

Political institutions in the UK Course presentation

British civilisation – L2 LEA 2023-2024 Mondays 10.15-11.45 Amphi Josserand Lauriane Simony E-mail: <u>lauriane.simony@cyu.fr</u>

Course syllabus (1)

Week 1 (15/01) – Introduction and the
Constitution
Week 2 (22/01) – The Monarchy
Week 3 (29/01) – Parliament
Week 4 (05/02) – The Government
Week 5 (12/02) – Elections and voting behaviour

HOLIDAYS: 19/02



Course syllabus (2)

Week 6 (26/02) – Political parties (1): the Conservative Party Week 7 (04/03) – Political parties (2): the Labour Party Week 8 (11/03) – Other political parties Week 9 (18/03) – Devolution Week 10 (25/03) – British politics and the European Union Week 11 (01/04) – Women and politics > Bank holiday?

Holidays 08/04 et 15/04

Exams: week starting on April 22nd or April 29th

Recommended reading

BALE, Tim. *The Conservative Party: from Thatcher to Cameron*. Cambridge, UK; Malden, Mass.: Polity Press, 2016 (2nd edition).

BOGDANOR, Vernon. *Beyond Brexit: Towards a British Constitution*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2019.

CLARK, Alistair. *Political Parties in the UK*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018 (2nd edition).

DEACON, Russell. *Devolution in the UK*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012 (2nd edition).

HEYWOOD, Andrew, SCHINDLER, Kathy and TOMES Adam. *Essentials of UK Politics and Government*. London: Red Globe Press, 2021 (5th edition).

PICKARD, Sarah. Civilisation britannique – British Civilisation (bilingue). Paris: Pocket, 2022 (2022 edition).

PUGH, Martin. *Speak for Britain! A New history of the Labour Party*. London: Vintage Books, 2011.

RIDGE, Sophie. The Women who Shaped Politics: Empowering Stories of Women who Have Shifted the Political Landscape. London: Coronet, 2017.

RINGEISEN-BIARDEAUD, Juliette. L'indépendance écossaise à l'ombre du Brexit. Paris : Éditions Panthéon-Assas, 2022.

SCHNAPPER, Pauline et Emmanuelle AVRIL. *Où va le Royaume-Uni ? Le Brexit et après*. Paris : Odile Jacob, 2019.





Political institutions in the UK Lecture 1 - The Constitution

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Course outline

I) An "uncodified" constitution

- A. What is an uncodified constitution? Definitions
- B. The principles of the constitution
- C. Is there a separation of powers in the UK?
- D. Fundamental Acts of Parliament within the British constitution

II) <u>A need for constitutional reform?</u>

- A. The pros and cons of an uncodified constitution
- B. Previous reforms
- C. New contemporary challenges

A. What is an uncodified constitution? Definitions

- Constitutional or parliamentary monarchy
- Glorious Revolution (1688)
- The *Bill of Rights* (1689) established a parliamentary monarchy in England
- "Uncodified" constitution = made of parliamentary acts and conventions
- Royal Assent

Parliament offering the crown to William of Orange and Mary in 1689. They became William III and Mary II <u>https://www.britannica.com/</u>



B. The principles of the constitution

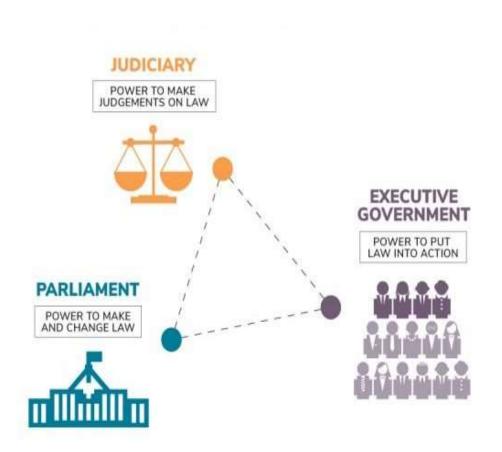
- Rule of law
- Sovereignty of parliament

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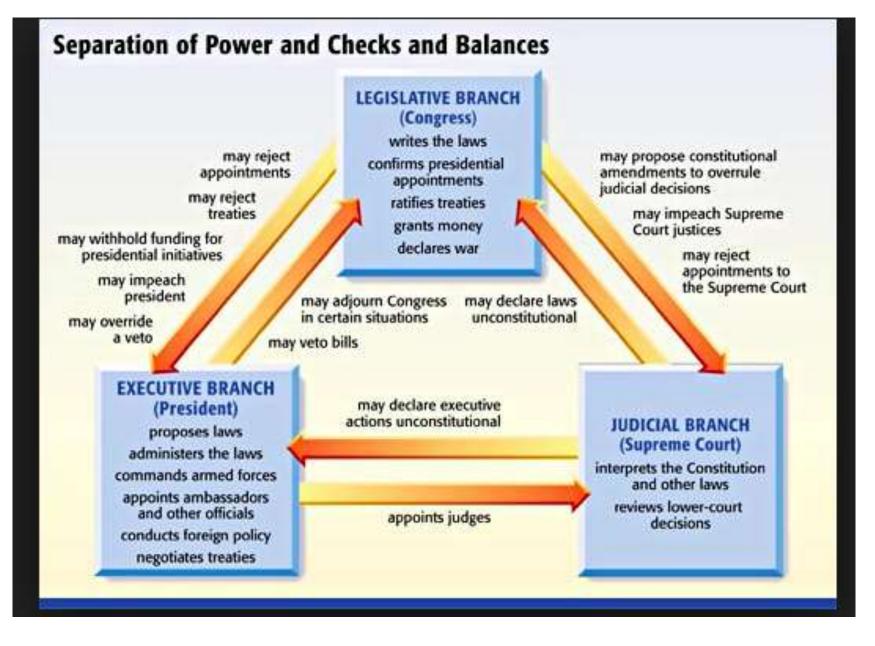
The Bill of Rights (1689) https://www.parliament.uk/

C. Is there a separation of powers in the UK?

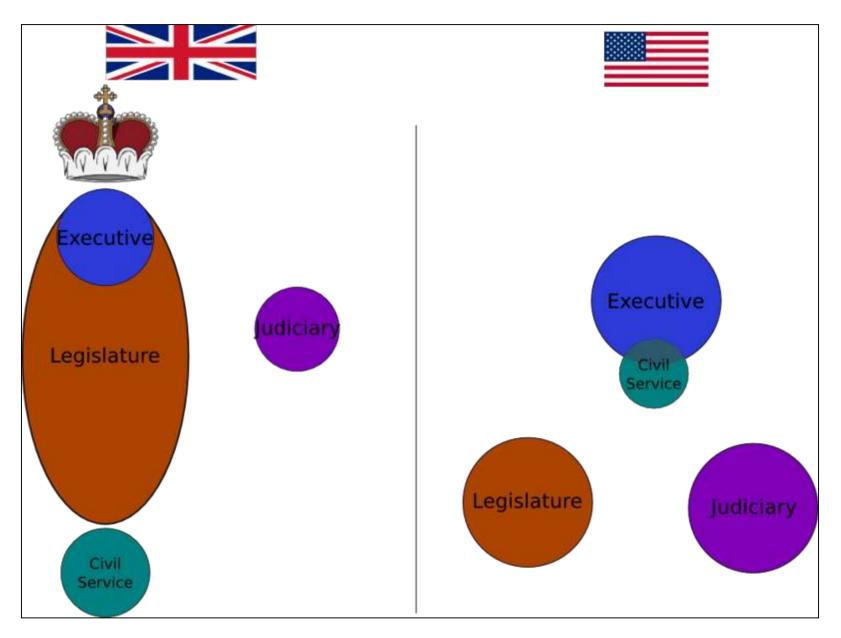
- Legislative, executive and judiciary branches of power
- "checks and balances"
- No formal separation of power in the British system
- Creation of the UK Supreme Court in 2009
- Judicial review
- "prorogation of Parliament"



The three branches of power



"checks and balances" in the US system



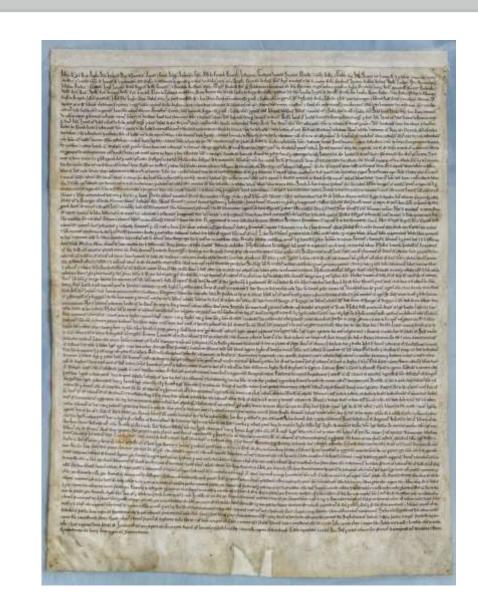
Comparison between the UK and US systems <u>https://commons.wikimedia.org/</u>

D. Fundamental Acts of Parliament within the British constitution

• Magna Carta (1215)

> "No free man shall be seized or imprisoned [...] except by the lawful judgment of his equals or by the law of the land" (Clause 39)

- Habeas Corpus (1679)
- Bill of Rights (1689)



Magna Carta https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/



The Independent, 14 February 2008

A. The pros and cons of an uncodified constitution

Pros:

- Flexible
- Tradition
- Now is not a good time

Cons:

- Difficult to understand
- Open to abuse by governments with a large majority in parliament
- No separation of power, no checks on the legislative branch of power
- Undemocratic House of Lords
- Unfair electoral system



A. The pros and cons of an uncodified constitution

- Lord Hailsham = "elective dictatorship" (1976)
- Charter88
- Institute for Government: <u>https://www.instituteforgove</u> <u>rnment.org.uk/constitution-</u> <u>review</u>

B. Previous reforms

- Power of the unelected, undemocratic monarchy has been decreased
- Power of the unelected, undemocratic House of Lords has also been decreased
- Power of the elected House of Commons has been increased
- More and more of the population has been enfranchised
- > 1832 Representation of the People Act
- > 1928 Equal Franchise Act

B. Previous reforms

- Many reforms under Tony Blair's premierships (1997-2007)
- Devolution (1998)
- > Human Rights Act (2000)
- > House of Lords Act (1999)

B. Previous reforms

- Many reforms during the coalition government (Conservatives and Liberal-Democrats, 2010-2015)
- **Fixed-term Parliaments Act** (2011)
- Succession to the Crown Act (2013)

C. New contemporary challenges

- The UK becoming a member of the European Eco Community in 1973. New challenge with Brexit: Retained EU Law (Revocation and Reform) Act 2023
- **Devolution** in 1999



For next week

- Brochure pp. 8-9
- Videos on the ENT
- Next topic: the Monarchy





Political institutions in the UK The Monarchy

British civilisation – L2 LEA 2023-2024 Mondays 10.15-11.45 Amphi Josserand Lauriane Simony E-mail: <u>lauriane.simony@cyu.fr</u>

Course outline

I) <u>The roles and duties of the Monarch</u>

A. Key dates and monarchs

B. Symbols of the Monarchy

C. Monarchy and the Constitution: a monarch who "reigns but does not rule"

D. The royal family and the line of succession to the Crown

II) <u>Does Monarchy have a place in the 21st century?</u>

A. Scandals and controversies...

B. ... Yet still a strong support for the monarchy in the UK

I) <u>The roles and duties of the Monarch</u> A. Key dates and monarchs

<u>Dynasties</u>:

- ➢ House of Normandy (1066-1154)
- ➢ House of Plantagenet (1154-1485)
- ➢ House of Tudor (1485-1603)
- ➢ House of Stuart (1603-1714)
- ➢ House of Hanover (1714-1901)
- House of Windsor (1901-)

House of Normandy (1066-1154)



William the Conqueror at the Battle of Hastings in 1066 (Bayeux Tapestry)

House of Plantagenet (1154-1485)





Illustration of the War of the Roses (York vs. Lancaster)

Portrait of King John (1199-1216) by an unknown artist

House of Tudor (1485-1603)



Copy of a portrait of Henry VIII (1509-1547) by Hans Holbein the Younger



Portrait of Elizabeth I (1558-1603) known as the "Armada Portrait" by an unknown artist

House of Stuart (1603-1714)



William III (1689-1702) and Mary II (1689-1694), portrait by an unknown artist

House of Hanover (1714-1901)



Portrait of Queen Victoria (1837-1901) by Alexander Bassano

House of Windsor (1901-)



Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip, coronation portrait (June 1953) by Cecil Beaton



King Charles III (2022-

I) <u>The roles and duties of the Monarch</u> B. Symbols of the Monarchy



The royal coat of arms



God save our gracious King, Long live our noble King, God save the King! Send her victorious, Happy and glorious, Long to reign over us, God save the King!

