chose...

- [http:// www.royal.gov.uk](http://www.royal.gov.uk)
- [http:// www.visitbritain.com/royal](http://www.visitbritain.com/royal)
- [http:// www.parliament.uk](http://www.parliament.uk)
- [http:// www.explore.parliament.uk/junior](http://www.explore.parliament.uk/junior) (political puzzle / question time)
- [http:// www.number-10.gov.uk](http://www.number-10.gov.uk)
- [http:// www.conservatives.com](http://www.conservatives.com)
- [http:// www.labour.org.uk](http://www.labour.org.uk)
- [http:// www.guardian.co.uk](http://www.guardian.co.uk) (UK latest)

HISTORIC EVOLUTION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY

KINGSHIP

Kings used at first to be **chosen**, generally, although not always, from a family descending from a **powerful leader** who happened to be in the right place at the right time.

Gradually the succession of monarchs became more rigidly **hereditary**, especially when the principle of **primogeniture** – the right of succession of the **first-born** – began to be established. This resulted in **continuous dynasties**, some of whose members turned out to be able and effective rulers, others quite awful.

Over the centuries, the **changes** in the monarchy's **power** and **role** have been considerable, yet there are also **continuities**:

From the earliest times, British monarchs have sworn to uphold the constitution, and for at least eight centuries there have been checks to see that they do.

Equally, they have sometimes stood between the people and the high-handed policies and actions of over-mighty lords or elected governments.

Once, they could dismiss governments and punish their leaders. Now they have no such power, but they do have influence and public support.

PARLIAMENT

The idea of Parliament did not emerge as a result of a single, dramatic change in England's system of government, but **evolved** over centuries.

Parliament's roots lie in **3 royal councils**.

The earliest was the **Anglo-Saxon Witenagemot**, or Witan (see illustration in *Précis d'histoire*). The council comprised landowners, bishops, abbots and royal officials.

A similar **Norman** body, known as the **Great Council** (*Magnum Concilium*), gave rise to the **Curia Regis**, or 'King's Court', which acted as an advisory body to the King, who could summon or dismiss it at will (see *Précis d'histoire*).

Gradually, official records began to refer to '**parliament**' rather than 'council', but it was some time before **Parliament** came to mean those actively involved in government. A major development took place in **1265** when **Simon de Montfort** summoned representatives from the boroughs as well as lords, clergy and knights (see *Précis d'histoire*).

Before a century had passed, Parliament had the right to **make laws** and **levy taxation**, and the knights and borough representatives had begun to sit as a **separate body**, the **Commons**.

CABINET / PRIME MINISTER

During the reign of **Charles II**, the practice arose for the King to consult a few important ministers about affairs of the state in his **private apartment**, or **cabinet**.

By the time of **William and Mary**, this '**cabinet**' of ministers – the term **Cabinet** was not in regular use until the reign of **Anne** – was in charge of the government and held weekly meetings usually presided over by the sovereign. Cabinet members were drawn from the political party with the largest number of Members of Parliament in the House of Commons and they chose one of the number to be the nominal head.

The accession of **George I** presented a problem in that the new King spoke no English and could not therefore preside at Cabinet meetings. As First Lord of the Treasury from 1721-42, **Robert Walpole** fulfilled that role, becoming **prime** or **first minister** of the King.

1066	The Norman Conquest William the Conqueror: King + Great Council (= Barons).
1215	Magna Carta Defined the duties of the King and the rights of his subjects. The king had to summon his barons to consult them in matters of policy and taxation.
1265	Assembly of the Commons Simon de Montfort, in the name of Henry III, summoned representatives of counties, cities and boroughs. The assembly of the barons and that of the Commons sitting with the Sovereign became known as 'The King in Parliament'.
1534	Act of Supremacy The King of England was declared supreme head of the Church of England.
1628	Petition of Rights Stated the supremacy of Parliament and further defined liberties.
1679	Habeas Corpus Act Provided protection against arbitrary detention.
1688	The Bloodless Revolution The Stuart King, James II (a Catholic), was forced to leave the throne to William of Orange (a Protestant), husband of Mary, James II's daughter. William was invited by Parliament to bring over an army and restore liberty. Starting point of parliamentary monarchy.
1689	Bill (or Declaration) of Rights The King was compelled to act according to law, could not suspend a law, raise taxes or maintain a permanent army without a vote of Parliament, had to summon Parliament regularly and frequently and to ensure full liberty of speech and debate in Parliament.
1701	Act of Settlement Transferred the Crown to the Hanoverian dynasty (Protestant) and established that no person who is a Roman Catholic can reign on the throne of England.
1707	Treaty for the Union of Scotland and England Single Parliament for Great Britain.
1800	Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland (altered in 1920: only the 6 counties of Northern Ireland remain within the United Kingdom).
1832, 1867 and 1884	Reform Acts Progressively extended suffrage to the lower middle class and the working class (for men only).
1911	Parliament Act Restricted the right of veto of the House of Lords.
1918	Representation of the People Act Women over 30 were granted suffrage.
1928	Representation of the People Act Women's suffrage was brought into line with men's: 21 years of age.
1949	Parliament Act The power of the House of Lords was again restricted.

1958	Life Peerages Act Made it lawful to give peerages for the lifetime of their holders only, without inheritance, to women as well as men.
1963	Life Peerages Act A peer may renounce his peerage and become eligible for election to the House of Commons.
1969	Representation of the People Act All people over 18 years of age were granted suffrage.
1989	The People's Act British citizens living abroad were allowed to vote and absent voters may vote by proxy.
1999	National Assembly for Wales Scottish Parliament Reform of the House of Lords

THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION

Introduction by Richard Crossman
(1963)

There can be very few studies of our parliamentary system that were so rapidly overtaken by events as Walter Bagehot's *The English Constitution*. First composed as a series of essays for *The Fortnightly*, it was published in book form in 1867 – the very year of Disraeli's Reform Act which abruptly and finally ended the period of classical parliamentary government it describes. As an account of contemporary fact, the book was out of date almost before it could be reviewed. Since then we have had countless studies by political scientists and constitutional lawyers, interspersed occasionally with the reflections of a retired politician. Yet for anyone who wants to understand the workings of British politics – be he university student, foreign observer or merely a curious elector – *The English Constitution* still remains the best introduction available.

(WALTER BAGEHOT was born in 1826 in Langport, Somerset, and educated at Bristol and University College, London. He was called to the bar, but joined his father's banking and shipping business. He wrote for a number of periodicals on economic, historical and literary subjects. From 1855 he co-edited the *National Review* and from 1860 until his death in 1877 he was editor of the *Economist*. His other books include *Lombard Street, A Description of the Money Market* (1873), *Physics and Politics or Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of Natural Selection and Inheritance to Political Society* (1872) and a collection of his papers which originally appeared in the *National Review* called *Literary Studies* (1879).

RICHARD CROSSMAN had a distinguished academic and political career. He was Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford, from 1930 to 1937 and a Member of the Labour Party Executive from 1952 to 1967. He played a prominent part in the Labour Administration of 1964–70, first as Minister of Housing and Local Government, then as Leader of the House and Lord President of the Council and finally as Secretary of State for Social Services. He retired from politics in 1970 and became editor of the *New Statesman*. He died in 1974.)

THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION

This new Constitution, says Bagehot, is only the most recent stage in a long, historical process. For hundreds of years the efficient and the dignified parts of the Constitution were united in the person of the King. Britain was ruled by absolute monarchy – a type of government intelligible to the simplest minds. Then absolute monarchy was gradually replaced by constitutional monarchy, in which sovereignty was divided between the King and the landed aristocracy, with the House of Commons exerting some check as the representative of the popular will. And finally in the years since 1832, constitutional monarchy had given way to 'a disguised republic'. The real secret, says Bagehot, of British representative institutions is that what were once 'the appendages of a monarchy have been converted into the essence of a republic' (p. 262). This had been done by first separating the 'dignified' and the 'efficient' parts, and then welding them together so as to conceal from the masses the revolutionary shift of power that had taken place behind the constitutional façade.

"The English Constitution in its palpable form is this – the mass of the people yield obedience to a select few; and when you see this select few you perceive that though not of the lowest class, nor of an unrespectable class, they are yet of a heavy sensible class – the last people in the world to whom, if they were drawn up in a row, an immense nation would ever give an exclusive preference.

In fact the mass of the English people yield a deference rather to something else than to their rulers. They defer to what we may call the *theatrical show* of society . . . The apparent rulers of the English nation are like the most imposing personages of a splendid procession: it is by them the mob are influenced; it is they whom the spectators cheer. The real rulers are secreted in second-rate carriages; no one cares for them or asks about them, but they are obeyed implicitly and unconsciously by reasons of the splendour of those who eclipsed and preceded them" (pp. 248–50).

By his distinction between the dignified and the efficient parts of the Constitution, and his assumption that the former are preserved in order to conceal and win allegiance to the latter, Bagehot had provided himself with just that precision-instrument of political analysis which Bentham and the Mills had lacked. With these two postulates as his working hypotheses, he found it possible to give a simple and rational description of how political power is actually distributed, and how decisions of state are really taken:

“ the characteristic merit of the English Constitution is, that its dignified parts are very complicated and somewhat imposing, very old and rather venerable; while its efficient part, at least when in great and critical action, is decidedly simple and rather modern . . . Its essence is strong with the strength of modern simplicity; its exterior is august with the Gothic grandeur of a more imposing age” (p. 67).

Bagehot's account of how the separate parts of the Constitution function is simple and elegant. In summarizing it I use the

present tense in order to emphasize once again that he was writing not as a learned historian or political scientist, but as a journalist describing the system as he saw it in 1865 – two years before Disraeli ended the classic age of parliamentary government by enfranchising the urban working class. It is only when we see it in its contemporary setting that we can judge how true his model is, and make up our minds on the value of the new technique of political analysis that was used for the first time in its construction.

Getting It in Writing

With European unity just around the corner, Britons ponder the merits of framing a formal constitution

By MARGUERITE JOHNSON

The Magna Charta, signed by King John of England at Runnymede in 1215, has been enshrined through the centuries as the symbol of the rule of law over the arbitrary rule of kings. Although it was imposed on King John by rebellious barons, revised and revised again, and then reissued by the young King Henry III after John's death, the Great Charter proved to be a magnificent document, setting forth a body of common law that provided the basis not only for Britain's constitutional monarchy but also for a host of individual liberties, including the rights of trial by jury, habeas corpus and the principle of no taxation without representation, that have been recognized the world over.

Thus it may come as a surprise that a constitutional convention is meeting in Manchester this week to consider four drafts for a written constitution, which, despite the Magna Charta and the various laws flowing from it, Britain has never had. The sponsors of the gathering are Charter 88, a nonpartisan group that includes leading intellectuals, and the *Independent* newspaper, which published a series of articles on the subject. Naturally the prospect of writing down the rules has raised questions about what the rules should be.

Although a written constitution has been the subject of drawing-room debate for decades, there is a growing feeling that it is an idea whose time has come. Support for it is building not only from those worried about the erosion of civil liberties but from some of the country's most eminent judicial and legal experts as well. Politicians of varying loyalties are also weighing in. The Liberal Democrats have made a written constitution the centerpiece of their electoral platform. The Labour Party has stopped short of that, but it has endorsed major constitutional reforms, from devolution of power to Wales and Scotland to abolition of the House of Lords and creation of a bill of rights. And although the Tories generally resist constitutional change, Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd recently told his fellow conservatives that "serious thought about the constitution" must not be left to the political opposition.

Few would dispute that basic constitutional rights, at present, are better protected in Britain than in most other countries. But the prospect of economic and political union within Europe has infused the issue with a certain urgency. Britain alone among members of the 25-nation Council



Fundamentals of British rule: a copy of the Magna Charta, dating from 1217, at Oxford University; and constitutional monarch Queen Elizabeth II opening Parliament



of Europe, established in 1949 to promote human rights and democracy, does not have a written constitution. After calls in Parliament last year for incorporation of the European Convention on Human Rights into British law, legal opinion stood firmly in favor of a British bill of rights.

One reason is that Britain persistently finds itself in conflict with rulings of the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. The court has ruled, for example, that prisoners may not be lengthily detained before trial. Britain, which claims lengthy detentions of prisoners before trial as its prerogative under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, refused to accept the ruling. For that matter, when human rights are infringed, it is often difficult to obtain a remedy in British courts and British subjects go to the European Court. Says Anthony Barnett, coordinator of Charter 88: "There's a dynamic in Europe both in and out of the E.C. that is constantly posing constitutional issues for the United Kingdom which it can't handle."

Opponents of constitutional change argue that it is better for Parliament to decide issues through legislation. The rights embodied in statute and common law are "real rights," argues Tory M.P. John Patten, because they enjoy the protection of the people. Patten, along with other critics, also feels that a freedom of information act and proportional representation—both high on the list of features many Britons would like to see included in a new constitution—would make the government less, rather than more, responsive to change.

The four constitutional drafts to be considered this week have been put forward by the Liberal Democrats; Labour M.P. Tony Benn; the Institute of Economic Affairs, a free-market association; and the Institute for Public Policy Research, a London think tank. They variously call for a bill of rights, a freedom of information act, proportional representation, an elected chamber instead of the present appointed House of Lords, and a reduced role for the crown. Benn would abolish the monarchy altogether in favor of an elected President as head of state—but would permit Queen Elizabeth II, of whom he is fond, to continue to reside in Buckingham Palace.

While it is safe to say none of the documents will become law, they will provide grist for a debate that is likely to intensify over the next few years. Should it wish, Parliament could call a constitutional convention or write a new charter itself. More likely, if change comes, it will be through a series of parliamentary acts, which could then be enshrined as a new constitution. For all the pressure that is building, though, Britain's political establishment, tradition-bound as it is, may yet prevent constitution backers from getting it in writing. —Reported by Anne Constable/London

Britain Needs a Written Constitution

Anthony Barnett
Mail on Sunday
December 7th 1997

[...] In Britain today the government can alter the laws affecting your freedom of speech in the same way it amends laws about dog licensing. A written constitution could protect fundamental rights and democracy better by requiring a special degree of consent from the people (a referendum, say) if laws affecting these rights were changed.

In other words, a written constitution is a way of limiting the power that our system grants to those elected to Downing Street. They are the ones who now enjoy royal prerogative power. The Lord Chancellor, indeed, who is currently 'in charge' of altering the country's constitution more drastically than it has been for three hundred years, has compared himself to Henry VIII's Cardinal Wolsey.

It was a joke. But it was a joke with attitude - and a flash of truth. It is a commonplace to say that Britain is an elected dictatorship. What Irvine was saying is that we have an elected monarchy.

And not just any old monarchy, but an absolutist one. The last time a ruler sought to assert such powers in all seriousness he had his head chopped off.

Perhaps this should be a warning. The constitutional arrangement that eventually followed in 1688 were informal. But they had checks and balances, in the form of parliamentary limits on the King and his first - or prime - minister.

Today, the power of parliament over the Prime Minister and executive has withered. Indeed, it could be argued that it was broken by Margaret Thatcher's period as Prime Minister, when she assaulted the pretensions of the so-called parliamentary establishment and its consensus politics.

While she modernised the economy and society, she also reinforced the extraordinary centralisation of executive power made possible by Britain's unwritten constitution.

Labour has continued this even while at the same time it has begun a historic process of decentralisation. Unsure of which direction it prefers it has refused to issue a statement of the principles that it is pursuing.

Meanwhile, when asked, over 70 per cent of us say that we approve of the idea of a written constitution that sets out the rules and holds those in power to account.

There are technical arguments over how we can best achieve a new, overall democratic constitution. And detailed ones about why we need to take this step as, from Scotland to the House of Lords, and from a Bill of Rights to a Mayor for London, Labour tears up the old familiar settlement.

There is also the important argument that if we wish to protect our democracy from arbitrary alteration by the European Union, we need to put our own house in order.

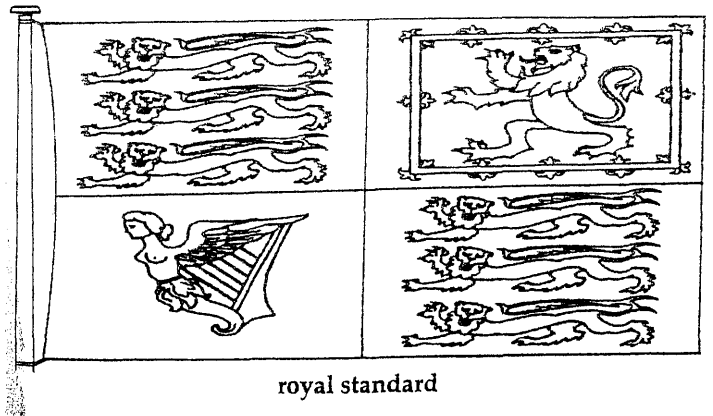
But the most important argument of all, is that the British people should become sovereigns of their own country and are ready and able to do so. This is the big political change of 1997. But it may not be one that those who currently enjoy the highest offices in the land most want to hear.



*The Lion and the Unicorn
were fighting for the Crown;
The Lion beat the Unicorn
all round about the town.*

*Some gave them white bread,
and some gave them brown;
Some gave them plum-cake,
and sent them out of town.*

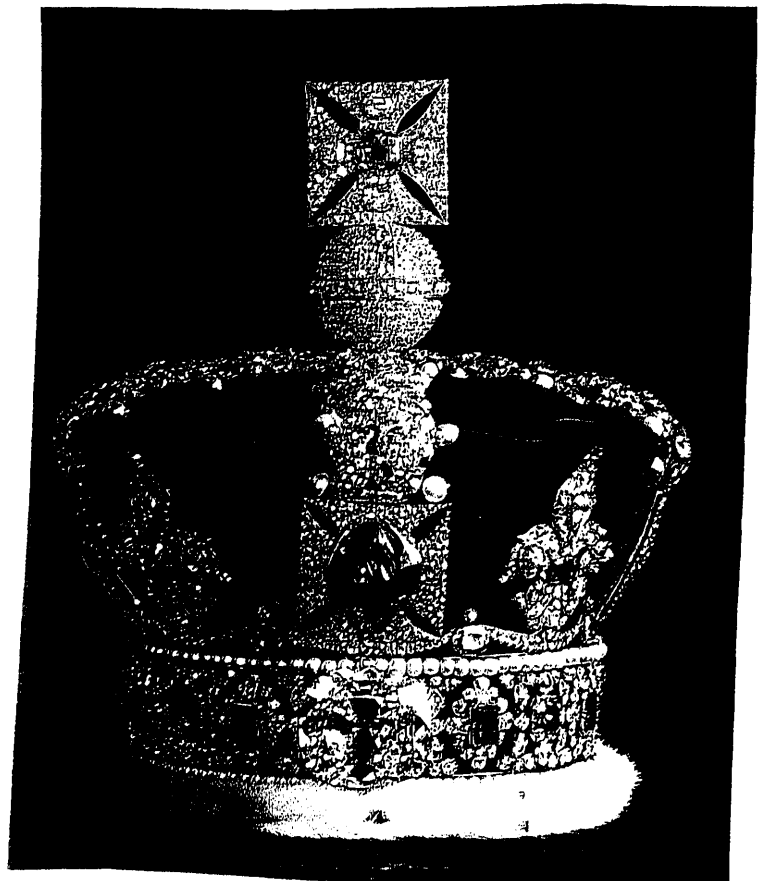
Traditional English nursery rhyme



royal standard



The Coronation Chair,
Westminster Abbey



THE QUEEN AND THE COMMONWEALTH

All the countries of the former British Empire and Dominions formed part of the British Commonwealth, known since 1955 as the Commonwealth. In 1992 it consisted of fifty sovereign independent States, with a population of more than 1,435 million, one quarter of the world total. The Queen, as Head of the Commonwealth, is also Head of State of 17 member countries; 27 others are republics. Four countries have left the Commonwealth: The Republic of Ireland (1949), South Africa (1961), Pakistan (1972, rejoined 1989) and Fiji (1987)

Legend:

- Countries visited by The Queen during her first Commonwealth journey, 1953-54
- The first Commonwealth journey
- Other Commonwealth countries visited by The Queen between 1955 and 1992
- == Other Commonwealth countries

Map Labels: CANADA, THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND, GIBRALTAR, MALTA, CYPRUS, BERMUDA, ATLANTIC OCEAN, BAHAMAS, BRITISH CARIBBEAN ISLANDS, JAMAICA, BELIZE, GUYANA, GAMBIA, SIERRA LEONE, GHANA, NIGERIA, UGANDA, TANZANIA, KENYA, MALAWI, ZAMBIA, BOTSWANA, NAMIBIA, SWAZILAND, LESOTHO, ZIMBABWE, MAURITIUS, SEYSELLES, MALDIVES, ADEN, Ceylon, SINGAPORE, BANGLADESH, INDIA, PAKISTAN, HONG KONG, BRUNEI, PAPUA NEW GUINEA, KIRIBATI, NAURU, COOK ISLANDS, WESTERN SAMOA, TUVALU, ELI, SOLOMON ISLANDS, VANUATU, TONGA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, NEW HEBRIDES, NORFOLK ISLANDS.

Text Boxes:

The British Caribbean Islands visited by The Queen, but not named on this map are: Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Grenada, Saint Christopher and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago

When The Queen visited Aden it had been under British rule for more than a hundred years. In 1967 the British Government ceded power and the name was changed to the People's Republic of South Yemen (later People's Democratic Republic of Yemen). It was never a member of the Commonwealth

As well as Commonwealth countries, The Queen has visited the Dependent Territories of Bermuda, Gibraltar and Hong Kong

0 kilometres 3,000 miles

Martin Gilbert, 1993

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The Crown and the Establishment

There is no harm in preferring a queen in a gingerbread coach to a president in a motor-car, provided that we know that the family in the coach are like other human beings, Civil Servants doing a job and being paid a salary for it. We may even find it convenient to treat them with special respect as symbols of national unity, provided that we do not pretend they are more than life size and that the job they do is politically influential and anything more than ceremonial.

A constitutional king and an elected president both have the same two main duties to perform, necessary in any form of society. The first is ceremonial; there must be someone to welcome state guests and to preside on national occasions. The second job, which is of considerable importance in countries where there are more than two parties, but which will be required occasionally in all nations, is to act as chairman and perhaps negotiator when party difficulties arise, or situations occur which cannot be provided for in written constitutions. On such occasions a sensible king, if we are lucky enough to have one, has certain advantages over a president, because he gains experience through the permanence of his office and he is less open to the charge of partisanship because he is not elected by any of the interested groups.

The Monarchy is still the head of the Establishment rather than the nation; it still represents a social class.

Kingsley MARTIN, *The Crown and the Establishment*, 1962, Hutchinson and Co.

The monarchy

Text 2

It seems to me that our monarchy is the one part of our constitution which is still working more or less as it was designed to do, to the great national benefit, and to the satisfaction of all, except perhaps to a few cranks. Obviously, its continuance would be incompatible with a communist state, possibly also with a fully socialised one. But I do not contemplate either of these as a permanent, or even as a temporary, feature of the British political landscape.

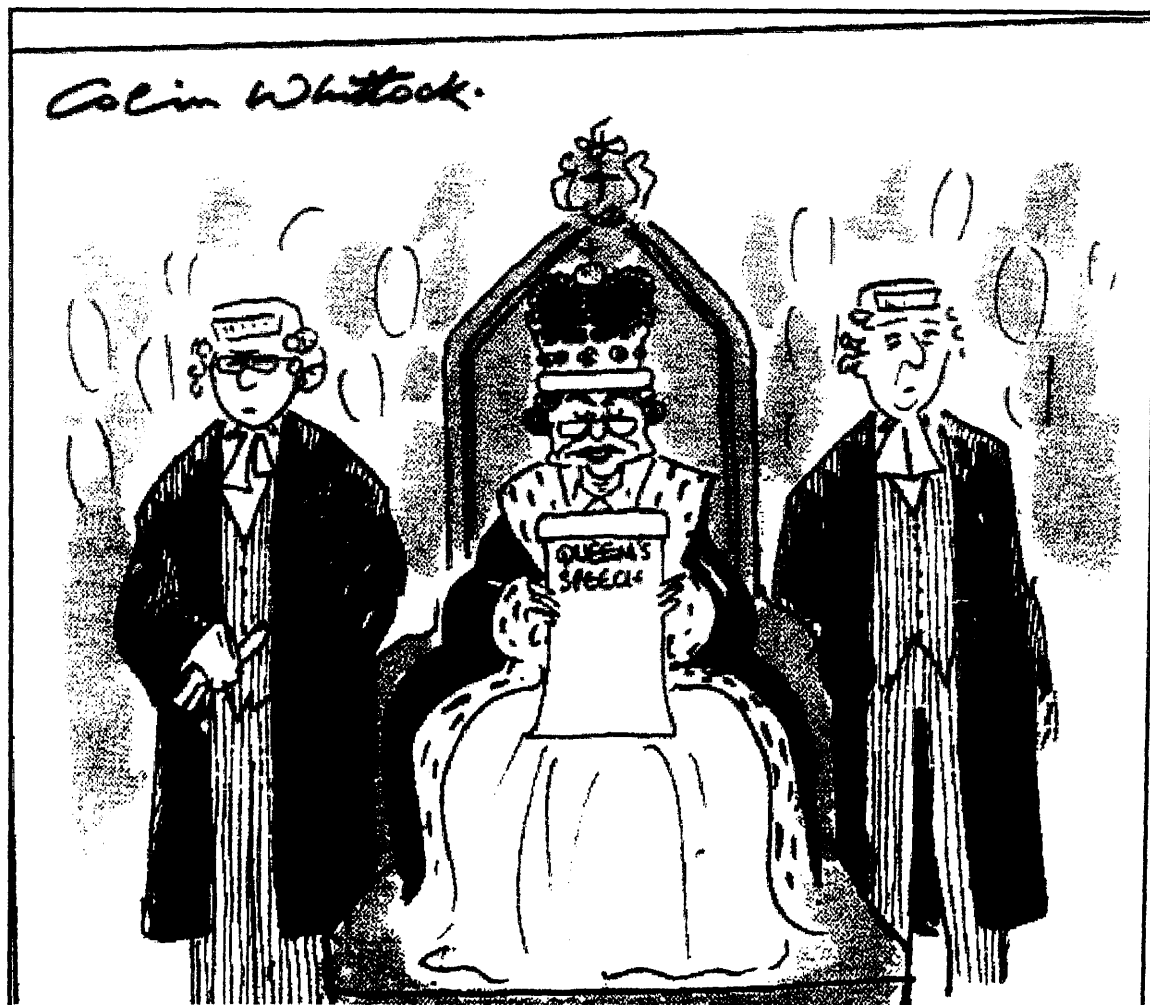
Within the limitations of a mixed, free and evolving community, I can see no rival to our hereditary presidency – for that is what it is –

except the so-called presidential system, in reality, of course, an elective monarchy, favoured by the United States, and now by the Fifth Republic of France.

With great respect to the people of those two beloved countries, I can see nothing which would lead me to want to import this feature of their constitutions into our own. It brings, as we have seen in America, the headship of state into the cockpit of party politics and scandal. It deprives the nation which adopts it of the glamour prestige and continuity which is one of the few remaining assets of our own society. A nation cannot survive by

controversy alone; it needs cement, and that cement can, in the long run, only be afforded by tradition. And tradition needs symbols, and our symbol is the Crown, guarding and forming part of our sovereign body, the Queen in a Parliament of two houses, by which we have been ruled so gloriously and for so long.

First published in Birmingham Evening Mail on 14 May 1997



"I, Lizzie, wish to outline the plans of Tone and his mates for the next Parliament...!"

THE QUEEN

Queen Elizabeth's thirty-one-year reign itself provides a useful yardstick to measure Britain's progress in the post-imperial age. Her accession in 1952 coincided with the beginnings of Britain's decolonisation: and the rituals of kingship, anthropologists remind us, have much to do with the ordering of time. Her three decades have been marked not only by the disappearance of the rest of the empire, but by some of the most rapid social changes in the island's history, including the doubling of the standard of living, the proliferation of cars, television sets and home gadgets, the transformation of city centres and the extension of air travel across the world.

In the midst of these upheavals the Queen's own life has remained almost uniquely unchanged. She still pursues her timeless progress between her palaces and country estates, surrounded by the rituals of nineteenth-century life, concerned with racehorses, forestry or corgis. She is still accompanied by friends from landed or military backgrounds, with a strong hereditary emphasis.

Behind this unchanging style the Queen is more concerned with contemporary Britain than might appear. She watches politics carefully and reads the boxes she is sent by her government. She is interested in industry, critical of British management, and impressed by Japanese methods. She knows more about world affairs than most diplomats who visit her, and she has complained to her Foreign Office about its elementary briefings.

