

(UK) CM1 : The Constitution

- *What's a constitution ?*

A set of parliamentary laws that define and regulate the overall organization of state. It defines a state and the balance of different institutions that regulate states, mainly 3 branches.

I) An uncodified constitution

A. What is an uncodified constitution ?

Before a parliamentary monarchy, there was an absolute monarchy : the King/Queen is head of state, and their powers are limited by a constitution or a parliament.

Now, in the UK, there is an alliance between the crown and the parliament : the monarch governs in accordance with the constitution that defines their powers.

The King is completely **detached** from politics, so the King/Queen plays more of a **symbolic** role.

- *What is the advantage of having a monarch (that has no power) ?*

They provide an idea of unity and stability of a state. (It's the main argument to justify a monarch without power.)

At the time of *Glorious Revolution (1689)* : King James the II, he was a suspect because he was catholic and also suspected to establish an absolute monarchy. In order to ensure that it won't happen and that it would be a protestant next on the throne, they remove King James the II and a Dutch man, William of Orange, along with his wife Mary II, was invited to be the next King in exchange of a parliament and so, if they sign the **Bill of Rights (1689)**.

The *Bill of Rights* mentions that the King cannot pass the throne to a catholic, because the monarchy is protestant. (It was abolished in 2014.)

Uncodified Constitution : "Uncodified" is a fancy way to say not written, unlike most western countries, Britain doesn't have a written constitution. It is made of a series of texts and acts, some very old, like the Bill of Rights, and conventions (political habits/customs that aren't written, but have acquired the law because it has been applied for a long time.)
For example, the King has no say in the decision of a law, but he still has to as a sort of habit.

B. The Principles of the constitution

Rule of Law : the idea that every citizen is equal before the law. (No one can be punished

without doing a crime, unlike in absolute monarchy)

Sovereignty of parliament : the parliament is considered to be the most powerful body in the UK (more power than the monarch, can also check powers).

C. **Is there a separation of powers ?**

No, there is not a strict separation of power in the UK.

- **Parliament : Legislative** (make and amend laws)
- **Government : Executive** (put laws into action)
- **Supreme Court : Judiciary** (make sure that everyone respects the law)

“Checks and balances” in the Us : each branch can check the power of the others. **But, in the UK**, there's no such thing as the executive and legislative branches have recently merged. Only the judiciary branch is independent.

2009 : creation of the Supreme Court in the UK.

Judicial review : enables the Supreme Court to say that the PM or any public body is doing something against the Constitution.

D. **Fundamental Acts of Parliament within the British Constitution.**

1. **Magna Carta (1215)** (first act of parliament of the Constitution) : first time in history that the power of the King was limited (no one is above the law, so the King couldn't punish anyone just like that) (but it was canceled many times)
2. **Habeas Corpus (1679)** : protects arbitrary arrest, same idea as Magna Carta,
3. **Bill of Right (1689)** : established the sovereignty of parliament.

II) **A need for constitutional reform ?**

A. **The pros and cons of an uncodified constitution.**

Because the constitution is uncodified :

(Pros)

- it makes it flexible
- easier to adapt to modern times

- they are attached traditions, why change something that has always been in place ? that has always been working ?
- now is not a good time ... crisis, brexit ...

(Cons)

- difficult to understand for the average citizen
- dangerous, open to abuse by government with large majorities in parliament, they become overpowerfull
- absence of separation of powers, no checks on the legislative branch of power
- undemocratic house of lords, it is only made of white old men who are nominated for life and often pass their position to someone they are familiar with
- unfair electoral system

Lord Hailsham (in 1976) says that the UK has moved to a sort of totalitarianism, a system in which politics have too many powers even though they are elected => "*elective dictatorship*".

Charter 88, a famous group of left wing people, still active, who dress up as Lords and to demonstrate in front of the House of Lords.

B. Previous reforms.

Most of the laws that were passed had the goal of decreasing the power of the monarchy to give it to the parliament.

!! Very important :

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Power of the unelected, undemocratic monarchy has 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. |
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The House of Commons is the only one that is directly voted by people, so it's the only democratic institution.

More and more of the citizens had been given the right to vote, because before, only rich men could vote.

- **1832 : Representation of the People Act**, first law that was aiming to give the right to vote to more people (so the upper middle class, not the super rich men, but the rich men).
- **1928 : Equal Franchise Act**, equal voting right for men and women.

C. New contemporary challenges.

The relationship between the UK and the EU was a challenge.

When a country joins the EU, some of its laws are left aside, they have to obey European legislation. It always has an impact on the Constitution.

Brexit, so now, how to integrate EU laws into the UK ?

Devolution (*the transfer of power to the different nations*) in **1999**, led to the creation of parliament in Scotland, Wales and Northern Island : so which power should be devoted to the parliament, or which ones should be held by the British Parliament ?

For example, the Scottish do not have a say in military decisions, because it belongs to the British parliament. Which explains the Brexit, because only the British parliament had a say in this.

(UK) CM2 : The monarchy

I) The roles and duties of the Monarch

A. Key dates and monarch

Dynasties : (*learn the centuries, not the dates*)

- House of Normandy (1066-1154) :

William the conqueror who won the battle of Hasting in 1066, and it marked the start of the french rule over England (because he was french).

- House of Plantagenet (1154-1485) :

French, again. King John, he was the one who signed Magna Carta, and so he was the first one who signed something that limited the power of the Monarchy, so that no one is above the law, not even the King. Period of the 100 years wars.

- House of Tudor (1485-1603) :

Elisabeth the first, she was called a virgin because she never married, the last monarch of this house.

But the most important is Henry Eight, who broke away from the catholic church, the pope, and embraced a new religion, protestantism. But he wasn't very religious, he only did that to divorce his first wife and marry the second one. He married then, 6 wives and killed 2.

Mary Trudo, Bloody Mary, catholic queen who murdered a lot of protestants.

- House of Stuart (1603-1714) :

William III, Mary II, who were forced to sign the **Bill of Rights**. So from this moment, Parliament became the most important institution in England.

- House of Hanover (1714-1901) :

Victoria I, covered a whole century, so it is known as the Victoria era, but there was colonization, racism and poverty.

- **House of Windsor (1066) :**

Elizabeth II and the current King is Charles III.

B. **Symbols of the Monarchy**

1. **Royal coat of arms**, only worn by a member of the royal family so we can recognize them. (Three lions that symbolize the different parts of the UK, a crown and a mention of God : "Dieu et mon droit".)
2. Elizabeth holds symbols during her coronation : **crown**, an **orb** that represents the monarch's godly power and the **scepter** that represents her temporal power.
3. **National Anthem** that mentions a connection between the King and God.