National anthem

Queen Elizabeth on the day of her coronation with the crown, the orb and the sceptre (photo by Cecil Beaton)

I) <u>The roles and duties of the Monarch</u> B. Symbols of the Monarchy



- Recognition
- Oath
- Anointing
- Investiture
- Enthronment
- Homage

I) <u>The roles and duties of the</u> <u>Monarch</u>

C. Monarchy and the Constitution: a monarch who "reigns but does not rule"

William Bagehot, *The English Constitution* (1867):

- Right to be consulted by the PM
- Right to encourage certain courses of action
- Right to warn against others



I) The roles and duties of the Monarch

C. Monarchy and the Constitution: a monarch who "reigns but does not rule"

- Head of State
- Head of the Commonwealth
- Head of the Armed Forces
- Head of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland



I) The roles and duties of the Monarch

C. Monarchy and the Constitution: a monarch who "reigns but does not rule"

• State opening of Parliament

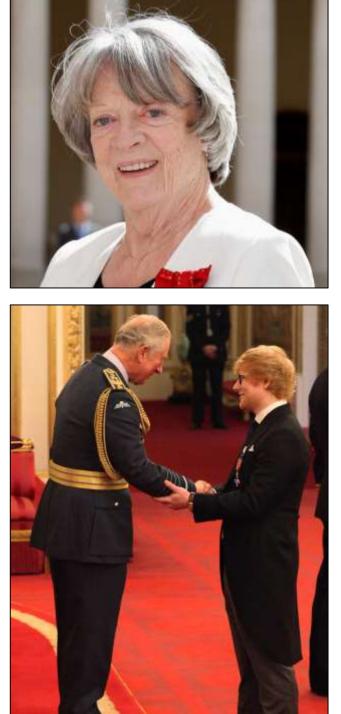
> 2022 ceremony: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1 HKnMi2ZgR4

- Royal assent
- Dissolution of Parliament
- Appoints/dismisses the Prime Minister
- Liaison with the PM









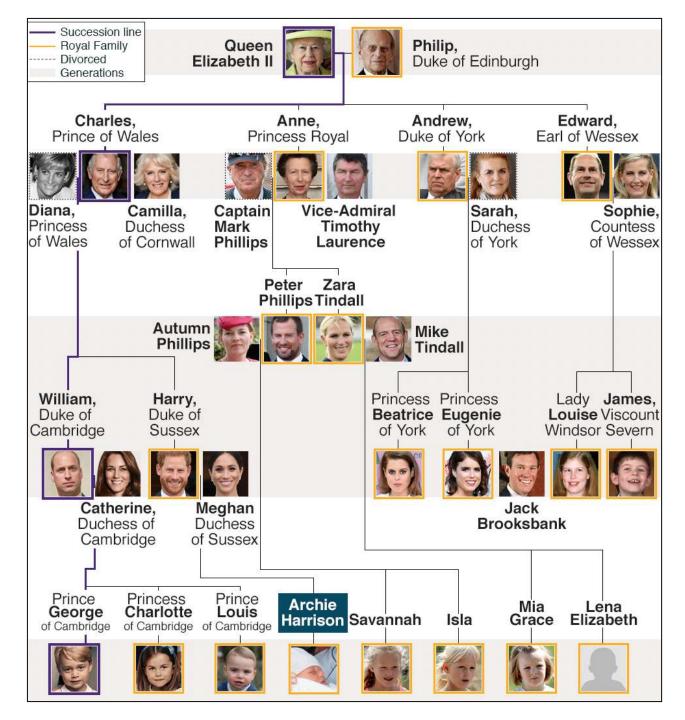
I) <u>The roles and duties of the</u> <u>Monarch</u>

C. Monarchy and the Constitution: a monarch who "reigns but does not rule"

- Royal prerogative of mercy
- Attribution of honours

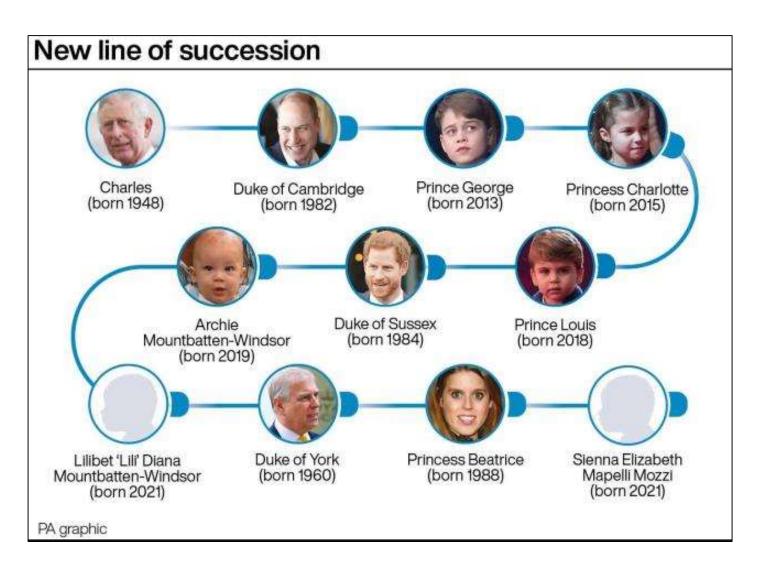
I) <u>The roles and duties of</u> <u>the Monarch</u>

D. The royal family and the line of succession



I) <u>The roles and duties of the Monarch</u> D. The royal family and the line of succession

- Act of Settlement (1701) = "male primogeniture"
- Succession to the Crown Act (2013)



II) <u>Does Monarchy have a place</u> in the 21st century?

A. Scandals and controversies...



- Princess Diana's death in 1997
- Sovereign Grant: £ 86.3 million in 2021-22
- Queen Elizabeth II's coronation (1953): £1.57M!
- 2019: Prince Andrew's links with Jeffrey Epstein
- 2020: « Megxit »; 2021: Harry and Meghan's interview with Oprah



See also: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/series/cost-of-the-crown

II) <u>Does Monarchy have a place in the 21st century?</u>

B. ... Yet still a strong support for the monarchy in the UK

- Queen's Golden and Diamond Jubilees (2002 and 2012)
- Kate and William's wedding (2011)
- 2012 London Olympic Games' opening ceremony and soft power
- Charity work

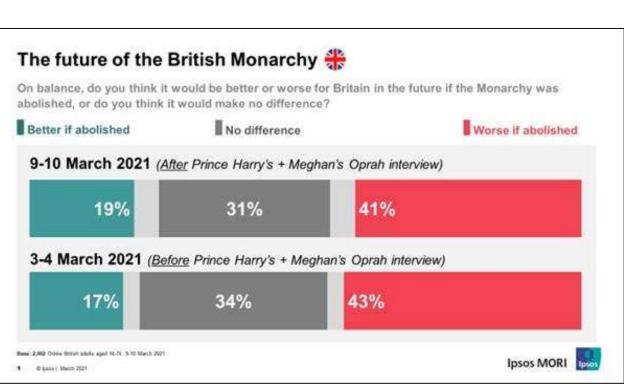




II) Does Monarchy have a place in the 21st century?

B. ... Yet still a strong support for the monarchy in the UK

Vhich member of		% Mentioning each	Change since before the Oprah interview (3-4 March)
he Royal family is	Queen Elizabeth II		40%
nost popular?	Prince William	281	- 4
48 84	The Duchess of Cambridge	27%	-2
	Prince Harry	25%	+1
hich of the following	Princess Anne	S 19%	+2
members of the Royal Family, if any, do you like the most?	Any of the Queen's great grandchildren	19%	+3
	Prince Philip	15%	+2
	The Duchess of Sussex	13%	(
	Prince Charles	11%	-2
	The Duchess of Cornwall	6%	
	Princess Eugenie	45	-2
	Prince Edward	41	4
	Princess Beatrice	43	-4
	Prince Andrew	2%	
	Rees: 2,002 Union Mittali adulta agud 16-75. 516 March 2021		100
Orlpass March 2001			Ipsos MORI Ipsos



Further references

Book

BOGDANOR, Vernon. *The Monarchy and the Constitution*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Website

https://www.royal.uk/coronation

Films and TV shows

The Crown (Netflix) Harry and Meghan (Netflix) Elizabeth, Shekhar Kapur The Hollow Crown (BBC) The King's Speech, Tom Hooper The Queen, Stephen Frears The Other Boleyn's Girl, Justin Chadwick

For next week

 Videos and articles on the ENT

independent of the state

• Next topic: Parliament



Political institutions in the UK The Parliament

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Course outline

I) <u>The legislative branch of power in the UK: the development of Parliament</u>

- A. Origins and development of Parliament
- B. Structure and role of Parliament
- C. Law-making

II) The House of Commons

- A. An elected body
- B. A representative institution? Scandals and limits

III) <u>The House of Lords</u>

- A. Non-elected Peers
- B. The House of Lords' reforms
- C. Should the House of Lords be abolished?

I) <u>The legislative branch of power in the UK: the development of Parliament</u> A. Origins and development of Parliament

- The Saxons > *witan* (wise men)
- The Vikings > *thing* (assembly)
- Scotland > colloquium (discussion)



Anglo-Saxon king with his witan. Biblical scene in the *Old English Hexateuch*, 11th century longtum bourge quil fouffin de porter feulemet ong lac de fore a bug pinage de famet george pendat a cellus. Durfi fe ledu coller de anoie beformet de refutmaon il port eftre més en la main de louturer unfonces a ce quil fort repute. Lequel coller aufh ne poura eftre enriche de pierre ou daultire diofes referme led pinage qui pours eftre darme au plaifir du chenalter. E taufh ne pours eftre ledit coller dendu engaiste tomie ne alune pour uerefite ou caufe quelcopque que ce fort



I) <u>The legislative branch of power in the UK:</u> <u>the development of Parliament</u>

A. Origins and development of Parliament

- *Magna Carta* (1215), clauses 12 and 14: the king must seek the 'common counsel' of his kingdom for any new taxes.
- Simon de Montford, Parliament with burgesses in 1265.
- Edward I, "model Parliament" in 1295: "what touches all, should be agreed by all"
- House of Commons, 14th century.