While the Queen's life-style and social surroundings have come in for periodic ridicule and political attack, the institution of monarchy has been almost unscathed, and has even increased its prestige as her reign continued. For it was one of the few British institutions whose reputation was not battered by the humiliations of economic decline, the retreat from empire, and the divisions within the nation. While trade unions, universities, civil servants, industrialists or politicians came under heavy fire for their incompetence or irrelevance, the monarchy – which might appear the most irrelevant of all – was the most obviously popular and (in its own terms) the most efficient. The British car industry collapsed, corporations went bankrupt and public services went on strike, but the palace still worked like clockwork. Royal patronage – whether of the royal parks, crown estates, royal colleges or the Royal Opera House – still provided some guarantee of standards. Royal visits still ensured a measure of discipline, so that an architect who wanted to get his building finished on time would try to arrange for a royal to open it. The immaculate timing of the great royal events – whether the trooping of the colour, Lord Mountbatten's funeral, or a royal wedding – reminded the British that they could still do some things better than anyone else. While foreigners mocked Britain's declining standards and industry they conceded that they could not compete with British ceremonial. As the *Boston Globe* put it after the royal wedding: 'The Royal Family of England pulls off ceremonies the way the army of Israel pulls off commando raids.'

Anthony SAMPSON

The Changing Anatomy of Britain (1982)

Revamping the royals

THE members of the royal family are waging two separate campaigns to reclaim the hearts and minds of the British people, after the disasters of recent years. The best known is one run by the Way Ahead group—a committee of senior members of the royal family and their advisers. This is intended to modernise the monarchy. The other, private, campaign is being conducted by Prince Charles's staff. It is designed to ensure that he is not passed over for the throne.

The Way Ahead group has been considering a mass of changes that could be introduced, after depressing results from focus groups that it secretly commissioned from MORI, an opinion-poll company. People in the groups said that the royals were too distant, and had too many grandiose trappings.

The Way Ahead group has, for instance, agreed to the government's plan to allow the eldest child, rather than the eldest boy, to inherit the throne. It agreed to cut down on curseys and bows. It has discussed reducing the number of family members allowed to call themselves "royal highness". And, since the royals reckon that reforms introduced so far have gone unnoticed, they have decided to hire a top-flight spin-doctor before implementing any further changes.

Prince Charles, meanwhile, has his own agenda and already has a public-relations whizz to further it. Mark Bolland is trying to "reposition" the prince in the wake of his ex-wife's death. The plan is to make him look friendlier, less controversial and more modern.

His tour of South Africa in November illustrated the first strand. He joshed with the Spice Girls. He chatted informally to the press. He took Prince William with him, which helped him look relaxed and a single father deserving sympathy.

The closure of his architectural magazine, *Perspectives*, was part of the plan to cut down on controversy. Prince Charles has in the past liked to hold forth on a range of subjects—alternative medicine, the prayer book and organic farming—but it is his sceptical views on modern architecture (perhaps because they struck a chord with the public and offended some powerful interests) that have created the

biggest storm. He is likely to be more restrained in future.

As for modernity—well, somehow stories have got into the press that he is pushing for change while his father is resisting it. Leaked stories present Prince Charles as the radical, Prince Philip as the conservative. Prince Charles, for instance, favours turfing Princess Margaret and a bunch of minor royals out of Kensington Palace and turning it into an art gallery; Prince Philip does not.

It is difficult to imagine that Prince Charles's people are spinning against Prince Philip's people; but, after the revelations about court intrigue that emerged during the feud between Prince Charles and Princess Diana, it is just about possible.



Not waving, but drowning

The Guardian has got it wrong

Vernon Bogdano

Wednesday December 6, 2000

The Guardian

A constitutional monarchy is a form of government in which a hereditary head of state reigns but does not rule. In separating the role of head of state from that of head of government, a constitutional monarchy ensures that the head of state is free from party ties. This, surely, is of inestimable value in an age when politics has come to invade almost every aspect of our national life, choking all too many activities in its unnatural embrace.

It is because of her political neutrality that the Queen can act not only as head of state but also as head of the nation, or, perhaps more accurately, as head of the various nations which comprise the United Kingdom. At times of national commemoration such as the anniversary of D Day or VE Day, the Queen speaks for all, whatever their political allegiance. She alone is in a position to interpret the country to itself. A president could not easily do so because of the political baggage which he or she would carry. Republicans have, admittedly, been searching, rather desperately, for a modern analogue to the late Lord Franks, a member of the great and the good without any party history, whom they can propose for the British presidency. The trouble is, however, that Margaret Thatcher demanded that the great and the good stand up to be counted. They were either for her or against. Since then, the great and the good seem mysteriously to have disappeared.

But in any case no figure, however eminent, could aspire to the presidency without acquiring the support of a political party. Indeed, with a directly elected president, as in France, the parties would put all their energies into getting their own candidate into Buckingham Palace. This conception of the presidency, however, as political leader as well as head of state, would radically alter our political system. Politicians here

would be no more likely to agree to it than they were in Australia where last year's republican referendum offered the alternative of a president chosen not, as in France, by the people but, as in Germany and Italy, by parliament.

A president chosen by parliament would most likely be a retired politician, a party warhorse who could be relied upon not to cause trouble. Names such as Neil Kinnock and Tony Newton spring to mind, although the Conservatives might just conceivably be prepared to risk Margaret Thatcher, hoping perhaps that high symbolic office would put a stop to her wilder utterances. One cannot help feeling, however, that the appearance of Mr Kinnock, Mr Newton or even Lady Thatcher on the balcony of Buckingham Palace for the anniversary of VE Day, would not have had quite the emotional resonance of an appearance by the Queen.

There is, in much of the western world, a distinctly anti-political mood, as voters come to feel that they can make better decisions for themselves than politicians acting on their behalf. It was indeed partly for this reason that the Australian referendum resulted in a defeat for the republicans. In the United States the legitimacy of government has been severely damaged by the confusions in Florida that remind us of the dangers of a political system in which every office has a party taint, even the courtrooms being stuffed with political appointees. If the answer is more politicians, we are, as John Major once said, asking the wrong question.

The unifying role of the monarchy has become even more important with devolution which has made Britain an explicitly multinational state. In Belgium, it is sometimes said that the king is the only Belgian, everyone else being either Fleming or Walloon. Similarly, in Britain a president would be either English, Scottish, Welsh or Northern Irish - most probably English, since the English comprise 85% of the population. The Queen alone can belong, not to any single one of the nationalities comprising the United Kingdom, but to all of them.

There is a further feature of our monarchy which is often ignored: its international aspect. The Queen is the symbolic head of a multiracial Commonwealth of 54 countries representing around one-third of the world's population. Most of these countries are former British colonies who have chosen, entirely voluntarily, to continue their association with Britain. While lacking formal powers, the Commonwealth is not without influence, enabling Britain, in Douglas Hurd's words, to "punch above her weight" in diplomatic affairs, through her connections with Africa, the Indian subcontinent and the Caribbean. An elected head of the Commonwealth, however, would probably seek a more positive leadership role which the Commonwealth would be unable to sustain, while a rotating head, as once proposed by Tony Benn, might have allowed Idi Amin of Uganda to traverse the world as head of the Commonwealth. Thus the device by which the Queen is a symbolic head enables it to avoid what could prove an embarrassing constitutional problem.

It is because the arguments for constitutional monarchy are so powerful that republicanism has not been a serious political force in Britain since the 1870s, when Joseph Chamberlain confidently told his Radical colleague, Sir Charles Dilke, that: "The republic must come, and at the rate at which we are moving, it will come in our generation."

The 1870s, however, proved to be the high water mark of republicanism, and, in the 20th century, the left has disdained it. The Labour party conference last debated the monarchy in 1923 when republicanism was defeated by 3,694,000 votes to 386,000. In the aftermath of the abdication, in December 1936, a republican motion in the Commons could muster only five votes in its support.

Today, however, republicans have come up with a new argument. They claim that monarchy, whose roots lie in the past, symbolises deference and hierarchy, thereby underpinning values which hinder the modernisation of Britain. It is the idea of the crown, insists Stephen Haseler,

chairman of Republic, which "stops us from seriously modernising our polity".

It is hard to take this argument seriously. Denmark, Norway and Sweden, after all, are monarchies, yet more markedly egalitarian than such republics as France and Germany. Italy is hardly more modern than Norway, nor is Portugal noticeably more efficient than the Netherlands. Moreover, the experience of Japan shows that a monarchy of a highly traditional kind is perfectly compatible with economic success. The truth is that, in Britain, the monarchy has become the latest and the least convincing of the many scapegoats which the left has produced to account for its failure to win the people to its cause.

There is indeed no correlation between republicanism and modernisation. Constitutional monarchy yields not conservatism but legitimacy since it settles beyond argument the question of who is to be head of state, putting that position beyond the reach of politicians. Wise leaders of the left, from Gladstone to Blair, have always understood that because change is bound to be disorientating, a reforming government needs the monarchy even more than a government committed to the status quo. It is for this reason that the hopes of modern republicans are likely to be dashed as cruelly as were those of Joseph Chamberlain 130 years ago.

Vernon Bogdanor is professor of government at Oxford University. A revised edition of his book, Devolution in the United Kingdom, is to be published by Oxford University Press next year

Mourn her well – then look to the future

Leader

Sunday March 31, 2002

The Observer

The Queen Mother was one of Britain's most loved national figures. For the war generation, she personified not merely the relaunch of the monarchy after the abdication crisis. She became an important symbol of national unity, appearing to demonstrate a marriage of family values and wartime courage. For the baby boomers she was a reassuringly reliable idea of the national mother figure - regal and familiar in almost equal degree. Their children in turn found the increasingly infirm but doughty grandmother, with her sense of duty and engaging smile, one of the more secure parts of a rapidly changing national landscape. Students who might mock others in the royal family remained touchingly reverent about the Queen Mother.

Thus most of the tributes from all strands of national life and all sides of the political spectrum that spilled in as news broke of her death yesterday evening included little of the hyperbole that sometimes surfaces at such moments. People have spoken to a genuine sense of loss. The Queen Mother was as decent as Tony Blair said and as remarkable as Iain Duncan Smith said; her sense of religion and duty was as well-developed as the Archbishop of Canterbury acknowledged. She possessed all these attributes, and whatever her private prejudices she had the good sense to keep them private. She was not only the founder of the contemporary royal family, she was their principal guarantee of the nation's affections - and the standard setter for her children and

grandchildren. By any standards, hers was a remarkable achievement.

However, even as television and radio suspended normal programmes to mark Princess Margaret's death last month just as if Britain were still in the 1950s, it became obvious that the muted reaction was the harbinger of a sea-change in public attitudes to monarchy. Of course, we feel loss and sadness at the Queen Mother's death - and great sympathy for the Queen who has lost a mother and sister in the space of less than two months. The raw humanity of the royal family's experiences, from death to divorce, is one of its incalculable strengths. But the reaction to this death cannot have the same shocking impact as the death in 1997 of Princess Diana; at 101 it was hardly unexpected.

More than that, for all the affection with which the Queen Mother was held, she increasingly represented a world, constitutional order and culture that are fading. We are as much nostalgic about what she stood for as grieving. For many, the references to the abdication crisis and her role in the war consistently rehearsed last night come from another age.

The Queen Mother came to national prominence as the wife of the brother of a king who had abdicated, thus threatening the very nature of monarchy in a democratic age. She played a critical role in a partnership that resuscitated that almost fatally damaged institution, but in the last decade of her life she saw her life work unravelling before her. The royal family she built now needs a new lease of creativity if it is still to be venerated as having a key role in Britain's national life in the years ahead.

In Walter Bagehot's famous formulation, the monarch is the dignified part of the constitution, lending parliament a

charisma and authority it might not otherwise enjoy. The Queen Mother and the Queen were a formidable double act, together acting just as Bagehot would have wanted. They lent - and the Queen still lends - the apparatus of state a fundamental legitimacy and sense of continuity. Yet it is all too obvious that the relationship has become inverted for their descendants. It is the state that lends them legitimacy and importance rather than the other way round - and this is not a relationship that can survive for long. The Queen's Mother's death leaves the Queen as the last of the line who can justify the Bagehotian claim for sustaining the monarchy's constitutional role. She is very definitely alone.

As immediate mourning subsides, the question of the Queen's future - and with it that of Prince Charles and his two sons - will need to be settled. She will not want to continue to exercise the burdens of high office as she moves into her eighties, but the doctrine of monarchy, to which she subscribes devotedly, does not allow her to retire. While she lives she is the queen - and she believes that if she retires to hand on office to her son she fatally weakens the principle on which the institution depends. The only way out of this conundrum for the Windsors is for their last constitutional obligations to be located elsewhere in the constitution, and for the monarchy to become no more than a distinguished national family that can nominate its own head without constitutional implications.

This is the trajectory the monarchy has been pursuing ever since the advent of universal suffrage, only interrupted by the brilliance of the Queen Mother in restoring its prestige. However, even her charm, powerful sense of duty and force of personality could not stave off the larger structural questions that beset this once great institution.

In the twenty-first century many will still look to the royal family to be patrons of charities and to confer prestige on public events. But as a nation we have now become too fragmented, too democratic and too individualistic for the head of the royal family to represent a symbol of unity and constitutional head of state. George VI and Elizabeth II just about managed to fulfil that almost impossible role, linked by the talents of the remarkable woman who died yesterday. The impossibility of anyone filling her shoes, and the challenge that now confronts the monarchy, is perhaps the most telling tribute to her death.

Queen Mother, 1900 – 2002

Twenty-five out of fifty

After half a century of the queen, it's time for a performance review

FEW people enjoy pooping parties. So most British republicans—already hushed into respectfulness by a brace of royal deaths—will grimace and bear the celebrations of the queen's Golden Jubilee. It seems a churlish time to attack the principle of monarchy, or vulgarly assess the economics of keeping the royals in the style to which tourists have become accustomed. But it is a good time to ask a more specific question: has Elizabeth II been a good queen?

Most press coverage offers little help to any loyal subjects wishing to make an informed assessment. Newspapers gush with abstract nouns to describe the monarchy's virtues ("continuity", "symbolism", and so on), and equally vague ones to describe those of its current wearer ("duty", "dignity", etc). Longevity is often cited as an adornment in itself—although the misremembered reigns of queens Victoria and Elizabeth I suggest that quantity can tend to obscure variable quality.

All this sycophantic guff reflects widespread ignorance about what the queen has actually done. That's partly because, unlike her father's reign, the waxing British prosperity and waning influence of her 50-year tenure has not included a single, seismic event that defines it. And, like her country's constitution, her job description

is sketchy. But (believe it or not) that constitution still affords her some powers—and in discharging these, at least, she has done pretty well.

Walter Bagehot, a Victorian editor of *The Economist* and still a constitutional authority, thought "the greatest wisdom of a constitutional king would show itself in well-considered inaction", a dictum that this queen has obeyed. By all accounts—even that of Margaret Thatcher, whom she apparently didn't like—her audiences with prime ministers have been helpful. She has been a useful diplomatic bauble. Her worst and possibly only constitutional misjudgment was in 1963, when, after some Tory shenanigans, she was arguably gulled into making the 14th Earl of Home prime minister. Unlike her husband, she has kept her opinions to herself.

Except, that is, in relation to the Union and the Commonwealth—an association of former colonies of which she is head, but with which some of her prime ministers have been rather less enamoured. She deserves some personal credit for salvaging this generally benign successor from the wreckage of empire; Lord Owen, a former foreign secretary, says she has deployed "very considerable skill" in negotiating with Commonwealth leaders (some of whom, for equally undemocratic rea-

sons, have been around for nearly as long). Lord Owen emphasises the queen's mollifying role at the Lusaka conference of 1979, which led to the creation of Zimbabwe.

Such charm is not always evident at home: Queen Elizabeth II was Britain's inaugural television celebrity—many first sets were bought to watch the 1953 coronation—but her broadcasts tend to be pedestrian. She has sometimes been slow to respond to national disasters, though she has paid countless encouraging visits to schools, hospitals and charities.

Could have tried harder

Of course, the most important duty of any monarch is to produce an heir. The queen and Prince Philip managed one almost immediately; but, alas, dynastic obligations also involve happily marrying off one's heirs to secure the line—and here the queen has been less successful.

Like many traditions, the idea that the royal family should also be an ideal one is a fairly recent invention. As Bagehot pointed out, "a little experience and less thought shows that royalty cannot take credit for domestic excellence". Earlier royal offspring have strayed and been just as (over) exposed. But however novel, when Elizabeth II was crowned, the idea was a powerful one. It didn't last: with her sister and three of her four children divorced, the queen's clan is even more fissiparous than most modern families.

How far the vicissitudes of her children's marriages are the queen's fault is, as in any family, obscure. Perhaps, as with many career women, some parental neglect was inevitable; as with most upper-class people of her generation, so was a certain reserve. The abdication of her un-

cle, Edward VIII, in 1936, because of his scandalous love for an American divorcee—a scandal that indirectly made Elizabeth queen—may have inculcated a damagingly narrow attitude to propriety.

But the more important question raised by all the royal peccadilloes—and the most important one of her reign—is how far the monarchy ought to change with the country it represents. Ben Pimlott, a royal biographer, praises the queen's "extraordinary ordinariness". Many observers friendly to the monarchy argue that it needs to become more ordinary—marry commoners, live humbly, and so on. Like many of her predecessors, the queen has humoured some of her subjects' whims—for instance, by eventually agreeing to pay tax—but, so the argument runs, not enough of them.

Keep it unreal

This theory was widely advanced amid the hysteria provoked by the death, in 1997, of Princess Diana—one of the few occasions on which Queen Elizabeth has been personally criticised by the media. She was browbeaten into lowering the flag at Buckingham Palace to half-mast and sharing her grief with the nation; she was told that her dynasty needed to be more like Diana if it wanted to survive.

Yet it is just possible that the error has been in the other direction. Bagehot famously argued that "We must not let in daylight upon the magic" of royalty; the queen has done just that. In 1969, she acquiesced in the making of a documentary called "Royal Family", which though innocuously deferential, paved the way for, in 1987, "It's a Royal Knockout" (a rumbustious, preposterous game-show), and helped to generate an irreverence that culminated in the scandals of the 1990s.

Of course, other factors, such as the salaciousness of the media (and, indeed, of everybody else), contributed to the debacle. But it might have been better to at least try to preserve the dignity and theatre of monarchy: the Queen Mother's funeral suggested that that sort of thing is still rather popular. (Bagehot predicted that "The more democratic we get, the more we shall get to like state and show, which have ever pleased the vulgar.")

In sum, the queen has discharged her formal duties and obligations well enough, but also allowed their majesties to lose their majesty. Like any other CEO, she is ultimately accountable for these mistakes. Still, despite prophecies to the contrary, the Jubilee celebrations will probably be a success, just as they were in 1977 (an extra day's holiday will no doubt help to convert the sceptics). But, for many reasons beyond the queen's control, and a few within it, the long-term future of the monarchy is less rosy. Her successors will face an even bigger struggle to work out a job description than she has. ■

The Economist June 1st 2002

The Queen's success

She does her strange job rather well

Leader

Monarchy is much more about continuity than it is about change, yet the golden jubilee of Queen Elizabeth II is a recognition of both things.

There is something remarkable, nevertheless, about the fact that the golden jubilee events are taking place at all. And there is something even more remarkable in the general air of benevolence with which most people, even some republicans and constitutional agnostics, seem to be approaching them.

Partly this is because the issues raised by Diana and her death have abated much more quickly than many predicted. Partly it is because the palace has learned its lessons from that period and has become more politically and media-aware. Partly it is because the jubilee has been a relatively low-key celebration at a time of general national prosperity. Partly it is because the deaths of Princess Margaret and, in particular, of the Queen Mother make it natural and proper for criticism of the Queen and her family to be more muted. But it would be both churlish and dishonest not to recognise something else. The main reason why the golden jubilee is both more successful and less divisive than some hoped and others feared is because almost everyone agrees the Queen has actually done her strange job rather well.

The Queen's 50 years on the throne have not coincided with great British power or great British success. In some eyes, indeed, she is as often associated with national decline as with national success. She continued to do what was expected of her - not much more, but certainly no less - taking pleasure in the routines and customs of a regulated life: reading and signing the papers that were sent to her, delivering the speeches others prepared, reacting to suggestions from advisers, meeting dignitaries, visiting, touring, taking part in ceremonies. She did not seek to be queen of people's hearts. But to watch her on a walkabout, in a hospital, or at a garden party, was to see a woman who both knew and enjoyed her business.

The monarchy nevertheless remains an anachronism. It is undemocratic. It is slow to change. It survives in part thanks to legal and administrative privileges which the rest of the nation never shares. It remains the coping stone of an edifice of church and state that is held together by an Act of Settlement embodying the most blatant religious intolerance and which should be repealed. As a nation, we do not debate it with anything like the honesty and rationality that the subject deserves. It is no disrespect to the Queen to say that this debate needs to be sharpened and accelerated during the rest of her lifetime, because if there is to be change in the foreseeable future it must be in place before she dies.

The Guardian
Monday June 3, 2002

A spectacular jubilee

The Queen enjoys a memorable weekend

We need to face up to the facts. The Queen's golden jubilee celebrations of 2002 have been in every respect more successful than either the organisers had feared or the critics had hoped. It is important to remind ourselves of this chiefly because it is true. Anyone seeing the bobbing sea of flags in the Mall yesterday following another exuberant day of celebrations was experiencing an unusual rapport between monarch and subjects. But it is important also because as memories of the long weekend become rose-tinted, this jackpot outcome will come to be seen as inevitable. In reality it was not; as recently as the early spring the whole programme was still a considerable gamble. Only last month, the palace was said to be uncertain whether the jubilee holiday weekend would be a great occasion or a great embarrassment.

In the event it was much more the former than the latter. This has undoubtedly been a great weekend for the House of Windsor and for the Queen in particular. It would not be true to say that their popularity has never been greater, but it is undoubtedly true that this is one of the best mornings the monarchy has ever had. In the end the crowds came and cheered. In the end, the mixed levels of irritation and anger against individual members of the royal family, against the House of Windsor in general, and against the irrelevance of modern monarchy in particular were not great enough to dislodge the nation's fundamental comfort and, yes, even its pride in its institutions.

Yet we again need to face up to the facts about why this was so. Three of them stand out. First, national respect for the Queen, and for her long years in the job, crosses the boundaries of the monarchy/republicanism debate. Second, the jubilee calendar has been very cleverly choreographed, enabling yesterday's formal thanksgiving to proceed on the back of the wave of popular pleasure that was unleashed by the outstanding televised concerts and displays of the previous three days. And finally, human beings simply enjoy ceremony and celebration. For most people in this country, the past four days have been a free party. It may have been a street or a village do, or the million-strong throng for the fireworks on Monday night, or it may have been something that most people only saw on television or simply chose to ignore. But it was a much more inclusive set of events than in the past, marked by great entertainment and visual splendours, both traditional and cutting-edge. In the past, it has been their show, not ours. This time, we were all invited.

But the need to face facts is not a one-way ticket. The golden jubilee may have given those of us who seek radical change in the way Britain is governed food for thought. But it should do just the same for those who think that everything is back in its place and all's well with the United Kingdom. The jubilee would have been impossible without the underpinning of national respect for the Queen. But that respect is not easily gained and is even less easily transferable.

The Guardian, June 5, 2002



HRH THE PRINCE OF WALES

His Royal Highness

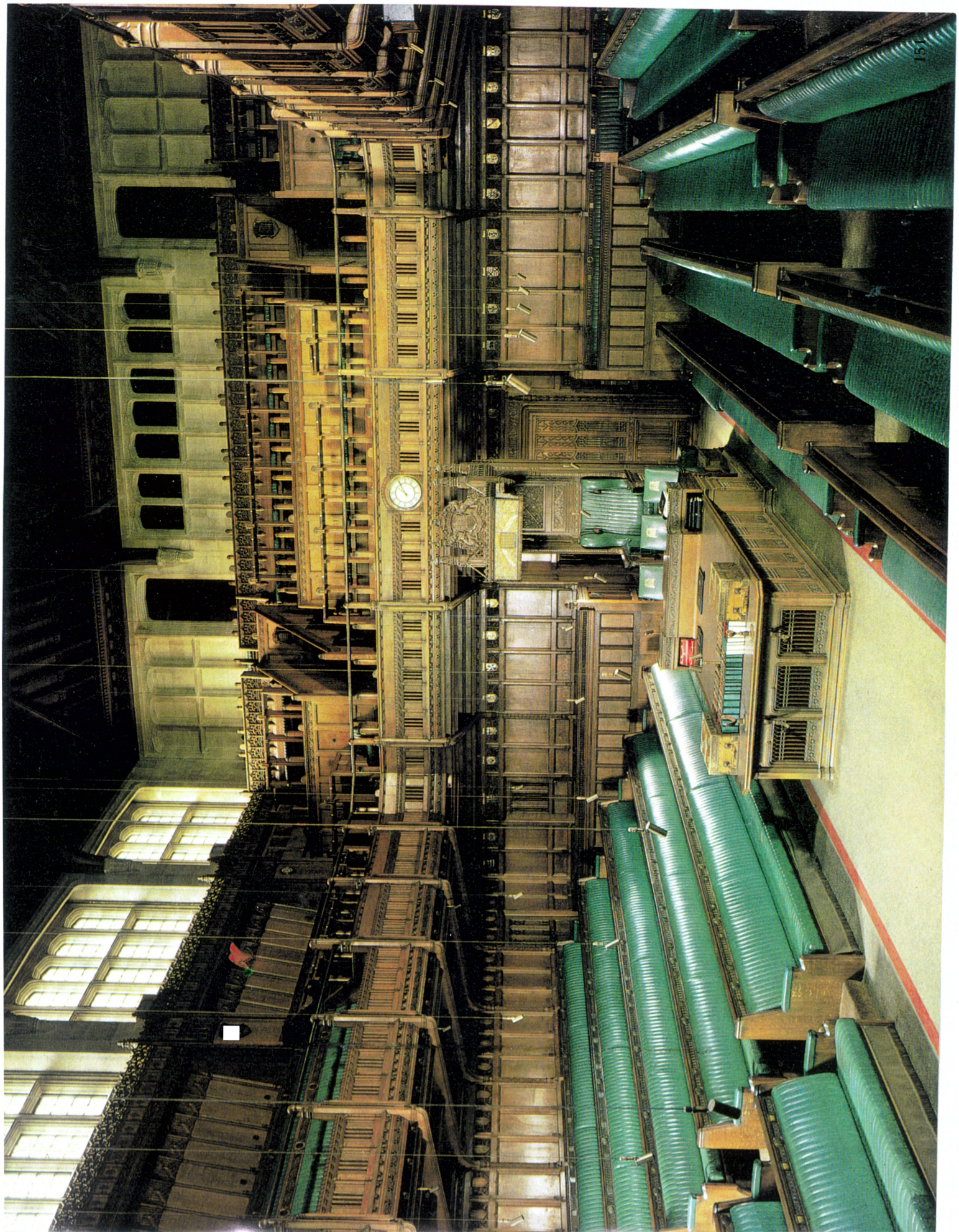
Charles opens his books for scrutiny

Taxpayers have stumped up £3m to bolster the finances of the Prince of Wales, who had a private income of nearly £10m last year. Detailed figures from the prince's office, released for the first time, show that Prince Charles employs 97 staff, including 17 personal servants, such as valets and butlers.

The figures were issued in the hope of showing what good value the heir to the throne offers. He helped raise at least £70m for charity last year, they say, and carries out 500 official engagements a year.

Most of Charles's income comes from the Duchy of Cornwall estate, which has provided rivers of cash to the Princes of Wales since 1377. It covers 57,088 hectares of land in 25 counties, and also has some prime urban real estate, such as the Oval cricket ground in London.