The coronation raised questions about the costs of the institution, especially during inflation, during a major crisis. But also questions about the connection between the King and God : Since it takes place in a religious space, Westminster, and it's a religious ceremony, attended by priests. It marks the succession of the reign with the crown being put in the King's head, so it makes him the official **head of church** . So, it's a high religious moment.

But some people are saying that it's not necessary to make a ceremony, because the moment the Queen died, the prince became King, so there's no need for a ceremony for him to become King.

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

The King does not have any concrete power because of the Bills of Rights, his powers are mostly symbolic since they are limited by the Parliament. He does not have the right to vote, because he's supposed to be above the parties and cannot express any political opinions.

- *So why is there a King at all ?*

Because he represents a symbol of unity for the state : as the government changes, the King remains. (For example, during Elizabeth's time, there were about 50 different governments ????)

William Bagehot, in the *English Constitution in 1867*, defined that :

- The PM has the right to ask the Monarch for advice.
- The monarch has the right to warn against danger others (if someone is threatening the state.)

/!\ So the Monarch is :

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Head of State. • The Head of Commonwealth. • The Head of the Armed Forces. • The Head of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland. |
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So there is no separation between the Church and the Government (unlike in France.)

Every year, the King opens the parliamentary session. It's an official event where he only opens it, but doesn't participate, he only gives a speech written by the PM.

His powers are also linked to other conventions :

- Royal asset, he has to give his approval after a decision, just as a habit.
- Dissolution of Parliament, but it's actually the PM who commands this.
- Appoints and dismisses but after the PM after he was elected.
- Liaison with the PM, as once a week, the PM meets the Monarch, but we don't really know what they discuss, but they should be talking about current affairs and the Monarch can give advice to the PM, but it's secret.
- Royal prerogative mercy, as he can get someone out of prison or stop the charges.
- Attribution of honors (titres), like Ed Sheeran, the singer, who was given one by the Monarch.

D. **The royal family and the line of succession**

Recently, women started to appear in the line of succession. Before, men were always first in the line, even if the daughter was born first and the son second. But in 2013, it changed with the **Succession to the Crown Act**, and also removed the obligation for the Monarch to be protestant.

It's not up to the Crown to remove someone from the line.

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

A. **Scandals and controversies**

Among the elements that led the public to question the Monarchy :

Princess Diana's death : she was very loved by people and after her death, because the Queen was very unemotional about Diana passing away. This led to a massive wave of

criticism of the Monarchy (the press too.) Since then, the Monarchy tried to improve its public image, because they used to have positive opinions in the press.

In 1997, there were 48% of people who said that the Monarchy should be abolished. The only age group that still wants the Monarchy, is over 65 years old. There were also already young people who tended to like the Republic, they had Republican feelings.

Then there is the cost of this institution that is discussed. So the Royal Family tried to reduce their royal spendings and be more public about the money they spend, so increase transparency.

Since the 1990s, the Monarch has started to pay taxes. Also the incomes no longer come from the public money.

Since the early 2000s, the money given to the King is now public, so now, people know how much he gets. Only the King gets public money, that is voted in the Parliament.

Sovereign Grant : £ 86.3 million in 2021-22.

Queen Elizabeth II's coronation in 1953 cost £1.57M, which was criticized because she spent so much money during an important economic crisis in the UK. In comparison, King Charles III's coronation cost £55-100 millions, but it was still criticized because it's still a lot of public money (taxes).

Since then, they've been more exposed in public medias, among the **recent ones** :

- In 2019, it was revealed that Prince Andrew's links with Jeffrey Epstein, who was a sex offender, Because of this, he stepped back.
- In 2020, there was the "Megxit". Harry and Meghan said that they separated from the royal family and went to the US. In 2021, during Harry and Meghan's interview with Oprah, they revealed that the Royal Family were racist, so it led to racist accusations against the Royal Family, since it's an elite white institution.

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

However, there is still a lot of support for the Royal Family, especially thanks to :

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

From opinion polls, we can tell that before the Queen died, Charles was quite low in the polls, he wasn't very popular. They thought that the popularity of the Monarchy would decrease when King Charles took her place, but that's not really the case. He not really popular abroad, and so the Monarchy now, but not really at home.

UK) CM3 : The Parliament

The parliament has been the Sovereign institution since the Bill of Rights.

I) The legislative branch of power in the UK : the development of the Parliament

A. Origins and development of the Parliament

The Parliament says that this institution developed naturally, like it was created out of nowhere. But the truth is that we can trace its creation to the Middle Ages (stops with the Tudor Dynasty), when the King would seek advice from the powerful men that surrounded him, in order to make decisions.

/!\ Kings have always sought the knowledge of powerful men.

There were sort of parliaments before Magna Carta.

- The Saxons had an assembly called a Witan.
- The vikings had an assembly called a Thing.
- The Sctoland had an assembly called a Colloquium.

But it's in 1215 that a parliament like we know today appears, with Magna Carta, when the King's powers were limited :

- Clauses 12 and 14 : the King must seek the "common counsel" of his kingdom for any new taxes.

Parliament emerged from :

1. The need of the King to get advice and information.
2. The realization that subjects would pay the taxes if they knew what they were for. A sort of mediation.
3. The need to examine and address the complaints coming from all over the kingdom.

In order to make sure that King Harry III respect the Magna Carta, Simon de Montford made sure that men would always follow him to give him advices, so he made a Parliament made of men of the nobility and with **burgesses** (representatives of the people, but super rich though).

King Edward I, in the wake of Simon de Montford, in 1295, said that : "what touches all, should be agreed by all". Since then, representatives of the people were always included in the Parliament.

All this led to the creation of the House of commons, in the 14th century, for the presentation of people.

As new nations entered the UK :

- In 1536, 12 new members in the Parliament represented Wales.
- In 1707, 45 new PMs in the Parliament represented Scotland.
- In 1801, 100 new PMs in the Parliament represented Ireland.

1999, creation of devolved institutions.

B. Structure and role of the Parliament

Britain is a parliament monarchy, which means that the Monarchy's power is limited by the Parliament.

The legislative branch of power is made of the Parliament, so 3 institution :

- **House of Commons**, also known as the Low House
- **House of Lords**, also known as the Upper House
- **Monarch**, but only has one main legislative role, which is to open the state of Parliament every year.

The **main role** of **Parliament** is to make laws : they can pass, amend and to appeal laws. They can also scrutinize the government, so check its policies as it's part of the "check and balance".