Edward I's Parliament, c. 1300. Source: J. Cannon and R. A. Griffiths, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the British Monarchy*, 1988.

I) <u>The legislative branch of</u> <u>power in the UK: the</u> <u>development of Parliament</u>

- A. Origins and development of Parliament
 - In 1536, 12 new members (Wales)
 - In 1707, 45 new MPs (Scotland)
 - In 1801, 100 new MPs (Ireland)
 - Creation of devolved institutions in 1999



Westminster Palace

I) <u>The legislative branch of power in the UK: the development of Parliament</u>

B. Structure and role of Parliament

- House of Commons
- House of Lords
- Monarch

>PMQs: https://www.youtube.com/w atch?v=X7BbDy34eCY



The House of Commons (green leather benches)

I) <u>The legislative branch of power in the UK: the development of Parliament</u> C. Law-making

- A bill > an Act of Parliament
- Parliament Act (1911)



The House of Lords (red leather benches)

II) The House of Commons

A. An elected body

- 650 constituencies, 650 MPs
- General elections every 5 years
- *Fixed-Term Parliaments Act* of 2011
- "constituents' grievances"

England	533
Scotland	59
Wales	40
Northen Ireland	18

Number of constituencies in each nation

II) The House of Commons

A. An elected body

- Fixed-Term Parliaments Act of 2011
- A snap election
- A vote/motion of no confidence
- An early election motion

Ex: 2019 general election

• A by-election

Ex: December 2021, in North Shropshire



2019 general election results

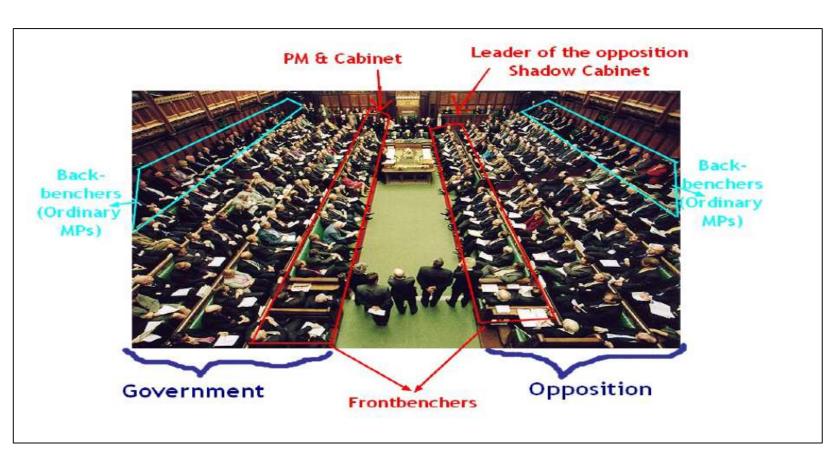
UK results After 850 of 850 seats		Ex								
Conservative	Seats:	365								
Labour	Seats:	203								
Scottish National Party	Seats:	48								
Liberal Democrat	Seats:	11								
Democratic Unionist Party	Seats:	8	🔯 UK res	ults: Conser	vatives win	majority				
Sinn Féin	Seats:	7	After 650 of 650 seats declared							
Plaid Cymru	Seats:	4						26 seats needed to	win	
Social Democratic & Labour Party	Seats:	2								
Green	Seats:	1	CON 365	LAB 203	SNP 48	LD 11	DUP 8	ОТН 15	Seats	
Alliance Party	Seats:	1	+47	-59	+13	-1	-2	+2	Change	
The Brexit Party	Seats:	0								
Ulster Unionist Party	Seats:	0								
The Yorkshire Party	Seats:	0								
UKIP	Seats:	0		Sou	rce: <u>https:</u> /	//www.bb	<u>c.co.uk/ne</u>	ews/elect	ion/2019/	<u>results</u>



II) <u>The House of Commons</u> A. An elected body

- Prime Minister, Rishi Sunak
- Leader of the Opposition, Keir Starmer
- Dispatch box
- Her Majesty's Government
- Shadow Cabinet

II) <u>The House of Commons</u> A. An elected body



- Frontbenchers
- Backbenchers
- Speaker of the House, Lindsay Hoyle



Source: Sarah Pickard

II) The House of Commons

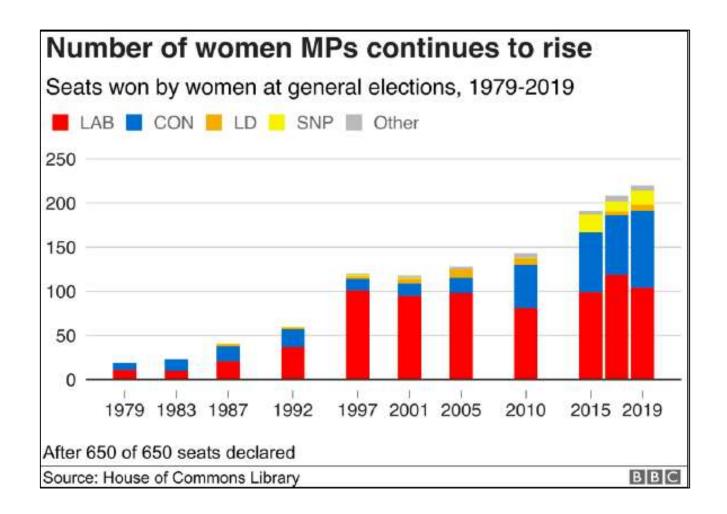
B. A representative institution? Scandals and limits

- Parliament Act of 1911
- Basic annual salary for an MP (since 2023) = £ 86 584
- UK parliamentary expenses scandal (2009)
- IPSA (Independent Parliamentary Standards Authority)



II) The House of Commons

B. A representative institution? Scandals and limits



II) <u>The House of Commons</u>

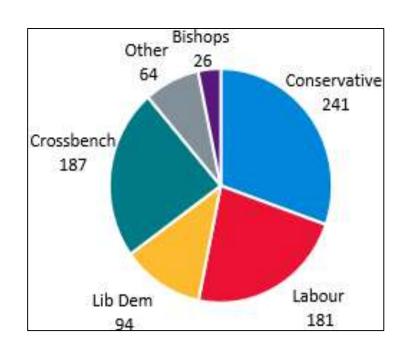
B. A representative institution? Scandals and limits

 Prorogation of Parliament by Boris Johnson (August 2019)



III) <u>The House of Lords</u>

A. Non-elected Peers



https://lordslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/lln-2019-0161/

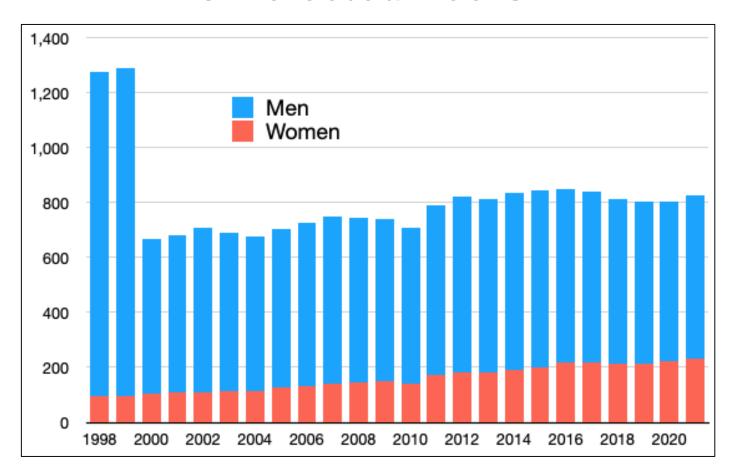
Source:

- Lords = Peers or Peeresses
- The Lords Temporal: hereditary peers and life peers.
- The Lords Spiritual > 26 total.
- "independence of thought"
- crossbenchers
- The Lord Speaker

(currently: Lord John McFall)



III) <u>The House of Lords</u> A. Non-elected Peers



• Early 2024: 783 members

Source: House of Lords Annual Reports

III) The House of Lords

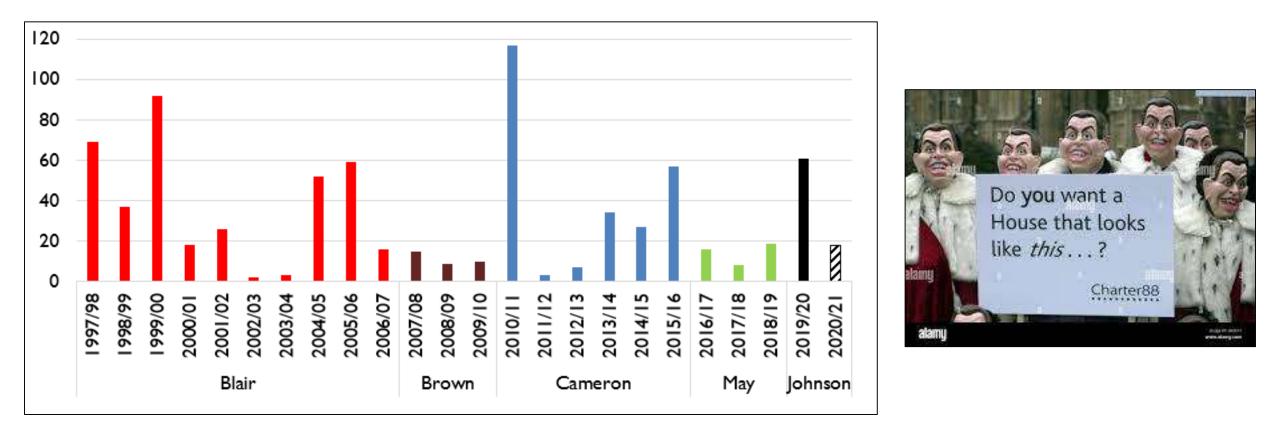
B. The House of Lords reforms

- 1911 Parliament Act
- 1958 Life Peerages Act
- 1963 Peerage Act
- House of Lords Act (1999) which removed 666 hereditary peers who became life peers instead
- 2005 Constitutional Reform Act removed the 9 "Law Lords" from the House of Lords > creation of a Supreme Court in 2009



III) The House of Lords

C. Should the House of Lords be abolished?



Source: https://lordslibrary.parliament.uk/new-lords-appointments-december-2020/

Next week



- Other articles on the ENT
- Week 4: Government



Political institutions in the UK The Prime Minister and the Government

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Course outline

I) <u>The structure of the executive branch of power</u>

A. Definitions and distinctionsB. The roles and responsibilities of the CabinetC. The Shadow Cabinet

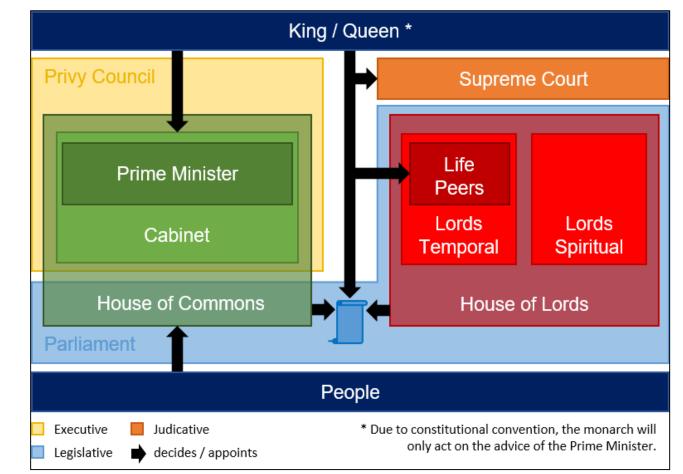
II) The office of Prime Minister

A. History of the positionB. The Prime Minister's powersC. Is the British Prime Minister powerful?

I) <u>The structure of the executive branch of power</u>

A. Definitions and distinctions

- The executive = a person constituting the branch of government charged with executing or carrying out the laws and appointing officials. (*Britannica*)
- Minority government
- Hung parliament