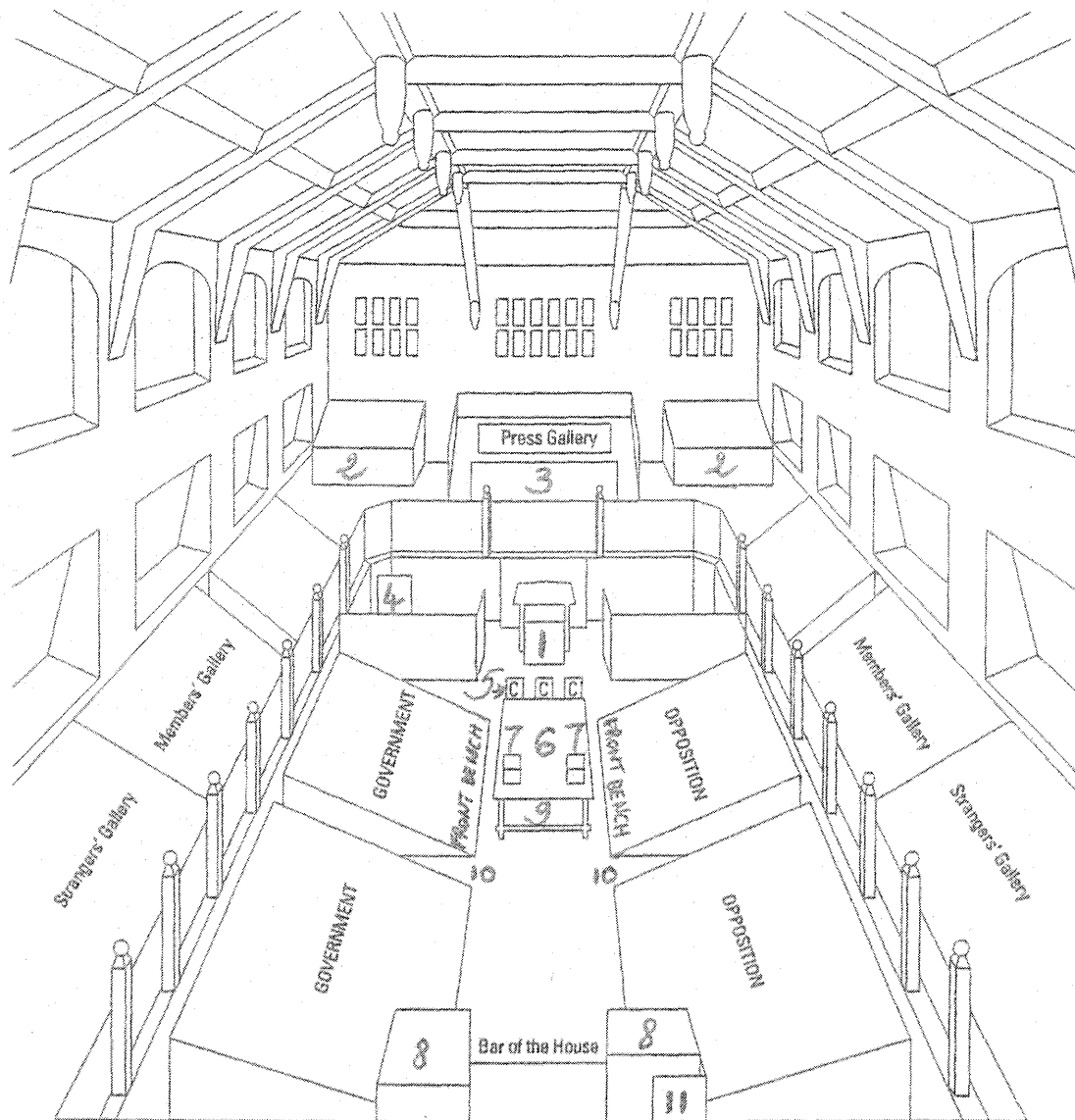
Guardian Weekly, August 2003





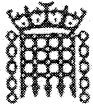
The House of Commons

seen from the Public Gallery



- | | | |
|---|-----------------------|---|
| 1 Mr Speaker | 5 Clerks of the House | 9 Mace |
| 2 Press Galleries | 6 Table of the House | 10 Lines (over which Members may not step when speaking from the front benches) |
| 3 Hansard Reporters | 7 Despatch Boxes | 11 Sergeant at Arms |
| 4 Government Officials' Box (Advisers to Ministers) | 8 Cross Benches | |

Source : John Biffen, *Inside the House of Commons*, 1989.



State of the parties

State of the parties at 30 September 2005

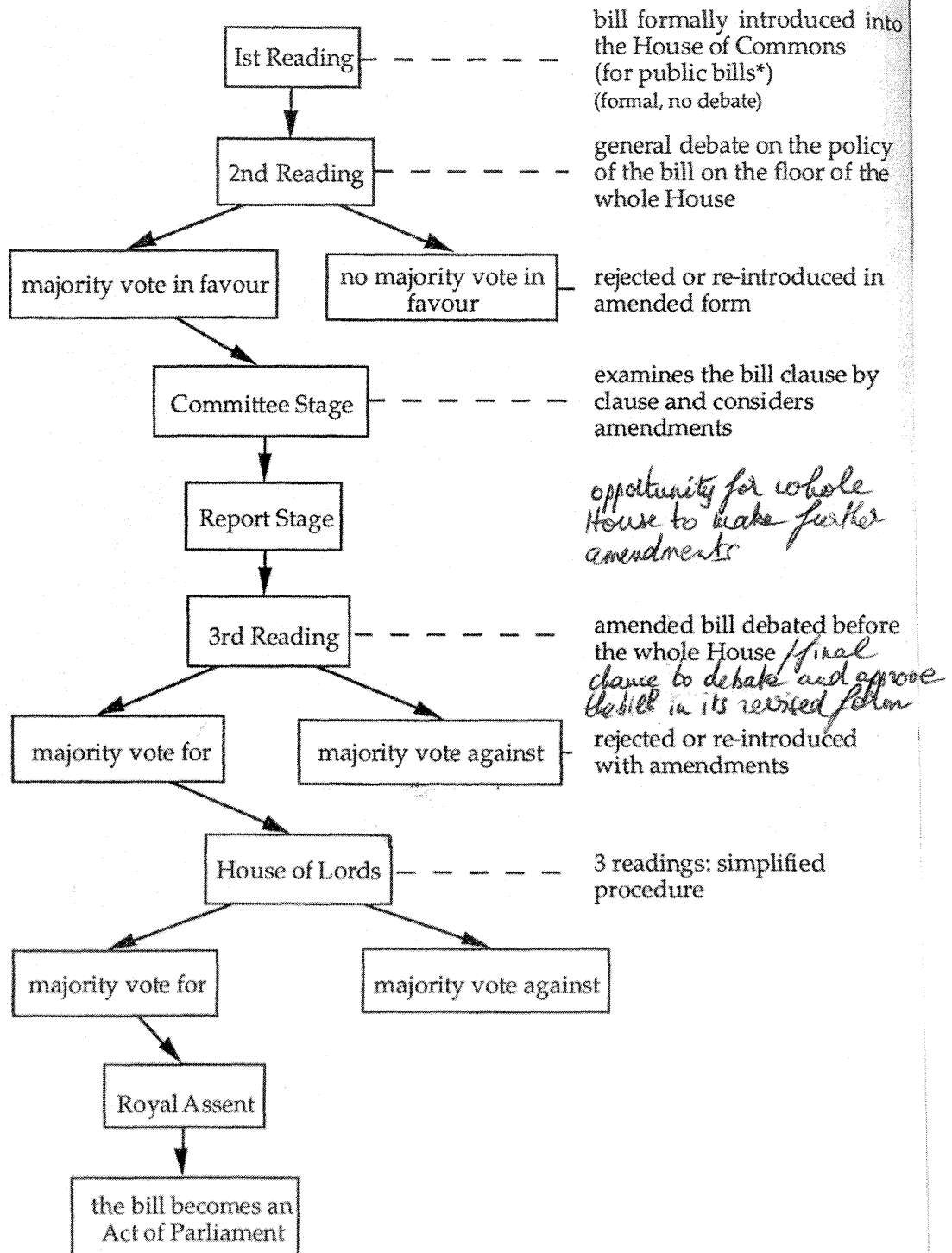
Labour	354
Conservative	196
Liberal Democrat	62
Scottish National Party/Plaid Cymru	9 (SNP 6/PC 3)
Democratic Unionist	9
Sinn Fein	5 (Have not taken their seats)
Social Democratic & Labour Party	3
Independent	2
Ulster Unionist	1
Respect	1
Speaker & 3 Deputies	4 (Do not normally vote)
Total	646

Government majority 66

Seats won at 2001 General Election

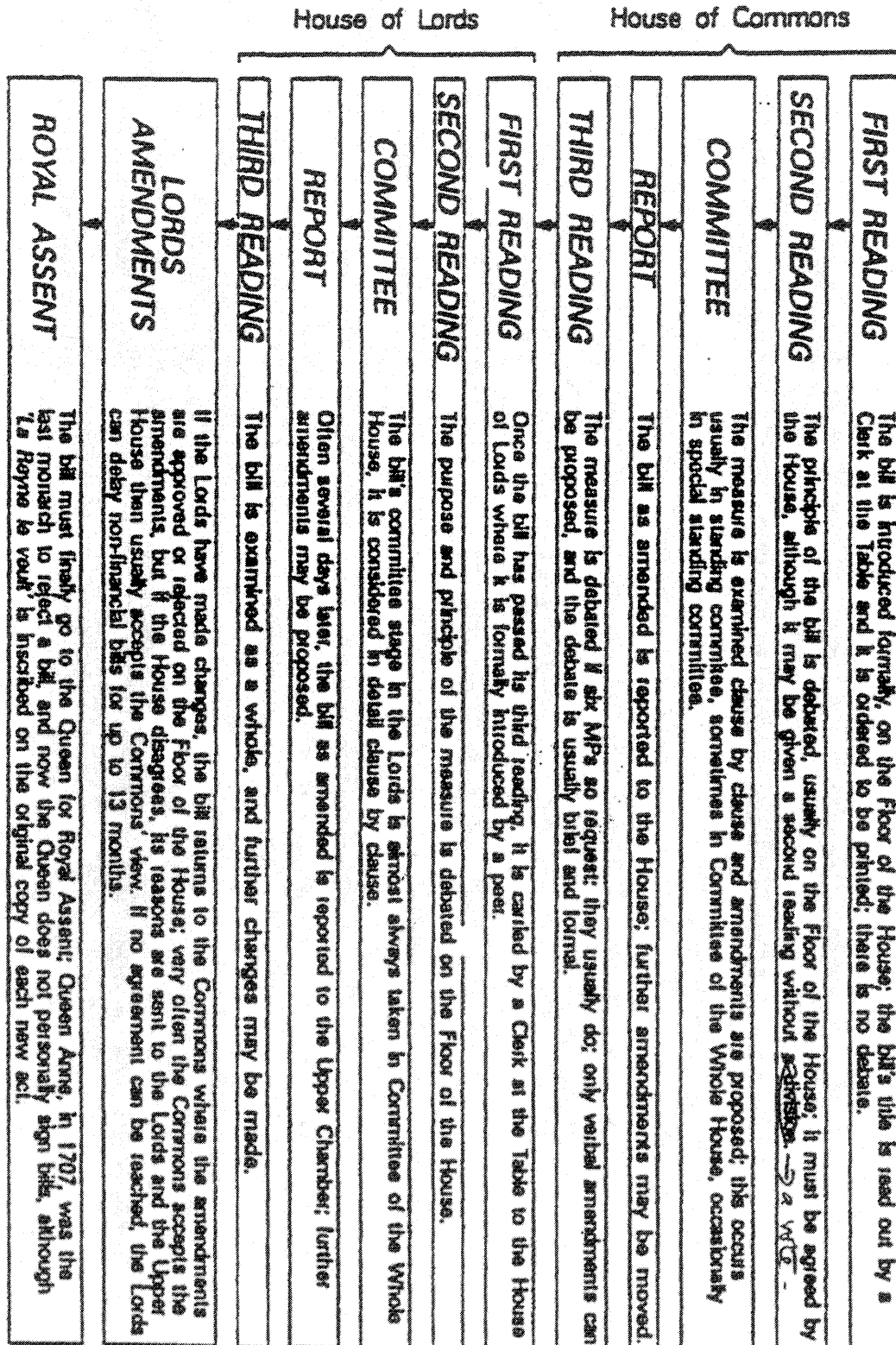
Labour	412
Conservative	166
Liberal Democrat	52
Ulster Unionist	6
Democratic Unionist	5
Scottish National	5
Plaid Cymru	4
Sinn Fein	4
Social Democratic & Labour	3
Independent	1
Speaker	1 (Stood as "Speaker seeking re-election")
Total	659
Government majority	166

FROM BILL TO ACT



* Certain bills of a more technical nature (private bills) may be introduced in the House of Lords

FROM BILL TO ACT OF PARLIAMENT.



Note: Non-financial bills may also originate in the House of Lords; they go through the same stages as those commencing in the House of Commons.

Summary to Stages in the Passing of a Bill

For more details of HOW A BILL IS PASSED,
read KOBER-SMITH and WHITTON, p 18-19



Summary Agenda 4 February 2003

11.30 a.m.

Prayers.

Afterwards

Oral Questions to the Secretary of State for Scotland.

11.55 a.m.

Oral Questions to the Advocate General for Scotland.

12 noon

Oral Questions to the Parliamentary Secretary, Lord Chancellor's Department.

12.15 p.m.

Oral Questions to the President of the Council and the honourable Member answering for the House of Commons Commission.

12.30 p.m.

Urgent Questions, Ministerial Statements (if any).

Afterwards

Sex Discrimination in Private Clubs—Motion for leave to introduce a Bill under the Ten minute rule (Mr Parmjit Dhanda) (*for up to 20 minutes*).

House of Lords Reform (Motions 1 to 7)
(*may continue until 5.00 p.m.*).

At the end of the sitting

Adjournment Debate: Compensation for gas disconnections (Keith Vaz) (*until 7.30 p.m. or for half an hour, whichever is later*).

Sitting in Westminster Hall

Adjournment Debates:

9.30 a.m.

Deaths in army barracks (Mr Kevin McNamara).

11.00 a.m.

Wild bird numbers in the United Kingdom (Mr Graham Allen).

The sitting will be suspended from 11.30 a.m. to 2.00 p.m.

2.00 p.m.

Flooding in the Thames Valley (Mr David Wilshire).

3.30 p.m.

Drugs for Alzheimer patients (Mr Robert Syms).



Order of Business 14 October 2003

At 2.30 p.m. Prayers
Afterwards

Private Business

Note: Private business is not debated at this time, and may not be proceeded with if opposed.

Further Consideration of Bill, as amended

Mersey Tunnels Bill. (By Order).

Mr Ben Chapman
Stephen Hesford
Mr Andrew Miller

On further Consideration of the Mersey Tunnels Bill, as amended, to move, That the Bill be further considered upon this day six months.

At 3.30 p.m. **Urgent Questions (if any)**
Ministerial Statements (if any)

Preliminary Business

Ten minute rule Motion

1 MINISTRY OF PEACE

[Up to 20 minutes]

John McDonnell

That leave be given to bring in a Bill to establish a Ministry of Peace with the function of promoting conflict resolution and the avoidance of military conflict.

The Member moving and a Member opposing this Motion may each speak for up to ten minutes (Standing Order No. 23).

Main Business

- + 2 CRIME (INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION) BILL [LORDS]: As amended in the Standing Committee, to be considered.

[Until 10.00 p.m.]

For Amendments, see separate Paper.

Third Reading will also be taken.

+ 3 CONTRACTING OUT

[No debate]

Mr Secretary Clarke

That the draft Contracting Out (Local Education Authority Functions) (England) (Amendment) Order 2003, which was laid before this House on 11th July, be approved.

To be decided without debate (Standing Order No. 118 (6)).

+ 4 INTERNATIONAL IMMUNITIES AND PRIVILEGES

[No debate]

Mr Secretary Straw

That the draft Vienna Document 1999 (Privileges and Immunities) Order 2003, which was laid before this House on 3rd July, be approved.

COMMITTEES

STANDING COMMITTEES

- | | | |
|---|-------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 Standing Committee A | 10.30 a.m. | Room 11 (public) |
| | 4.30 p.m. | (public) |
| To consider the Planning and Compulsory Purchase (Re-committed) Bill. | | |
| 2 Standing Committee B | 10.30 a.m. | Room 10 (public) |
| | 4.30 p.m. | (public) |
| Further to consider the Sexual Offences Bill [<i>Lords</i>]. | | |
| 3 Standing Committee D | 4.30 p.m. | Room 14 (public) |
| Further to consider the Water Bill [<i>Lords</i>]. | | |

SELECT COMMITTEES

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| 4 Culture, Media and Sport | 9.55 a.m. | The Thatcher Room, |
| | | Portcullis House |
| | 10.00 a.m. | (private) |
| | | (public) |
| 5 Standards and Privileges | 11.00 a.m. | Room 13 (private) |
| 6 Foreign Affairs | 3.45 p.m. | Room 16 (private) |
| | 4.00 p.m. | (public) |
| 7 Constitutional Affairs | 4.00 p.m. | Room 15 (private) |
| | 4.15 p.m. | (public) |

Subject: Asylum and Immigration Appeals.

JOINT COMMITTEE

- | | | |
|---|------------------|-------------------------|
| 8 Draft Mental Incapacity Bill | 3.30 p.m. | Room 6 (private) |
| | 3.45 p.m. | (public) |
| 9 Draft Civil Contingencies Bill | 4.00 p.m. | Room 5 (private) |

[The decision of a Committee to sit in public may be rescinded without notice.]

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

There are two main characteristics of the House of Commons which will command the approval and the support of reflective and experienced Members. They will, I have no doubt, sound odd to foreign ears. The first is that its shape should be oblong and not semi-circular. Here is a very potent factor in our political life. The semi-circular assembly, which appeals to political theorists, enables every individual or every group to move round the centre, adopting various shades of pink according as the weather changes. I am a convinced supporter of the party system in preference to the group system. I have seen many earnest and ardent Parliaments destroyed by the group system. The party system is much favoured by the oblong form of Chamber. It is easy for an individual to move through those insensible graduations from Left to Right but the act of crossing the floor is one which requires serious consideration. I am well informed on this matter, for I have accomplished that difficult process, not only once but twice. Logic is a poor guide compared with custom. Logic which has created in so many countries semi-circular assemblies which have buildings which give to every Member, not only a seat to sit in but often a desk to write at, with a lid to bang, has proved fatal to Parliamentary Government as we know it here in its home and in the land of its birth.

The second characteristic of a Chamber formed on the lines of the House of Commons is that it should not be big enough to contain all its Members at once without overcrowding and that there should be no question of every Member having a separate seat reserved for him. The reason for this has long been a puzzle to uninstructed outsiders and has frequently excited the curiosity and even the criticism of new members. Yet it is not so difficult to understand if you look at it from a practical point of view. If the House is big enough to contain all its Members, nine-tenths of its Debates will be conducted in the depressing atmosphere of an almost empty or half-empty Chamber. The essence of good House of Commons speaking is the conversational style, the facility for quick, informal interruptions and interchanges. Harangues from a rostrum would be a bad substitute for the conversational style in which so much of our business is done. But the conversational style requires a fairly small space and there should be on great occasions a sense of crowd and urgency. There should be a sense of the importance of much that is said and a sense that great matters are being decided there and then, by the House.

Debate on the Rebuilding of the House of Commons,
28 October, 1943: Winston Churchill's speech.

oo

Parliament gives Blair go-ahead for war

- Government war motion passed
- 217 MPs vote against war.
- 140 estimated Labour rebels

Matthew Tempest, political correspondent
Tuesday March 18, 2003
The Guardian

Tony Blair tonight saw off the final obstacle to UK involvement on a war with Iraq, defeating a Commons anti-war vote with a majority of 179.

A total of 217 Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat and nationalist MPs voted against war, on an amendment saying the case was "not yet established", with early estimates putting the Labour rebellion at 140 - up 17 from the vote last month.

The government's own motion, allowing for military action, was easily carried by 412 votes to 149. It is thought 83 Labour MPs voted against their government.

And with thousands of anti-war protestors outside Westminster - and at least two interrupting the debate from the public gallery - it has proved one of the most tense and unpredictable nights in recent political history.

After the vote, Mr Blair's official spokesman urged parliament and the country to rally behind the British troops preparing for battle.

"It is now time for all of us in parliament and in the country to come together and show the support our armed forces deserve," he said.

Appealing for support during the debate for a course of action he believed in "passionately", Mr Blair said it would shape the future pattern of international politics.

The nine-and-a-half hour debate was both less passionate and less poisonous than that in February, perhaps because of the likelihood of military action - and deaths - within hours.

However, its sombre tone was summed up for both pro- and anti-war MPs by the foreign secretary, Jack Straw, who said tonight's decision would "stay with MPs for decades to come".

Throughout the afternoon and evening, the churning and wavering within both the Labour and Conservative parties lead Westminster watchers to guess at anything from the same 122 Labour rebellions as on February 26, to up to 200.

An added factor was the increase in Tory rebels, which weakened the government's majority of 194 last time round.

The first vote of the night was on the rebel amendment - stating that a case for war now was "not yet established" - was won by the government by 396 votes to 217, a majority of 179.

In the end, despite a total of seven resignation from the government, and three from the Tory shadow cabinet, a defeat for the prime minister was never in question.

However, he spend most of the day trying to persuade waverers on his own side - on top of the personal efforts put in by his wife, Cherie, and the former US president, Bill Clinton, yesterday.

But Labour whips - and journalists - spent the day in frantic calculations estimating the extent, and the damage, of any rebellion.

Some of the highlights of the debate included the Tory whip, John Randall, who resigned over his party's stance on Iraq, and passionately anti-Bush speeches from Labour's Bob Marshall-Andrews and John McDonnell.

However, many of the MPs who spoke at the last debate - such as firebrand George Galloway - were not called this time, to allow more members to make a speech on Iraq.

Mr Blair began the debate nearly 10 hours earlier by facing his critics head on, admitting both his party and the Tories were divided, that he had lost a cabinet colleague on a "point of principle" and that the public were undecided.

He, and other loyal ministers and MPs throughout the debate, were keen to attack French intransigence over the UN veto, which the government is claiming broke the diplomatic process.

But late today the French had indicated they may be willing to commit troops if the Iraqi leader uses chemical or biological weapons against allied troops.

In chronological order the government has now lost Andrew Reed, parliamentary private secretary to the environment secretary Margaret Beckett, Robin Cook, the former foreign secretary. His PPS, Ken Purchase, did not resign but automatically left his junior ministerial post with Mr Cook.

Health minister Lord Hunt of Kings Heath announced his resignation this morning, saying the ex-Leader of the Commons had made a "very persuasive speech".

Hours later, the Home Office minister John Denham declared he was leaving the government because he could not support it in the Commons vote on Iraq tonight.

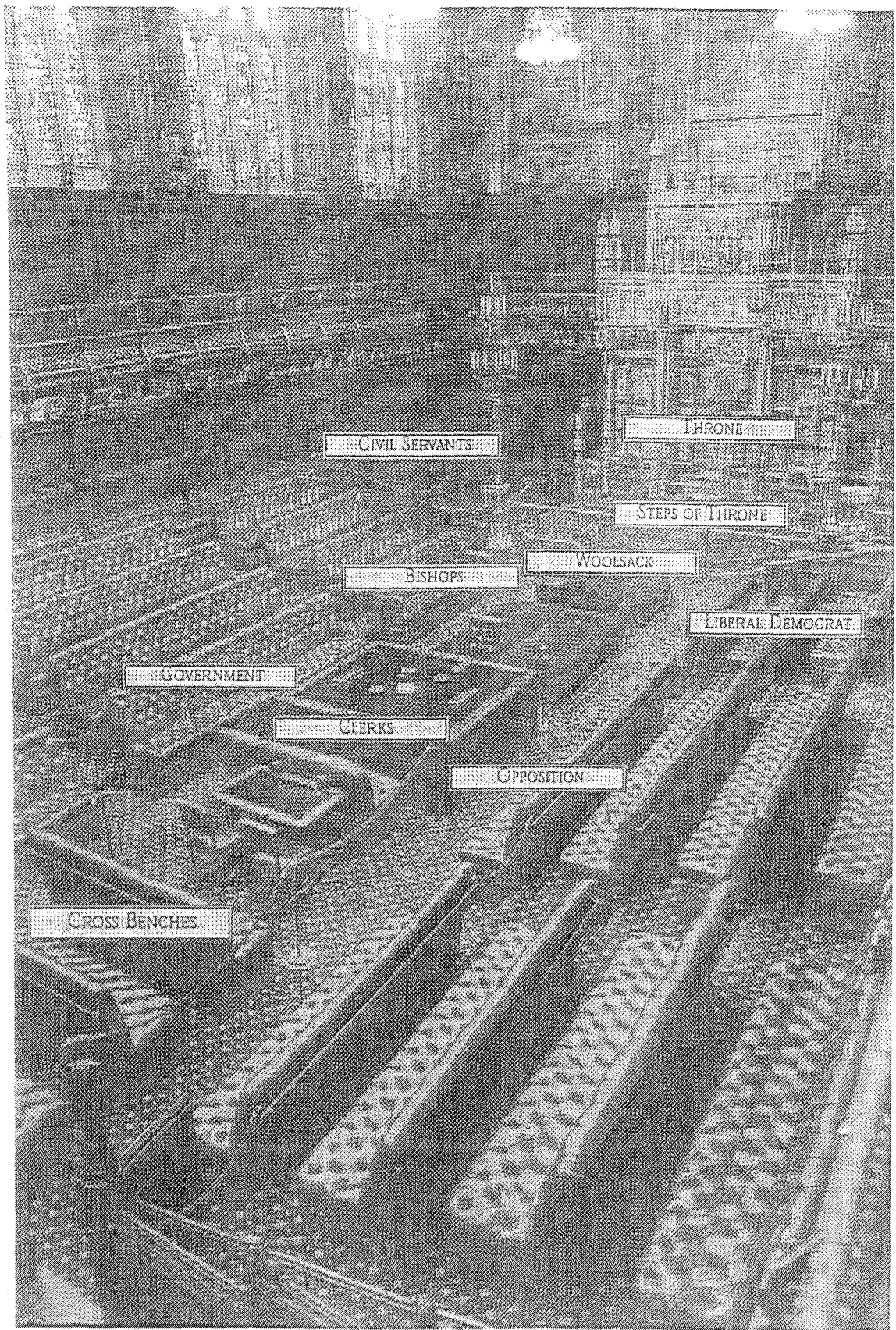
It then emerged that Anne Campbell, MP for Cambridge, had resigned as PPS - a role also known as ministerial "bag carrier" - to the trade and industry secretary, Patricia Hewitt, again over the absence of a second resolution.

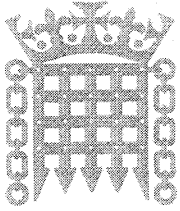
Bob Blizzard, MP for Waveney and PPS to work and pensions minister Nick Brown, announced his resignation on his website, saying "war should only be a last resort" and that the world was not at that point.

Meanwhile, the Tory leadership suffered three more resignations over Iraq after the departure as a whip of John Randall last week.

Shadow environment minister, Jonathan Sayeed, shadow home affairs minister, Humfrey Malins, and shadow health minister, John Baron, all left their posts on Tuesday.







HOUSE of LORDS

THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

Since its origins as a gathering of feudal magnates and churchmen, the Lords has occupied a central role in the UK parliamentary system. Members no longer pass on sitting and voting rights to their offspring when they die, although a small proportion of hereditary members remains (see below). Recent and ongoing changes are a continuation of our evolving constitution. Today there are various routes by which members are appointed to the House and four main categories of member.

Life Peers

Appointed for their lifetime, these make up the majority (600) of the total membership (currently around 700). The power to appoint belongs formally to the Crown, but members are essentially created on the advice of the Prime Minister. Life peers' titles cease on death.

Law Lords (Lords of Appeal in Ordinary)

In effect they were the first life peers. The Appellate Jurisdiction Act 1876 provides for up to 12 Law Lords to be appointed to hear appeals from the lower courts. They are salaried and can continue to hear appeals until they are 75 years old. After they retire they go on sitting in the House. NB At time of writing the judicial functions of the House of Lords are under review.

Archbishops and Bishops (= 26)

The Anglican Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of Durham, London and Winchester and the 21 senior diocesan bishops of the Church of England have seats in the House. This is because the Church of England is the 'established' Church of the State. When they retire as bishops their membership of the House ceases.

Elected Hereditary Peers

The House of Lords Act 1999 ended the right of hereditary peers to sit and vote in the House of Lords. Until then there had been about 700 hereditary members. While the Bill was being considered, an amendment was passed which enabled 92 of the existing hereditary peers to remain as members until the next stage of reform.

The 92 peers are made up as follows:

- 15 'office-holders' ie Deputy Speakers & Deputy Chairmen, elected by the whole House.
- 75 party and crossbench members elected by their own party or group.
- 2 who hold royal appointments - The Lord Great Chamberlain, who is the Queen's representative in Parliament and the Earl Marshal who is responsible for ceremonies such as the State Opening of Parliament.

Different routes to becoming a member of the House of Lords

Appointments Commission The Government announced its intention to establish the Appointments Commission in its white paper "Modernising Parliament; Reforming the House of Lords" (Jan 1999). The Appointments Commission, set up in May 2000, is a non-statutory non-departmental advisory public body. It has two main functions: to make recommendations to the Queen for non-political peers; and to vet for propriety all nominations for peerages, including those from political parties. The Commission began its search for new members on 13 September 2000 and announced its first list of 15 non-party political members in April 2001. A second list of members was announced on 1 May 2004. As early as March 1998, the press had anticipated that these members would be different from the usual honours lists and more representative of society at large and dubbed them "Peoples' Peers". ***NB The Commission is an independent body and NOT part of the House of Lords.***

New Years Honours and Birthday Honours (to celebrate the Queen's official birthday in early June). Since the establishment of the Appointments Commission in 2001, life peerage announcements on these occasions have become less frequent.

Dissolution Honours At the end of a Parliament, peerages may be given to some MPs from all parties who are leaving the House of Commons.

Resignation Honours When a Prime Minister resigns, he or she may recommend peerages and other honours for politicians, their political advisers and others who have supported them.

Political Lists/'Working Peers' Although the term 'working peer' does not denote any officially recognised class of member, it has been used by the press to refer to members who have been appointed on a party basis, to boost each of the three main party groups' strengths and on the expectation that they will attend regularly and take on frontbench work as spokesmen or whips.

Ad hoc Announcements These can cover peerages for new Law Lords, for example, or for someone appointed as a Minister who is not a member of the House.