They do this during the PMQs (PM questions), every wednesday, the PM who sits in Parliament has to answer questions from members of Parliament.

But **Parliament** also **votes** for taxes, to provide the government the needs and this is a legacy of Magna Carta.

Parliament also **debates** the major issues of the day and represents the people.

C. Law-making

How to make a law ?

1. It starts with a bill (un projet de loi) which is proposed in one of the 2 houses of Parliament. (Usually they are government bills, and usually originate in the House of Commons.)
2. Then the bill is examined by the 2 houses of Parliament : remove bits, change, etc ...
3. After this process, it needs to be accepted by both Houses of Parliament, then submitted to the Monarch (as a habit), for it to become an act of Parliament.

Since the **Parliament Act of 1911**, the House of Lords cannot veto a bill, but the House of Commons can.

II) The House of Commons

A. **An elected body**

- There are 650 constituencies, 650 MPs, they are elected locally, so MPs are supposed to represent their voters,
- General elections occur every 5 years since the Fixed-Term Parliament Act of 2011.
- "constituents' grievances" are citizens' complaints, brought up by the MPs and they need to address them, even very local problems.

- It's possible for an early election to happen, also known as a **snap election**. This occurs when the Parliament judges that the government in power doesn't fit.
- In general, when a **vote/motion of no confidence** happens, if it works, the PM is removed. But in 2022, Boris Johnson won the vote/motion of no confidence.
- An **early election motion**. It can happen when the PM wants to strengthen his majority. For example, in 2019, Boris Johnson did this and carried out Brexit as he planned.
- A **by-election** (election partiel), is organized when it's the same political party in the same seat for a long time. For example, in 2021, in North Shropshire, a by-election happened.

(The current Prime Minister is Rishi Sunak.)

When the PM addresses the House from the dispatch box, when he makes a speech, he represents the government, as opposed to the leader of the **opposition**, (which is currently Keir Starmer), who is always sitting opposite. The leader of the opposition is surrounded by the **Shadow Cabinet**.

The government in power is only responsible to the House of commons, so it only stays in power as long as ???

Frontbenchers are the most important MPs, so they sit at the front, on the benches the closest.

Backbenchers are only members of the Parliament, they don't hold a very important role, so they sit at the back.

Speaker of the House of Commons is like the president and is elected by MPs, usually someone who sat in a long time in the House, and once elected, they are no longer able to represent a political party (currently Lindsay Hoyle, who was part of the Labour Party, so now he can not vote in line with the Labour Party in election)

They organize debates and by convention, they have to be neutral when it comes to politics.

B. **A representative institution ? Scandals and limits**

The House has some limits.

Because it is the only elected institution in the UK, it's supposed to represent the citizens, which explains why MPs have had a salary since the Parliament Act of 1911, because anyone can become an MP.

Basic annual salary for an MP since 2023 = £ 86 584.

2009, **UK parliamentary expenses scandals**, it was at a time when newspapers revealed how much MPs and Lords would get, but it also revealed the abuses like using the money for personal use. Therefore, it led to a major scandal, so some had to repay those expenses and it led to the creation of IPSA (Independent Parliament Standards Authority) to expose their expenses and prevent other abuses.

Also, the House of Commons is not as representative as it claims to be, since there are mostly middle-class white men in the House. Usually, the Labour Party has more women, but not a lot.

Just like in France, access to education is a problem. Most MPs attended Universities (very pricey in the UK). Even within the Labour Party, the working class is under-represented.

The problem with the current system is that when a party gets the majority in the House of Commons, it's very hard for the Parliament to check powers.

An example of executive overstepping their role :

- Prorogation of Parliament by Boris Johnson (ex PM) in August 2019: Boris Johnson decided to suspend Parliament for months to rush the process of Brexit.
- But it backfired as it was considered unconstitutional, and Parliament was reinstalled.

III) **The House of Lords**

A. **Non-elected Peers**

Lords are called Peers or Peeresses.

The House of Lords is complementary to the House of Commons as the bills go back and forth between them.

The House of Lords is composed of 2 groups :

1. The **Lords Temporal** : Made of non-religious people, so hereditary peers (can pass on their titles to their children) and life peers (so when they are nominated they remain in place for life)
2. The **Lords Spiritual** : Made of religious people of the same religion (26 in total).

How to become a Lord ?

No need to be a politician, some artists, athletes ... have been nominated Lords by ministers to "thank them". So the House of Lords doesn't necessarily reflect a political Party.

The House of Lords is considered to be based on “Independence of thought” because many **peers don't align with a political party**, they are called **crossbenchers**, and they don't sit on one side.

There's also a Speaker in the House of Lords (currently Lord John McFall) and is elected within the House of Lords and can not represent a political party (like in the House of Commons).

Members of the House of Lords don't get salaries (so some of them have a job aside and attend every Parliament debate, they are considered *ghost peers*) and there's no fixed numbers of members in the House. In early 2024, there are 783 members.

B. **The House of Lords reforms**

1. **The 1911 Parliament Act** contributed to make the House of Commons more powerful than the House of Lords since they are the one who are elected, so it reduced its power.
2. **1958 Life Peerages Act** women have been allowed in the House of Lords and can become peers.
3. 1963 Peerage Act.
4. **The 1999 House of Lords Act** removed 666 hereditary members and they became life peers instead.
5. **The 2005 Constitutional Reform Act** removed the 9 “Law Lords” from the House of Lords.

C. **Should the House of Lords be abolished ?**

There have been debates about this topic, but the main argument put forward to maintain the House of Lords is that : **it makes it harder for the majority in the House of Commons to pass laws.**

Other people argue that they should at least elect the peers, but some say that it would keep the House of Lords from being more “politically free”. Also PMs don't have a limit to the peers they elected.

Also the cost of the institution is a problem for some people.

(UK) CM4 : The PM and the Government

1) The structure of the executive branch of powers

A. Definitions and distinctions

The main role of the Executive branch of power is to execute or carry out the laws, but also appoint officials, formulate policies ...

It is made of the PM, the Cabinet (the institution that meets every week at 10 Downing Street to discuss politics) and the government (larger than the Cabinet).
Currently the Cabinet and the government are made of MPs and have been elected in the Parliament and sit in the House of Commons.

- **Minority government** : is a government that has been voted by a political party that doesn't have the majority in the House of Commons.
- **Hung Parliament** : when a government makes an alliance without a political party.

B. **The role and responsibilities of the Cabinet**

The cabinet is composed of senior ministers chosen by the PM and usually have the same roles : Foreign Secretary, Home Secretary, Chancellor of the Exchequer ...

