Chapter 2: Great Britain the Impact of the Past

I. Ancient Britain
   A. Britons are a mixture of many people and cultures
   B. Little is known of the first inhabitants
      1. Hunters in the last of the Pleistocene/Glacial epoch (10,000 BC)
      2. Mesolithic nomads settled active communities (8000-3000 BC)
      3. Stonehenge (3000 BC)
      4. Neolithic people from northwestern Europe arrive (3000 BC)
         a. systematic stock raising and agriculture
         b. improved stone tools and flint
         c. burial mounds and religious enclosures
      5. 1800 BC Rhineland folk introduce gold, copper, bronze, tin
      6. 400 BC Iron Age invaders leads to tribal organizations and hill forts
   C. Celts
      1. A barbarian people beginning at least from the 6th century BC
      2. Widespread in the Iberian peninsula and transalpine Europe
      3. The social system was three-fold: King, warrior aristocracy, free farmers
      4. The druids (ranked higher than warriors) had magical-religious duties
      5. Families were patriarchal: a man, his wives, children, grandchildren
      6. Status of women varied depending on rank and prosperity of the community
      7. In the 1st century BC, Belgic Celts from La Tene invade Britain

II. Roman Britain 43 AD – 5th century AD
   A. 55 and 54 BC, Julius Caesar raids Britain but invasion is delayed
   B. 43 AD, Claudius sends Aulus Plautius with 40,000 men to invade and conquer
      1. 30 years of fierce resistance, notably by Welsh tribes (Silures), follows
      2. 60-61 AD, Queen Boadicea’s revolt is crushed
   C. Hadrian’s Wall 122 AD
      1. Built to defend against the northern Celts and Picts [pre-Scots]
      2. 139 AD Antoninus’ Wall expanded north but was repeatedly broken
   D. Roman Civilization in Britain
      1. Rome brought its language, laws and political administration
      2. Roads, aqueducts, baths, civil engineering to build towns, villas, and forts
      3. Constantine I introduces Christianity (Council of Arles 314, Nicaea 325)
   E. End of Roman Britain
      1. Picts in the north, Saxon pirates, Irish and Welsh challenge Roman rule
      2. Teutons conquer Gaul and cut Britain off from Rome
      3. 383 AD Magnus Clemens Maximus withdraws many troops from Britain
      4. By the close of the 5th century Roman Britain is no more

III. The Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and Danes
   A. Second half of 5th century, Britain is prey to pirates and Viking raiders
      1. British King Vortigern asks Saxons Hengst and Horsa for help
      2. The Saxons drive the Britons from Kent; German conquest begins
      3. 575 AD Britons have 3 kingdoms, Jutes have 1, Saxons and Angles 3 each
   B. The Angles, Saxons, and Jutes
      1. Boisterous, brawling barbarians loyal to king and kin
2. Social/political structure: king (father to his people), warriors (earls), thanes (wealthy), freemen, peasants, serfs, and slaves
3. The Witenagemot (Witen): "the council of wise men"
4. Mead Halls: common meeting places for feasts

C. Conversion from pagan to Christianity
1. 597 AD Pope Gregory the Great sends 40 monks under St. Augustine
2. In a few months, St. Augustine baptizes King Ethelbert and his people
3. St. Aidan and Irish monks from Iona spread Christianity to the north

D. The Rise of Wessex under King Egbert and Scandinavian invaders
1. 829 AD, West Saxon King Egbert conquers Mercia centralizing power
2. Norwegian Vikings and Danish raiders plunder England's coastline

E. War with the Danes
1. 879 AD, Danish King Guthrum invades England
2. King Alfred (Egbert's grandson) battles the Danes
3. 886 AD a treaty defines boundaries but fighting continues

F. Unification of England
1. Saxon Edward and his sister Aethelflaed defeat the Danes in several battles
2. 919 AD every other ruler in Britain accepts Edward as "father and lord"
3. 1016 AD King Canute's reign creates an Anglo-Danish State
4. Jan. 5, 1066, Harold II becomes King from dying King Edward the Confessor