Archbishops and Bishops Since the mid-nineteenth century the number of bishops in the House has been limited to 26. The remaining diocesan bishops qualify for membership according to seniority, the longest serving bishop outside the Lords succeeding to a vacancy among the Lords Spiritual. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York are usually given life peerages on retirement.

Speakers Former Speakers of the House of Commons have traditionally been awarded a peerage at the request of the House of Commons.

From Announcement to Introduction

- The **Announcement** is made by No. 10 Downing Street – and also, since 2001, by the Appointments Commission – that certain people are to become members of the House. Before anyone becomes a member, a title has to be agreed, and documents – the writ of summons and Letters Patent – prepared. This takes several weeks.
- **Letters Patent** are issued by the Queen. They create a life peerage. Recipients become members of the House automatically when Letters Patent are received. They can then be written to at the House of Lords, using their new title of Lord or Baroness. They cannot sit or vote until their Introduction.
- The **Writ of Summons** (*see below*) is the document which calls the peer to the House and then acts as their entry "ticket". A new writ is issued for every member at the beginning of each parliament. A writ accompanies the Letters Patent to a new peer.

Elizabeth the Second by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of Her other Realms and Territories Queen, In God of the Commonwealth Defender of the Faith To all whoso shall come, greeting. We greet you right heartily and well beloved Counsellor **Bruce Bernard Weatherill** of North East Croydon in Our London Borough of Croydon Cherisher Greeting. With us by the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual, Bishops and other Prelates, and of the Commons in Parliament assembled, and of the Lords of the Council in Privy Council, we have ordered, and by the advice and consent of the said Lords Spiritual, Bishops and other Prelates, and of the Commons in Parliament assembled, and of the Lords of the Council in Privy Council, we have ordered, that you should be one of the Members of Our said Parliament to be holden at Our City of Westminster on the thirteenth day of June next ensuing and there to treat and have conference with the Prelates, Bishops and Peers of Our said Parliament. We signify unto you upon the faith and allegiance which you are bound to Us that the weightiness of the said affairs and business presseth us to require that you should be in the said day and place personally present with Us and with the said Prelates, Bishops and Peers to meet and give your counsel upon the affairs aforesaid. And thus as you regard Us and Our Honour and the safety and defence of the said Kingdom and Church and empire, and of the said affairs in respect of your own Welfare, Obedience to Us, and of the duty which you owe to Us, we command you to be there on the thirteenth day of June next ensuing year of Our reign.

PHILLIPS

TO: BRUCE BERNARD LORD WEATHERILL

(Text of Summons to Parliament)

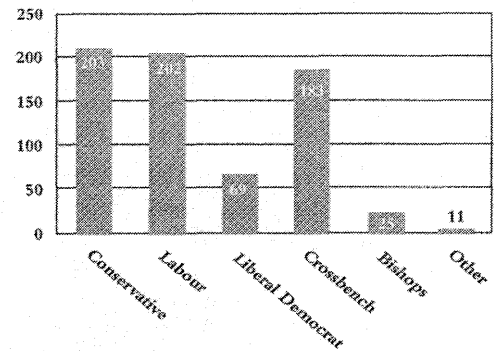
PHILLIPS

- The **Introduction** is a short ceremony lasting about 5 minutes which takes place at the beginning of business. Sometimes there are two Introductions a day. Each new peer has two supporters (usually, but not necessarily, of their party or group). After they have been introduced, party affiliations are confirmed by party whips or by the Convenor of the Crossbenchers for those not connected with any political parties.
- The **Oath of Allegiance** must be taken or solemn affirmation made by all Members before they can sit and vote in the House. Members need to take the oath on introduction, in every new parliament and on the death of a Monarch.
- The first speech a newly introduced member makes is known as a **Maiden Speech**. This takes place during a debate in the chamber and is traditionally non-controversial.

Party Organisation

House of Lords members are organised on a party basis in much the same way as the House of Commons, but with important differences. Lords members do not represent constituencies and many are not members of a political party. Those who do not support one of the three main parties are known as Crossbenchers or independent peers. There is also a small number who are not affiliated to any of the main groups.

Party and other groups as at 01/03/05



The changing membership of the Lords

14th century - The Lords begin to sit in a separate House from the Commons. Members of the House of Lords are drawn from the Church (Lords Spiritual) and from magnates chosen by the monarch (Lords Temporal), while Commons members represent the shires and boroughs.

15th century - Lords Temporal become known as "peers".

18th century - Acts of Union with Scotland (1707) and Ireland (1800) entitle Scottish and Irish peers to elect representatives to sit in the Lords.

1876 Appellate Jurisdiction Act - Creates Lords of Appeal in Ordinary (Law Lords) to carry out the judicial work of the House as the final court of appeal.

1958 Life Peerages Act - Creates peerages "for life" for men and women; women sit in the House for the first time.

1963 Peerage Act - Allows hereditary peers to disclaim their peerages, and allows hereditary peeresses and all Scottish peers to sit in the House.

1999 House of Lords Act - Removes the right of all except 92 hereditary peers to sit and vote in the House.

Abolishing the House of Lords ?

There can, nowadays, be no justification for a second chamber whose membership is largely based on heredity. Nor can we justify a second chamber which has an overwhelming and virtually permanent majority for one political party ; a one-party chamber is as offensive to Western ideas of democracy as a one-party state. Even so, there are, in my view, strong grounds for believing that we need a second chamber. This is because the House of Lords, or a reformed second chamber, has a crucial constitutional role to play in Britain today which cannot otherwise be satisfactorily provided for. Such a chamber also has an important political role – to enhance the quality of government – and that is true however we may reform the House of Commons and its procedures.

The essential foundation of a second chamber's political role in enhancing the quality of the way we are governed is the need for a chamber which represents something different from the first chamber. The House of Commons, like the American House of Representatives and other first chambers around the world, is based on the representation of individual voters organised in geographic constituencies. But people, besides being individuals, are also the constituent part of the great "interests" of the nation – the churches, the trade unions, business, the professions, the land, the armed forces, and the press, for example. So if representation is to be more truly comprehensive we need to supplement the representation of the people by the representation of interests. A second chamber can provide the forum for this.

This also has several practical advantages. First, there is the second chamber's revising function. It is no part of a second chamber's job to revise bills because the Commons has not had time to consider them fully or properly – as so often happens now.

Another useful political function for a second chamber is to provide a forum in which experts of various kinds, untrammelled by ties of party or interest group, can make their own distinctive and distinguished contributions to government decision-making.

In addition, there is one crucial set of constitutional functions which the House of Lords is there to perform and which, in the special circumstances of our governmental system, can be performed only by the House of Lords, or a reformed version of it, or by the Monarch. This is to act as the ultimate defender of our constitutional rights and liberties – a role thrust on it by the fact that we do not have a written constitution.

But if the Lords were abolished and we had a unicameral system of government, there would be nothing to stop a majority in the Commons from extending its own life indefinitely and dismissing any judges who inconveniently sought to defend our traditional liberties from any restrictions it wanted to place upon us.

© Lord Crowther-Hunt, *The Listener*, 4 December 1980.

The end of the peer show

This week the House of Lords voted to expel its hereditary members, marking the greatest upheaval in the house since 1911. However, completion of the reform of the Lords still looks distant

BEARDED and in a grey suit, the Earl of Burford makes an unlikely Scarlet Pimpernel. But on October 26th, the earl tried in vain to save his fellow aristocrats from Tony Blair's modern equivalent of the guillotine: the expulsion, after several centuries of law-making, of hereditary peers from the House of Lords. As the Lords prepared to debate the bill that would seal their fate, Lord Burford leapt on to the Woolsack (seat of the lord chancellor, speaker of the upper house) and denounced the bill as "treason". "Before us lies the wasteland," he declared. "No queen, no culture, no sovereignty, no freedom!"

Within a minute, the Pimpernel was led away—not, luckily, to be beheaded, but to speak to journalists before retiring to his club. Back in the House, their Lordships submitted quietly. Around 80 peers, mainly obscure backbenchers, voted against the bill. But most Tories, including the leadership, abstained and the bill was carried. The House of Commons has still to approve it, and any changes made in the Commons will have to be reconsidered by the Lords. But it now seems certain that in the next session of Parliament, due to start on November 17th, the House of Lords will be largely devoid of hereditary peers.

Ministers will be glad to see them go. Thanks in part to the hereditaries' votes, the government has suffered over 30 defeats in the Lords in the past year. And the Lords have usually chosen the popular side of the

argument. They rejected the government's reform of the voting system for European parliamentary elections, queried the ban on beef on the bone, and supported free tuition for Scottish students. The Tory peers say they are not blocking government legislation for

Lords a-changing			
Party	Now	Without hereditaries	Interim house (estimate)
Labour	129	160	164
Conservative	121	172	222
Liberal Democrat	72	49	54
Cross-bench/other	48	186	219
Total	1,213	567	659

Sources: House of Lords; The Economist estimates

its own sake. But government business managers nonetheless face the headache of pushing through four important bills—on welfare, asylum seekers, food standards and the Greater London Authority—before the current session ends in a couple of weeks' time.

Nor was the expulsion of the hereditaries plain sailing. The Tory leadership had made it clear that it would not block the bill. But the government has suffered six defeats on individual aspects of the bill, and has been forced to offer assurances on the composition of the interim house. Individual backbench peers have been even less restrained. Two court cases have unsuccessfully challenged the government's right to expel

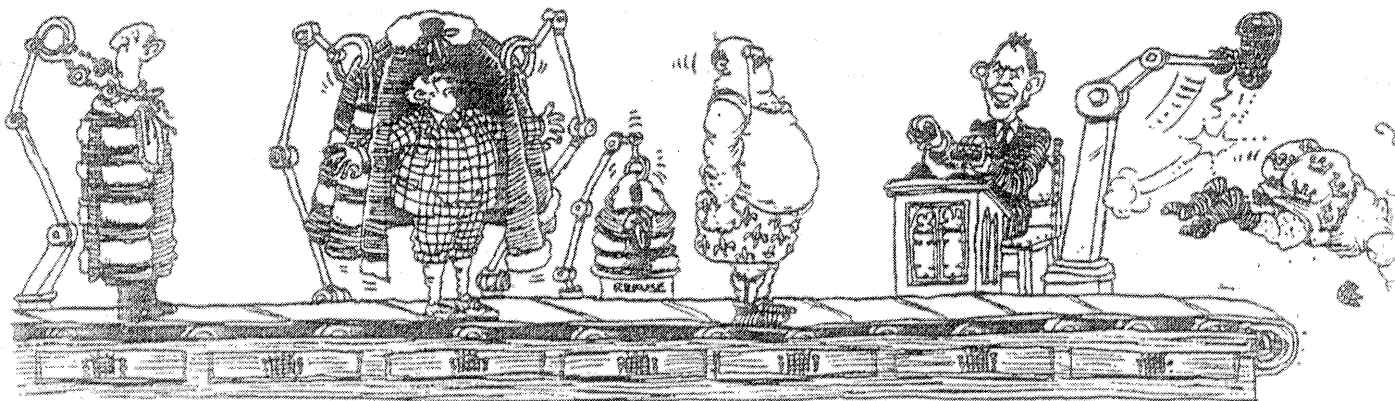
the hereditaries from the upper house.

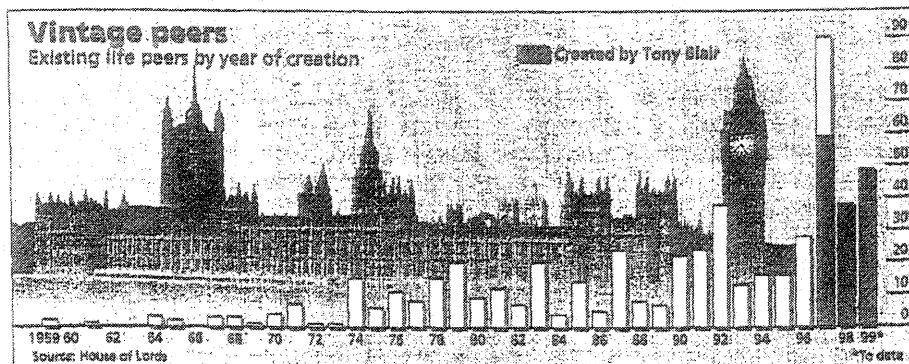
According to the government, the removal of the hereditaries is merely the first of two stages in the reform of the House of Lords. What the second stage will be, or when it will happen, no one knows. It is possible, however, to sketch out how the chamber will look for the time being.

The membership of the House of Lords will fall by almost half. The hereditaries will not all disappear (see table). To persuade the Tories not to block this week's bill, the government has allowed 92 hereditaries to remain, in addition to the 567 life peers and bishops. Two of these hereditaries, holding the offices of Lord Great Chamberlain and Earl Marshal, have ceremonial duties. Fifteen will be elected as deputy speakers—chairmen of debates—by the whole house. And the remaining 75 will be elected from among their fellow hereditaries by those with the same political persuasion: 42 Tories, three Liberal Democrats, two Labourites and 28 "cross-benchers" or independents. For the past couple of weeks, the bars and lobbies of the Palace of Westminster have witnessed the unusual sight of hereditary peers, who cannot even vote in general elections, on the hustings themselves.

Further changes to the composition of the Lords will follow when the bill becomes law. Mr Blair has been creating life peers by the benchful (see chart on next page). The government has said that no party should seek an overall majority in the upper house, but it intends to bring about "broad parity" with the Tories, with proportionate appointments for the other parties. Even with no new Tory creations, parity will mean ennobling around 60 Labour supporters in the coming months, along with at least 30 Liberal Democrats.

It remains to be seen whether this new intake will be any good. Having a peerage has never, in itself, been a badge of merit. The forefathers of many hereditary peers won





their titles by being the favourites, financial backers or time-servers of former rulers. But many life peers, both Labour and Conservative, have been ennobled for similarly dubious services to modern governments. During the passage of the current bill, the Tory opposition inserted a clause setting up an appointments commission for life peers and stipulating how it should operate. The government plans to remove that clause. To be fair, ministers say they will establish an appointments commission of their own. But it is still unclear how it will work or when it will start, and its remit will be limited to independent peers, not the more problematic political ones.

The dynamics of the interim house are also uncertain. On paper, Labour will remain vulnerable to defeat, with less than a third of the membership. And many recent Labour appointments have poor voting records, nicknamed "shirking peers" instead of "working peers" by their more diligent colleagues. On the other hand, many Tory life peers are old, having been given their titles as retirement perks rather than in the expectation of regular attendance. And the burgeoning numbers of Liberal Democrats are likely to be broadly supportive of the government. The biggest factor will be how the removal of the hereditaries affects the way the Lords use their power. Up to now the Lords, dominated by independent cross-benchers, have chosen to defeat governments only sparingly. The interim house will be more party political, and possibly more partisan. And although the interim house is only a step towards full reform, the government that created it will be less able to brush off defeats as illegitimate.

But the significance of the interim House of Lords goes beyond its ability to defeat the government. Even the Tories, who think that the house has done a good job in its current form, accept that the hereditary domination lost the Lords some public legitimacy. Lord Strathclyde, who leads the Tory peers, thinks the debate should now focus less on the composition of the House of Lords and more on its functions. He plans to float ideas to give the upper house a greater role as a constitutional watchdog, more powers to scrutinise European legislation, and a greater ability to question secondary legislation, the detailed

changes to the law that currently go through Parliament on the nod.

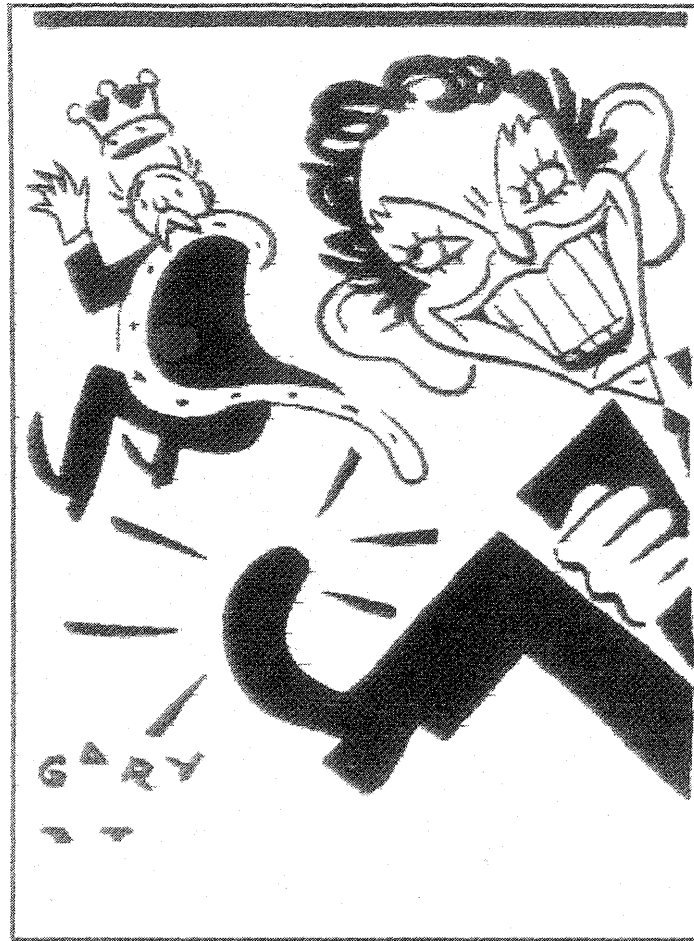
But why be so concerned about the interim House of Lords? After all, the government is publicly committed to full-blooded reform, towards which the expulsion of the hereditaries is just a stepping-stone. The answer is that no-one believes the second stage of reform will come soon. The government decided to expel the hereditaries as a free-

standing act, because of the difficulty of deciding what should replace them. Then it gave itself a further excuse for delay by setting up a Royal Commission. The commission is said to be having difficulty reaching a view, and is not expected to report until December 31st, when its recommendations will be crowded out by millennium fireworks. After that, the government will procrastinate further by referring the commission's conclusions to a joint committee of both Houses of Parliament.

Ministers have been studiously avoiding committing themselves to any timetable of reform, but legislation looks extremely unlikely before the next general election. And by that stage the new peers in the interim House of Lords will have grown comfortable in their ermine, and could be reluctant to make way for a reformed chamber. Precedent is not encouraging. The current House of Lords is the result of interim legislation introduced in 1911. On present form, the new temporary arrangements could last as long.

THE ECONOMIST OCTOBER 30TH 1999

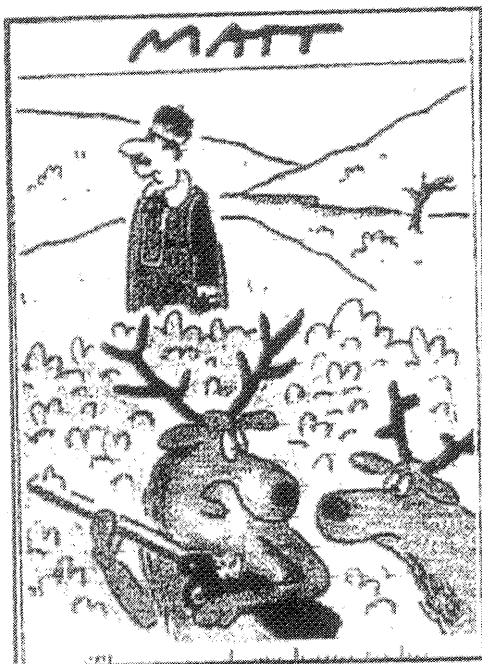
First published in Daily Mail on 19 Apr 1997



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Daily Telegraph

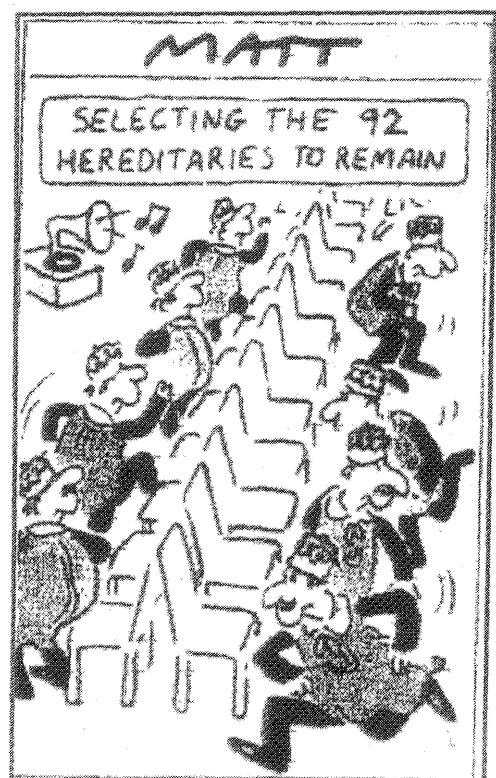
05 Dec 1998



Their numbers have to be controlled
and this is the most humane way.

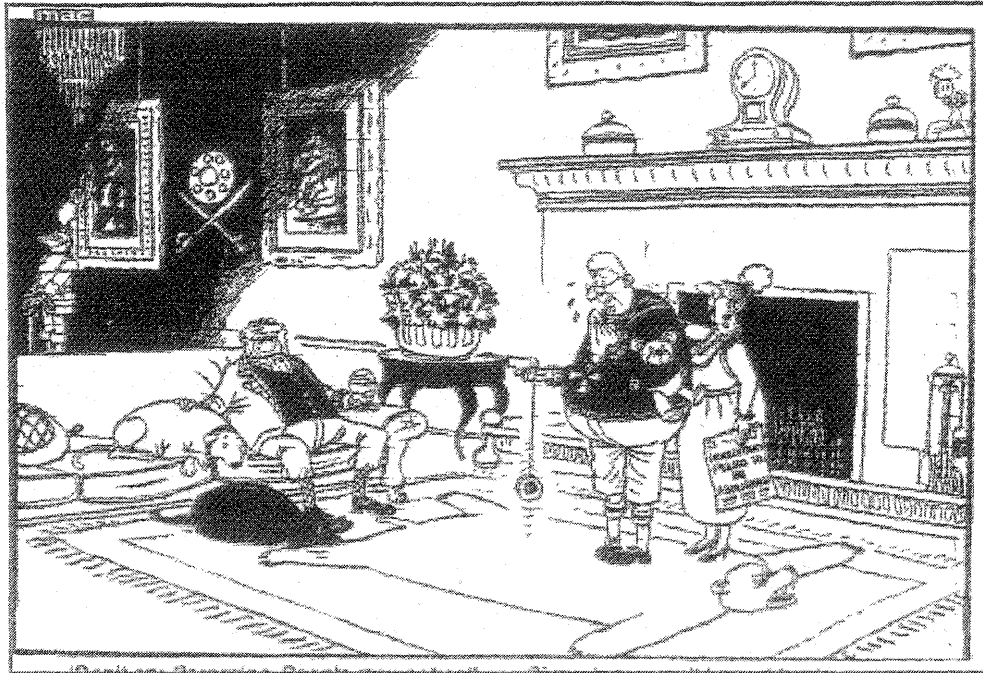
Daily Telegraph

12 May 1999



[no caption]

First published in The Daily Mail on 16 Oct 1998



"Don't cry, Peregrine. People may not call you Sir and you won't be making any important decisions in the House of Lords, but you'll still have Yo-yo and Teddy."

First published in The Sun on 21 Jan 1999



[no caption]

WESTMINSTER SANS LORDS HEREDITAIRES

Quand la reine Elizabeth a ouvert le Parlement, le 17 novembre, en lisant solennellement le troisième programme législatif du gouvernement Blair, elle s'est adressée comme le veut l'usage à "mes Lords et membres de la chambre des Communes". Mais ses Lords avaient bien changé puisque le sceau royal avait été apposé la semaine précédente sur une loi réformant leur assemblée.

Les pairs dont le titre de noblesse est héréditaire viennent donc de perdre le droit de siéger au Parlement et d'y voter. En rompant ce lien automatique entre naissance et appartenance, la loi travailliste conclut la première étape d'une réforme entamée en 1911 par un gouvernement libéral, et inaboutie jusqu'ici malgré les tentatives de trois commissions mixtes.

Le gouvernement Blair a tenu son engagement électoral : en janvier 1999, il a constitué une commission chargée d'étudier les fonctions d'une chambre haute et de proposer, avant le 31 décembre suivant, une méthode de composition (ou une combinaison de méthodes) lui permettant de les remplir effectivement. La loi qui est entrée en vigueur le 11 novembre entérine donc à la fois la disparition d'une institution séculaire et la naissance d'une chambre intérimaire. Elle ne préjuge en rien de l'instance définitive qui sera fondée sur les propositions d'un futur comité Lords/Communes.

Pendant l'intérim, la chambre est composée de la façon suivante :

- * Les Lords dits "spirituels"
 - 26 pairs religieux, dignitaires de l'Eglise anglicane ;
- * Les Lords dits "temporels"
 - 537 pairs à vie, nommés au fil d'une quarantaine d'années par huit premiers ministres successifs ;
 - 12 Lords de justice ;
 - 92 pairs héréditaires "en sursis", dont 17 occupent une charge protocolaire et 75 ont été maintenus à titre de compromis après élection par leurs collègues.

Qu'elles soient héréditaires ou à vie, les pairies sont créées par le souverain sur proposition du premier ministre, en reconnaissance de services rendus à la société, à un parti politique, ou à une profession (sans attache politicienne). Ils ne reçoivent pas de traitement mais certaines indemnités de présence ou de déplacement. Dans le cadre de la réforme, une "commission des nominations" indépendante se chargera du choix des nouveaux pairs, sur le plan éthique et politique.

Pour la présidente des Lords, la baronne Jay of Paddington (anoblée en 1992), "les pairs héréditaires, à titre individuel, ont beaucoup apporté aux importants travaux de la chambre, mais le moment est venu de se séparer. Personne n'aura plus jamais de naissance le droit de siéger au Parlement. C'est une étape essentielle de la démarche de modernisation de la Constitution engagée par le gouvernement. Nous allons maintenant vers une réforme complète."

Peer pressure

Roy Hattersley

Monday February 3, 2003

The Guardian

The prime minister is right. What he calls a "hybrid" House of Lords - some of its members elected and others the beneficiary of patronage - would be an unhappy compromise between reform and regression to an upper house of parliament which is a denial of democracy. As we know from experience of subjects as diverse as apartheid and secondary education, it is impossible to be both different and equal. Take it from me, elected peers, senators or whatever they may be called, would feel superior to colleagues who legislated courtesy of selection by a committee. And from time to time they would make their feelings known.

Unfortunately, having started his analysis of constitutional change with an incontrovertible premise, Tony Blair used it as the basis for irrational conclusions. Part election, though bad, is better than no election at all. And no election is not the only alternative to a "hybrid" solution. The upper house of parliament could, and should, be wholly elected. And it is astonishing that a prime minister with an obsession for "modernisation" should support any alternative. Less surprising is the way in which he defended his timidity. New Labour often prefers slogans to careful argument. Therefore we are told that the House of Commons must choose between "a revising chamber and a rival". The cliché is catchy. But it is also nonsense.

An elected House of Lords (or whatever new name it eventually acquires) only becomes a rival to the Commons if it replicates the powers that "the other place" enjoys - initiating as well as

improving legislation with its order of business built round the government and the ministers who occupy the front bench. Mr Blair may not have noticed but, in its way, the House of Lords is a hybrid already. While his satraps struggle to achieve victory for the party line, "crossbenchers" insist they are above the battle. By that they mean that they vote - in a legislative chamber of the United Kingdom - according to their own principles and prejudices. They exist, insulated from the will of the people.

If an upper house did, through election, possess democratic legitimacy, most of its members would offer themselves in the ballot as supporters of one of the major parties. That does not mean its whole procedures would have to follow the same pattern as the "vote first and think later" pattern of the House of Commons. In a chamber that initiates legislation, that is essential. And discipline is maintained by the hope of preferment. The new upper chamber should take evidence from ministers, but it should not include them among its members. And its role should be limited to revision. The power to revise should be strengthened by an extension of the ability to postpone to the point when delay is barely distinguishable from prevention. As a revising institution, the present House of Lords is a complete failure. It may, from time to time, nibble at the edges of legislation. But too often it only makes the changes that the government allows. A couple of years ago, when a so-called "competition bill" made it easier for Rupert Murdoch to extend his empire, a handful of Labour peers was prepared to block the proposal for as long as it took to change the government's mind. The "official opposition" mounted a show of force and then announced that constitutional propriety required capitulation. If that is how the second chamber works, it is a waste of time.

The second chamber could become an instrument of the public will - examining all legislation with the authority that comes from democratic legitimacy and postponing, under a new constitution, any law that infringes civil liberties until the policy has been endorsed by a general election victory for the party by which it was proposed. From time to time it will frustrate the government's will. But that is the object of its existence. The House of Lords irritates the executive without changing its mind. It has become a forum for speeches that are never heard nor read and which influence nothing and nobody.