But some roles differ from one cabinet to another depending on where they are located or in which area they want to focus (what's important).

The number of senior ministers in the cabinet is not fixed, but usually it's around 50.

A PM can decide to "shuffle" a cabinet, so to remove a minister and replace them.

There are two important politicians who attend the cabinet meetings :

- **The Chief Whip** : the person in government that makes sure that the members of each political party attend the parliamentary session and vote according to their party's line.
- **The Leader of the House of Commons** (not the Speaker) : the person who organizes the agenda of the government, and so they decide what will be discussed in the next parliamentary session.

The Cabinet has several important powers :

- They discuss national issues and direct ministerial responsibility. The ministers give the overall direction in their department.
- Cabinet responsibility, also known as collective responsibility : so everyone has to agree, every member has to support the cabinet's decisions, and the cabinet has to act as a unified body, but it's just a convention, not a law.
- Ministerial responsibility : the mistakes made within the department are a responsibility of the ministers, and so they should resign.

Those standards are included in the Ministerial Code.

C. **The Shadow Cabinet**

It's basically formed by the opposition, and their role is to criticize what the government is doing, its policies and offer alternative policies. So basically you have all the roles of the Cabinet in the Shadow Cabinet (ex: Shadow Foreign minister). The current leader is Keir Starmer. Also, the Shadow Cabinet offers more visibility to the opposition.

Among its important roles :

- The members are experts in debates.
- And it's also a sort of Cabinet in waiting, since it gives a preview of who would be in the Official Cabinet if the opposition wins the next election.

II) **The office of PM**

A. **History of the position**

It's hard to tell when the office of the PM was created. But the Bill of Rights is an important landmark, and the PM started to emerge at this time as well.

In particular one man, Sir Robert Walpole (1721-1742), who is considered to be the first PM although he never really held the title as it didn't exist yet.

He acted as a middle man between the Parliament and the Crown, and had the support of many Kings, and later obtained the powers that are given to the actual PM. So he was given for the first time *10 Downing Street*.

1778, Lord North wrote to the King that "*in critical times, it is necessary that there should be one directing Minister*". So it was the first time that the word minister was used.

B. **The PM's powers**

/!\ PM is **not** the head of state, he's the **head of government, Cabinet, political party in majority**, but the King is the head of State.

The PM is not elected in the UK, unlike MPs.

Rishi Sunak, current **PM** since 2022, during a major political crisis (in less than 3 months there was 3 PMs) and major economic crisis. He had held other political positions before, like, Chancellor of Exshiquer.

- He's also the first Indian and Asian PM (which played well for him, gave a good image to the conservative party).
- But what's controversial about him is his money as he married the daughter of an Indian billionaire, so he's completely deconnected from the British average life.

- Very quick decline in the population's opinion, as he has a strict policy about immigration. More than half of the population is happy about him being PM because of stance anti-immigration.

Main roles of a PM :

- Chooses his ministers, especially the top ones who will sit in the Cabinet.
- Determines the overall strategy of the Government (policies).
- Power of dissolving Parliament by calling for a general election.
- Duty of attending the PM's question time, in Parliament, every Wednesday, to answer questions (so to be challenged by other MPs)

Some PMs to remember :

- Margaret Thatcher 79-90
- John Major 90-97
- Tony Blair (remained in power for 10 years) 97-07
- Gordon Brown 2007-2010
- David Cameron 10-16
- Theresa May 16-19
- Boris Johnson 19-22

C. **Is the PM powerful ?**

Many of the PM's powers are based on conventions rather than laws, so they are considered unformal. He's supposed to take lead on significant matters of the state ... So it's not very clear on what is expected of him. But he happens to be the head of the political party which is the majority.

Moreover, he's only as powerful as his Cabinet and political party allows him to be (Boris Johnson had pressure from his political party to resign).

But the PM has become more powerful in the recent years :

- Because of the **absence of separation of powers** in the UK, PM is almost sure to get his bill approved when there's a huge majority in the Parliament. (ex: Tony Blair had a huge majority in the Parliament, so because of this he managed to reform things, like the reform of the House of Lords)
- Thanks to **context**, like crisis or recently Covid-19. Special times call for special powers.

(UK) CM5 : Elections and voting behaviour

I) Who votes in elections ?

A. Vocabulary and definitions

- **To cast a ballot** : To vote.
- **To vote by secret ballot** : Vote a bulletin secret.
- **To go to the polls** : Aller aux urnes.
- **A voting booth or polling booth** : Cabine.
- **To vote by proxy** : Voter par correspondance, faire une procuration.
- **A landslide victory vs. a crushing defeat** : Victoire écrasante vs. défaite écrasante.
- **A marginal seat or a swing seat vs. a safe seat** : A seat that may be won by one political party or the other (you don't know in advance).
- **By-elections** : Élections partielles. To fill a specific seat.
- **Voter turnout** : Percentage of eligible voters who vote in an election.

B. The long road to “Universal Suffrage”

Vocabulary : Enfranchisement, to extend suffrage, universal suffrage, to be disenfranchised.

- *Who were enfranchised ?*

Women, people from a lower class background (before, you needed to pay to vote), other minorities (mostly catholic people; /!\ not Black people unlike in the US, because immigrants were given citizenships, so they got the right to vote)

So, for many years you needed to be a **man**, **rich** and **protestant** to vote.

The Representation of the Peoples Act, also known as the **Reform Acts** (1832, 1867, 1884) :

- **1832 gave the right to the upper middle class men the right to vote.** It came at a time during people from the Parliament and outside of it were criticising the voting system.
- It also address the “*Rotten boroughs*” thing, who were very few people who could vote elected important MPs, so it was easy for the rotten boroughs to be represented by the MPs. But the **1832** act abolished that.

- After the **1832** Act, **Chartist movement** emerged and was one of the first movement to make elections fairer : They wanted a vote for all me, a vote by secret balance to make elections more democratic, to make elections free, payment for all MPs, regular elections and a fair electoral map.
- With the 1884 Act, men could all vote.

Suffragettes, led by Emmeline Pankhurst, revolted to get voting rights for women. Thanks to their influence, women obtained the right to vote in **1918 (Representation of the people Act)** for women over 30 y.o if they owned property.

Only in **1928 (The Equal Franchise Act)**, men and women obtained the right to vote above 20 y.o.

!! Learn 1832, 1918, 1928.

- *Who doesn't have the right to vote in the UK ?*

People in jail, people who seek citizenship, people with mental disability, the **King**, members of the **House of Lords** and usually top members of the Royal Family.