The UK political system

I) <u>The structure of the executive branch of power</u>

B. The roles and responsibilities of the Cabinet



Cabinet meeting at 10 Downing Street

- Senior ministers: Foreign Secretary, Home Secretary, Chancellor of the Exchequer, etc.
- Cabinet "reshuffle"
- Chief Whip
- Leader of the House of Commons

- Cabinet responsibility and ministerial responsibility
- Ministerial Code

Current Cabinet



The Rt Hon Rishi Sunak MP

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



The Rt Hon Oliver Dowden CBE MP

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Secretary of State in the Cabinet Office: Deputy Prime Minister



The Rt Hon Jeremy Hunt MP

Chancellor of the Exchequer



The Rt Hon Lord Cameron

Secretary of State for Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Affairs



The Rt Hon James Cleverly MP

Secretary of State for the Home Department



The Rt Hon Grant Shapps MP

Secretary of State for Defence



The Rt Hon Alex Chalk KC MP

Lord Chancellor and Secretary of State for Justice



The Rt Hon Michelle Donelan MP

Secretary of State for Science, Innovation and Technology

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

I) <u>The structure of the</u> <u>executive branch of power</u>

- C. The Shadow Cabinet
- Shadow Cabinet
- Expert in debates
- Cabinet-in-waiting
- Keir Starmer, Leader of the Opposition





II) <u>The office of Prime Minister</u> A. History of the position

- Sir Robert Walpole (1721-1742)
- 1778, Lord North: "in critical times, it is necessary that there should be one directing Minister"



II) <u>The office of Prime Minister</u> B. The Prime minister's powers

- Rishi Sunak, PM since October 2022
- Former Chancellor of the Exchequer (2020-2022)

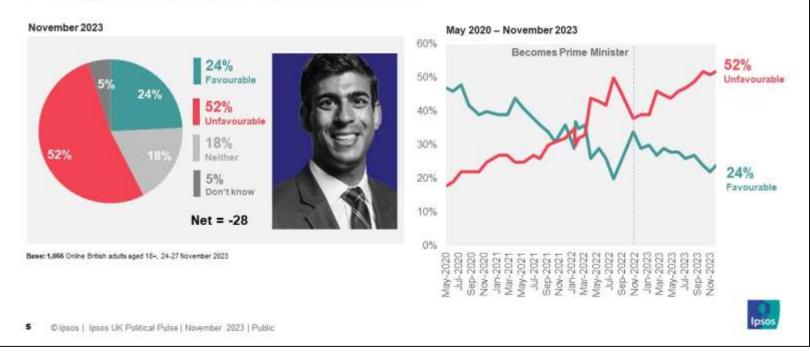


King Charles appoints PM Rishi Sunak

II) <u>The office of Prime Minister</u> B. The Prime minister's powers

Rishi Sunak: Favourability

To what extent, if at all, do you have a favourable or unfavourable opinion of the following politicians and political parties? Rishi Sunak



Source: <u>https://www.ipsos.com/en-uk/majority-of-britons-hold-an-unfavourable-opinion-of-rishi-sunak</u>

II) <u>The office of Prime Minister</u>B. The Prime minister's powers

- chooses his ministers and organizes Cabinet
- determines strategy of the Government
- power of dissolving Parliament by calling for a general election
- Prime Minister's Question Time



Former Prime Ministers



From left to right and top to bottom: Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990), Conservative Party John Major (1990-1997), Conservative Party Tony Blair (1997-2007), Labour Party Gordon Brown (2007-2010), Labour Party David Cameron (2010-2016), Conservative Party Theresa May (2016-2019), Conservative Party Boris Johnson (2019-2022), Conservative Party

II) <u>The office of Prime</u><u>Minister</u>C. Is the British PMpowerful?

• *Cabinet Manual* (October 2011): "The Prime Minister has few statutory functions but will usually take the lead on significant matters of state".



Further readings and resources

• BBC, "Prime Ministers and Politics Timeline"

https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/launch_tl_politics_pm.shtml

• Institute for Government, "collective responsibility"

<u>https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainers/collective-</u> <u>responsibility</u>

• Peter Hennessy, Peter. *The Prime Minister: The office and its holders since 1945.* Penguin: London, 2001.



Political institutions in the UK *Elections and Voting behaviour*

British civilisation – L2 LEA 2023-2024 Mondays 10.15-11.45 Amphi Josserand Lauriane Simony E-mail: <u>lauriane.simony@cyu.fr</u>

Course outline

I) <u>Who votes in elections?</u>

A. Vocabulary and definitionsB. The long road to "universal suffrage"C. Voter turnout and voting trends

II) Should the electoral system be reformed?

A. Different types of electionsB. The FPTP system vs. PRC. Possibilities for reform?

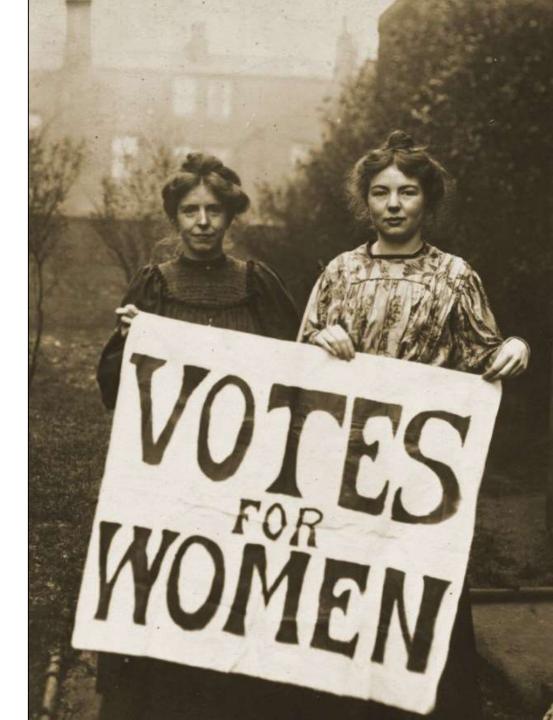
I) <u>Who votes in elections?</u> A. Vocabulary and definitions

- To cast a ballot
- To vote by secret ballot
- To go to the polls
- A voting booth or polling booth
- To vote by proxy
- A landslide victory vs. a crushing defeat
- A marginal seat or a swing seat vs. a safe seat
- By-elections
- Voter turnout



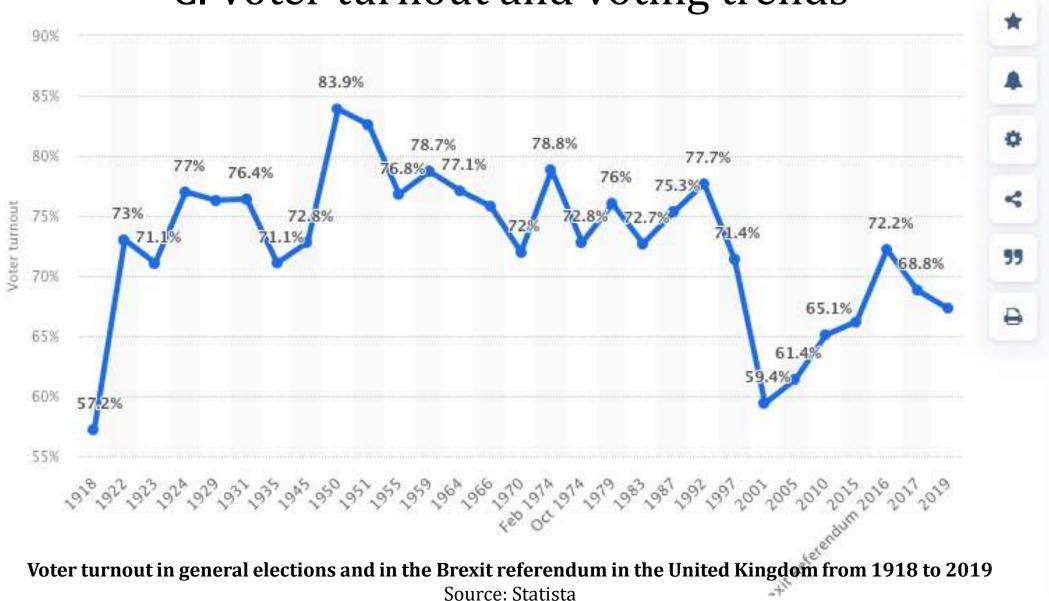
I) <u>Who votes in elections?</u> B. The long road to "universal suffrage"

- Enfranchisement, to extend suffrage, universal suffrage, to be disenfranchised
- The Representation of the People Acts, also known as the Reform Acts (1832, 1867 and 1884).
- "Rotten boroughs"
- Chartist movement
- Suffragettes, led by Emmeline Pankhurst
- The Representation of the People Act (1918).
- The Equal Franchise Act (1928).
- The Representation of the People Act (1969).

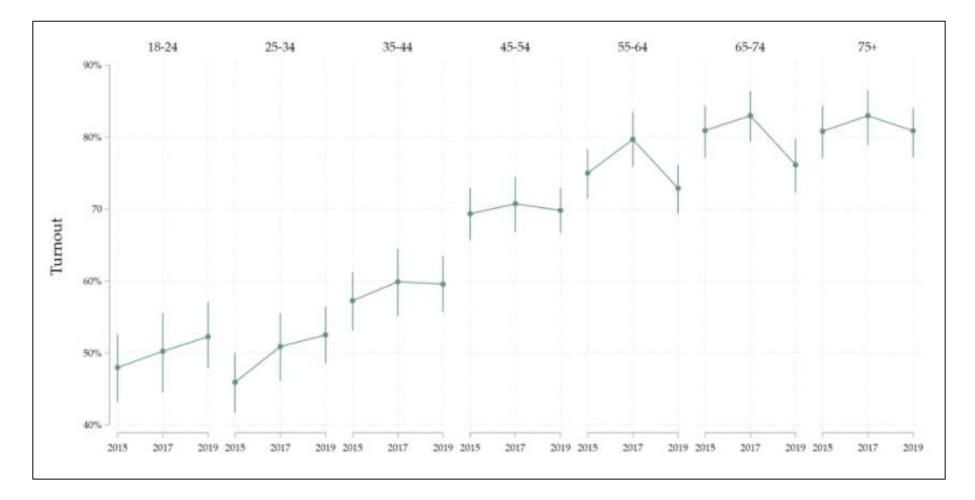


I) Who votes in elections?