When, almost six years ago, my friend Donald Dewar (then opposition chief whip) offered me a peerage, he urged me to accept as an "additional vote for abolition". Tomorrow night I shall vote for an entirely elected second chamber in memory of that understanding. And, as I vote, I shall hope that the House of Commons does not fall for the prime minister's confidence trick, which amounts to little more than an appeal to its vested interest in clinging to its own absolute authority.

If the attempt to legitimise the second chamber fails, I shall support the largest number of elected members that the various resolutions allow. Better an inadequate House of Lords than one that is a total denial of democracy. What is more, once the wind of change blows along those red leather benches, the breeze will quickly become a hurricane that carries the whole archaic institution into the 21st century.

Now the House of Lords will remain a laughing stock

Any chance of reform has gone thanks to Blair's moment of madness

Polly Toynbee

Wednesday February 5, 2003

The Guardian

Only 17 slender votes prevented democracy prevailing. Seventeen votes and the shameful leadership of a prime minister who seems to have lost touch with a people he does not trust to elect their own representatives. The shambolic result of the many votes on the future of the constitution left the House of Commons laughing - but it wasn't funny. And it was all Tony Blair's fault.

There is much to be said for the Blair plan for an entirely appointed House of Lords. Unfortunately all of it is bad. Oligarchy has its charms - but since the days of Cromwell those charms have eluded all but the oligarchs, where in the Lords gerontocracy masquerades as experience, bishops with empty pews represent an empty shell of faith and yesteryear's politicians are pensioned into a golden dotage. No surprise then that the old turkeys on the red benches did not vote for winter festival but for their own perpetuity without the inconvenience of a trip to the hustings where most could be guaranteed a roasting.

Hybridity, they clucked, would be a very bad thing and they are right about that: there would be a strange divide between the legitimate and the illegitimate peers in any future House, part-elected and part-appointed. One hundred per cent democracy was the only possible outcome. How extraordinary it seems in the 21st century that, as we are about to go to war, yet again we are trumpeting for the democratic rights of far-away

people, and still find it necessary to quote Winston Churchill: "Democracy is the worst form of government, except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time". How can Labour have let itself be out-reformed by Iain Duncan Smith - even if he commanded as little obedience as Blair.

This progressive reform has waited a century: now the House of Lords will remain the laughing stock of the western world. Now the chance of reform has collapsed, all due to a moment of madness in which a prime minister already accused of anti-democratic instincts has done himself needless harm. Was it the insouciance of a mind floating somewhere between Washington and Baghdad? It felt dangerously like a Thatcher mistake, a *droit de seigneur* moment that reminds us that five-and-a-half years is beginning to look quite a long time in No 10 (though the lady hung on for 13). Robin Cook's brave open rebellion led the way for other big beasts to express serious dissent for the first time: Patricia Hewitt, Charles Clarke, Estelle Morris and David Milliband among a roll-call of honour. Trying to repair the damage, the Blair camp hints this was all a cunning plan. How clever of the dear leader to allow a little harmless dissent on an arcane issue to defuse a greater rumbling of unease on everything from Iraq to public service delivery. If so, that was too clever by half. It was cavalier treatment of an electorate that overwhelmingly wanted a democratic second chamber.

It signified something that people suspect may be the truth, (egged on by the Tory press) - Tony Blair is losing his sure-footed third way nimbleness, his skill at ducking and weaving to keep most of the people more or less content most of the time.

Does an arcane dispute over the archaic Lords really matter? The next cunning

plan is to do nothing. There is no obligation to draw up a bill on Lords reform in this parliament. Let the sleeping turkeys roost through the next election: after all, it was always bizarre to choose how the Lords should be elected before deciding what its powers should be, or how big it should be. How would members be elected, from what size or type of constituency? If it is to shrink down from its present 690 members to a manageably small number who would (unlike the excessive 650 MPs in the Commons) have some chance of public recognition, then any hybrid appointed members would be few - and what sort of people? Surely not chosen by their position, rather than their personal qualities. Please god, not bishops, rabbis, monseigneurs and mullahs. Since the mob is not waving scythes outside Westminster, No 10 fixers may reckon this can stay in the pending file indefinitely. But last night's vote changes things. They reckon without Robin Cook in charge of the business of a House that has at least expressed its strongest preference for an 80% elected chamber. Tony Blair should step in at once, declare himself persuaded and call a further vote soon, this time backing democracy.

The sad death of Roy Jenkins was a sharp reminder that once a shiny new prime minister seriously considered electoral reform. That was his chance to push proportional representation through his unwilling party in the first flush of success, alongside Scottish and Welsh devolution, just as he might have swept straight into a referendum on the euro: had Britain joined on day one, much later political pain might have been spared when the inevitable day comes to take that plunge.

This is a low political moment. A cold February, mid-second term, would always be prone to low spirits - but Labour MPs and ministers have never

been glummer. Few want war, there is tribal distaste for such closeness to an extreme rightwing White House and alarm at such distance from Europe. The "project" feels thin, lacking any new trajectory after the second election success. The work is hard, criticism nags at them wherever they go and there is no warm over-arching legend to sustain them through this bleak time.

If Tony Blair thinks the message of the shocking turnout in 2001 was that the people don't care about politics, then he has miscalculated. People are cynical about politicians who never voluntarily share power and suspicious that democracy is a sham if all it means is a four-yearly chance to choose between two broad parties that are de facto coalitions already. Now this denial of democracy for the Lords confirms their worst mistrust.

New Labour's record on the constitution has been a muddle of inherited obligations reluctantly carried out for London, Wales and Scotland, clumsily sabotaged by Blair's attempts at imposing his own candidates. He funk'd proportional representation that would have saved Britain ever again suffering a hard-right government elected by a minority: when Labour loses power, that regret will be bitter. Local government might have become a trusted partner if proportional representation had brought healthy coalitions to local politics instead of corrupt fiefdoms elected by fragments of the local population.

Now is the time for a full constitutional commission (no, not royal, but the people's) to make sense of how power should be shared between two chambers, local councils and the regions with proportional voting. There is still time - just - for Tony Blair to enter the history books as the leader who forged a good constitution (but don't hold your breath.)

A Date With Destiny

Scotland votes to get its parliament back after 290 years. Will home rule mean the end of the union?

By MARYANN BIRD EDINBURGH

WHILE THE REST OF BRITAIN contemplated a future without a beloved princess, Scotland last week found itself confronting an altogether different challenge: whether to say yes to a Scottish parliament and yes to endowing it with the power to raise—or lower—taxes. It was a historic opportunity for a measure of home rule and Scotland ordered up a double, casting two resounding yes votes in the referendum.

"Scotland has spoken, spoken decisively, and now we can press on," said a satisfied Donald Dewar, Britain's Secretary of State for Scotland, after voters agreed by a 3-1 margin last Thursday that they wanted their own parliament, and by nearly a 2-1 margin to let it alter tax levies. "A Nation Again," "A New Dawn," proclaimed Edinburgh's newspapers. But the joy was not universal. "It has been a sad night for the future of Scotland and the United Kingdom," mourned William Hague, the Conservative leader, who said his party would "strain every sinew to preserve and protect the union."

The reactions reflect the deep chasm at the center of British politics today. On one side are those pressing for devolution of powers from Westminster, for decision-making in such arenas as education, health, justice, transport and taxation to be carried out at the lowest practical level of government. On the other are those who fear that varying tax rates will discourage investment and cost jobs, that a Scottish parliament and a Welsh assembly (if the people of Wales approve the creation of

such a body in their referendum this Thursday) will lead to a breakup of the United Kingdom. As Conservative M.P. Michael Ancram put it, "If the binding is loosened, the whole thing will fall apart."

Many questions have not yet been answered satisfactorily or in much detail—among them complex matters having to do with formulas for the funds a Scottish parliament would receive from Westminster, or whether Scottish M.P.s should have a vote on purely English matters at Westminster when English M.P.s would have no say in Scottish issues. Still, Scotland's Labour, Liberal Democrat and Scottish National Party (S.N.P.) leaders say the Conservatives and Unionists are scaremongers.

Scotland's voters certainly thought so—as they did last May 1 when they drove out every Conservative M.P. who held a Scottish seat at Westminster. Whatever serious case the opponents of the "Yes, Yes" campaign could have made was lost through two public relations blunders: former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's attack on devolution in the *Scotsman* newspaper, published as she addressed a convention of American travel agents in Glasgow, and Ancram's high profile on the "No, No" side. Now the Conservatives' spokesman for constitutional affairs, he was, in an earlier incarnation, Thatcher's point man for the now-abolished poll tax. In a long-running dispute that stirred outrage in Scotland, her government instituted the tax there a year be-

fore doing so in the rest of Britain. Scots have not forgotten, or forgiven, that experience of being powerless guinea pigs of Westminster. For Alex Salmond, leader of the S.N.P., Thatcher's appearance in Scotland last week was manna. She was, he said, "a living memorial to why we need a Scottish parliament." Her intervention overshadowed Hague's campaign visit, leaving him to proclaim defensively that "all leading British politicians have something to contribute" to the debate.

Dawn last broke over a Scottish parliament almost 300 years ago, before a "parcel of rogues," in the words of the national poet Robert Burns, sold Scottish independence "for English gold" and the two kingdoms were united by the 1707 Act of Union. After the election of Blair's government on what was, coincidentally, the 290th anniversary of the Act, the ball finally got rolling. With the release in July of the government's proposals for Scottish devolution—based closely on the conclusions of a multi-faceted Constitutional Convention—Labour was joined in support for the "Yes, Yes" effort by both the Liberal Democrats and the S.N.P., although the parties' long-term goals differ. Labour supports devolution; the Liberal Democrats favor a federal U.K.; the Nationalists seek outright independence. In this mix, the "No, No" side sees ravenous nationalists set to pounce; the others just see democracy at work.

It has been a sad night ... [We will] strain every sinew to preserve and protect the union.

Like the general election, Scotland's devolution vote came on a date rich in significance: the 700th anniversary of William Wallace's ("Braveheart") victory over English forces at Stirling Bridge. The battle—in which Wallace's outnumbered men sabotaged the

bridge, dumping countless English soldiers into the River Forth to drown in their heavy armour before setting upon the rest—is one of the most renowned in Scottish history.

But after the symbolism and the champagne comes the wrangling and the reality. A home and staffing for the single-chamber, 129-member parliament must be found and financed. (Estimates of the cost have ranged up to \$500 million.) High on the government's agenda is the introduction of legislation to bring the body into being. Elections to four-year terms are due in early 1999, and the parliament—reconvened, some say, from its adjournment in 1707—would gather in 2000. In the flowering of Scotland, new growth for a new millennium. Wallace might call it freedom.

Winning the peace

THE referendum campaign in Wales may be over, and the Welsh assembly secured, albeit by the tiniest of margins (just 50.3% voted Yes and only 51.3% of the electorate bothered to vote at all), but the government's battle to convince the Welsh, and indeed parts of the Welsh Labour Party, that they have done the right thing is just beginning.

The divisions revealed in Wales by the result are nothing new. The abortive 1979 referendum, when Wales voted four to one against devolution, disclosed a country split three ways. Denis Balsom, a political scientist at the University of Wales, has classified these areas as Welsh-speaking Wales (stretching from the north-west counties down to Carmarthenshire); Welsh Wales (people in the former mining valleys of south Wales who feel Welsh but do not speak it) and British Wales (the rest, where most people are either English-born or work in English cities like Manchester or Bristol). By and large, 18 years later, the first two areas voted Yes and the third voted No (see map).

Despite the divided vote, the assembly will go ahead with elections in 1999, its work starting soon thereafter. Long-time pro-devolution campaigners such as John Osmond, director of the Institute of Welsh Affairs, put an optimistic spin on events: "What we have with the assembly", he says, "is an opportunity to bring the two sides together."

Sensibly, the government recognises that the vote means that it has to think care-

fully about how to set up the assembly. Ron Davies, the Welsh secretary, plans an all-party commission to devise its rules—answering criticisms that it will be designed to benefit the Labour Party. There are similarly inclusive plans for setting up the assembly's regional committees—responding to fears in north and mid-Wales that it will be dominated by the more populous south. Several senior Tories, such as Sir Wyn Rob-

these requests easy to agree to. More difficult is the demand by the Liberal Democrats that the 60-seat assembly should be enlarged to allow for more seats elected by proportional representation (at present a third of the seats will be elected in this way). The demand for more PR is especially difficult, as three of the six Welsh Labour MPs who urged a No vote (Allan Rogers, Sir Ray Powell and Denzil Davies) have vowed to get proportional representation taken out of the scheme altogether.

Indeed, bringing the Welsh Labour Party back together again may prove just as difficult as healing the divisions among Welsh voters. A series of baroque disputes have broken out in constituencies across Wales. In Cardiff South & Penarth, the all-party "Yes for Wales" campaign was appalled by the indolence of the local Labourites. It is alleged that without the efforts of Plaid Cymru, the Welsh nationalists, few Labour leaflets would have been delivered at all. The conspiracy-minded are even suggesting that the local Labour MP, Alun Michael, a junior Home Office minister, would have been most likely to succeed Mr Davies if a No vote had forced him to resign—a suggestion which Mr Michael, who is pro-devolution, angrily denies.

Bitter rows have also erupted in the Ogmore constituency Labour party, which spent much of the Saturday before polling day attempting to discipline a councillor for criticising the local Labour MP. The difficulty was that the councillor, Jeff Jones, head of Bridgend council, was following official party policy by campaigning enthusiastically for a Yes. The local MP was a No-man.

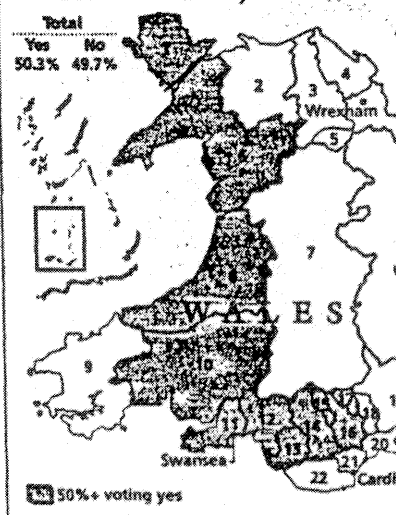
Although Mr Davies, the Welsh secretary, was criticised during the campaign for the brutish way he attempted to silence anti-devolution Labour MPs, it seems clear from these post-referendum eruptions that a bit of thuggery was the only way to keep Labour's splits hidden from view during the campaign.

Mr Davies, though he is in many ways a typical Labour product of Welsh valley socialism, is unusual in his embrace of such things as PR and wanting more women involved in Welsh politics. This has won him high praise from the Liberal Democrats and Plaid Cymru who are anxious to keep him in his job, despite his Labour critics. Though he may not have been Mr Blair's ideal choice as Welsh secretary, he looks the best person to usher in the new Wales that devolution is supposed to create.

A country divided

% of the Unitary Authority that agrees there should be a Welsh assembly

Total
Yes 50.3% No 49.7%



1 Anglesey	50.9
2 Aberconwy and Colwyn	40.9
3 Denbighshire	40.8
4 Flintshire	38.2
5 Wrexham	45.3
6 Gwynedd	64.1
7 Powys	42.7
8 Cardiganshire	59.2
9 Pembrokeshire	42.8
10 Carmarthenshire	65.3
11 Swansea	52.0
12 Neath Port Talbot	66.5
13 Bridgend	54.4
14 Rhondda Cynon Taff	58.5
15 Merthyr Tydfil	58.2
16 Caerphilly	54.7
17 Blaenau Gwent	56.4
18 Torfaen	49.8
19 Monmouthshire	32.1
20 Newport	37.4
21 Cardiff	44.4
22 Vale of Glamorgan	36.7

erts, a former junior Welsh minister, are also adapting to the new situation. Despite opposing the assembly during the referendum campaign these Tories are now saying that, in order to work properly, the assembly should get more power. They also want its executive arm to be run on a cabinet system, rather than through committees.

Mr Davies, who has always wanted more rather than less devolution, may find

LISTE des Premiers Ministres de la Grande-Bretagne depuis le début du XXe siècle.

1908-16	Herbert ASQUITH	Libéral
1916-22	David LLOYD GEORGE	Libéral
1922-23	Andrew BONAR LAW	Conservateur
1923-24	Stanley BALDWIN	Conservateur
1924	Ramsay MAC DONALD	Travailliste
1924-29	Stanley BALDWIN	Conservateur
1929-31	Ramsay MAC DONALD	Travailliste
1931-35	Ramsay MAC DONALD	Travailliste
	(gouvernement de coalition)	
1935-37	Stanley BALDWIN	Conservateur
1937-40	Neville CHAMBERLAIN	Conservateur
1940-45	Winston CHURCHILL	Conservateur
	(gouvernement de coalition)	
1945-51	Clement ATTLEE	Travailliste
1951-55	Winston CHURCHILL	Conservateur
1955-57	Anthony EDEN	Conservateur
1957-63	Harold MACMILLAN	Conservateur
1963-64	Alec DOUGLAS-HOME	Conservateur
1964-70	Harold WILSON	Travailliste
1970-74	Edward HEATH	Conservateur
1974-76	Harold WILSON	Travailliste
1976-79	James CALLAGHAN	Travailliste
1979-90	Margaret THATCHER	Conservateur
1990-92	John MAJOR	Conservateur
1992-97	John MAJOR	Conservateur
1997-	Tony BLAIR	Travailliste

N° 10 Downing Street

Downing Street

George Downing (1623-1684) passa une partie de sa jeunesse dans les colonies d'Amérique. L'un des premiers étudiants diplômés de Harvard, il regagna la Grande-Bretagne pour se battre aux côtés des parlementaristes,

lors de la guerre civile. En 1680, il acheta des terres, à proximité du palais de Whitehall, et y fit construire des immeubles dont quatre d'entre eux ont subsisté. En 1732, George II installa Robert Walpole au n° 10. Depuis, la maison est la résidence officielle du Premier ministre. En 1989, pour des raisons de sécurité, des grilles ont été dressées du côté de Whitehall.



L'entrée du n° 10 Downing Street

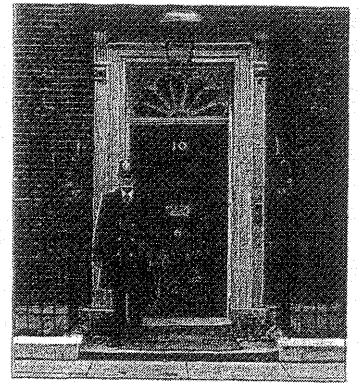
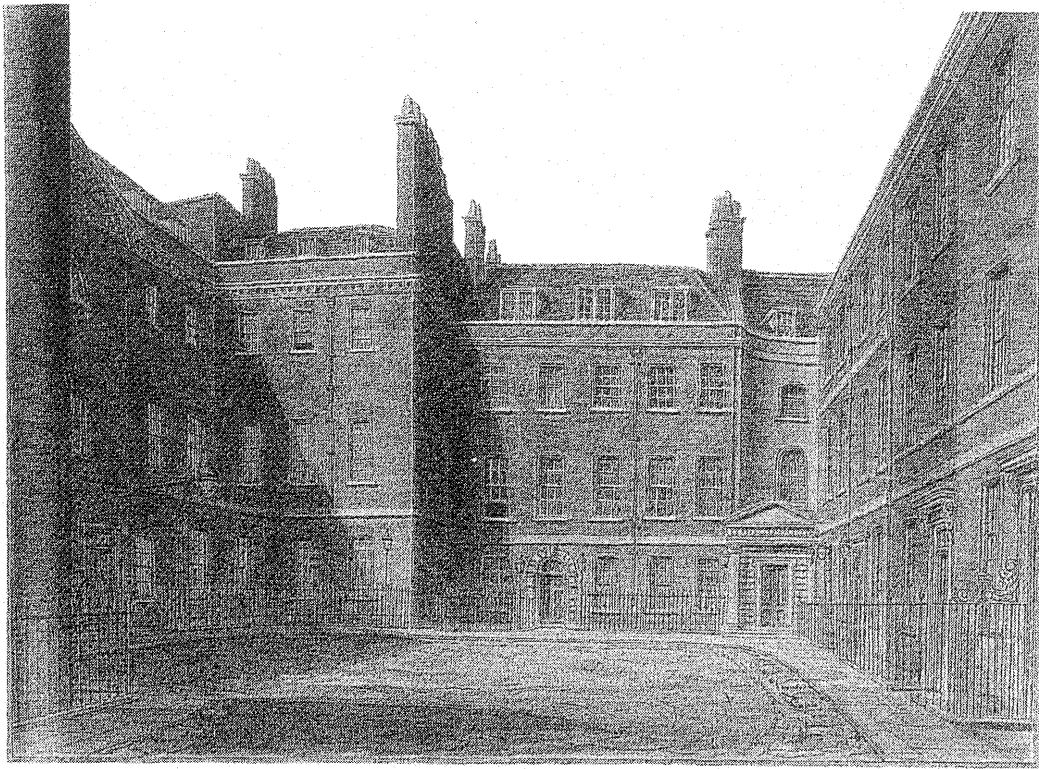
n° 12, le Whips' Office, bureaux dans lesquels les campagnes du parti sont organisées.

La politique du gouvernement est adoptée au n° 10.

n° 11 Résidence officielle du chancelier de l'Échiquier.

n° 10 Résidence officielle du Premier ministre.

Le Premier ministre accueille ses hôtes officiels dans cette salle de réception.



No 10

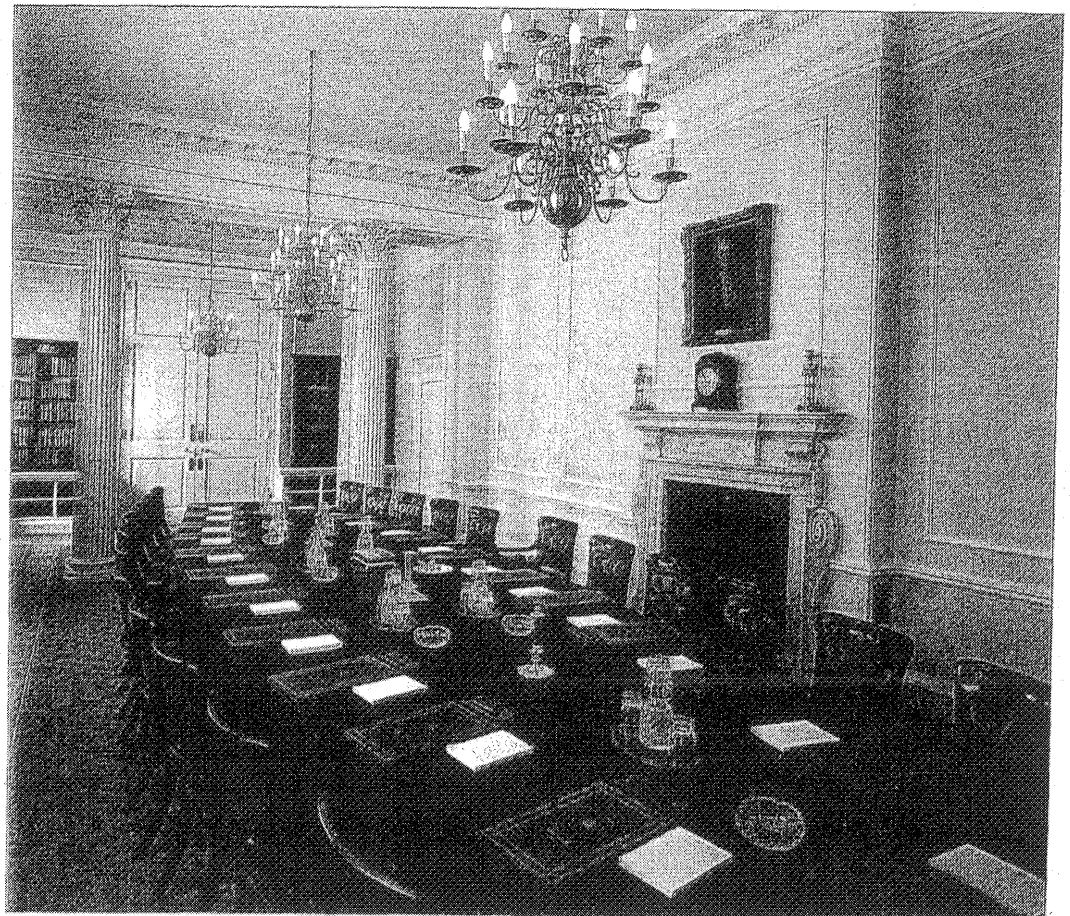
The most famous front door in Britain (above), guarded round the clock by a police officer, today looks out across Downing Street to the Victorian splendour of the Foreign Office. In Walpole's time, however, Downing Street was a cul-de-sac of late 17th-century and early 18th-century town houses (left).

DOWNING STREET

Named after Sir George Downing, a 17th-century secretary to the Treasury, Downing Street has become synonymous with British government. No 10 Downing Street has been the official residence of all Prime Ministers since George II gave it to the government as an office and town house for the First Lord of the Treasury, Robert Walpole. The house was built in the late 17th century and was then renovated for Walpole's use in the 1730s by William Kent, who had designed the interior of Walpole's country home at Houghton in West Norfolk.

THE CABINET ROOM

At the heart of No 10 is the Cabinet Room, where the Prime Minister and members of the government hold their Cabinet meetings. The Cabinet members sit at a baize-covered table, boat-shaped to ensure that everybody sitting down can be seen and heard by everyone else.





1 → 10 DOWNING STREET

2 → Her Majesty's Government

[gav(ə)n mən t]

3 → CABINET

4 → Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury and Minister for the Civil Service

The Rt Hon Tony Blair MP

5 → Deputy Prime Minister and First Secretary of State

The Rt Hon John Prescott MP

6 → Chancellor of the Exchequer

= Ministre des Finances

The Rt Hon Gordon Brown MP

7 → Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs

= also 'Foreign Secretary'

The Rt Hon Jack Straw MP

Secretary of State for Work and Pensions

The Rt Hon David Blunkett MP

Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

The Rt Hon Margaret Beckett MP

8 → Secretary of State for Transport, and Secretary of State for Scotland

The Rt Hon Alistair Darling MP

Secretary of State for Defence

9 → The Rt Hon Dr John Reid MP

The Rt Hon = 'The Right Honourable' (= a title)

10 → Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons

= Responsable de la mise en place du programme gouvernemental aux Communes + doyen du Gouvernement

The Rt Hon Geoff Hoon MP

Secretary of State for Health

The Rt Hon Patricia Hewitt MP

← 11

MP = Member of Parliament

Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport

The Rt Hon Tessa Jowell MP

12 → Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury and Chief Whip

= Responsable de la discipline du parti aux Communes

The Rt Hon Hilary Armstrong MP

13 → Secretary of State for the Home Department

= also 'Home Secretary'
Ministre de l'Intérieur

The Rt Hon Charles Clarke MP

14 → Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and Secretary of State for Wales

The Rt Hon Peter Hain MP

Minister without Portfolio

The Rt Hon Ian McCartney MP

15 → Leader of the House of Lords and Lord President of the Council = *porte-parole du gouvernement*

16 → The Rt Hon Baroness Amos

17 → Secretary of State for Constitutional Affairs and Lord Chancellor = *Ministre de la Justice*

18 → The Rt Hon Lord Falconer of Thoroton QC

Secretary of State for International Development

The Rt Hon Hilary Benn MP

Secretary of State for Trade and Industry

The Rt Hon Alan Johnson MP

Secretary of State for Education and Skills

The Rt Hon Ruth Kelly MP

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Minister for the Cabinet Office)

The Rt Hon John Hutton MP

Chief Secretary to the Treasury

The Rt Hon Des Browne MP

Minister of Communities and Local Government

The Rt Hon David Miliband MP

Also attending Cabinet

19 → Chief Whip, Lords, Captain of the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms = *responsable de la discipline du parti et la Chambre des Lords*
(= old title)

The Rt Hon Lord Grocott

20 → Attorney General ≈ *Avocat Principal de la Couronne* + *Chef des "Gardes de la Reine"*

The Rt Hon Lord Goldsmith QC

Minister of State for Europe in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office

The Rt Hon Douglas Alexander MP

Ministers by Department (excluding Cabinet Ministers and Ministers attending Cabinet)

Law Officers

21 → Solicitor General

Mike O'Brien MP

Advocate General for Scotland

Baroness Clark QC

House Of Lords

2 → **Deputy Chief Whip** (Captain of the Queen's Bodyguard of the Yeomen of the Guard)

Lord Davies of Oldham

(= old title)

= Chef des Yeomen
de la Garde

Government Whip (Lord or Baroness in Waiting)

Baroness Farrington of Ribbleson

Lord Bassam of Brighton

Baroness Crawley

Lord Evans of Temple Guiting CBE

Lord McKenzie of Luton [1]

Baroness Royall of Blaisdon

← 23 déterminants ≠
← 24

House Of Commons

Deputy Chief Whip, Commons (Treasurer of Her Majesty's Household)

Rt Hon Bob Ainsworth MP

Government Whip, Commons (Comptroller of Her Majesty's Household)

Rt Hon Thomas McAvooy MP

Government Whip, Commons (Vice Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household)

John Heppell MP

Government Whip, Commons (Lord Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury)

Gillian Merron MP

Vernon Coaker MP

Tom Watson MP

Dave Watts MP

Joan Ryan MP

Assistant Government Whip, House of Commons

Frank Roy MP

Ian Cawsey MP

Alan Campbell MP

Claire Ward MP

Parmjit Dhanda MP

Tony Cunningham MP

Kevin Brennan MP

Parliamentary Private Secretary To The Prime Minister

The Rt Hon Keith Hill MP



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in Your Area.