C. **Voter turnout and voting trends**

Number of people who vote is very low. Only 65% of the population participated in the last few general elections.

But why people vote less than before ?

- People are fed up with politicians, especially young people. So there is a clear link between age and vote behaviour, so elderly are likely to vote (for conservatives, so they usually won over the Labour Party).
- Since Brexit, young people tend to like more Labour Party (they also supported to stay in the EU and elderly to leave).

At the 2016 Brexit referendum, 64% of voters aged 18-24 went to polls against 90% of over 65s.

Partisan class voter dealignment : Labour party was created for working class.
BUT, with Brexit realignment : more and more traditional labour's voters went to the conservative party to vote to leave the EU.

II) **Should the electoral system be reformed ?**

A. **Different types of elections**

- **General elections** : take place every 5 years to nominate members of Parliament to the House of Commons, based on universal suffrage. The actual leading majority is the Conservative Party.
- **Local elections** : to elect local government.

- **Regional elections** : in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland to elect people of the assembly since devolution.
- **London Mayor** : rules over a big region so it's more important than regional elections, but it's still one. It takes place every 4 years and it's a very recent role. (ex : the last 3 London Mayors are Ken Livingstone, Boris Johnson, Sadiq Khan (very first muslim to occupy an important role in British politics))

In recent years, there's been an increase of referendums, the most recent one being Brexit, but there are also :

- 1975 leaving the EEC Common Market ? **No.**
- 1979 devolution to Scotland, Wales and NI ? **Yes.**
- 2014 Scotland's Independence ? **No.**
- 2016 Brexit ? **Yes.**

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

Candidates need majority to win the seat in the House of Commons, with one round of elections.

How does it work ?

- The candidate who gets the majority for the seat he's competing for wins, even with 51% while the other candidate got 49%.

So it raises questions about the representativeness of the results.

Based on the 2019 European election in the UK, we can see more representative results since they use a different system (ex : the conservative party ranked 5th, while they rank first in the 2019 general election results in number of seats in the UK, so the conservative party benefits more from the system in the UK, while the other parties benefit more from the European system)

About the First Past the Post system :

Pros:

- Cheap system with efficient results, so you don't have to wait long
- Encourages single party government, which means that it makes it easier to govern the country
- Political stability because it's based on left wing and right wing

Cons:

- 2 party system, so it makes it difficult for smaller parties to get representation in the Parliament

- Tactical voting, so people cast their vote for the party that actually gets the chance to win and which is the closest to the party that you actually support (ex: supporting the Green party, but vote for the Labour one)
- Sometimes MPs can be elected with very small support, no need for more than 50%, you need the highest percentage of vote.
- Votes that were cast for the losing party are not taken into account, they are lost, irrelevant and wasted.
- It creates many “saved seats” and people know that their votes won’t count so they don’t even try.

C. Possibilities for reforms ?

Many argue in favor of a representative system, but also *Alternative Voting* also known as AV : voters rank several candidates in order, as many as you wish, and to be elected the candidate needs to have more than half of the first choice. It also takes into account the second choice vote. It’s more proportional than the First Past the Post system, but not more than our European one.

Supplementary Voting also uses a ranking system.

(UK) CM6 : The Conservative Party

I) What does it mean to be a Conservative ?

A. From Tories to Conservatives: history and values

The Conservative Party is very important because it has been in power for most of the 20th century.

The Conservative Party comes from the Tory Party which emerged in the 17th century : it believed in traditions and strong Monarchy and competed against the Whigs who wanted a Parliament capable of limiting the Power of the Monarchy.

It was also a question of social classes : the Whigs were supported by the upper-middle class, while the Tories were supported by the super rich and nobles ...

When the Tory party collapsed, the Conservative Party emerged in the **1830s**, so it sort of renewed itself, so today, they can still be referred to as the Tories.

Edmund Burke, a philosopher, was in opposition of the French spirit (such as revolution) and so he was the “founder” of that conservative way of thinking, he's like a father figure to the Conservative Party.

Nowadays the Conservative Party is the main party of the right wing and economically speaking, it's attached to property ownership and free enterprise, free trades. So, they are in favor of reducing taxes ... (ex: “Right to buy” programme in the 1990s, by Thatcher, to enable people who owned for a long time and buy this place at a low price)

- Minimum state funding for public services to avoid a “nanny state”, which means a state that takes too much care of its citizens. They argue for personal choice over state protection.
 - As to Europe, the Conservative have opposed integration into the EU.
 - Thatcher has declared that she values small governments, so the states should be absent when it comes to the economy.
- *Who votes for the Conservative ?*

It used to be landowners, living in rural areas, the rich, the old and businessmen. But in the 2019 elections, the Conservative Party got some support from the working class. It appealed to the non-working people, thanks to a strong hatred for immigration (“careful, they are gonna steal your jobs”).

B. Different Factions within the Conservative Party

Because of the way British politics works, the 2 main political parties cover different factions. So we call them “umbrella parties” since they put together different trends.

Here are the **trends** :

- **One-nation conservatives**, which advocate for socialism(?) and promote social justices, equality of opportunities (which is usually a left wing policy). But they are still in favor of liberalism, so they are under the Conservative Party and not the Labour one. People associated Theresa May and Boris Johnson with this one.
- **Thatcherites**, named after Margaret Thatcher, who are super neoliberal conservatives.
- **Libertarian conservatives**, who emphasize individual liberty and value a very limited government.
- **Traditionalist conservatives**, who emphasize preserving traditional values (family ...)
- **Eurosceptics**, which Boris Johnson was part of.

C. Margaret Thatcher and “Thatcherism” in power from 1979 to 1990

Her liberal policies had big impacts and consequences on the country and the Conservative Party. She was an important figure of the Cold War as she was an anti-communist figure, so her popularity went up (and later went down).

Also, she was the longest serving PM, and the first female PM in the UK in 1979.

- She wanted to reduce “dependency culture”, the government spending and reduce the welfare state to a minimum, small state and free trade were her main policies.
- She privatized a lot of enterprises to make the economy more competitive.

- Miner's strike in 1984-85, she closed them and following that, there was a crash of unemployment (1980s : 3 million people unemployed)
- Also known for "monetarism", which is controlling the flow of money.

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

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

He was considered more moderate because he was young and took the party to a more central political image.

To avoid a hung parliament, he aimed for a coalition, an alliance between the Conservative Party and the Liberal-Democrats (since they had a lot of seats) (2010-2015). So it explained why the Conservative Party was influenced by more liberal/center policies and so they kind of swished to the center of the political spectrum.