C. Voter turnout and voting trends



I) <u>Who votes in elections?</u> C. Voter turnout and voting trends



Source: British Election Study

I) <u>Who votes in elections?</u> C. Voter turnout and voting trends



- At the 2016 Brexit referendum, 64% of voters aged 18-24 went to polls, against 90% of over-65s
- Partisan class voter dealignment
- Brexit realignment

https://www.ukgeographics.co.uk/blog/socialgrade-a-b-c1-c2-d-e

II) <u>Should the electoral system be reformed?</u> A. Different types of elections



- General elections
- Local elections

https://www.bbc.com/news/elec tion/2023/england/results

Regional elections + London Mayor

 Last EU parliamentary election in 2019

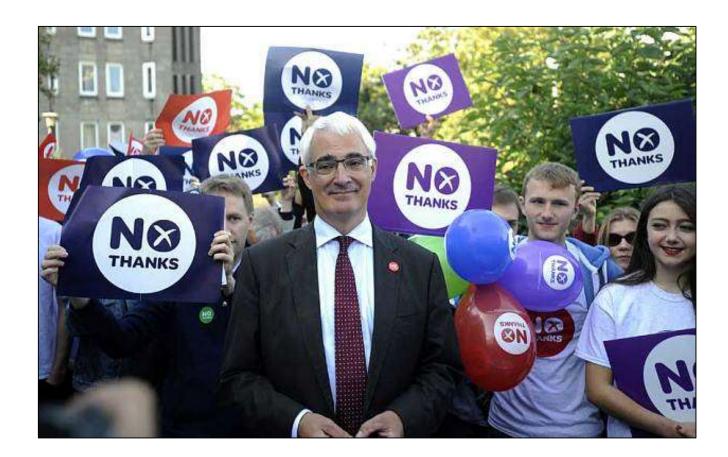
Last 3 London Mayors:

- Ken Livingstone (2000-2008)
- Boris Johnson (2008-2016)
- Sadiq Khan (2016-)

II) <u>Should the electoral system be reformed?</u> A. Different types of elections

Referenda:

- 1975 leaving the EEC Common Market? NO
- 1997 devolution to Scotland, Wales and NI? YES
- 2014 Scotland's independence? NO
- 2016 Brexit? Yes



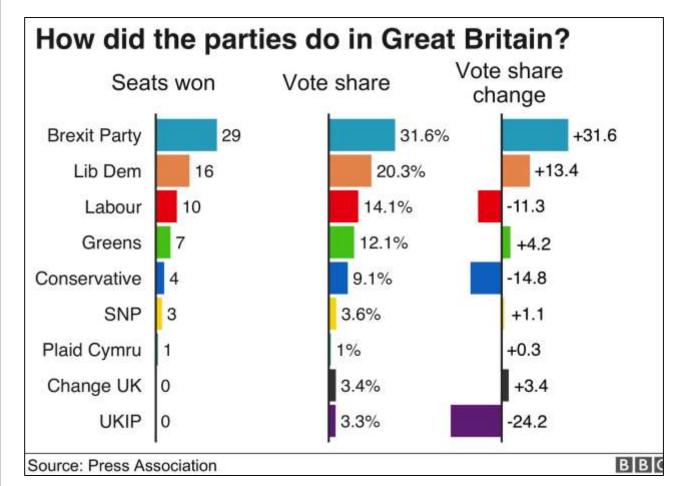
"Better together" campaign in Scotland, 2014 referendum

II) Should the electoral system be reformed?

B. The First-Past-the-Post system vs. Proportional Representation

PARTY	Majority 321►	SEATS WON	% OF VOTE
Conservative		365	43.6
Labour		202	32.1
Scottish National party		48	3.9
Liberal Democrats		11	11.5
Democratic Unionist party		8	0.8
Sinn Féin		7	0.6
Plaid Cymru		4	0.5
Social Democratic and Labour p	arty	2	0.4
Green		1	2.7
Alliance party		1	0.4
Brexit party		0	2.0
Others	~**	1	1.6

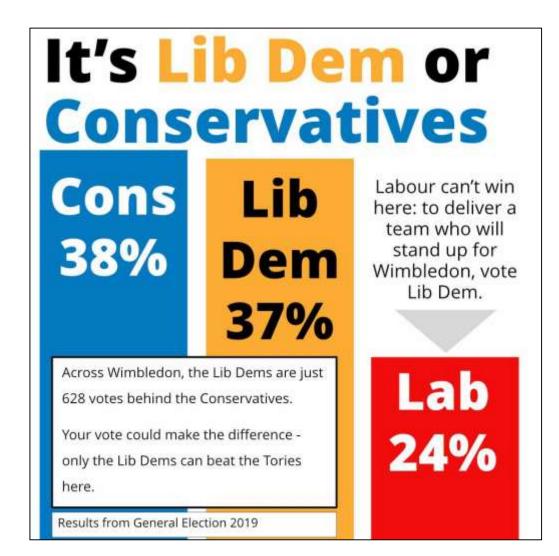
2019 general election results, in number of seats vs. % of votes. Source: *Financial Times*



2019 European Union election in the UK

II) Should the electoral system be reformed?

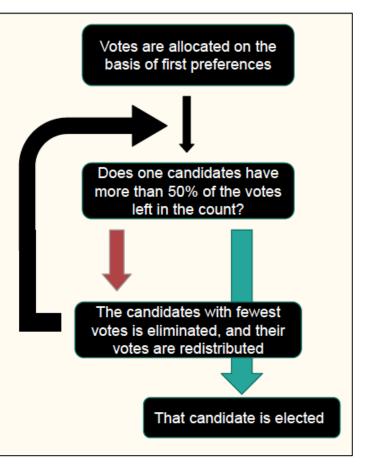
B. The First-Past-the-Post system vs. Proportional Representation



II) <u>Should the electoral system be reformed?</u> C. Possibilities for reform?



- Alternative Voting (AV referendum held in 2011)
- Supplementary Voting (SV)



Further reading and watching

About women's right to vote

Ouvrages

Béatrice Bijon et Claire Delahaye (eds.), *Suffragistes et suffragettes : la conquête du droit de vote des femmes au Royaume-Uni et aux Etats-Unis* (ENS Editions, 2017)

Films

Suffragette, de Sarah Gavron (2015)

Suffragettes with Lucy Worsley (Documentaire de la BBC, 2018)

+ 2 episodes from *Stories from Parliament* about the Suffragettes: <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FUP-pGcmb4s</u> <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n38NkE-Dd6E</u>



Political institutions in the UK Political parties (1) The Conservative Party

British civilisation – L2 LEA 2023-2024 Mondays 10.15-11.45 Amphi Josserand Lauriane Simony E-mail: <u>lauriane.simony@cyu.fr</u>

Course outline

I) What does it mean to be a Conservative?

- A. From Tories to Conservatives: history and values
- B. Different factions within the Conservative Party
- C. Margaret Thatcher and Thatcherism

II) From Cameron to Johnson: the Conservative Party in the 21st century

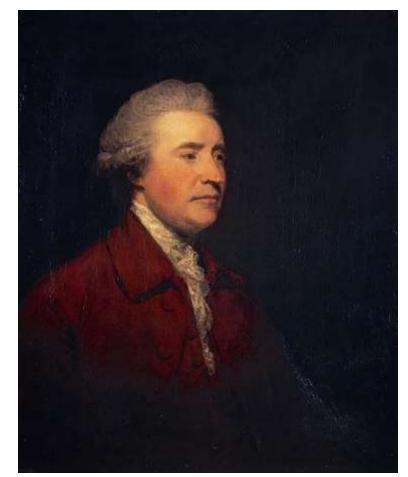
- A. David Cameron: a more moderate Conservative? (2010-2016)
- B. Theresa May (2016-2019)
- C. From Johnson to Sunak: the Conservative Party in crisis (2019-)

I) What does it mean to be a Conservative?

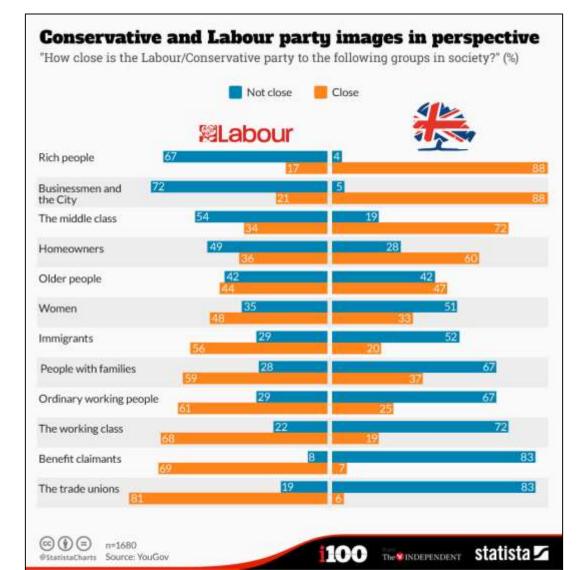
A. From Tories to Conservatives: history and values

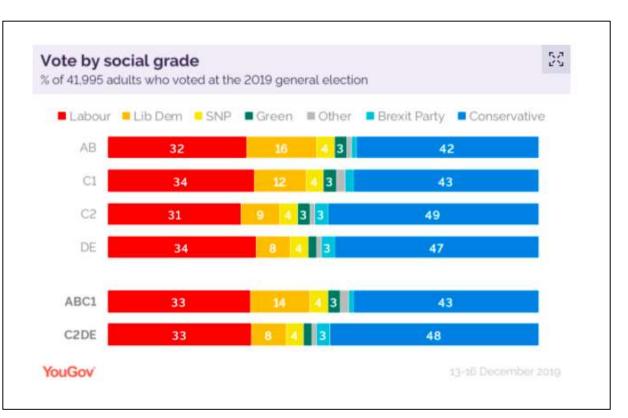
- Tory Party vs. Whigs
- Edmund Burke
- Thatcher's "Right to buy" programme (1980s)
- "nanny state"
- 1973: the UK joined the EU (PM Edward Heath)
- "We have not successfully rolled back the frontiers of the state in Britain, only to see them re-imposed at a European level, with a European super-state exercising a new dominance from Brussels" (*Speech to the College of Europe*, 1988).





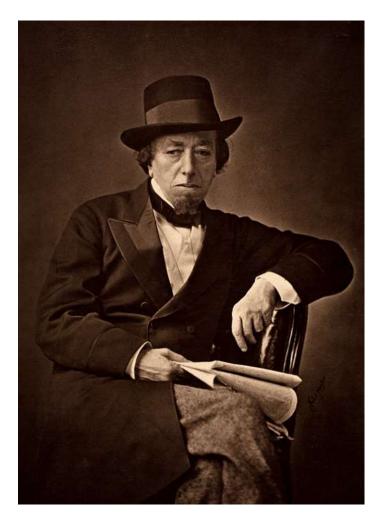
I) <u>What does it mean to be a Conservative?</u> A. From Tories to Conservatives: history and values





I) <u>What does it mean to be a Conservative?</u> B. Different factions within the Conservative Party

- One-nation conservatives
- Tchatcherites
- Libertarian conservatives
- Traditionalist conservatives
- Eurosceptics



Benjamin Disraeli

I) <u>What does it mean to be a Conservative?</u>

C. Margaret Thatcher and "Thatcherism" (1979-1990)

- "dependency culture"
- Small government
- Miners' strike in 1984-85
- 1980s: 3 million people unemployed.
- "monetarism"



II) <u>From Cameron to Johnson: the Conservative Party</u> <u>in the 21st century</u>

A. David Cameron: a more moderate Conservative? (2010-2016)

- Coalition government Conservative Party and Liberal-Democrats (2010-2015): PM David Cameron and deputy PM Nick Clegg
- "Big Society"
- Chancellor of the Exchequer: George Osborne
- Austerity measures



II) From Cameron to Johnson: the Conservative Party in the 21st century

B. Theresa May (2016-2019)

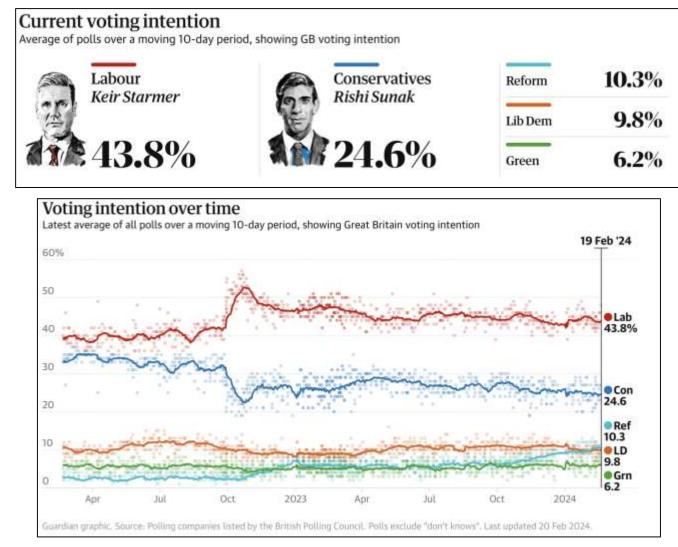
• Coalition government between the Conservative Party and the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP).