Full archive of the Prime
Minister's speeches.

A man for all persuasions, as long as he doesn't smile

IF BLAIR turns out to be as good as he looks," warned a Conservative Central Office memo after the Labour leader had quelled the unions at their annual conference in 1995, "we have a problem."

The man who made the Labour party electable after 18 years of Conservative supremacy has prepared himself and his party for office with a ruthless discipline that he promises to bring to bear in the the next stage of his mission.

"Trust me," was Blair's central message during a gruelling six-week campaign which has been presidential in style. But in spite of his telegenic appeal and a slick campaign machine, Blair has struggled to counter charges of phoniness and lack of political principles.

The British are instinctively suspicious of good looks, so Blair's boyish charms and dynamic presentation often failed to enthuse a largely cynical and apathetic electorate. The smile, in particular, was a problem. Far from inspiring trust, it appeared to have the opposite effect. People – especially women – found it forced and smarmy.

Sensing that they may have found his Achilles heel, the Tories spread mischievous stories about Blair's media manipulators instructing him to smile less and taming his receding bouffant quiff.

Admittedly, his suits are a slicker, statesmanlike dark blue and his golden tan a touch too deep to have been snatched in the garden of his north London home. But the same can be said of his opponents, and at least he hasn't indulged in cosmetic dental work – his smile remains endearingly snaggle-toothed.

He does, however, command centre stage with a showman's relish, drawing the light in the manner of Hollywood stars – an effect he enhances by appearing whenever possible in dazzling white shirtsleeves.

But some commentators observed that his style lacked content, that on

the stump Blair looked more like a man with a new, improved biological washing powder instead of a new, improved blueprint for Britain.

At Oxford university, Blair's love of performing reached its youthful apogee when he fronted a rock band called Ugly Rumours. While his cabinet colleagues were embroiled in student politics, Tony grew his hair, donned purple loons, unbuttoned his shirt to the waist and strutted his stuff à la Mick Jagger.

But it was also at Oxford that Blair made his commitment to Christianity and began exploring the relationship between religion, social justice and politics. At Easter last year, Blair took the risky strategy of claiming God was on his side when he said in an interview: "My view of Christian values led me to oppose what I perceived to be the narrow view of self-interest that

Conservatism – particularly its modern, more right-wing form – represents."

By the autumn he was fervently setting out his "covenant with the British people" at the Labour party conference. There is no doubting Blair's sincerity. Sometimes when he is at his most earnest, the glazed, unblinking look of the born-again Christian takes over. But most of the time he is refreshingly normal and accessible – for a politician.

The "Phoney Tony" charge – the suspicion that Blair is a slick operator who tries to be all things to all people – is, rather, the reaction to a campaign during which his spin doctors served up a *smorgasbord* of Tonys – garnished with references to the Spice Girls, football and his children – to whet every appetite.

At his Islington home in London, for example, Blair is the Urban Sophisticate, going to the theatre and dining out on pan-fried cod with wilted spinach washed down with chilled Chablis. In contrast, at Sedgefield, his constituency in County Durham, he likes nothing more than to down a few

pints of warm beer in the workingmen's club before feasting on take-away fish and chips in front of the telly.

In the course of the election campaign, the strain of acting these sometimes contradictory roles – prime ministerial yet radical, statesmanlike yet passionate, Euro-friendly yet a fierce patriot – showed in occasional bursts of tetchiness. "If sometimes I seem a little over-hasty and over-urgent," he admitted, "it's for one reason only – I can't stand these Tories being in government over our country."

Although his style is informal, his delivery peppered with verbal tics such as "look" and "you know" and impatient, involuntary grunts, there was always a sense that Blair was sticking to a predetermined text. Even *ad hoc* improvisations at the lectern were revealed by his spin-doctors to be rehearsed when they whispered to political journalists: "Today Tony's going to be really passionate," and "This evening he may well lose his temper," or even, "Tomorrow Tony's going to be spontaneous".

Last week his campaign aired an election broadcast designed to show the authentic Tony; the family man with a successful lawyer wife who hangs out in the kitchen chatting to his children, whose ambition as a boy was to play for Newcastle United football club and who was as unimpressed with politics as most teenagers. "At 18, I thought politicians were a pain in the backside," he revealed.

On becoming leader in the wake of John Smith's untimely death in 1994, Blair worked flat out to transform the Labour party and redefine it as New Labour. But while he has been quick to say what he won't do, he has been reticent in setting out his vision for Britain, steadfastly refusing to make promises he cannot keep. His ambition, he maintains, is nothing less than to transform the social, economic and political landscape of Britain.

"There is something improbable about being a radical leader of the Labour party and a cautious prime minister," he said during the the final countdown to polling day. "I am going to be a lot more radical in government than people think."

About Labour

'The Labour Party is a democratic socialist party. It believes that by the strength of our common endeavour we achieve more than we achieve alone, so as to create for each of us the means to realise our true potential and for all of us a community in which power, wealth and opportunity are in the hands of the many, not the few. Where the rights we enjoy reflect the duties we owe. And where we live together, freely, in a spirit of solidarity, tolerance and respect.'

Clause 4 of the Labour Party constitution

The Labour Party was set up in 1900 to fight for representation for the Labour movement - trade unions and socialist societies - in Parliament. Its first leader was James Keir Hardie, one of the earliest Labour MPs.

Though Labour was only in government for three short periods of the 20th century, its achievements revolutionised the lives of the British people. The values Labour stands for today are those which have guided it throughout its existence.

Our values:

- social justice
- strong community and strong values
- reward for hard work
- decency
- rights matched by responsibilities

Labour democracy

How the party works

As a democratic, socialist party we welcome people to join the party from all walks of life, have their say and influence policy. We welcome membership applications from individuals, families, young people, students, workers, unemployed, older people - anyone with an interest in building a better Britain.

To newcomers, working out how everything fits together can seem a bit of a maze - but don't let that put you off as there's a common goal: ensuring the party remains open and democratic and helps maintain contact between the party, the people and the government. Our structure, with the popular policy forums, enables more people than ever before to have their say.

Where you fit in

New ideas are vital if the party is to grow and develop - and we welcome your views and experiences. From your local branch to conference, the party structure has been devised so that Labour Party members can have a say on policy and contribute to our next general election manifesto.

The set-up

Branch (BLP)

Your local party, based on the ward boundaries for the election of councillors. A lot of Labour Party activity takes place at branch level. Labour members can take part in choosing local council candidates.

Constituency (CLP)

Made up of several branches and based on the electoral area for the election of MPs. Via your CLP, you can choose the members from your area to represent you at annual conference and you can help select your parliamentary candidate.

Local and regional policy forums

As a member you will be invited to attend local and regional policy forums throughout the year. Informal, friendly gatherings, they are places where you can discuss party policy. Each policy forum makes submissions to the policy commissions. This is where you can contribute to our next manifesto.

National Policy Forum (NPF)

Your CLP delegates to conference choose people to serve on the NPF, which also has representatives from local government. The NPF meets several times a year to make sure that policy documents reflect the broad consensus in the party.

Policy commissions

Eight policy commissions cover different aspects of policy such as welfare, health, crime and justice. They are made up of representatives from the government, the NPF and the NEC, who meet to discuss submissions from branches, CLPs, policy forums and affiliates. They prepare policy papers to be considered by members and others.

National Executive Committee (NEC)

Made up of representatives from each section of the party – government, MPs, MEPs, councillors, trade unions and CLPs. Members vote for their CLP representatives in a ballot each year. The NEC sets the party's objectives and oversees the running of the party nationally.

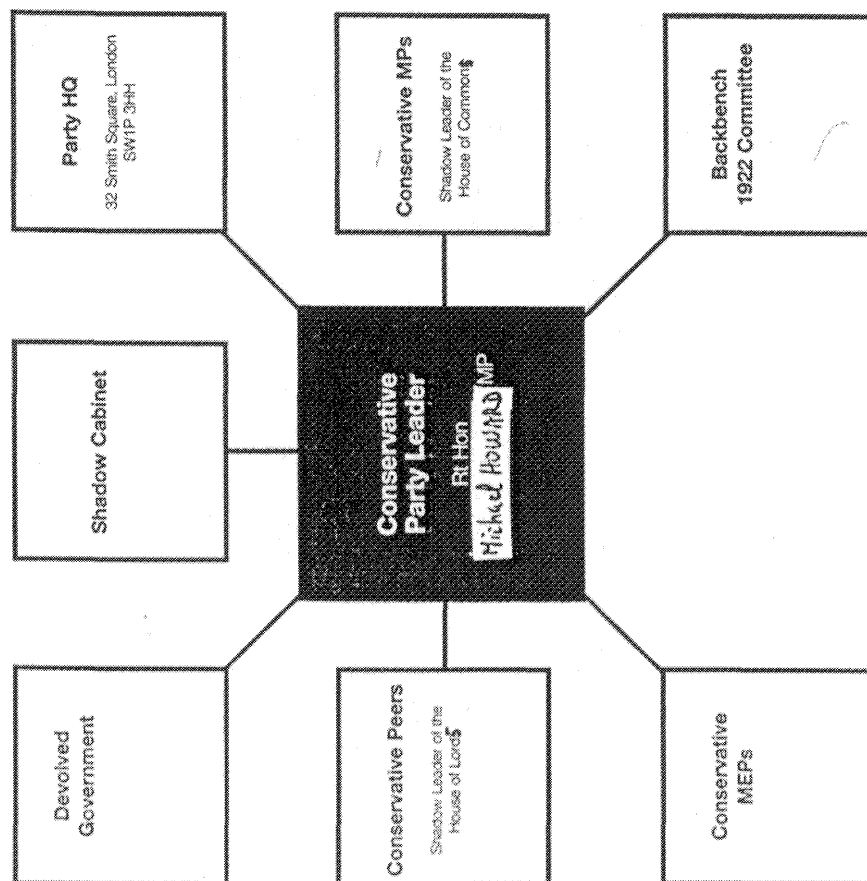
Annual conference

The ultimate authority in the party, conference decides the policy framework from which the next manifesto will be drawn and sets party rules. Conference considers the policy papers prepared by the policy commissions after consulting local parties. Members choose delegates to conference – and those delegates could include you.

Party Structure

The Party structure hinges around six basic themes: unity, decentralisation, democracy, involvement, integrity and openness.

Professional and Elected

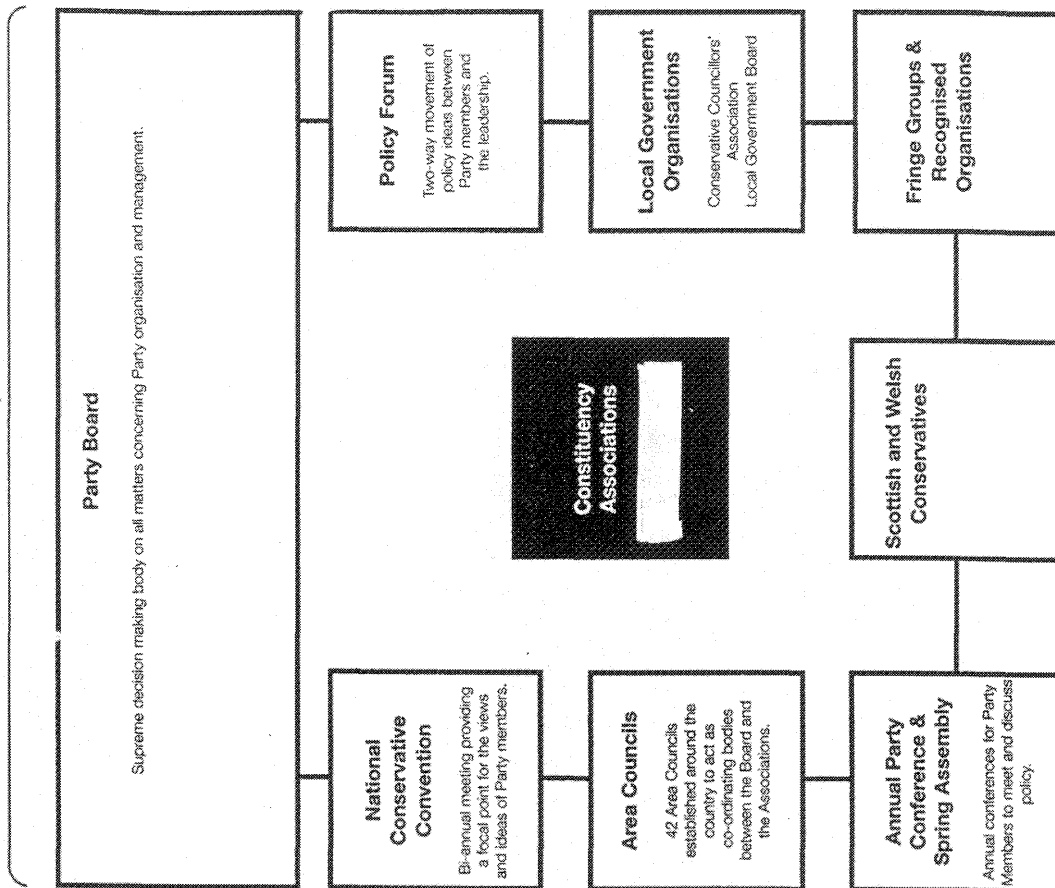


From the brochure

Conservative Insight = An Introduction to the Conservative Party

Oct 2001

Voluntary



Conservative Party - Beliefs

What Conservatives stand for

Conservatives come from every background and walk of life. They can be found in every local community in our land, working for the common good. They adapt to changing social conditions and face up to new challenges as our country evolves - but they are united around a set of core principles.

Personal Freedom

Conservatives believe the people should be big, and the state should be small. That is why we are determined to thin down Labour's fat government. Today Labour's bloated bureaucracy is the same size as the population of Sheffield - and there are more civil servants in the Department of Work and Pensions than there are soldiers in the British Army. We will freeze civil service recruitment and reduce the mountain of regulations which Labour has inflicted on Britain - its businesses, its education service and its NHS.

Enterprise and Opportunity

Conservatives believe that personal happiness and economic success alike flourish when individuals and families are free to seize opportunities in their own way. It is the task of government to increase opportunities and remove barriers to them. Above all, we believe in the benefits of low taxes. It is right that people keep more of what is theirs - because it leads to greater economic success that benefits everyone.

Choice

Conservatives believe that people need choice to exercise responsibility - which is the hallmark of a free society. Putting choice directly in the hands of parents and patients means that funding for schools and hospitals goes straight to the front line - and drives improvements in quality to make the users of public services satisfied with them.

Community

Conservatives are at the forefront of community life and understand what duty to family, neighbourhood and the nation as a whole involves. It means looking out for those that need a helping hand - elderly people, youngsters in need of guidance and all those who call on the services of others. It means care for our environment which we hold in trust for future generations. These are simple, decent values but they have been subverted in Britain today by political correctness which we are determined to roll back.

Safety and Stability

Conservatives know that there is no more fundamental duty than the maintenance of the rule of law which is the bedrock of a secure and peaceful life. Up and down our land we will reintegrate our police men and women once more with the communities they serve, increasing their numbers, cutting the paperwork which now ties them down and sending them out in our service with the powers they need to overcome crime and help our society recover discipline, decency and respect. And we will restore pride in our Armed Forces who not only protect us from external threat but contribute so much to the peace of the wider world.

A Nation State

Conservatives believe in the great national institutions - monarchy, Parliament, the courts of law - which enshrine our country's values and guard its identity. Our currency is another symbol of our nationhood. That is why we are determined to stop the pound being scrapped. The biggest threat to our national identity today is the European Constitution. We believe that the people should be given a referendum at the earliest possible moment - and we will campaign for the rejection of the Constitution.

The race for Leadership of Conservative Party began in earnest as nominations for the Leadership of the Conservative Party closed at noon on Thursday 13th October.

The Chairman of the 1922 Committee (the backbench committee of Conservative MPs), Sir Michael Spicer, confirmed that the nominations are: David Cameron, Kenneth Clarke, David Davis and Liam Fox.

The result of the ballot will be announced on either the 6th December or the 7th.

THE BRITISH PRESS

There are 2 types of national papers: the **quality** papers, or **broadsheets**, and the **mid-market** and **popular** papers, or **tabloids**. Broadsheets are twice as large as tabloids.


Quality papers cater for the **better-educated** reader: they deal with politics, serious news on public matters and sports. High-quality articles present factual information which is **usually reliable**. They also give a lot of coverage to news with a human interest angle in order to attract readers → British broadsheets look popular when compared with equivalent quality papers in other countries.

Tabloids sell to a much larger readership than broadsheets. They contain less print and more pictures; headlines are larger and the style and vocabulary simpler. They cater for people who want **entertaining** news presented concisely. They concentrate on human interest stories, i.e. often sex and scandal, and sports. They are characterised by their **shallowness**.

Most British national papers are **right-of-centre** and **support** the **Conservative** party. Yet the **Mirror group** supports the **Labour** Party; The **Times** and The **Independent** consider they are politically **independent** and The **Guardian** considers itself **left-of-centre**.

The **Guardian**

DAILY Mirror

Sunday  **Express**

The People

Daily  **Mail** **THE**  **TIMES**


DAILY STAR

OBSERVER

NEWS OF THE WORLD

The Daily Telegraph

State Of
The **Press**

Today  **THE INDEPENDENT**

FINANCIAL TIMES

SUNDAY Mirror

DAILY SPORT


THE SUNDAY TIMES

Daily Express 

SUNDAY SPORT 

The  **Mail**
ON SUNDAY

The Sunday Telegraph

 **THE INDEPENDENT**
ON SUNDAY

THE Sun

National British Newspapers

Political Tendency	Title and foundation date	Controlled by
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Populares - Tabloids

Conservative	<i>Daily Express</i> (1900)	United Newspapers
Conservative	<i>Daily Mail</i> (1896)	Associated Newspapers Group
Labour (moderate)	<i>Daily Mirror</i> (1903)	Mirror Group Newspapers
Communist	<i>Morning Star</i> (1966)	Morning Star co-operative society
Conservative	<i>The Sun</i> (1964)	News International
Conservative	<i>Today</i> (1986)	News International

Qualities - Broadsheets

Conservative (critical)	<i>Financial Times</i> (1888)	Pearson
Conservative (traditional)	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> (1855)	The Daily Telegraph
Liberal Labour	<i>The Guardian</i> (1821)	The Guardian & Manchester Evening News
Independent	<i>The Independent</i> (1986)	Newspaper Publishing
Conservative	<i>The Times</i> (1785)	News International

National Sundays

Populares

Conservative	<i>News of the World</i> (1843)	News International
Conservative	<i>Sunday Express</i> (1918)	United Newspapers
Labour (moderate)	<i>Sunday Mirror</i> (1963)	Mirror Group Newspapers
Labour (moderate)	<i>Sunday Sport</i> (1986)	Apollo
Conservative	<i>The Mail on Sunday</i> (1982)	Associated Newspapers Group
Labour	<i>The People</i> (1881)	Mirror Group Newspapers

Qualities

Conservative	<i>Sunday Telegraph</i> (1961)	The Daily Telegraph
Independent	<i>The Independent on Sunday</i> (1990)	Newspaper Publishing
Labour (mod)	<i>The Observer</i> (1791)	Lonrho International
Labour (mod)	<i>The Sunday Correspondent</i> (1989)	The Sunday Correspondent Ltd
Conservative (mod)	<i>The Sunday Times</i> (1822)	News International

GLOSSARY

Admiralty: The former name of the Royal Navy department of the Ministry of Defence / The government building in *Whitehall*, London, where the Admiralty was and where now the headquarters of the *Civil Service* is.

agenda (ordre du jour).

another place: A parliamentary phrase used in the House of Commons to refer to the House of Lords and in the House of Lords to refer to the House of Commons.

backbencher. An MP who does not hold any special office and who, therefore, in the House of Commons sits on the back benches (as distinct from the *front benches*, on which sit ministers and members of the *Shadow Cabinet*) (parlementaire sans fonction ministérielle).

ballot (scrutin).

ballot = round (tour).

ballot box (urne).

ballot paper. The special slip of paper on which an elector records his vote in a political election. It has the names of the candidates and their parties printed on it, and the voter makes his choice by marking a letter "X" against the name of the candidate he supports. He does this in a polling booth (bulletin de vote).

bill: The term for the draft of an Act of Parliament, which when under discussion in the Houses of Parliament passes through five stages: first reading, second reading, committee stage, report stage and third reading (projet de loi).

Birthday Honours: The announcement of honorary titles, orders and medals (titres honorifiques, orders et médailles) awarded annually on the sovereign's Official Birthday. Compare *New Year Honours*.

Black Rod: In the House of Lords, an officer whose main duty is calling the members of the House of Commons to attend the annual Speech from the Throne at the opening of Parliament [from the black rod topped by a gold lion that he carries during this ceremony] (huissier chargé de convoquer les Communes à la Chambre des Lords).

blue: A member of the Conservative Party, whose campaigning colour is blue.

borough: A town that forms the *constituency* of an MP or that was granted the ceremonial title of 'borough' by royal authority.

Bow group: An influential society of younger members of the Conservative Party.

British National Party: extreme right wing party with neo-Nazi and racist views (équivalent du Front National).

Budget: The annual proposals made by Parliament for taxation, government spending, and related financial matters. It is presented by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* in the House of Commons in a special speech made in November.

by-election: An election held in a single *constituency* between one general election and the next. It may be held because an MP has retired or died, or because he has been transferred to the House of Lords (élections partielles).

Cabinet: The executive group of ministers, usually about 20 in number, who are chosen by the Prime Minister to determine government policies. A minister so selected is usually the head of a department, and all Secretaries of State are traditionally members. The Cabinet usually meets for a few hours once a week in private at n° 10 *Downing Street* while Parliament is sitting, and less often when it is not.

canvassing: going from place to place in an area and talking to people to try and win political support for an election (démarchage électoral).

(to) **cast one's vote** = to vote.

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster: The title of the minister in the *Cabinet* who is responsible for royal estates in Lancashire (see *Privy Purse*). He has few or no departmental duties, so is free to carry out any special tasks that the Prime Minister may require.

Chancellor of the Exchequer: The title of the British finance minister. He is a member of the *Cabinet* and responsible for the annual *Budget*, which makes him one of the most important ministers in the government (ministre des Finances).

Chequers (Court): The country house in Buckinghamshire that is the official country residence of the Prime Minister.

Chief whip: In the House of Commons, a leading member of a political party who is appointed to keep party discipline, encourage active support for the party and its policies, and make sure party members attend meetings and vote.

Chiltern Hundreds: A historic administrative division of Buckinghamshire, used when an MP retires. He 'applies for the Chiltern Hundreds' (démissionner) and thus gives up his seat, since the (purely nominal) position of managing the Chiltern Hundreds is incompatible with his post as an MP in the House of Commons.

Citizen's Charter: A social programme introduced in 1991 by the Prime Minister to improve the standard of service to the public.

civil servant: A person employed as a member of the Civil Service, that is, a civilian employed by the government. As such he has no right to be actively engaged in politics or to become an MP. His position is not affected by a change of government (fonctionnaire).

Clerk of the House of Commons: A senior official of the House of Commons. He is the principal adviser to the *Speaker* on matters of procedure and he attends all sittings of the House.

COI (Central Office of Information): A state organisation responsible for the preparation and dissemination of government information, both at home and abroad. It publishes booklets and brochures, organises exhibitions and film shows, and arranges the distribution of British publications, television films, etc overseas (service public d'information).

constituency: A political administrative district whose voters elect a single MP to represent them in the House of Commons (circonscription électorale).

crossbencher: In the Houses of Parliament, an independent or neutral member, who belongs neither to the government nor to the Opposition, and who sits on the 'crossbenches' which are at one end of the chamber at right angles to the main benches of the government and the Opposition (which face each other) (membre non inscrit, assis sur les bancs transversaux).

Customs and Excise: The Department of Customs and Excise is the government department responsible for collecting and accounting for money from Customs (duty paid on imports and exports) and Excise (tax paid on goods, such as alcoholic drinks and tobacco, produced for the home market). This money includes VAT. They are also responsible for controlling certain imports and exports and for compiling overseas trade statistics (la Régie).

devolution: The transference of certain powers from central government in London to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland (décentralisation, transfert des pouvoirs).

division: A formal vote in the House of Commons, when MPs divide into two groups, for the motion ('aye') or against it ('no'), and go to one of two special corridors (division lobbies) to cast their vote.

Downing Street: Official homes of the Prime Minister (n°10) and of the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* (n°11) / Hence, a term used for the British government.

Duchy of Cornwall: The duchy that has always passed (since 1337) to the eldest son of the sovereign and from which he derives money.

Duchy of Lancaster: The royal estates in Lancashire that have provided an inheritance for the sovereign since 1399. Most of the funds are used for the annual payment from the *Privy Purse*. The inheritance is kept distinct from other royal possessions and is nominally administered by the *Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster*.

Fabian Society: A political society founded in 1884 and having as its aim the gradual introduction of socialism by democratic means. It was indirectly responsible for the appearance of the Labour Party and has had a number of famous intellectuals and writers among its members, as well as several Labour politicians.

Father of the House: The traditional title of the MP (in the House of Commons) or peer (in the House of Lords) who has served the longest as a member (doyen, par l'ancienneté, des parlementaires).

Foreign and Commonwealth Office: The government department that conducts Britain's relations with countries overseas and which advises the government on all aspects of foreign policy. It is largely staffed by members of the Diplomatic Service (ministère des Affaires étrangères).

Foreign Secretary: The short title of the *Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs*.

franchise: the right to vote.

frontbencher: An MP entitled to sit on one of the two front benches (or rows of seats) in the House of Commons, to the right and left of the *Speaker*. He is either a minister of the current government or an equivalent member of the Opposition (ministre ou membre du cabinet fantôme).

gangway: The cross passage between the seats, about half-way down the chamber of the House of Commons. A member sitting 'below the gangway', that is, in that part of the chamber that is further from the *Speaker*, is taken to hold a greater independence of political views than one who sits in the half nearer to him.

general election: an election in which all the voters in the country take part at the same time to choose the members of government (élection législative).

Great Seal: The state seal (Grand Sceau) of the United Kingdom used on documents of the greatest importance and kept in the office of the *Lord Chancellor*.

guillotine: A term for a procedure whereby a *bill* that is going through one of the Houses of Parliament is divided into 'compartments', groups of which must be completely dealt with in a day. An alternative term for the procedure is 'closure by compartment' (procédure consistant à fixer des délais stricts pour l'examen de chaque partie d'un projet de loi).

Hansard: The short title of the daily publication that gives a word-for-word report of proceedings in the House of Commons (compte rendu quotidien des débats de la Chambre des Communes).

HMG (Her Majesty's Government): An abbreviation for the official title of the government of the day.

HMSO (Her Majesty's Stationery Office): The government publishing house that publishes only material sponsored by Parliament, government departments and other official bodies. Most of its wide-ranging books and booklets are informational, and include school textbooks, guidebooks, year books and naval and military publications (équivalent de l'imprimerie nationale).

Home Office: The government department responsible for internal affairs in Britain, in particular the administration of law and order, immigration, community and race relations, broadcasting and the conduct of political elections (ministère de l'Intérieur).

Home Secretary: The minister responsible for the *Home Office* (in full, *Secretary of State* for the Home Department).

hung parliament: a parliament evenly divided between opposing parties so that decisions cannot be made (= sans majorité).

Inland Revenue: The government department that administers the tax laws and is responsible for collecting income tax (le fisc).

landslide victory: In an election, especially a general election, either a massive change of votes from one party to another, or a considerably increased majority for a party already in power (victoire écrasante).

Leader of the House: In the House of Commons, an MP chosen from the political party with the highest number of seats. He is given the responsibility of planning and supervising the government's legislative programme and of arranging the business of the House. In particular, he advises when any difficulty arises. It is not an official government post so he receives no special salary / In the House of Lords, the chief spokesman for the government, with functions similar to those of the Leader of the House of Commons.

Leader of the Opposition: The leader of the main opposing party in the House of Commons, who, if his party wins the next general election, will become Prime Minister (see also *Shadow Cabinet*).

lobby: A group of people trying to influence MPs or Lords and to put pressure on the government concerning a particular interest (e.g. the anti-nuclear lobby) (groupe de pression)/ The name of the group of journalists based in *Westminster* with privileged access to members of the government.

London Gazette: The bulletin of the British government, published four times a week, publishing mainly official announcements and legal advertisements, but also armed forces promotions and the *New Year Honours* and *Birthday Honours*.

Lord Chancellor: The title (in full, Lord High Chancellor) of the chief legal officer in England. He is a member of the *Cabinet* and of the *Privy Council* and he is the *Speaker* of the House of Lords (ministère de la Justice).