- Same sex marriage everywhere but in Northern Ireland (became legal later on).
- "Big Society" which means taking power from the politicians and giving it to the people.
- Many losses in public sectors when it comes to jobs.
- He was re-elected in 2015 and there was no need for a coalition this time. When Brexit won, he resigned on June 26th.

E. **Theresa May (2016-2019)**

She replaced David Cameron as leader of the Conservative Party, so she was not elected after the general election.

She organized a new general election, a year after she replaced David Cameron to get a bigger majority, but it failed : she lost to the majority, so she stayed in power but she was weak since she didn't get enough seats.

So, in 2017, she decided to form a coalition in government between the Conservative Party and the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) to get more seats and so get the majority.

But this was very controversial because of the reputation of the DUP in Northern Ireland.

In her 2017 **manifesto**, she committed to :

- a very large increase in public spending, education ... (which goes against the usual ideology of the Conservative Party, it could be considered a left wing measure), and she did it.
- restrict immigration tremendously, but she failed to do this.
- a hard Brexit, so the UK would leave the single market, not only EU institutions.

During that time, she was criticized by a lot of people of her own party, especially for not serving Brexit fast enough (she failed), but also by the opposition who thought that she wasn't going far enough.

So she remained a pretty weak PM with a very divided cabinet as well. Then, she resigned because of her failure to deliver Brexit, and Boris Johnson replaced her.

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

His main motto was to deliver a very hard Brexit and quickly. He was mostly the face of Brexit. He promoted that no matter what, he will get Brexit done by October (2019) and to do that, he first held the Parliament, which was considered unconstitutional, so it failed.

Again, to rush the process, he organized general elections in December 2019 to win the majority, just like Theresa May, but it worked for him.

He obtained a very large majority, especially because he obtained the support of traditional voters who didn't use to vote for the Conservative Party (which the media often call the "left behinds", the working class, those who usually vote for the Liberal Party. Brexit is what appealed to those voters).

Then, the PM successfully delivered Brexit, in 2019.

But he became the target of many criticisms, mainly because of the fact that he went completely against Covid regulation.

Mainly also people also argue that he deepened the division in the Conservatives Party.

In 2022, after he resigned, over the course of three months, he was replaced by ? and then Rishi Sunak the current PM.

There are two main ideas :

- The Renda of Bill, aimed at sending immigrants to Renda, which faced a lot of opposition in the Conservative Party.
- Polls clearly indicated that the Conservative Party will lose the majority in the House of Commons in the next elections.

(UK) CM7 : The Labour Party

I) Labour

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

Its origins can be traced back to trade unions, to the late 17th century. So since then, workers have tried to organize their defense, and get better working conditions. They wanted to make sure that the unemployment rate stayed low, and get better wages.

At first, most members were skilled workers who earned more money and could afford to be part of a trade union.

Trade unions, from the 18th to the 19th century, became very important and grew during the industrial revolution. However, the government and employers feared a revolution of the workers, so they tried to limit workers' actions with laws. (ex : they made it illegal for members of trade unions to get together with the **1799 and 1800 Combination Acts'** repealed in 1825)

But it didn't stop them, they continued to defend their interest and by 1874, there were 1 million trade unionists.

- In 1868, the Trades Union Congress (TUC) was created.
- They started to demand political representation in Parliament as well, after developing connections with certain political movements (from the left) **and eventually formed the Labour Party in 1900.**
- In 1884, workers got the right to vote.

After WWI, the Labour Party did commit to certain conservative policies.

In the Labour Party's manifesto, the main ideas we can read are **the common ownership of the means of production** (to workers, not employers) and the **cooperation between the Labour Party and other movements** during that time. They became a bit more socialist during that time.

For the first time, at the end of WW, the Labour Party formed a government with **Clement Attlee** as the PM (1945-51).

For the first time ever, the government started to invest in health etc ... everything that was considered to protect individuals (poverty, disease, unemployment, old age, disability ...)

- NHS, or the **National Health Service** created in 1946 which provided free medical care for everyone.
- Unemployment benefits put in place.

Also, the government decided to nationalize many industries (such as transports, mines, banks) to give a concrete meaning to **the common ownership of the means of production** in the Labour Party's constitution.

But during the next elections, the Conservative Party won, and the next PM did not dismiss the Welfare State at that time that had been put in place by the Labour Party.

From that time, the Labour Party remained in the opposition.

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

The Labour Party was modernized since the main argument against it was that it couldn't be trusted with the current economy. So he tried to make it more trustworthy.

He put forward the idea of "Third Way" to find an agreement between the two wings ?

The Labour Party obtained major support, and under Tony Blair (1997-2007), it changed to **New Labour** :

- Socialism was abandoned for social democracy for **free market** and **economic liberalism** which are usually right wing measures.
- He also pledged a zero tolerance for crime with a commitment to law (with a lot of cameras, CCTV)

So, in order to modernize the Labour Party, Tony Blair took it closer to the center of the political spectrum, to appeal to another portion of the population and eventually got the support of the middle class along with the workers. It continued to support investment in public spending and especially education which doubled, so, it continued to adapt to social measures.

Tony Blair is also known for :

- **Devolution** (more autonomy for Northern Ireland ...) which he started in **1998** and also signed the **Good Friday Agreement (1998)** which stopped the war in Northern Ireland.
- He was also the one who reformed the House of Lords with the **1999 House of Lords Act** and so he reduced the number of peers for life.
- Getting the UK involved in the war in Iraq (2003) (which made him less popular)
- Spin doctors (refer to doctors who lie to make politicians appear in a better light).

He resigned and was replaced by PM Gordon Brown in 2007, although in 2010, the Labour Party lost to the opposition.

II) Labour in the opposition

A. **Back to the left : Corbyn's Labour Party (2015-2020)**

Brexit has been pictured as something that has been supported by the working class, although traditional voters (those workers) started to turn to extreme parties.

Jeremy Corbyn became the Leader of the Labour Party despite the lack of support from the center of the political spectrum since he wanted to take back the Party to the left. He also promised to respect Brexit to appeal to the working class.

In 2017, the Labour Party did fairly well, and Jeremy Corbyn was an interesting figure because he was more appealing to the voters, especially young people, than among his peers. So he was a socialist.

But he had to resign after the 2019 elections, because first, the Labour Party lost many seats but also because of a controversy revolving around anti-semitism, which he refused to apologize about, so he lost voters.

B. **Keir Starmer : a more moderate Labour leader**

Jeremy Corbyn was replaced by the current leader, Keir Starmer. In contrast to Jeremy Corbyn, he identifies as a soft left wing politician, so he's mostly at the center of the spectrum.