II) <u>From Cameron to Johnson: the Conservative Party</u> in the 21st century

C. From Johnson to Sunak: the Conservative Party in crisis (2019-)





Poll from The Guardian

Further reading/watching

- Conference on the future of the Conservative Party by Pr. Agnès Alexandre-Collier : <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UqOmlb2e7mk&t=1s</u>
- *The Iron Lady*, by Phyllida Lloyd (2011)
- Documentaire *Dans la tête de Boris Johnson* (Arte) : <u>https://boutique.arte.tv/detail/dans-la-tete-de-boris-johnson</u>



Political institutions in the UK Political parties (2) The Labour Party

British civilisation – L2 LEA 2023-2024 Mondays 10.15-11.45 a.m. Amphi Josserand Lauriane Simony E-mail: <u>lauriane.simony@cyu.fr</u>

Course outline

I) Old vs. New Labour

A. "Old Labour": the origins of the Labour Party and the creation of the Welfare State

B. New Labour: modernizing the Labour Party (1997-2010)

II) Labour in the Opposition

A. Back to the Left: Corbyn's Labour Party (2015-2020)B. Keir Starmer: a more moderate Labour leader (2020-)

I) Old vs. New Labour A. "Old Labour": the origins of the Labour Party and the creation of the Welfare State

- 1799 and 1800 Combination Acts; repealed in 1825.
- By 1874: 1 million trade unionists.
- 1868: creation of the Trades Union Congress (TUC)
- Fabian Society
- Creation of the Labour Party in 1900



Procession of matchworkers on strike, en route to the British Parliament, London, July 1888, TUC Library collections, London Metropolitan University

Clause IV (from 7 clauses) 1918-1960	Clause IV (current) 1995-2021
OBJECTS (original Labour Party Constitution)	AIMS & VALUES (current Party Constitution)
 To organise and maintain in parliament and in the country a political Labour Party To cooperate with the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, or other kindred organisations, in joint political or other action in harmony with the party constitution and standing orders. 	 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.
3. To give effect as far as possible to the principles from time to time approved by the party conference.	2. To these ends we work for:
4. To secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service.	 a dynamic economy, serving the public interest, in which the enterprise of the market and the rigour of competition are joined with the forces of partnership and co-operation to produce the wealth the nation needs and the opportunity for all to work and prosper, with a thriving public sector and high quality services, where those undertakings essential to the common good are either owned by
5. Generally to promote the political, social and economic emancipation of the people, and more particularly of those who depend directly upon their own exertions by hand or by brain for the means of life.	 the public or accountable to them a just society, which judges its strength by the condition of the weak as much as the strong, provides security against fear, and justice at work; which nurtures families, promotes equality of opportunity and delivers people from the tyranny of poverty, prejudice and the abuse of power
POST 1918 AMENDMENTS Commonwealth (Gaitskell amendment in 1960)	 an open democracy, in which government is held to account by the people; decisions are taken as far as practicable by the communities they affect; and where fundamental human rights are guaranteed; a healthy environment, which we protect, enhance and hold in trust for future generations.
6. To cooperate with labour and socialist organisations in the commonwealth overseas with a view to promoting the purposes of the party and to take common action for the promotion of a higher standard of social and economic life for the working population of the respective countries.	3. Labour is committed to the defence and security of the British people, and to cooperating in European institutions, the United Nations, the Commonwealth and other international bodies to secure peace, freedom, democracy, economic security and environmental protection for all.
International (Gaitskell amendment in 1960)	 Labour will work in pursuit of these aims with trade unions, co-operative societies and other affiliated organisations, and also with voluntary organisations, consumer groups and other representative bodies.
7. To cooperate with the labour and socialist organisations in other countries and to support the United Nations and its various agencies and other international organisations for the promotion of peace, the adjustment and settlement of international disputes by conciliation or judicial arbitration, the establishment and defence of human rights, and the improvement of the social and economic standards and conditions of work of the people of the world.	 5. On the basis of these principles, Labour seeks the trust of the people to govern. 345 words (above is the current Clause IV) Source: Labour party rule book (1995-2020)
272 words	
Above is the context of Clause IV of the Labour Party Constitution, as originally drafted in 1918 and subsequently updated with 2 more clauses	
Source: thecitizen.org (since lapsed) plus open sourced.	

I) Old vs. New Labour A. "Old Labour": the origins of the Labour Party and the creation of the Welfare State

- PM Clement Attlee (1945-51)
- Welfare State
- National Health Service Act, 1946



I) Old vs. New Labour

B. New Labour: modernizing the Labour Party (1997-2010)

- PM Tony Blair (1997-2007), "Third Way"
- Devolution (1998) and Good Friday Agreement (1998)
- 1999 House of Lords Act
- Spin doctors
- War in Iraq (2003)
- Replaced by PM Gordon Brown in 2007



I) Old vs. New Labour B. New Labour: modernizing the Labour Party (1997-2010)

Speech by Tony Blair (1999)

"(...) After decades of Tory boom and bust, it is New Labour which is the party of economic competence today and for that we can be proud; and proud of our Chancellor too. (...) And it is us, the new radicals, the Labour Party modernised, that must undertake this historic mission. To liberate Britain from the old class divisions, old structures, old prejudices, old ways of working and of doing things, that will not do in this world of change. To be the progressive force that defeats the forces of conservatism. For the 21st century will not be about the battle between capitalism and socialism but between the forces of progress and the forces of conservatism. They are what hold our nation back. Not just in the Conservative Party but within us, within our nation. The forces that do not understand that creating a new Britain of true equality is no more a betrayal of Britain's history than New Labour is of Labour's values. (...) The Third Way is not a new way between progressive and conservative politics. It is progressive politics distinguishing itself from conservatism of left or right."

II) Labour in the OppositionA. Back to the Left: Corbyn's Labour Party (2015-2020)



After 650	of 650 seats decla	red	majority				
					6 seats needed to	win	
001	148	CND	10	DUD	otu		
CON	LAB	SNP	LD	DUP	отн		
CON 365	LAB 203	SNP 48	LD 11	DUP 8	0ТН 15	Seats	

II) Labour in the Opposition

B. Keir Starmer: a more moderate Labour leader





Political institutions in the UK Political parties (3) Other parties

British civilisation – L2 LEA 2023-2024 Mondays 10.15-11.45 a.m. Amphi Josserand Lauriane Simony E-mail: <u>lauriane.simony@cyu.fr</u>

Course outline

- A. The Liberal-Democrats
- B. The SNP
- C. Smaller parties
- D. Is the current political atmosphere of the United Kingdom favourable to the emergence of strong, secondary parties?

Vocabulary

Communism-Socialism-Liberalism-Conservatism-Fascism

hard left - centre left - centre - centre right - extreme right far left - centre left - centre ground - centre right - far right

left wing - centre ground - right wing



A. The Liberal-Democrats

- Liberal Party (1859) > Lib-Dems (1988)
- 2015 general election: 8 seats...
- Currently: 15 seats
- Sir Ed Davey

B. The Scottish National Party

- Formed in the 1930s
- Alex Salmond (1990-2014)
- 1999 creation of the Scottish Parliament
- Nicola Sturgeon (2014-2023)
- 2014 referendum on Scottish independence: 55% NO
- 2019 general election: 48 seats
- Humza Yousaf (2023-)



C. Smaller parties

- Nationalist vs. unionist parties
- Wales: Plaid Cymru (led by Rhun ap lorwerth)
- Northern Ireland: Sinn Féin (First Minister Michelle O'Neill) and SDLP vs. DUP (Paul Givan) and UUP
- UKIP (Nigel Farage in 2016), Brexit Party > Reform UK (Richard Tice)
- BNP
- Green Party (MP Caroline Lucas)











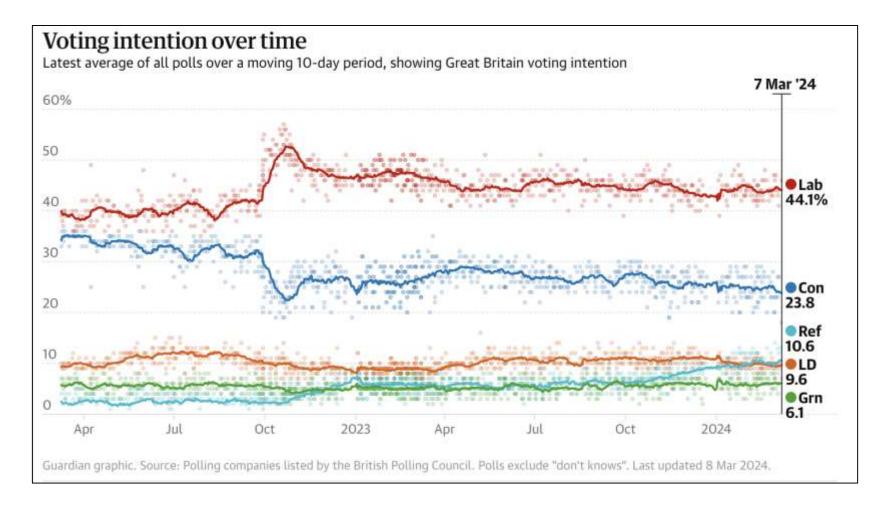
D. Is the current political atmosphere of the United Kingdom favourable to the emergence of strong, secondary parties?

UK results Alter 650 of 650 seats			Expand all results
Conservative	Seats:	365	v
Labour	Seats.	203	v
Scottish National Party	Seats	48	Ŷ
Liberal Democrat	Seats	11	Ŷ
Democratic Unionist Party	Seals	8	v
Sinn Féin	Seats	7	v
Plaid Cymru	Seats:	4	v
Social Democratic & Labour Party	Seats	2	v
Green	Seats	1	

2019 general election results

Alliance Party	Seats:	1	Y
The Brexit Party	Seats:	0	v
Ulster Unionist Party	Seats:	0	v
The Yorkshire Party	Sexts.	0	v
UKIP	Seats	0	v
Liberal Party	Geats	0	v
Independent Group for Change	Seats:	0	v
Aontú	Seats:	0	v
Monster Raving Loony Party	Sents.	0	×
hristian Peoples Alliance	Seats:	0	*
ocial Democratic Party	Seats	0	*
nimal Welfare Party	Seats:	0	۲
nglish Democrats	Sente	0	۷
ibertarian	Seats:	0	v
Vorkers Revolutionary Party	Seats:	0	v
dvance Together	Seats	0	v
Others	Seats	0	v

D. Is the current political atmosphere of the United Kingdom favourable to the emergence of strong, secondary parties?



Further references

Books:

CLARK, Alistair. *Political Parties in the UK*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

COOK, Chris. *A Short History of the Liberal Party: The Road Back to Power*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010.