Lord Lieutenant: The representative of the sovereign in a county. The position is mainly ceremonial and the title is an honorary one. The holder (who can be a woman) is not necessarily a peer (lord-lieutenant).

Lord President of the Council: The title of the peer who presides at meetings of the *Privy Council*. He is responsible for presenting the business of the Council to the sovereign, and is also *Leader* of the House of Commons, and a member of the *Cabinet*.

Lord Privy Seal: The senior member of the *Cabinet* without any special duties. He is usually, however, the *Leader* of the House of Lords, and until 1884 had the special responsibility of keeping the *Privy Seal* (titre du doyen du gouvernement).

Loyalists: The Protestants in Northern Ireland who wish Ulster to retain her links with Britain.

maiden speech: The first speech of an MP in the House of Commons, or of a peer in the House of Lords (premier discours d'un parlementaire nouvellement élu).

Member of Parliament (MP) (équivalent de député).

New Year Honours: The announcement of honorary titles, orders and medals awarded annually by the sovereign on New Year's Day (compare *Birthday Honours*).

ombudsman: see *Parliamentary Commissioner*.

order in council: An order made in theory by the sovereign with the advice of the *Privy Council*, but in practice a decree of the *Cabinet*.

order paper: A publication listing the order in which business is to be conducted in the House of Commons.

Parliamentary Commissioner: The official name of the *Ombudsman*, a state-appointed official who investigates complaints referred to him by MPs from members of the public who claim to have been unfairly or wrongly treated by a government department (médiateur).

parliamentary private secretary: An MP (a backbencher) who is appointed by a minister to help him in his contacts with other backbenchers, and who generally acts as his personal secretary and adviser (député qui assure la liaison entre un ministre et la Chambre des Communes).

parliamentary secretary: An MP appointed, usually as a junior minister, to act as a deputy for a senior minister who is not a *Secretary of State*. He shares in his senior's parliamentary and departmental duties and may be given special areas of responsibility in the department (sous-secrétaire d'état).

parliamentary under-secretary of state: The equivalent of a parliamentary secretary when the senior minister is a *Secretary of State*.

Paymaster General: The government minister who acts as a banker for departments other than the *Inland Revenue* and *Customs and Excise* and who is responsible for the payment of many public service pensions, including those of *civil servants*, teachers, members of the NHS (National Health Service) and the armed forces (Trésorier-payeur général).

polling = ballot (scrutin).

polling day: always on a Thursday, hence the long opening hours of the polling station, in order to allow people to vote before going to work or after work (jour du scrutin).

polling station (bureau de vote).

President of the Board of Trade: The head of the Board of Trade, the section of the Department of Trade and Industry that promotes export trade (ministre du Commerce).

Primrose league: An organisation for promoting Conservative Party principles: the maintenance of religion, of the constitution of the realm, and of the unity of the British Commonwealth and Empire.

Privy Council: The private council of the sovereign. Its main function today is to advise the sovereign to approve certain government decrees (*orders in council*) and to issue royal proclamations. All Cabinet ministers are members of the Privy Council, as are eminent people in Commonwealth countries, as appointed by the sovereign. There are about 400 Privy Councillors. A full meeting of the Privy Council is called only when a sovereign dies or announces his or her intention to marry (Conseil privé du souverain).

Privy Purse: An annual payment made by Parliament to the Queen for her private expenses as sovereign. The money for the payment comes mainly from the *Duchy of Lancaster*. As a private individual, the Queen makes her payments from her own resources (cassette royale).

Privy Seal: A seal fastened on certain royal documents that are not important enough for the *Great Seal*, or on documents that later receive the *Great Seal* (Petit Sceau).

prorogation: The act by which the sovereign ends a session of Parliament, usually when a general election is announced. The House of Commons closes completely, but the House of Lords may sit when prorogued, in order to hear legal appeals.

quango: A semi-official term for what is officially known as a 'non-departmental public body', that is, a body that is funded by the government to oversee or develop activity in an area of public interest but is not itself a government department. Examples of quangos are the Arts Council, the British Council, the Commission for Racial Equality, etc... There are currently about 1,300 quangos in Britain. [Abbreviation of 'quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisation'] (organisme semi-public).

recess: The temporary closure of Parliament over a holiday or vacation period, such as the 'summer recess' / The suspension of Parliament between a *prorogation* and the start of the next session (vacances parlementaires).

register of electors (liste électorale).

royal assent: the official signing of an *Act* by the sovereign, as a result of which it becomes law (signature royale qui officialise une loi).

secret ballot (vote à bulletin secret).

Secretary of State: The title of the heads of many government departments, corresponding to minister. For example, the Secretaries of State for *Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs*, the *Home Office*, Trade and Industry, Transport, Defence, Culture, Media and Sport, The Environment, Wales, Social Security, Scotland, Northern Ireland, Education, Health, and Employment etc... The title is often shortened to 'Secretary' and follows the name of the department, so that the Secretary of State for Transport, for example, is called the 'Transport Secretary' (ministre).

Shadow Cabinet: The team of ministers in the Opposition who would probably form the Cabinet if their party won the next general election. Meanwhile, they individually deal with the same matters as the Cabinet ministers in the current government (cabinet fantôme).

Shadow minister: A minister in the *Shadow Cabinet*, he will usually be called by his particular area of responsibility, e.g., 'Shadow Chancellor', 'Shadow Home Secretary'; but the party leader is known as the *Leader of the Opposition*, not the 'Shadow Prime Minister' (ministre fantôme).

simple majority vote (scrutin à un tour).

(to) **stand** (US: run) **for an election:** to compete for an office in an election (se présenter, être candidat).

Speaker: The chief officer of the House of Commons, who is elected by MPs to preside over proceedings and keep order [in the House of Lords, the *Lord Chancellor* acts as speaker] (Président de la Chambre des Communes).

swing of the pendulum: a change in majority (revirement électoral).

two-tier ballot system: (scrutin à 2 tours).

Treasury: The state department responsible for the management of Britain's finances and economy, officially headed by the Prime Minister (as First Lord of the Treasury) but actually the responsibility of the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*.

vote (voix).

voter (électeur).

votes cast (suffrages exprimés).

vote of no confidence: a formal vote to express one's support or lack of support for the actions of government (motion de censure).

Walworth Road: A road in south London where the headquarters of the Labour Party have been located since 1980.

Westminster: An alternative term for the Houses of Parliament, especially in the sense of the government of the day.

whip: a) parlementaire chargé de maintenir la discipline de vote parmi les membres d'un parti
b) injonction donnée aux parlementaires par les dirigeants du parti concernant un vote.

Whitehall: A street in central London running from Trafalgar Square to the Houses of Parliament and containing many important buildings and government offices / A term used for the government itself.

CIVILISATION

METHODOLOGIE du COMMENTAIRE de TEXTE

PREPARATION / ANALYSE / ECRITURE

But

- Ici 'texte' est pris au sens large (= document, image).
- Le commentaire a pour objet le texte lui-même (pas ce dont parle le texte).
- Il n'est pas un prétexte à 'déballer' des connaissances relatives au sujet abordé par le document. Ne pas réciter le cours, les connaissances servent à comprendre et expliciter le texte, pas à être étalées.
- Laisser la parole à l'auteur.
- Un commentaire n'est pas une simple paraphrase (= se contenter de répéter en vos propres termes, sans réflexion, les idées du texte) qui empêche l'évaluation critique du texte.
- Il faut expliquer l'effet qu'un texte produit sur un lecteur.
- Un texte n'est pas une simple 'information', mais un objet fabriqué qui produit un certain sens, qui fait réfléchir.
- Montrer comment ce texte a été fabriqué et pourquoi.
- Comment et pourquoi il y a là matière à réflexion.
- Analyser et éclairer l'argumentation de l'auteur.
- Ouvrir une perspective critique sur le texte.

PREPARATION

A chaque étape sa stratégie spécifique.

Des surligneurs de couleurs différentes seront utiles.

Au cours des 3 premières étapes (repérage périphérique / 1ère lecture / 2ème lecture), il s'agit

- de répondre, le plus précisément possible, aux questions en WH suivantes:
What(X 3)? Who? To Whom? Why? What...for? When? Where? How (X 2)?
What of it?
- d'aboutir à la parfaite compréhension du texte.
- de mettre en œuvre votre esprit critique (pas de naïveté, aveuglement partisan, cynisme...).

1. Repérer les éléments d'identification périphériques
= 'cadrer' le document avant même de l'avoir lu.

Le replacer dans son contexte.

- Nature du document (WHAT?)

Article de journal?

Discours?

Adresse inaugurale?

Interview?

Autre?

(document iconographique: affiche? caricature?)

- Source (WHAT?)

Source d'époque?

Source primaire ou secondaire?
 Contemporain ou postérieur aux événements décrits?
 Où le document a-t-il été prélevé?
 Ouvrage scolaire/ universitaire?
 Source journalistique?
 Quel journal?
 Quotidien? Hebdomadaire?
 Revue (savante)?
 Privé ou public?
 Texte officiel?
 Rapport de commission d'enquête, constitution, loi, traité?
 Si l'œuvre est connue, ne pas raconter tout ce qui précède ou suit l'extrait, seulement ce qui est pertinent à l'extrait.

- Titre (WHAT?) (et également sous-titres/titres intermédiaires)

Faisait-il partie du document à l'origine?
 A-t-il été rajouté ou inventé par l'éditeur ou le professeur?
 Qu'évoque-t-il? (voir à la fin du document, 2 ou 3 exemples d'analyse de titres)

- Auteur (WHO?)

Personnage public?
 Membre d'une assemblée?
 Citoyen ordinaire?
 Sexe et âge?
 Est-il bien l'auteur du document?
 Ou simplement celui de l'ouvrage où a été prélevé le document?
 Auteur anonyme?
 (Si l'auteur n'est pas mentionné, lire le texte pour inférer son identité)
 Individu?
 Auteur collectif –rapport d'une commission-?
 Organisme, institution?
 Tendance ou statut dans la vie nationale ou internationale de la publication (voir plus haut) ou de l'organisme en question?
 Littérature militante ou partisane des rapports officiels et commissions d'enquête.
 Si l'auteur est très connu, pas de longue biographie, uniquement les faits pertinents au document.

- Destinataire(s) (TO WHOM?)

Nommé(s)?
 Implicite(s)?

- Pourquoi l'auteur s'adresse-t-il à lui/eux
 et dans quel but?
 (WHY et WHAT FOR?)

Intention de l'auteur? Convaincre? Intimider?

- Date (WHEN?)

(parfois on ne trouve les éléments permettant de la déterminer que dans le document lui-même)
 À quel moment précis?
 Contexte historique, socio-économique, idéologique?
 Faire référence à un débat existant, à d'autres auteurs défendant la même thèse ou la thèse opposée (en introduction ou dans le développement ou en conclusion).

Rappel chronologique **succinct** (crise politique, guerre, famine,...).

Le texte joue-t-il sur l'écart dans le temps entre la date de l'événement et la date du commentaire? En quoi le décalage historique peut-il infléchir la nature du document?

- **Lieu** (WHERE?)

(idem)

Contexte géographique?

- **Circonstances** de la rédaction

Le document n'a pas la même résonance s'il a été écrit dans la clandestinité ou dans un ministère

2. **1^{ière} lecture: prise de connaissance du document**

Numéroter les lignes si elles ne le sont pas.

Vue d'ensemble, sens général.

La première phrase du premier paragraphe donne souvent l'essence de la démonstration qui va suivre.

Repérer les **termes importants** ou difficiles, ceux qu'il faudra expliquer ou retenir comme centres d'intérêt.

Des surligneurs de couleurs différentes vous aideront à 'pré-ordonner' les éléments selon leur thème/sujet.

Noter les réactions spontanées: **premières impressions** et **pistes d'interprétation**.

3. **2^{ième} lecture: identification plus fine du document**

Repose sur **3 éléments**:

- **Compléter** les données fournies par la présentation du document

(voir plus haut).

Une erreur dans le processus d'identification compromet souvent gravement la suite de votre commentaire.

Choisir les éléments **pertinents**.

Ne conserver que ce qui a une **utilité directe** pour **comprendre** le document.

- **Allusions**

(Détails observables dans un document iconographique).

A repérer grâce aux connaissances acquises par vous-même au préalable.

- **Résumé** (HOW: STRUCTURE)

Complètera votre perception du document et vous fournira le cadre du résumé que vous devrez inclure dans l'**Introduction**.

Sert à matérialiser clairement le **fil conducteur** du document et les **étapes** de l'**argumentation**.

Paragraphe par paragraphe, dégager la/les **idée(s) principale(s)**.

On découpera le texte en **2, 3 ou 4 grandes parties** en les délimitant et en leur donnant un titre.

La **logique du texte** apparaît, avec les **articulations** entre les idées (thèse, antithèse; contraste).

Le résumé **ne commente pas**.

Il se contente de **décrire succinctement** un objet donné (dont la spécificité et l'originalité seront **analysées plus tard**, dans le **commentaire**).

Présenter le **contexte** = ce qui était normalement connu d'un lecteur/auditeur **contemporain raisonnablement informé**.

Ni trop long, ni trop court.

ANALYSE

4. 3ième lecture: compréhension approfondie

- Pas de 'survol', lecture hâtive ou fragmentaire, qui perd **contact** avec le texte (sinon omissions, erreurs, image faussée ou partielle du texte)
- **Souligner/surligner/encercler tout** ce qui **devra être explicité**:
 - dates
 - noms propres
 - lieux
 - sigles
 - institutions nationales ou internationales
 - concepts
 - termes-clés (du discours politique de l'époque)
 - jargon
 - vocabulaire caractéristique d'une idéologie ou d'une époque
 - événements, mouvements sociaux, courants de pensée
 - allusions historiques, politiques, économiques, culturelles...
- **Repérer** les **aspects rhétoriques**
 - style
 - niveau de langue
 - **ton**
 - ironie, humour
 - type de discours
 - métaphores ou familles de métaphores récurrentes
 - symboles
 - **mais** ne faire des remarques sur le style **que** dans la mesure où les **effets** recherchés par l'auteur (visant à **l'adhésion du lecteur**) sont **significatifs au niveau de l'explication** (ce n'est **pas** une analyse littéraire)
 - (pour une illustration: rhétorique visuelle et comment elle se rattache au texte/premier plan, deuxième plan, arrière plan/quel(s) renseignement(s) l'image nous donne-t-elle sur tel ou tel événement? Quel message **explicite** contient-elle à l'adresse du spectateur? Quelles significations peut-on déceler à travers les différentes techniques utilisées par l'artiste? L'image est considérée à titre de document historique et **non** pour sa valeur esthétique, qui n'est pas la question).
- **Relever** les **éléments/citations** du texte que vous utiliserez dans le commentaire (noter les numéros de ligne, pour ne pas perdre du temps ultérieurement)
- **Différencier** entre **information** ('les faits': chiffres, discours rapporté, victoire ou défaite militaire, politique ou autre) et **commentaire** ('l'opinion', l'interprétation de l'auteur).

Ce qui relève du **commentaire** devra être examiné à la lumière de l'information dont on dispose soi-même.

- un texte n'est **jamais** véritablement objectif (même si sa structure en donne **l'apparence**).
- il est toujours relié à une **idéologie**, une **culture**, des **valeurs** en vigueur à l'époque de sa publication, des valeurs propres à son auteur et à son/ses lecteur(s).

- idéologie de l'auteur?
- comprendre et faire comprendre pourquoi les éléments d'information précis présents dans le document donnent lieu à ce commentaire-là et pas un autre (à partir de la même information, un autre auteur aurait pu produire un commentaire différent).
- comprendre et faire comprendre pourquoi l'auteur argumente comme il le fait et pourquoi il dit ce qu'il dit de la façon dont il le dit.
- pourquoi il utilise tel argument
- pourquoi il insiste sur tel événement alors qu'il en mentionne un autre juste en passant, voire en omet certains, pourtant liés à son propos.

A partir de vos connaissances, prendre conscience

- des omissions, des silences, des non-dits du document
- des insistances, des distorsions de la réalité

En est-il ainsi par

- ignorance/incompétence (rare)
- préjugé
- ou stratégie
- quel type de préjugé, quel genre de stratégie?

L'argumentation présente dans tout texte, repose sur une imbrication de procédés rhétoriques et idéologiques mis en oeuvre pour convaincre le lecteur/l'auditeur.

- S'interdire tout jugement de valeur a priori sur le problème
 - s'indigner vertueusement n'a aucun intérêt
 - si le texte est partisan, il faut se demander comment un texte de ce genre fonctionne, et non juger les idées de l'auteur.
 - expliquer le fonctionnement du texte, quelle que soit sa position.
 - repérer les mécanismes du discours, étudier l'(in)cohérence, l'(in)efficacité de l'argumentation.
 - comment il passe d'une idée à l'autre.
 - la fonction du commentaire est d'élucider comment les enjeux sont présentés dans le texte.
- Ne pas 'subir' le texte
 - va-et-vient entre un texte qui s'impose à vous et un contexte que vous connaissez.
 - aller-retour constant entre votre savoir et un document produit par quelqu'un qui n'est pas vous, qui pense donc différemment et a des intérêts différents bien spécifiques à une époque et à un lieu donné et donne donc à ce savoir un autre point de vue.
 - l'écart entre (votre) savoir et (le) document est l'élément de la compréhension et du commentaire de ce document.
 - processus de démontage de la 'violence symbolique' (Pierre Bourdieu) présente dans tout document porteur de sens.
 - qu'est-ce qui fait la spécificité de ce texte?
 - qu'est-ce qui en fait l'intérêt (ou l'absence d'intérêt)?

Un **certain effet** (Lequel? Comment?) sur un **certain public** (Qui? Pourquoi?)

- Différents **types** de textes = différentes **stratégies**
 - texte descriptif: le dépasser, le replacer dans un contexte qui donnera aux faits et aux chiffres leur pleine explication.
 - texte à idées: étayer les idées de données concrètes, qualitatives ou quantitatives, qui permettront de porter un jugement sur le point de vue de l'auteur.
 - texte court et dense: commentaire linéaire possible (analyser chaque mot, chaque phrase), évitant: les redites; une vision éclatée du texte dont la logique interne profonde s'estompe; une analyse sans synthèse (en faisant une synthèse du commentaire en conclusion).

ECRITURE

Structurer le commentaire

Rédigez d'abord l'**Introduction** ET la **Conclusion** pour garder toujours présente à l'esprit la direction générale de votre commentaire.

Introduction

- l'Introduction a **2 fonctions**: **présenter** le texte et exposer de façon analytique et synthétique la **problématique principale**
- éviter de commencer par 'This text was written in' / 'is an excerpt from'.
- faire une entrée en matière **conceptuelle** qui introduise une lecture personnelle du texte
- **Identification** (voir plus haut)
l'identification doit être **commentée** (les phrases du type 'The text was published in November 2002' **POINT**; 'The text was written by + nom de l'auteur' **POINT**; 'The text was published in The Guardian' **POINT**, etc...n'ont **strictement aucun intérêt** (on espère quand même que des étudiants du supérieur savent lire!) 'The text was published in November 2002' → **SO WHAT?**; 'The text was written by + nom de l'auteur' → **SO WHAT?**; 'The text was published in The Guardian' → **SO WHAT?**) mais, en évoquant le contexte, résister à la tentation de **tout** dire (→ juste milieu)
- court **résumé** (voir plus haut)
- dégagement de la **thèse de l'auteur**, **idée principale** de l'auteur, du livre, son **but**, ses **arguments**.
- **annonce** de votre **plan** (c'est-à-dire annonce claire, en 1 ou 2 phrases, de l'**hypothèse** d'interprétation que l'on a de la problématique de l'auteur; formulation du **fil directeur** de votre commentaire = expliquer **comment** et **pourquoi** l'auteur **raisonne** et **écrit** comme il le fait + **présenter chaque partie** du commentaire en **une phrase**, **chaque partie** ayant un **titre explicite**). Il peut être linéaire, mais il est préférable de regrouper les idées de façon synthétique et thématique, car **gros danger** de paraphrase.

Développement

- au minimum 2 parties, au maximum 4, idéalement (mais pas obligatoirement) 3
- il faut une **argumentation**.

- nécessité de sous-parties, hiérarchisées en fonction de leur importance dans chaque partie (de l'aspect le moins important à l'aspect le plus important du thème ou de l'aspect le plus général à l'aspect le plus spécifique du thème, selon l'orientation générale de votre argumentation).
- hiérarchiser aussi les idées à l'intérieur des sous-parties.
- démonstration dynamique (cela doit 'avancer') de la validité de votre problématique. Votre problématique étant le produit de tous les repérages auxquels vous avez procédé en phase préliminaire, pas de 'nous allons essayer de', 'nous tenterons de montrer que', qui donnent l'impression que vous réfléchissez en écrivant et que vous ne l'avez donc pas fait suffisamment en préparant!
- toute présentation qui se limite à dire que l'on 'verra' quels sont les arguments de l'auteur ou que l'on 'décrira' l'organisation du document prélude inévitablement la paraphrase (= reformuler le texte en d'autres termes). Idem pour 'on remarquera que', 'on voit que', 'on notera que'. Ouvrir la voie à une élucidation de références aboutissant à un commentaire critique. Les explicitations et élucidations ne sont acceptables que si elles participent à démontrer la validité de la problématique.
- développer intelligemment les arguments.
- ne rien omettre, ne rien déformer.
- pas de développement hors sujet.
- pas de 'padding' (insertion de fragments entiers de cours, de lectures, longues digressions sur l'histoire de l'époque → perte de contact avec le texte lui-même).
- les exemples que vous citez doivent être pertinents et développés (il ne suffit pas de les citer, il faut les commenter, les exploiter).

Conclusion

- c'est la dernière impression laissée au correcteur !
- ne surtout pas la bâcler (la rédiger à l'avance (bis !), en même temps que l'introduction).
- ne pas redire à la hâte et plus mal ce qui a été dit à loisir et mieux plus haut.
- pas de formule(s) stéréotypée(s) ("To conclude").
- reprendre en une synthèse constructive tous les fils directeurs du commentaire.
- les mini-conclusions de chaque partie du plan peuvent servir de base pour regrouper les idées développées.
- résumer pour mieux conceptualiser.
- ne pas repartir dans de nouveaux développements pour combler une lacune, dans de nouvelles interprétations qui auraient dues être incluses dans le développement (trop tard !).
- doit répondre explicitement à la question qui a présidé à toute votre démarche: qu'est-ce qui fait la spécificité, l'originalité de ce texte? Qu'est-ce qui en fait l'intérêt? Ou l'absence d'intérêt?
- ce texte avait un objectif (que vous avez précisé dans l'Introduction). A-t-il été atteint?
- si oui, comment? si non, pourquoi?
- produire un jugement sur l'effet produit par le texte.

- après avoir observé la plus parfaite objectivité tout au long du commentaire, porter éventuellement un jugement personnel sur le document et sa portée (mais liberté à manier avec précaution).
- jugement 'interne' (sur la qualité du texte): qualité, cohérence interne: utile? sérieux? incomplet? tendancieux? ironique? mais qui ne juge pas l'auteur sur un ton passionné, polémique et surtout se garde de lui faire un procès d'intention.
- jugement 'en contexte' (comment le document s'inscrit-il dans le contexte qui l'a produit?): le texte est-il caractéristique/représentatif du journal dont il est extrait? de 'l'air du temps', de la culture, de l'époque? Ou au contraire est-il atypique, marginal? Est-il prémonitoire?
- replacer le document dans un cadre plus large qui permet d'évaluer son importance historique, son impact, sa représentativité. Le texte reflète-t-il un point de vue minoritaire, partisan ou au contraire s'inscrit-il dans un courant de pensée dominant qui a marqué son époque?
- ouvrir la perspective (ce qui ne veut pas dire repartir dans de nouveaux développements –voir plus haut-).
- éviter de terminer par une question: ouvrir le commentaire en annonçant, si on les connaît, la suite des événements ou la suite du texte (les événements postérieurs et éventuellement consécutifs; ou la suite du raisonnement).
- conséquences directes ou indirectes du document?
- sachant ce que sait le lecteur actuel, quelle place faut-il faire à ce texte dans une perspective historique plus longue? Est-il toujours d'actualité? Si un rapprochement avec les événements contemporains semble utile pour mieux caractériser la portée du texte (ou de l'image), le faire (brièvement et sans occulter la singularité du document).
- (S'il y a lieu) quelle a été la postérité du document?
- impact du document sur la société, les mentalités, contribution aux évolutions apportées?
- expliciter en quoi le document confirme, infirme ou nuance les interprétations habituelles du sujet abordé.

Rédiger le commentaire

- Attention à la qualité de l'anglais. Nous attendons une langue correcte. Pas de pénalisation s'il n'y a que quelques erreurs peu graves, mais s'il y en a vraiment trop, on peut enlever 2/3/4, jusqu'à 5 points, voire plus si la langue est incohérente, bien sûr.
- Attention à bien citer. Ne pas tronquer la citation. Pour éviter ce problème, isoler la citation: utiliser les guillemets et les 2 points. 'As the author puts it: 'xxxxx'...'.
- Dans l'Introduction, on emploie obligatoirement le simple past/preterite puisque le texte a été écrit à une date précise du passé. Dans le Développement, on peut, à la rigueur, utiliser le présent, mais on se décide: on ne mélange pas les 2 temps.
- Présentation intelligente dégagant les points forts, les articulations, les nuances du document.

- On ne mentionne pas le titre de chaque partie et sous-partie, mais on **MATERIALISE** chaque changement de partie en sautant une ligne et en figurant le retrait de paragraphe par rapport à la marge et chaque changement de sous-partie en figurant le retrait de paragraphe.
- 'Tenir' la problématique **CONSTAMMENT**. Démarrez en la rappelant et continuez à le faire au début de chaque étape du Développement (voir ce qui suit).
- Reprendre la problématique au début du Développement (donc juste après l'Introduction) et au début de chaque partie ET sous-partie et spécifier à quel point de la démonstration vous en êtes et ce que vous allez développer (reprendre les phrases qui ont servi à annoncer le plan dans l'Introduction): le lecteur vous en saura gré, il aime savoir où il va et vous lui évitez des retours en arrière vers l'annonce du Plan de l'Introduction, des interrogations ('Où en sommes-nous?'). Or perdre le fil, donc perdre du temps, **INDISPOSE ENORMEMENT** le correcteur, qui a 80 copies à corriger et pas seulement la vôtre. Ce n'est donc pas une simple convention cartésienne d'épreuve universitaire, mais de la pure stratégie (vous pouvez aussi l'appeler 'pur fayotage!'). Cela vous permet en outre de vous souvenir vous même où vous allez et en restant 'collé' à la problématique, d'éviter les développements hors sujet.
- Soigner les transitions: elles soulignent la cohérence de la démarche.

Quelques exemples d'analyse de titres

a. 'Left, right, left, right: The Arrival of Tony Blair'

La typographie révèle l'origine du texte = article de journal britannique, car seule la première lettre des noms porte une majuscule (un titre de journal américain serait tout en majuscules) → commenter cette information si, à la 1^{ière} lecture, le texte présente un manque évident d'objectivité.

The Arrival of Tony Blair = le texte portera sur l'influence de l'entrée de Tony Blair sur la scène politique = analyse (sera-t-elle critique?) d'un événement politique majeur: le succès électoral de Blair (en 1997).

Left, right = sa position politique est difficile à déterminer.

Alternance left, right, left, right = soupçon sur son appartenance à la fois à la gauche et à la droite ou sur le fait qu'il a utilisé à la fois, ou tour à tour, les 2 ailes politiques pour parvenir au pouvoir = est-ce/sera-ce un problème?

Confirmé par les 2 points = son arrivée au pouvoir est le résultat de cette alternance.

Le rythme et les sonorités (mots courts et durs) rappellent les ordres militaires que l'on donne aux soldats qui défilent = Blair serait-il autoritaire, ou même dictatorial, au sein de son parti?

→ On va pouvoir utiliser ses connaissances sur ce qui s'est passé après l'arrivée de Blair au pouvoir: certains aspects du texte sont peut-être des signes préliminaires de certains de ces événements (mais il ne faudra pas perdre le texte de vue et le laisser de côté pour étaler des connaissances finalement secondaires).

À ce stade, on ne sait pas encore si on utilisera dans le commentaire toutes les pistes relevées dans le titre, mais on relève tout ce que l'on peut, on exploite les éléments du titre au maximum. On utilisera peut-être ces pistes séparément, l'une dans l'Introduction, une autre dans la Conclusion si ces indices ne sont pas

développés dans le texte. S'ils le sont, surtout s'ils sont confirmés par la première phrase, alors ils constitueront des thèmes possibles du Développement.

Le titre ne donne pas toujours d'indices (mais c'est rare!). Cette fonction est parfois reléguée au sous-titre, ou à la première phrase du premier paragraphe, voire au premier paragraphe entier, s'il est court. Il faut tous les analyser de la même façon (cela ne prend que quelques secondes et vous vaudra l'estime du correcteur qui se dira: 'Ah, enfin une analyse fine du titre/sous-titre/etc.!').