Lately his main policies are the economy and economic growth, almost like Tony Blair with the New Labour.

At that time, there were mixed opinions about him. Some supporters have credited him for trying to go back to the roots, but some criticize him for being a "people's pleasure" and being too soft.

(UK) CM8 : Other parties

1) ?

Communism -> Socialism -> Liberalism -> Conservatism -> Facism

*hard left, center left, center, center right, extreme right
far left, center left, center ground, center right, far right*

Left wing -> center ground -> Right wing

A. The liberal democrats

Lib-Dems was formed in 1988 and emerged from the Liberal Party, which was formed in 1859.

The Liberal Party was the major party during WWI, but suffered from many internal splits. Many central politicians tried to revive the party, but it never really worked. In 1988, they eventually merged with another party in the center of the political spectrum, the Social Democratic Party, and became Lib-Dems.

The liberal democrats are located in the center of the political spectrum, but as they gained power during the 2010-2015 coalition with the Conservative Party, they shifted toward the center right of the political spectrum.

As indicated by their name, they support liberal measures, both in economics (liberal and free market), so they align with the Conservative Party, but in socials they are aligned with the Labour Party, and they call it Social Liberalism.

They were very close to the Labour Party and Tony Blair : in the early 2000s, they supported him for many measures, such as Devolution or the reform of the House of Lords.

They were always very supportive of a voting system, to get a more proportional election and they are pro-constitutional change.

The Lib-Dems strongly supported the UK membership in the EU, indeed, their manifesto was mainly to stop Brexit, but it did not work out. But since Brexit, they are committed to building ties with the EU without being part of it.

Their current leader is Sir **Ed Davey**. Since 2010, during the coalition, he was very unpopular and only got 8 seats at the 2015 general election. What cost them the other seats is that they did not oppose the Conservative Party when they raised the tuition fees.

Currently, they have 15 seats in the House of Commons, but are expected to do better for the next general election, because they won the last by-election.

B. **The SNP**

SNP stands for the **Scottish National Party**, and it's a left wing party and supports further devolution of power, so more autonomy for Scotland in the short term, and for its independence in the long term.

It was formed in the 1930s but wasn't very popular and didn't do much, but when Alex Salmond became its leader in 1990 it became better.

In 1999 the Scottish Parliament was created, but once devolution had started, people thought that the SNP would stop existing since the main goal was done. But, they continued to exist and **Nicola Sturgeon** became First Minister in 2014 (-2023) since in 2011, the SNP obtained the majority in the Scottish Parliament, and they are still the one in power today.

In 2014, a referendum on Scottish Independence revealed that 55% of people were against it. But far from being weakened, the SNP continued to win many seats in the Scottish elections.

In the 2019 general election, they won 48 seats (in the general election for the whole UK). So they are the third most powerful party in the Parliament.

Finally, the First Minister in Scotland is now Humza Yousaf from 2023.

SNP did so well thanks to the geographical concentration of their votes. But they are still fighting for the Independence of Scotland.

C. **Smaller parties**

- Nationalist (can be defined as a party that defends a people's national, cultural or ethnic specificities and often campaigns for more political autonomy ...) vs. Unionist parties.
- Wales the main national party is Plaid Cymru (it means Wales in Welsh) and is led by Rhun ap Iorwerth. Just like the SNP it's a left wing party, and campaigns for Wales' Independence and wants to protect its language and revive it. They support nationalism and they actually succeeded in making Welsh more spoken and it is

taught in schools. They have very few seats and they are not the main political force in Wales. In the Wales Parliament they have some members, it's the third political force but the first one is the Labour Party since the majority of the population are workers.

- In Northern Ireland, **Sinn Féin** (we ourselves) is the most important Nationalist Party, but it's not the only one, there is SDLP. Sinn Féin campaign for the independence of Northern Ireland and they want independence as a Republic. They have suffered from a very negative image, and for a number of years they refused to detach themselves from what happened ? They were painted as a very extreme political party. In 2022, they got a lot of seats with the First Minister Michelle O'Neill. The SDLP vs. **DUP (Democratic Unionist Party)** which campaigns for remaining in the UK and it's behind Sinn Féin. The SDLP and the UUP are other parties in Northern Ireland.
- **UKIP** is nationalist and right wing. They are attached to white England. Their popularity increased in the general election before Brexit. (Nigel Farage in 2016), Brexit Party Reform UK (Richard Tice).
- **BNP (British National Party)** their opinions are based on simplified views of society. (ex : immigration vs. population ...).
- The Green Party doesn't have much representation and only has 1 seat because of the current voting system. It has much importance at the local level.

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

Secondary parties are deeply rooted in British political history (the Government and the Opposition.) It is due mainly to the voting system, but also because many voters were disillusioned with the two big parties, especially during the economic crisis. Moreover, for Brexit for example, UKIP stepped down to let their voters vote for the Conservative Party to be sure that Brexit would happen.

It's more difficult for smaller parties to fund their campaign.

People also argue that during a crisis, like during Covid or Brexit, only the two main parties have the power to actually do things unlike secondary parties. They believe it's safer to side with one of the two main parties because they can provide stability to the country.

After Brexit, other parties tended to do better and didn't have much impact on the two main political parties (Conservative and Labour).

(UK) CM9 : Devolution

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

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

England became a unified entity in the mid 10th century, before that England was composed of different powers and regions.

At that time Wales was a separate kingdom and was conquered by the English in the 13th century and acts of Union with Wales in 1536 and 1543 (Henry VIII) made Wales part of England.

Scotland resisted more than Wales, but the 1603 Union of the Crowns under King James I of England and VI of Scotland happened. (King James was King VI of Scotland but also became the King I of England).

They still had different parliaments and they were hostiles between England and Scotland. The Scots also gave their support to King James the I and then II in hope to get their independence back, they are also known as the "Jacobites". But their rebellion was crushed.

When Queen Mary the II and the King died, they were succeeded by **Queen Anne** in 1707 who was determined to find a solution to Scotland's hostility and applied pressure to the Scottish Parliament.

The 1707 Act of Union with Scotland marked the end of the Scottish Parliament and Scotland became one entity with England : /!\ but Scotland, unlike Wales, was allowed to keep some institutions, domestic laws and separate churches ...

But some people still were against this, and new Jacobites emerged but couldn't win.

Kirk?

The Battle of Culloden, 1746, was the last effort, and put an end to Jacobites who wanted to put a King of Scottish descent on the throne of England.