Films:

To See Ourselves (documentary on 2014 Scottish independence referendum), by Jane McAllister



Political institutions in the UK Devolution

British civilisation – L2 LEA 2023-2024 Mondays 10.15-11.45 a.m. Amphi Josserand Lauriane Simony E-mail: <u>lauriane.simony@cyu.fr</u>

Course outline

I) From Great Britain to the United Kingdom (1707-1801)

A. The 1707 Act of Union and the birth of Great BritainB. The 1801 Act of Union and the birth of the United Kingdom

II) Devolution in Scotland and Wales

A. Blair's referendum on devolution

B. Scotland

C. Wales

III) Devolution in Northern Ireland

A. The troubled history of the Irish devolution

B. Since 1998: the Good Friday Agreement

C. The Good Friday Agreement questioned in the Brexit context > **Brexit session**

IV) The Challenges of Devolution

A. The English Question

B. Towards a federal system? Or a break-up of the Union?

I) From Great Britain to the United Kingdom (1707-1801)

A. The 1707 Act of Union and the birth of Great Britain

- England = unified entity in the mid-10th century
- Acts of Union with Wales in 1536 and 1543 (Henry VIII)
- 1603 Union of the Crowns under King James I of England and VI of Scotland
- Jacobites



King James I of England and VI of Scotland

I) <u>From Great Britain to the United Kingdom</u> (1707-1801)

A. The 1707 Act of Union and the birth of Great Britain

- Queen Anne in 1702
- 1707 Act of Union with Scotland
- Kirk
- Battle of Culloden, 1746



The Battle of Culloden, 1746

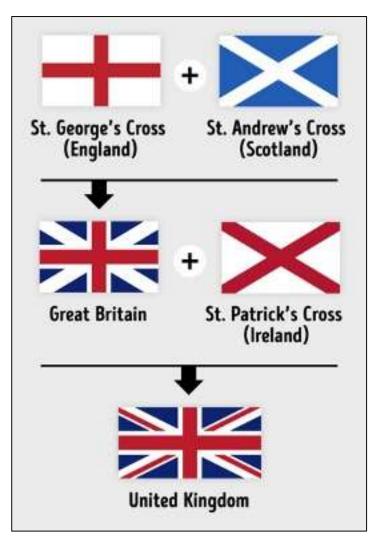


Queen Anne

I) From Great Britain to the United Kingdom (1707-1801)

B. The 1801 Act of Union and the birth of the United Kingdom

- Since 1541, Ireland = dependent kingdom of England.
- "Plantation of Ireland", 17th century
- Catholic commoners vs. Protestant "Ascendency"
- 1801 Act of Union with Ireland > birth of the UK
- 1922 Partition of Ireland > Irish Free State and Ulster
- 1949 Republic of Ireland



II) **Devolution in Scotland and Wales**

• **Devolution** = transfer of power to a lower level, especially by a central government to a local or regional administration.

II) Devolution in Scotland and Wales A. Blair's referendum on devolution

- 1979 referendum on devolution in Scotland and Wales
- ➢ Only 20% of YES in Wales
- Only 51,6% of YES in Scotland (but turnout was 32,5%)
- "democratic deficit"
- September 1997 referendums in Scotland and Wales
- ➤ 50,3% of YES in Wales
- ▶ 74,3% of YES in Scotland



II) Devolution in Scotland and Wales B. Scotland

- 1998 Scotland Act > Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh (Holyrood)
- "Devolved matters" vs. "reserved matters"



Scotland Devolved Powers and reserved matters

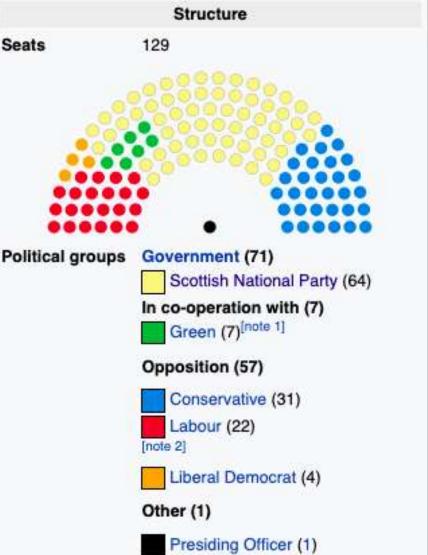
Source: http://www.parliament.scot/visitandlearn/Education/18642.aspx

II) Devolution in Scotland and Wales B. Scotland

- SNP in power since 2007
- May 2021 elections in Scotland: SNP won 64 out of 129 seats



Humza Yousaf, First Minister of Scotland



May 2021 election results in the Scottish Parliament

II) Devolution in Scotland and Wales C. Wales

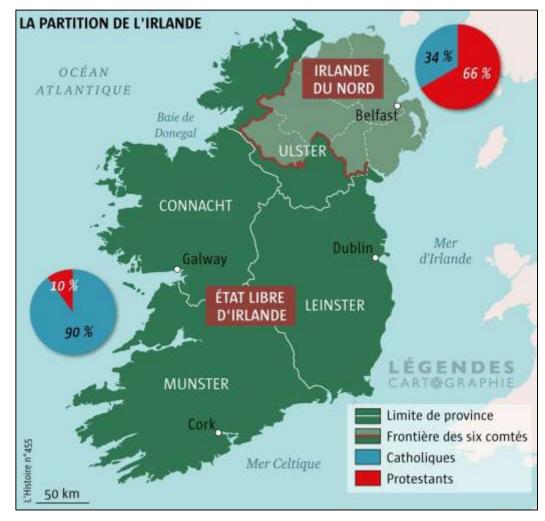
- Government of Wales Act, 1998 > creation of the National Assembly of Wales (in Cardiff)
- Welsh Parliament, or Senedd Cymru
- Current First Minister: Mark Drakeford (Labour Party)



Mark Drakeford, First Minister of Wales

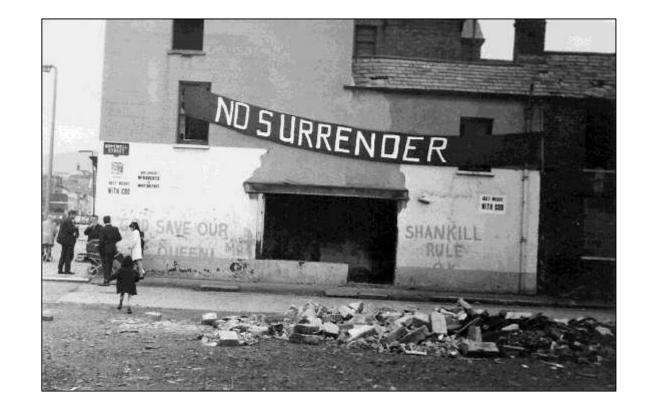
III) <u>Devolution in Northern Ireland</u> A. The troubled history of the Irish devolution

- Home rule
- Irish Free State vs. Ulster in 1922



III) <u>Devolution in Northern Ireland</u> A. The troubled history of the Irish devolution

- The Troubles (1960s-1990s): Catholic nationalists vs. Protestant unionists/loyalists
- SDLP and Sinn Féin > IRA
- UUP and DUP > UDA
- 30 January 1972 "Bloody Sunday"
- 21 July 1972 "Bloody Friday"
- Northern Ireland Act in 1972 > return to direct rule from London
- 1973 referendum on devolution in NI
- > Only 0,9% in favour of joining the Republic of Ireland



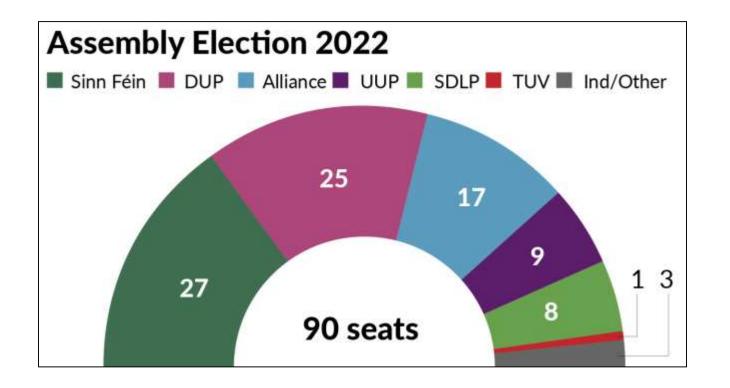
III) Devolution in Northern Ireland B. Since 1998: the Good Friday Agreement

- 1998 Good Friday Agreement > creation of a Northern Ireland Assembly (Stormont)
- 2007 election: First Minister Ian Paisley (DUP) and Deputy First Minister Martin McGuinness (Sinn Féin) > power-sharing
- 90 MLAs in Stormont



Tony Blair and Bertie Ahern (Irish PM) signing the Good Friday Agreement in 1998

III) <u>Devolution in Northern Ireland</u> B. Since 1998: the Good Friday Agreement





Michelle O'Neill, First Minister of NI

IV) <u>The Challenges of Devolution</u> A. The English Question

- English Question or "West Lothian" Question
- 2015-2020 "English votes for English laws"





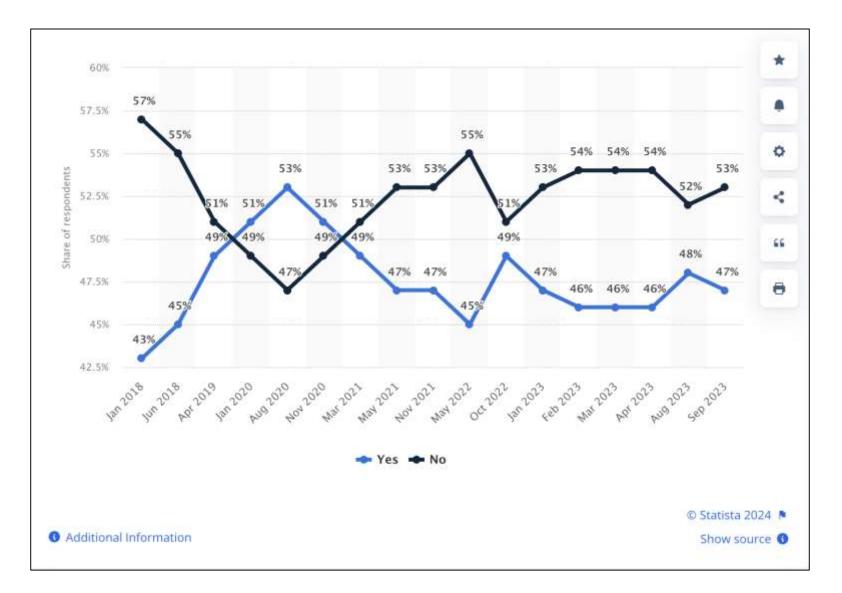
IV) <u>The Challenges of Devolution</u> B. Towards a federal system? Or a break-up of

B. Towards a federal system? Or a break-up of the Union?

- 2014 referendum on Scottish independence:
- Massive turnout: 86,6%
- ➤ 55,3% of NO
- V. Bogdanor, Power and the People (1997): "Devolution is thus a process by which Parliament transfers its powers without relinquishing its supremacy".

"Better Together" campaign in 2014

Should Scotland be an independent country?



Further references

Books

DEACON, Russell. *Devolution in the United Kingdom* [2nd edition]. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012. DIXON, Paul. *Northern Ireland since 1969*. London: Longman, 2011.