La légende sous une illustration vous donne aussi des informations sur l'origine du texte, sa date, les circonstances de sa parution, la nationalité de son auteur, etc.

b. Texte du recueil *British Political Institutions*, p 10

Head(ing) or column (en-tête ou rubrique): 'Law' = catégorie d'apparence assez technique, donne l'impression que l'on s'intéresse à la législation pure: sera-ce vraiment le cas ? En fait n'a pas seulement à voir avec la 'loi', aussi politique = quel est le but: paraître neutre, détaché?

Titre proprement dit: '*Getting It In Writing*'

Majuscule à chaque mot = titre américain (confirmé par la source: *Time Magazine*, hebdomadaire d'actualités américain, mais aussi international).

It? Vague, peu clair. De quoi s'agit-il? Quel pays cela concerne-t-il? Oblige le lecteur à porter le regard sur les 2 illustrations (notez leur emplacement central) pour plus d'informations immédiates (avant même la lecture du sous-titre et de l'article proprement dit): l'une, très vieux document/parchemin, manifestement pas américain, car l'écriture paraît plus ancienne que celle de la Déclaration d'Indépendance; l'autre plus éclairante, la Reine Elizabeth II, mondialement connue et donc immédiatement identifiable, situe instantanément le pays concerné, mais également légèrement trompeuse, car on s'apercevra à la lecture, que l'article porte sur l'ensemble des institutions et non uniquement sur la monarchie, mais comment évoquer une 'constitution'? Le 'It' n'est pas informatif = procédé journalistique, suspense, mystère → on a envie de lire l'article pour élucider ce mystère, en savoir plus (en aurait-on envie si les mots 'constitution' et 'anglaise' avaient été utilisés? Pourquoi?)

Getting It in Writing = structure causative = réussir à la (la Constitution) faire rédiger, obtenir qu'on la rédige = notion de nécessité de faire avancer les choses, passage espéré d'un état à un autre, réussite souhaitée.

Getting/writing = non seulement 1, mais 2 gérondifs = notion de dynamisme. Comme si c'était en train d'être fait, ou presque.

→ titre positif, sous-entendant l'accomplissement de la démarche.

Sous-titre: l'explication que le lecteur attendait (why? who? what?), on rentre dans le vif du sujet. Absolument pas neutre. Soutient la démarche des groupes qui militent pour une constitution écrite.

Just around the corner = il y a urgence.

Britons = donne l'impression que c'est la préoccupation de tous les Britanniques, alors qu'il ne s'agit que d'un certain nombre de groupes de militants.

Framing a formal constitution. 'formal' = 'sérieux', 'qui respecte les conventions' = s'oppose au côté insatisfaisant, peu fiable de 'unwritten'. 'Frame' = il faut 'cadrer' les choses, donner une forme, agir dans un cadre protecteur, dans les règles, sortir du vague.

Ponder the merits = *Ponder* = réfléchir, méditer = il ne s'agit pas d'un caprice, d'une mode, d'une lubie, les groupes qui se réunissent là ont examiné et examinent sérieusement la question. *Merits* = on attire l'attention sur les mérites

d'une constitution écrite, la balance penche clairement en faveur des avantages, les inconvénients sont occultés dans ce sous-titre. Même parti pris dans l'article? À vérifier (oui: un seul paragraphe est dévolu aux opposants de cette réforme).

c. Texte du recueil *British Political Institutions*, p 22

Head(ing) (en-tête): 'Queen Elizabeth II' = en cette période du Jubilee, le reportage s'intéresse non pas aux festivités du Jubilee lui même, ni à l'institution de la monarchie (le titre n'est pas 'The (Queen's) Jubilee' ou 'Do we still need a monarch(y)?'), mais à la personne même du monarque + respect ('Queen', titre avec majuscule -normal-).

Titre proprement dit: 'Twenty-five out of fifty'

Jeu de mots: 50 = 50 ans de règne (Golden Jubilee)

Mais également 25 sur 50 = note sur bulletin scolaire = on note la Reine! Effet? Le respect relevé dans l'en-tête n'a pas duré. 25 sur 50 = 10 sur 20. = note moyenne. Pas très satisfaisant, juste la moyenne! Mais la moyenne quand même (on n'ose tout de même pas aller plus loin?).

Le titre consiste donc simplement en une note. Sécheresse d'un jugement. Ton de maître d'école. On attend donc un article mitigé sur la Reine. À vérifier (effectivement, chaque paragraphe traite d'un aspect des divers rôles de la Reine et distribue les bons comme les mauvais points).

Sous-titre: 'After half a century of the queen, it's time for a performance review'

the queen = pas de majuscule = encore moins respectueux que dans le titre + il ne s'agit plus du titre personnel de la Reine, mais d'une simple fonction + elle est traitée comme une personne ordinaire remplissant une fonction quelconque.

a performance review = article publié dans The Economist, qui s'adresse à un public de businessmen. Review = inspection, regard critique, on jauge, en termes de rentabilité, la performance économique et technique, les résultats, les réalisations.

After half a century = dans les entreprises, les usines, on procède régulièrement à des évaluations, au bout d'1 mois, 1 an, 5 ans, 10 ans.

it's time for = pour elle, on a attendu 50 ans, maintenant, c'est le moment.

Notion d'interchangeabilité: elle n'est pas protégée par le respect dû à sa fonction institutionnelle, on l'évalue comme n'importe quel manager (sera confirmé dans le texte, paragraphe 14: 'like any other CEO' = chief executive officer = PDG), mais aussi comme on le ferait d'une quelconque stratégie commerciale, d'un procédé de fabrication, voire d'une machine. Approche pragmatique, gestionnaire. Comment s'en tire-t-elle, donne-t-elle satisfaction, est-elle utile au pays, fait-elle bien ce pour quoi elle est payée? Jugement de ses résultats. Pas (vraiment) politique.

Sous-titre 2: 'Could have tried harder' = le style bulletin scolaire se confirme, ainsi que l'appréciation mitigée = résultats moyens dus à un manque d'efforts (!).

Sous-titre 3: 'Keep it unreal' = encore le style bulletin scolaire, mais cette fois 'conseil' du type 'continuez', 'ne relâchez pas vos efforts', 'faites ceci, cela'. On conseille la Reine (!).

Approche impensable 20 ou 30 ans auparavant. La Reine et l'institution ont perdu leur prestige, leur mystère.

Avec l'analyse très précise des titres et sous-titres, j'ai déjà une bonne piste pour mon commentaire. Ce n'est pas uniquement l'évaluation de la Reine elle-même qui m'intéressera (mais elle fera tout de même l'objet de ma première partie), mais ce que la forme de cette évaluation et les thèmes abordés révèlent de

l'évolution de la Grande Bretagne, du contexte dans lequel il a été écrit: évolution morale, sociale, économique, politique (irrévérence -surtout depuis *Spitting Images*, l'équivalent de nos *Guignols de l'Info-*, divorce, évolution du concept de famille, omniprésence de l'argent, notion de rentabilité, démocratisation du tourisme, puissance grandissante des media, etc.)

Donc
dans un titre (sous-titre/première phrase),
(presque) CHAQUE mot est important,
apporte un renseignement sur l'idéologie du texte.

BONNE ANALYSE !

CIVILISATION

METHODOLOGIE du COMMENTAIRE de TEXTE

EXPRESSIONS UTILES

Il est dangereux de faire des phrases trop longues
Faites 'simple'

Introduction

Pour présenter le contexte
Pour parler de la date, de la publication...

- Ne pas commencer l'Introduction par une description plate du paratexte ('This text is taken from...' / 'This document was published in...').
- Préférer une entrée en matière plus **conceptuelle** qui introduise **votre propre lecture** du texte ('Violence on TV continues to expand in the US despite...**as shown by** the document, which is taken from...').
- 'The document **under scrutiny** (= étudié) **WAS published IN** (1998)'
- 'This text **WAS written 2 years after** (the Glorious Revolution of 1688)...'
- 'This text **WAS written at the end of** the (20th century)'
- 'This text **WAS written in the first half of** (the 20th century)'
- 'This text **WAS written in the late** (1960)**S**'
- 'A year earlier, **in** (1942)...'
- 'This article appear**ED IN** (November 2002)...'
- 'This article appear**ED ON** (November 5th 2002)...'

Pour montrer la nature, la provenance

- 'This passage is an **extract/excerpt FROM**...'
- 'The extract, **entitled** ".....", is **taken FROM**...'
- 'This **primary/secondary source** document is...'
- 'Here, we are **at the beginning of** \bigcirc **Chapter V** of the essay...'

Pour montrer l'impact d'un texte

- 'The report **WAS generally considered AS** (highly controversial)'
- 'The report **WAS** a veritable (**bombshell**)'

Pour montrer le but d'un texte

- 'The **main argument** of the passage is...'
- 'The author's **aim is TO show/explain/analyse**...'
- 'The aim is **clearly TO** convince...'
- 'The **goal of** the document is **TO**...'
- 'He **attempts TO**...'
- 'He **defendS**...'
- 'The (Times) **calls on** (Mrs Thatcher) **TO**...'
- 'This extract **highlightS** the role of...'
- 'The most distinctive **feature** of the document is...'
- 'The general **tone** of the text is...'

Pour évoquer la structure

- 'After some **preliminary remarks**,...'
- 'The **opening lines** are...'
- 'After reminding **ING** his audience of..., the orator **focusES** his attention **ON**....'
- 'After examin**ING** the main parameters of the problem,...'
- 'After show**ING**..., he **suggestS** that...'
- 'The second part of the text is **built ON** a contrast'
- 'The last sentence of the document...'
- 'The conclusion **deals WITH**...'
- 'He **backED** up his judgment **WITH** examples...and **emphasizED** the fact **THAT**...'

Pour citer d'autres auteurs

- 'A **comparison with** So-and-So'S book, XXXX, **enableS** us to see...'
- 'The text **reminds**...'

Pour souligner les opinions de l'auteur

- 'For the author...'
- 'In his eyes...'
- '(Turner) **made** the most **forceful statement** of ...as he clearly **statED** **that**...'
- 'In this passage, (Turner) **stressES** **that**...'
- '**THROUGHOUT** his study/the book, the author **stressES**...'
- 'The author'S **claim is that**...'
- 'He **insistS ON**...'
- 'A staunch militant, (Macias) **voicES** the feelings of...'
- 'The journalist **launchES** into a **reflexion about**...'
- 'In this passage he **concentratES ON**...'
- 'The author **views** (politics) **AS**...'
- 'He **arguES THAT**...'
- 'He **assumES THAT**...'
- 'He **layS** the emphasis **ON**...'
- 'He **alludES TO**...'
- 'He **commentS ON**...'
- 'In the words of..., ...'
- 'He **feelS** that...'
- 'He **adoptS** a (factual) **point of view**'
- '(Darwin) **dealS BOTH** withand with...'
- 'He **stateS** both the qualitative and quantitative **aspects of the question**'
- '**3 kinds of advantages** are **pointED OUT**: (economic, social and cultural, political and military).'
- 'He **reassertS THAT**...'

Pour l'annonce de votre plan

- Evitez les phrases du type 'in a first part...'
- Préférer des phrases du type:
- '**First** we shall analyse..., then we shall show...'

- 'In order to answer these questions, we shall look at the text from (3) different angles. First, we shall analyse..., secondly,..., and thirdly,...'
- 'First of all..., then,... and finally...'

Transitions

- 'There are 2 aspects **TO** (Darwin)'S approach. First....and then...'
- 'However, (toujours virgule derrière however) the text is not (pessimistic)...'
- 'In spite **OF** (the deep criticism of)...., there is the (hope **FOR**)...'
- '(Turner)'S statement **ABOUT** the...might be easily reversed'
- 'Although the author.....,
- 'The main issue, however, was...'
- 'Thus...'
- 'Moreover...'
- 'In spite of his (radically new approach),...'

Conclusion

- 'therefore' / 'moreover' / 'besides' / whereas / 'as a result' / 'consequently'
- 'Contrary **TO**...'
- 'In a word...'
- 'Finally...'
- 'The manifesto was a (deliberately provocative) document'
- 'The book from which this text is taken **WAS** a landmark in the history of (science)'
- 'The text mark**S** a turning point in (the analysis of society)'
- 'In this famous speech/article, the author **outlin**ES...'
- 'The text **represent**S a step forward'
- 'What this passage **does not say** is that...'
- 'This text is first..., but it is also...'
- 'We can **point OUT** the (historical) importance of this text'
- 'This text **put**S over powerfully the point of view of...'
- '**As a result** of this speech/article...'
- 'If it **failed** to convince many people, this text **nevertheless**...'
- 'Whatever view one has **ON/ABOUT** the subject...'
- 'It is difficult to **determine WHETHER...or...or indeed**...'
- '**Even then**, it still remains to be shown that...'
- 'It can be argued that...'
- 'The text **acknowledge**S that...'
- 'The text **sum**S up...'
- '(In this respect), this tract **illustrate**S...'
- 'It is a **good illustration OF**...'
- 'It **highlight**S the fact that...'
- 'The text is/was **interesting FOR**...'
- 'This text is perhaps even more **interesting BY** what it does not say'
- 'The interest of the text is double:...'

- 'This speech **can** therefore **be** seen **AS**...'
- 'The text is a **good example OF** the ... that took place in...'
- 'We have here the **B**ritish point of view'
- '**Given this** context...'
- 'The author of this article was **justified in** (see)**ING** (this as...)'
- 'With (**the benefit OF**) **hindsight**...'
- 'This is precisely what happened **in the aftermath OF** this speech'
- 'All these **issues were to be raised** in (title of the book)'
- '**Soon afterwards**,...'
- '**By** (June 2001)...'
- '**In late** (2001)...'
- 'A few years later,...'
- '**The following decades were to** (prove him right)...'
- 'Even then, the same questions **presided OVER** (the debate)...'
- 'An important text showing...'
- 'The text is **ALL THE MORE** significant nowadays **AS**...'
- 'It **reminds** the reader that...'
- '**As** the author **points OUT**...'
- 'Looking **back/looking forwards**'

PLUSIEURS TYPES DE PLANS

Plan **chronologique**

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------|---|
| • I | Origines | (The Origins and Ends of Political Society) |
| • II | Situation actuelle | (The Government: 3 main partners) |
| • III | Evolutions à venir | (Political Society in jeopardy) |

Plan '**constat**'

- I Constat
- II Causes/mécanismes
- III Conséquences

Autre plan '**constat**'

- | | | |
|------|-------------------|------------------|
| • I | Constat | Two Nations |
| • II | Evolution à venir | A Changing World |

Plan **thématique**/par point de vue

- | | | |
|-------|---------|---|
| • I | Thème 1 | The Landscape |
| • II | Thème 2 | Man in front of Nature and the Deity |
| • III | Thème 3 | Nature |

Plan **analytique**

- | | | |
|-------|-------------|--|
| • I | Problème | The Parameters of the Problem |
| • II | Arguments | The Indictment OF the Poor Laws |
| • III | Suggestions | Malthus's Suggestions |

Plan '**fenêtre de tir**'

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| • I | Idéologie générale | Carnegie's Ideology |
| • II | Aspect particulier | The Businessman's Messianism |
| • III | Aspect particulier | Wealth and Moral Responsibility |

Plan **binaire**

- | | | |
|------|------------|--------------------------------|
| • I | Rupture | New Approach TO Biology |
| • II | Continuité | Darwin: A Victorian Scientist |

Autre plan binaire

- I Pratique The Wife's Condition
- II Théorie The Wife and the Law

Plans comportant des expressions **pouvant** être réutilisées (**en gras**)

(?????????)

- I **New** (Forces at Work)
- II **A New** (Ideology)
- III **New** (Achievements)

(Citizenship/Charter 88)

- I **Subject TO** (myths)
- II **Subject TO** (abuse)
- III **Subject TO** (citizenship)

(Women's suffrage)

- I **(Constitutionalists) and** (technical parliamentary procedure)
- II **(Constitutionalists) and** (parliamentary politics)
- III **(Constitutionalists) vs** (Asquith The Prime Minister and Asquith the Man)

(Monarchy)

- I **The voice of** (dissidents in an unprecedented situation)
- II **The condemnation of** (the hereditary principle)
- III **An advocate of** (constitutional change)

(Parliament/Reform of the House of Lords)

- I **The composition of** (the House of Lords)
- II **The main role of** (the House of Lords)
- III **The functions of** (the House of Lords)

(Welfare State)

- I **The legacy of** (social reform)
- II **Assessing** (the past)
- III **The way TO** (freedom from want)

(From Empire to Commonwealth)

- I **The inevitability of** (change)
- II **The need TO** (adapt to the reality of the Cold War)
- III (Apartheid): **a threat TO** (the unity of the Commonwealth)

(Thatcherism)

- I (Economic recovery): **a necessary preliminary**
- II **The damaging effects of** (Socialism)
- III **The (Victorian) model**

(Immigration)

- I **A speech by a** ('statesman')
- II **Playing ON** (fears)

(Industrial relations)

- I **The legitimacy of** (the trade union movement)
- II **Justifying** (government intervention)
- III (Free collective bargaining) **vs** (planned economy)

(WWII)

- I (Political) **strategy**
- II **A call TO** (arms)
- III **The self portrait of** (a hero)

(Labour Party)

- I Whom does (Labour) stand for?
- II **A** (Socialist) **party?**
- III **The virtues of** (ambiguity)

(Ireland)

- I (The Irish Free State)
- II (British defence)
- III (Partition)

(Europe)

- I **The end of** (a long process)
- II **The reasons FOR** (joining)

(Education)

- I (Equilibrium) **and** (moderation)
- II **Away from** (the consensus)
- III **Redefining** (priorities)

(The Falkland Crisis)

- I (Cool) **APPRAISAL** and **logical analysis**
- II (We're all Falklanders now)
- III **The wider issues**

Difficult words (?) from the course

law-making bodies	government	peerages
rules and principles	civil service	knighthood
relationships	local authorities	grants charters
institutions of authority	public corporations	pardons
distribution of	courts	Defender of the Faith
authority	overlap	Established Church of
executive	Lord (High)	England
legislature	Chancellor	bishops
central and local	acknowledge	senior clergy
government	entrenched	personifies
public authorities	altered	public functions
ground rules	evolve	Trooping the Colour
1867 Bagehot	restraints	Remembrance Sunday
uncodified	dictatorship	Royal Maundy
statute	executive agencies	investitures
common law	centralised	Order of the Garter
conventions	secretive	garden parties
fundamental	citizens	tour
constitutional texts	civil liberties	abroad
Acts of Parliament	inadequate	events
landmarks	Bill of Rights	Queen-in-Parliament
<u>Frison Hist const GB</u>	scrutiny	swear allegiance
legitimacy	parliamentary	ceremonial
judicial decisions	monarchy	deprived of actual
rights of private	constitutional monarch	power
individuals	head of state	Glorious Revolution
constitutional	secular institution	legal supremacy
legitimacy	Cromwell 1649-60	Her Majesty's
not legally	hereditary	Government
enforceable	succeed	devolved authorities
civil servants	coronation	'in the name of the
withhold consent	Westminster Abbey	queen'
dissolve	powers	safeguard
MP	prerogatives	consulted
no confidence	precedents	encourage
Cabinet	treaties	warn
European law	annexes/cedes	dispatches
European Convention	recognises	audiences
of Human Rights	Commander-in-chief	Privy Council
Human Rights Acts	armed forces	ambassadorial
1998	Commonwealth	functions overseas
precedence	appoints	has endured sharp
Locke	office holders	criticism
judicial	civil servants	cost
checks and balances	summons	Civil List
tyranny	prorogues	behaviour
Monarch	dissolves	expenditure
House of Commons	royal assent	Grants-in-Aid
(HC)	fountain of honour	Privy Purse
House of Lords (HL)	confers	income tax

adaptability
 out-of-date
 obsolete
 unelected
 aristocratic privilege
 establishment
 aloofness
 class divisions
 hierarchy
 hierarchical social
 system
 detrimental
 guarantee
 above the fray
 symbolical
 unity
 stability
 continuity
 embodies unity
 personification of the
 state
 pageantry
 weddings
 funerals
 jubilees
 glamour
 Bagehot : *'a royal
 family sweetens politics
 by the seasonable
 addition of nice and
 pretty events'*
 didactic
 perenniality
 social cohesion
 permanence
 prestige
 neutrality
 bastion of institutions
 roots
 woven into the
 national fabric
 anthem
 Royal Mail
 rooted mystically
 patriotism
 reassess
 compromise
 beneficial effects
 'The Way Ahead
 Group'

 Westminster

supreme legislative
 authority
 state opening
 intends to do
 is doing
 has done
 modify policies
 new laws
 taxation
 scrutinise
 European union
 legislation
 major issues of the day
 agreement
 devolved areas
 Channel Islands
 Isle of Man
 supremacy
 overrides
 session
 adjournments
 Easter
 late Spring Bank
 Holiday
 sitting days
 149 / 154
 lower house
 electorate
 659 MPs
 constituency
 England 529
 Scotland 72
 Wales 40
 Northern Ireland 18
 general election
 Queen's Speech from
 the Throne
 outlines policies
 Speaker
 chief officer
 neutral
 tied result
 casting vote
 Deputy Speakers
 Chief Whips
 underline
 3-line whip
 rebellion
 usual channels
 party system
 rows of benches
 benches

front/back benches
 Shadow Cabinet
 dispatch box
 overthrow
 criticism of pending
 legislation
 objectionable
 amendments
 puts forward
 debate issues
 putting questions on
 the floor
 committee system
 draft law
 Parliamentary Bill
 proposal
 Public
 Private
 Hybrid
 Money
 Government Bill
 consultation
 White Paper
 Green Paper
 seek comments
 Private Members' Bills
 budget
 motion
 First Reading
 Second Reading
 Committee Stage
 amendments
 Report Stage
 Third Reading
 reviewed
 verbal amendment
 puts the question
 carried
 defeated
 division
 division bells
 lobbies
 Ayes
 Noes
 Teller
 Whole House
 Committees
 straightforward,
 uncontroversial
 urgency
 Standing Committees
 clause

Select Committees
 Joint Committees
 Parliamentary Labour
 Party
 channel of
 communication
 Conservative and
 Unionist Members'
 Committee
 Question Time
 50,000
 grievances
 constituents
 adjournment debates
 Hansard
 Ombudsman /
 Commissioner for
 Administration
 investigates
 complaints
 resolution of no
 confidence
 immunities
 speech
 arrest from civil
 actions
 access to the Crown
 proceedings
 legal disqualification
 for membership
 declare a seat vacant
 breach of its privilege
 and contempt
 hereditary
 Lords Temporal
 Hereditary Peers of
 the Realm
 life peers
 recognition
 academics
 trade-union officials
 Lords Spiritual
 archbishops
 senior bishops
 prayers
 House of Lords Bill
 Nov 1999
 750 → 92
 inherited
 peeress(es)
 temporarily
 transitional period

Lords in Appeal
 Law Lords
 Canterbury
 York
 Durham
 Winchester
 cross-benches
 (not) content
 Lord Chancellor
 woolsack
 delay
 enactment
 restrained
 revising chamber
 reflection
 complement
 check
 independent expertise
 specialist Select
 Committees
 Court of Appeal
 civil cases
 criminal cases
 Lords of Appeal
 Ordinary Law Lords
 less partisan forum
 stand above politics
 safeguard
 over-hasty
 assessing
 moral issues
 death penalty
 stimulate
 antidote
 takes burden from
 anachronism
 controversy
 obsolete
 contradiction
 serving capital
 interests
 unitary
 over centralisation
 nationalism
 troubles
 devolve
 tax varying powers
 non-tax-raising
 defence
 foreign policy
 social security
 economic policy

regionalisation
 decentralisation
 semi-federalism
 'the Dis-united
 Kingdom'
 Edinburgh
 129 MSPs
 May 1999
 4-year term
 First Minister
 National Assembly for
 Wales
 Cardiff
 60 / May 1999
 1921: partition
 Eire < Northern
 Ireland
 1972
 terrorism
 inter-communal
 direct rule
 1927-1999
 unionists
 nationalists
 April 1998
 Good Friday
 Agreement
 Belfast
 referendum
 Northern Ireland +
 Irish Republic
 May 1998
 clear endorsement
 NI Assembly
 108
 June 1998
 December 2nd 1999
 Executive Committee
 First Minister
 Deputy Minister
 10 other ministers
 Ulster Unionist Party
 Social Democratic and
 Labour Party
 Democratic Unionist
 Party
 Sinn Fein
 North/South
 Ministerial Council
 British Irish Council

British Irish
 Intergovernmental
 Conference
 not devolved:
 policing
 security policy
 prisons
 criminal justice
international relations
 HMG
 conduct of national
 affairs
 Whigs / Tories
 mandate to govern
 Leader of the majority
 10, Downing Street
 Whitehall
 department
 100 ministers
 Secretaries of State
 Minister of State
 Junior Minister
 Parliamentary Under-
 secretaries of State
 departmental duties
 non-departmental
 minister
 traditional offices
 Paymaster General
 80 / 330-400
 ministerial
 responsibility
 collectively
 responsible
 unanimously
 consistent
 resign
 questioned
 disown
 First Lord of the
 Treasury
 Minister for the Civil
 Service
 Home Secretary
 Foreign Secretary
 Chancellor of the
 Exchequer
 Lord Chancellor
 Lord President of the
 Council
 Lord Privy Seal

Chancellor of the
 Duchy of Lancaster
 initiate
 committee system
 Privy Council
 420 members
 Orders in Council
 Royal Charters
 governmental decrees
 registers decisions
 advisory committees
 almost unlimited
 powers
 rigid party discipline
 controlling influence
 power has shifted
 unelected executive
 agencies
 secretive
 centralised
 party-political
 insufficiently
 irresponsible
 personalise politics
 official Opposition
 Her Majesty's
 Opposition
 official spokesmen
 take over
 dissolution
 challenge government
 policies
 present alternatives
 adversarial politics
 Liberal Democrats
 consensus politics
 implement
 politically neutral
 serve regardless of the
 government's
 complexion
 non-departmental
 public bodies
 executive bodies
 the Arts council
 the British council
 the Legal Aid Board
 the Commission for
 Racial Equality
 advisory bodies
 research
 informed opinion

the British Overseas
 Trade Board
 the Advisory
 Committee on Legal
 Education and
 Conduct
 royal commissions
 chaired

 opinion polls
 stand for parliament
 clergy
 annual salary
 office costs allowance
 no deputy
 by-election
 659 constituencies
 canvassing
 grievances
 remedy complaints
 not compulsory
 secret ballot
 ballot paper
 to cast a vote
 one ballot
 two-tier ballot system
 simple majority
 system
 not absolute majority
 no tactical vote
 horse-trading
 platform
 coalition
 leadership
 pledges
 dual role
 neutral representative
 undemocratic, unfair
 to smaller parties
 two-party mould
 Tories
 landowners, gentry
 Whigs
 merchant class
 Tories →
 Conservatives
 Whigs → Liberals
 1900/1906 Labour
 Party
 1918 Cons/Labour

1980s Liberals + Social
Democratic Party →
Liberal Democrats (Lib
Dems)
Conservative and
Unionist Party
Parliamentary Party of
MPs
annual conference
Michael Howard
strong state
authority
law and order
hierarchy
inequality
meritocracy
unity of the UK
national prestige
defence

private property
free enterprise
market
federation of trade
unions, constituency
parties and socialist
societies
English socialism
social justice
equality of opportunity
public ownership of
the means of
production
free market
fiscal vigilance
national unity
community
social justice

compassion with a
hard edge
Lib Dems 1988
nationalist parties
Scottish National Party
Plaid Cymru
extreme right
National Front
British National Party
extreme left
Communist Party of
GB
New Communist Party
Workers
Revolutionary Party
one-issue parties
Green Party
Referendum Party

PLAN DU COURS

5 MAIN PARTS:

PART I: THE CONSTITUTION

- I. Definition
- II. Specificity of the English constitution: no single written document
- III. Nature of the English constitution
- IV. Partial separation of powers
- V. Rule of Law / Parliamentary Sovereignty
- VI. A 'living' constitution
- VII. Criticisms

PART II: THE MONARCHY

- I. Formal constitutional roles and representational role
- II. 'Reigns but does not rule'
- III. Role of the monarchy today?

PART III: PARLIAMENT

A. GENERALITIES: composition / functions / organisation

B. THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

- I. Composition and organisation
- II. The party system in Parliament
- III. Parliamentary procedure: how a law is passed
- IV. (Parliamentary Privilege)

C. THE HOUSE OF LORDS

- I. Composition and organisation
- II. Functions
- III. For and against

D. REGIONAL ASSEMBLIES

- I. Scotland
- II. Wales
- III. Northern Ireland

PART IV: THE GOVERNMENT

A. THE GOVERNMENT

- I. Composition
- II. Functions and organisation

B. THE CABINET

- I. Composition
- II. Organisation and functions
- III. Problems

C. THE CIVIL SERVICE

PART V: ELECTIONS and POLITICAL PARTIES

A. ELECTIONS

- I. Generalities
- II. 'First-past-the-post' system

B. POLITICAL PARTIES

- I. A two-party system
- II. The Conservative Party
- III. The Labour Party
- IV. Other parties

CONCLUSION

Continuity and change