Late 18th century, Scottish demands for autonomy and independence were crushed.

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

Since 1541, Ireland was dependent on England, in the sense that it was like a colony but the Irish population **remained firmly catholic** and kept some autonomy.

"Plantation of Ireland" was a process of confiscation of fields to give it to protestant aristocrats in the 17th century. This process was very much important in the north west of Ireland, so there were many protestants settling there. So there was a majority of catholic people, poor and with no political power dominated by protestants aristocrats. Indeed, catholic did not have the right to vote.

In the 18th century (siècle des lumières), people were inspired and started movements and even French people participated. They invaded Ireland and helped them get their independence but it didn't work out and it completely backfired as the Irish Parliament was

dissolved and Ireland was forced to sign the **1801 Act of Union, which marked the birth of the UK.**

Unlike Scotland and like Wales, Ireland wasn't meant to be an economic and political partner to England and was treated as a colony because of the majority of the catholic population.

Following the Civil War in Ireland, so in 1922, it was separated. Some regions broke free and formed the Irish Free state while the remaining 6 counties chose to remain in the UK and became the **Republic of Ireland in 1949.**

II) Devolution in Scotland and Wales

A. Blair's referendum on devolution

Devolution is the transfer of power to a lower level, especially by a central government to a local or regional administration. /\ Devolution does not mean independence but autonomy. /\

In the British case, it's the transfer of power from ? to the different nations of the UK.

People in the UK feel British first and then Scottish/Irish/Wale second. So there's a problem of identity.

1979 referendum on devolution in Scotland and Wales :

- only 20% YES in Wales
- 51,6% YES in Scotland (but turns out it was 32,5%)

-> So NO devolution.

The new referendum was one of Tony Blair's avocation because according to him there was enough representation for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

So he organized right after the election 2 referendums on Scotland and Wales :

- 50,3% YES in Wales
- 74,3% YES in Scotland.

-> So this referendum marked the start of devolution.

B. Scotland

Under Tony Blair, the 1998 Scotland Act set up a Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh (Holyrood) and the first election was organized in 1999. Elections are held every 4 years. So everything concerning Scottish health, education, housing ... were transferred from the Western Parliament to the Scottish Parliament.

"Devolved matters" vs. "reserved matters".

There was also the creation of a Scottish government.

The SNP has been in power since 2007 in Scotland and the First Minister is Hamza Yousaf. At the last election, in May 2021, SNP won 64 out of 129 seats.

/!\ Both **Conservative** and **Labour Party** in **Scotland are unionists**, so they are opposed to the independence of Scotland, unlike the SNP.

C. **Wales**

In 1998, the Government of Wales Act created the National Assembly of Wales in Cardiff and the Welsh Parliament (or Senedd Cymru)

Their current First Minister is Mark Drakeford who is from the Labour Party, which always had the majority in Wales and has 30 seats in the Welsh Parliament (half of the seats).

III) Devolution in Northern Ireland

A. **The troubled history of the Irish devolution**

/!\ The Irish Civil War is different from the Irish conflict. /!\

What was known as the home rule led to the separation of two political entities.

Irish Free State (Eire) vs. Ulster (Northern Ireland) in 1922.

The Troubles (1960s - 1990s) was a Civil War between the catholic nationalists (who supported the unification of Ireland as a whole and so its independence) vs. protestants unionists/loyalists (who didn't support the independence of Ireland). So it's a conflict of religion, politics and identity. Indeed, Catholic Nationalists identify as Irish while Protestants Unionists identify as British.

Both were represented by political parties :

- On the **Catholic Nationalists** side, **SDLP** and **Sinn Féin** worked with a military group, the **IRA**.
- On the **Protestant Unionists** side, **UUP** and **DUP** worked with a military group, the **UDA**.

Both military groups were very active and responsible for many terrorist attacks and bombings, which lasted for 13 years.

British troops opened fire on the 30th January of 1972 on a pacific demonstration of catholic nationalists, which was called Bloody Sunday.
Then Bloody Friday on the 21st July of 1972.

So after those two events, the Northern Ireland Act in 1972 passed to a return to direct rule from London.

But between the start of the 19th century and 1998, there were many attempts to fix this, like a referendum in 1973 on devolution but it was a NO, mainly because Catholics boycotted the referendum.

The 1998 Good Friday agreement led to the creation of a Northern Ireland Assembly in Stormont :

- Put an end to the tensions between catholics and protestants.
- Started the Ireland devolution.

But there were still moments of conflicts, so the assembly was dissolved many times because the catholics and protestants couldn't work together.

In the 2007 election, the First Minister Ian Paisley (from DUP) was elected along with Deputy First Minister Martin McGuinness (from Sinn Féin), which was an idea of power-sharing and cooperation between Nationalists and Unionists.

The members of the Assembly are called MLAs and there are 90 seats, and it's based in Stormont.

B. Since 1998 : The Good Friday Agreement

Michelle O'Neill is the First Minister of Northern Ireland since February 2024 and she is from Sinn Féin.

Moreover, Nationalists and Unionists have almost the same number of seats thanks to each alliances.

(UK) CM9 : British Politics and the European Union

I) The UK's membership of the European Union

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

II) The long and difficult road to Brexit

- A. The origins of Brexit and the rise of Euroscepticism of Britain**
- B. The referendum on Brexit**

Nigel Farage claims that immigrants steal jobs to convince people of the need for Brexit.

Immigrants are held responsible for the UK being on the "edge of chaos" in the majority of ads to encourage Brexit.

So there's a complete amalgamation targeted toward immigrants. They also try to paint in people's heads the image of what immigration and what immigrants look like, so in a pejorative way. They also usually use images from google that are taken out of context and it mostly shows men, to erase the fact that it's not just young men who immigrate but also women, kids and families.

- C. The aftermath of the referendum**

The PM resigned after the day of the referendum and was replaced by Theresa May, and the UK entered a period of negotiation with the EU. It was hard to agree on the terms of separation, like how much the UK had to pay to sort of pay the bill to the EU.

Theresa May did not manage to get the UK out of the EU so she resigned, and Boris Johnson replaced her, as his motto was that he will get Brexit out of the EU and he did.

So, **the UK left the EU on the 31st of January of 2020**. But there was a 1 year transition, so the UK was still in an economic partnership with the EU even though they had no more seats. In early 2021, the UK was finally out of any relationship with the EU.

Being outside of the EU market meant that the UK had to negotiate, since they opted for a **hard Brexit** instead of a soft Brexit.

With the Good Friday Agreement, there was no hard border between Northern Ireland and Ireland. Irish border : backup solution.