Films

Hunger, by Steve McQueen

The Wind that Shakes the Barley, by Ken Loach



Political institutions in the UK British Politics and the EU

British civilisation – L2 LEA 2023-2024 Mondays 10.15-11.45 a.m. Amphi Josserand Lauriane Simony E-mail: <u>lauriane.simony@cyu.fr</u>

Course outline

I) <u>The UK's membership of the European Union</u>

- A. From WWII to the EEC... without the UK
- B. A difficult entry
- C. The awkward partner

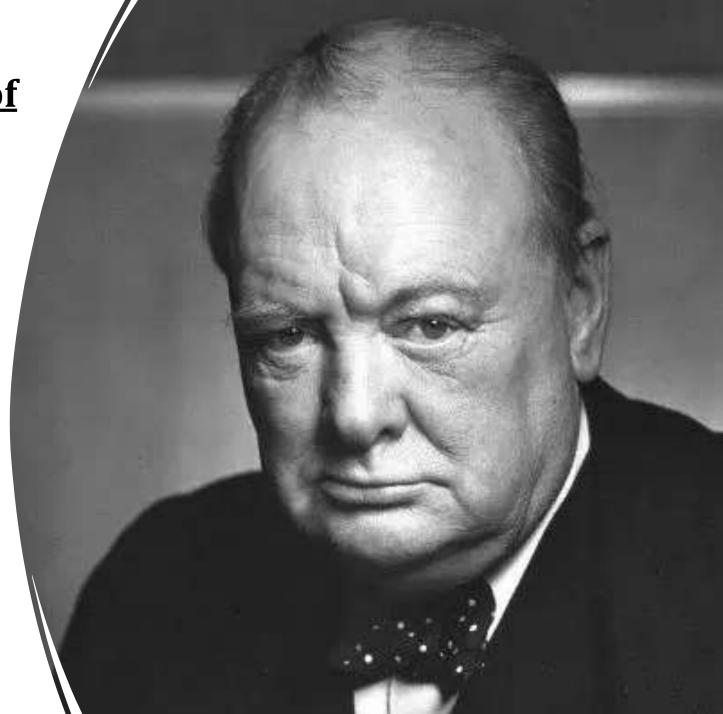
II) <u>The long and difficult road to Brexit</u>

- A. The origins of Brexit and the rise of Euroscepticism in Britain
- B. The referendum on Brexit
- C. The aftermath of the referendum

I) <u>The UK's membership of</u> <u>the European Union</u>

A. From WWII to the EEC... without the UK

- Churchill: "If Europe were once united in the sharing of its common inheritance, there would be no limit to the happiness, to the prosperity and glory which its three or four hundred million people would enjoy. [...] We must build a kind of United States of Europe" (speech in Zurich, 1946)
- "Three circles" theory



I) <u>The UK's membership of the European Union</u> A. From WWII to the EEC... without the UK

- Treaty of Paris, 1951: creation of the European Coal and Steel Community
- Treaty of Rome, 1957: creation of the European Economic Community (EEC)
- Customs union
- Single market

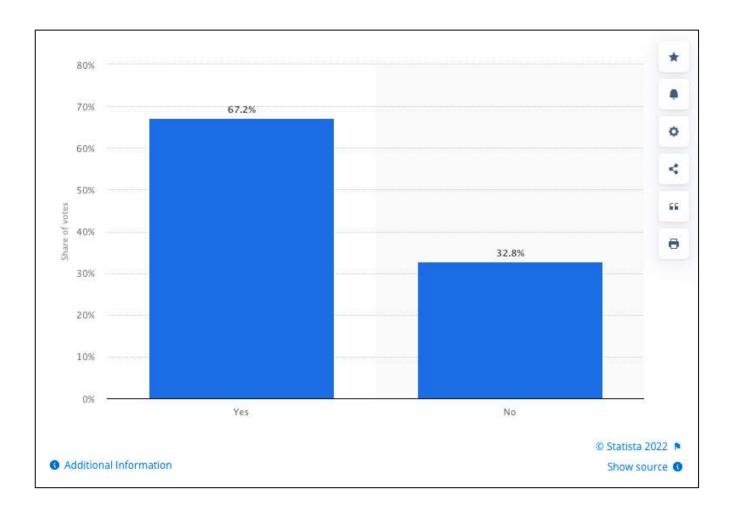


Signing of the Treaty of Rome, 1957

I) <u>The UK's membership of the European Union</u>

B. A difficult entry

- 2 applications: 1961 (Macmillan) and 1967 (Wilson)
- 1972 European Communities Act > UK joined in 1973
- 1975: referendum on UK's membership of the EEC > 67% YES



Do you think the United Kingdom should stay in the European Community (the Common Market)?



I) <u>The UK's membership of the European</u> <u>Union</u>

C. The awkward partner

- 1986 Single European Act
- Thatcher: "We have not successfully rolled back the frontiers of the state in Britain only to see them re-imposed at a European level" (Bruges Speech, 1988)
- 1992 Maastricht Treaty, creation of the European Union

II) <u>The long and difficult road</u> to Brexit

A. The origins of Brexit and the rise of Euroscepticism in Britain

- UKIP founded in 1993
- 2014 European election: UKIP won 24 seats
- 2015 general election: UKIP obtained 12% of the votes (1 seat)
- Nigel Farage
- 10 new European members in 2004



II) <u>The long and difficult road to</u> <u>Brexit</u>

B. The referendum on Brexit

- 23 June 2016 Brexit referendum: 51,9% of NO
- 38% of Leave in Scotland / 44% in NI
- 60% of people aged 65 and over voted Leave
- Turnout: 72%





II) <u>The long and difficult</u> <u>road to Brexit</u> B. The referendum on Brexit

 Vote Leave, led by Boris Johnson and Michael Gove (Secretary of State for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities) > they argued that if the UK stopped contributing to the EU budget, it would mean more money to fund UK institutions such as the NHS; they wanted to restore parliamentary sovereignty + to be able to create their own immigration policy.

Leave.EU, led by Nigel Farage > focus on immigration.

- The immediate effect of the Brexit referendum was a political crisis in the UK, with Prime Minister David Cameron's decision to resign from office on the day after the referendum.
- Many dates, cf. chronology on the following slide.
- The process of Brexit was formally started in March 2017 when Prime Minister Theresa May triggered Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty which enables a member state to leave the EU: the United Kingdom was supposed to leave the Union in March 2019 and had 2 years to negotiate the terms of Brexit with the EU. But the Brexit Bills were rejected on several occasions:
- Deal found in November 2018 but rejected by the British Parliament.
- Theresa May resigned in July 2019 and was replaced by Boris Johnson.
- New agreement was reached in October 2019 in spite of the "prorogation crisis".
- The date of Brexit was therefore pushed back to October 2019; and formally achieved in January 2020 (after the Withdrawal Agreement was signed), even though it was followed by a one-year transition period during which the UK no longer had a voice in the EU institutions, but was still part of the customs union and still has access to the single market, while the post-Brexit relationship of the UK and the EU was being negotiated > the transition period ended on 31 December 2020.

2016	2017		2018		2019		
23 June	29 March	19 June	23 March	14 November	30 March	May	17 October
rexit referendum 51.89% voted to serve	Withdrawal notification from UK government	Start of EU/UK negotiations on withdrawal	Publication of guidelines for future relationship between EU/UK by the European Council	Draft withdrawal agreement between EU and UK	Expiry of (original) two-year period to negotiate withdrawal agreement	European Pariament	Revised draft withdrawal agreement between EU and UK
2020		l Manadal					2021
30 January	1 February	,,,,,,,	2 March	24 December	31 December	1 January	1 May
Withdrawal Agreement ratified	UK no longer an EU Member State Withdrawal Agreement enters into force Commencement of transition period	Transition period until 31 December 2020: Access to single market and participation in customs union, but no voting rights in EU institutions	Start of negotiations on new partnership between EU and UK	Draft EU-UK Trade and Cooperation Agreement	End of transition period (during which UK was still part of single market and customs union)	Customs border between UK and EU Provisional entry into force of Trade and Cooperation Agreement	Entry into force of the EU-UK Trade and Cooperation Agreement



Theresa May's resignation speech in May 2019

Here are some of the difficult points that were raised in the negotiations around Brexit and are still cause for concern:

- The commercial aspect of the relationship between Britain and the European Union: there was a major disagreement between the advocates of a "soft" Brexit (Britain leaving the EU but remaining within the European single market and maintaining close ties with the rest of Europe) and the advocates of a "hard" Brexit (leaving the single market altogether and renegotiating later a commercial agreement with Europe) = this is what the UK under Boris Johnson went for.
- The UK is now in the process of renegotiating bilateral trade agreements with other countries. The UK has notably been accepted (July 2023) as a new member of the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (CPTPP), a free trade area composed of countries located in America and the Asia-Pacific region (11 members: Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, NZ, Peru, Singapore and Vietnam): 1st European member! + Britain has also signed bilateral deals with Australia and NZ since Brexit.

II) <u>The long and difficult road to</u> <u>Brexit</u>

C. The aftermath of the referendum

• Irish border: as Northern Ireland left the EU at the same time as the UK on 31^{st} January 2020, it means that for the first time there should have been a border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. But as you know, under the Good Friday Agreement (1998), people and goods were free to cross the border without any checks, which was an essential part of the Irish peace process > so how to ensure that goods entering the EU are checked (to make sure that they abide by EU regulations) without endangering peace in Northern Ireland?

How checks between Britain and Northern Ireland work

Certain goods, such as meat and eggs, need to be checked when they enter Northern Ireland from Great Britain



- > New protocol on Northern Ireland (Oct 2019) = the whole of the UK left the customs union in 2021, and NI will be included in any future trade deals that the UK signs with foreign countries. But there are no checks at the border between Northern Ireland and Ireland; Northern Ireland continues to follow most of the EU rules, ensuring free movement of goods across the border. But because the UK doesn't follow EU rules, a new border has been created between Northern Ireland and Great Britain (England, Scotland and Wales), meaning that goods moving between Britain and Northern Ireland are checked in the Irish Sea. This revised version of the Withdrawal Bill managed to pass both Houses of Parliament in December 2019-January 2020, and received Royal Assent in January 2020. + EU agreed to it at the end of January 2020 = hence the UK being able to leave the EU on 31st January 2020. NI protocol came into force in January 2021. Of course, the unionists feel that they have been betrayed by the British government, as the NI Protocol favours nationalists' interests... Paul Givan, the NI First Minister, resigned in February 2022 to protest against the NI Protocol, which caused the government to collapse > only re-formed last month!
- Finally, because of unionist opposition to the NI Protocol, PM Rishi Sunak and President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen announced in February 2023 that a new agreement had been reached to change the way the NI Protocol operates = Windsor Framework. Under this new Framework (cf. PDF on the ENT), a new system of checks on goods moving from GB to NI was implemented. Basically, goods destined to stay in NI will go through a "green lane" and have fewer checks and controls. Goods moving from NI to Ireland or rest of the EU will have to go through a "red lane" and be subject to full controls and checks. + Simplified checks on agri-food. Support for the Framework from the Labour Party, the SNP and the Lib-Dems. + Broad support from Sinn Féin, Alliance, the SDLP and the UUP in NI... DUP and Conservatives more cautious! In the end, Framework voted in the House of Commons and came into force in October 2023. New negotiations between NI unionists and British gvt since January 2024, which is why the DUP has accepted to stop boycotting the NIA and a new government was formed in NI.