IV. The Norman Invasion and Conquest (1066-1154)
A. William the Duke of Normandy lays claim to the throne of England
1. He claims a promise of English succession by King Edward the Confessor and a promise by Harold II to support William’s claim
2. Sept. 18, 1066 he invades England with his Breton and French allies
3. Oct. 14, the Battle of Hastings, Harold is killed
4. Dec. 25, William I is crowned King of England

B. Norman Feudalism
1. Political power is dispersed and balanced between the King and the nobility
2. Fiefdoms are divided and the fee system is established

C. The Domesday Book
1. Ordered by William, it notes the lands and population under his dominion
2. It provided the basis for taxation and administration

D. The Office of Exchequer (Treasury Minister) is created
E. French is the language of upper class but Old English is the language of the masses
F. A consequence of the Norman conquest is that Normans and their successors now have claims to both French and English territories

V. The Plantagenets (1154-1327)
A. Henry II (1154-1159)
1. Mostly successful; noted for development of law and justice and ushering in a period of intellectual and artistic renaissance
2. But the murder of Thomas Beckett obliges him to concede papal authority over English churches and to abandon efforts to hold clergy answerable for their crimes in lay courts

B. King John (1199-1216): successor to his brother Richard I, his rule is oppressive, taxes and feudal dues are heavy and erratic, debtors are imprisoned or dispossessed

C. 1215, at Runnymede, the barons force John to sign the Magna Charta on threat of war
1. John agrees to stop encroaching on the feudal customs, laws, and rights of the barons, church, chartered towns, and Englishmen, free or not free
2. He agrees to limit the power of the monarchy and to be bound by the law

D. Wars are waged with Wales, France, and Scotland: 1216-1399
1. Edward I conquers Wales, wars with France, tries to conquer Scotland but is met with resistance by William Wallace and Robert the Bruce
2. 1337, Edward III begins the Hundred Years War with France
3. Oct. 15, 1415, Henry V defeats the French at Agincourt; the Treaty of Troyes, he marries Catherine and becomes regent of France as well as Normandy
4. Henry dies on Aug. 31, 1422, his infant son Henry VI is proclaimed King of England and France; English hold on France begins to crumble
5. On April 15, 1450, the English army is destroyed and all Normandy is lost
6. Oct. 1453, the Hundred Years war ends with the English surrender

VI. The Rise of Parliament
A. In the 13th century, English kings begin to summon subjects to raise taxes and obtain “local support”
   1. Three to four knights from each “shire”
   2. Two to four “burghers” from the towns
B. The “lower” house eventually forms the “House of Commons”
   1. Composed of knights and burghers
   2. A leader is chosen to be “Speaker” of the house
C. An “upper” house subsequently is created
   1. Composed of the nobility (lords) and top clergy
   2. This eventually becomes the “House of Lords”

VII. The Houses of Lancaster and York (1399-1485)
A. Henry VI of Lancaster (1422-61 and 1470-71)
   1. Son of Henry V, he reigns when England loses the Hundred Years War
   2. English public order is not properly maintained, justice is biased, the powerful are unchecked, force and fraud are systemic
B. 1453, the House of York demands the dismissal of Lancaster from Henry VI’s council
   1. Fierce, treacherous, and brutal civil war ensues with Edward IV of York seizing power, losing it, then seizing it again (1461-70 and 1471-83)
   2. Edward dies in April 1483; his two young sons (Edward V and Richard) are imprisoned in the Tower by their uncle, Richard III; there they are murdered
   3. Richard III, the last York king, is killed on Bosworth Field Aug. 23, 1485

VIII. The Tudors (1485-1603)
A. Henry VIII (1509-1547)
   1. Marriage to Catherine of Aragon
      a. An arranged marriage between Henry VII and Ferdinand and Isabella
      b. 1509-1533, Henry’s marriage to Catherine produces no male heir
   2. Henry’s petition Pope Clement VII to grant him a divorce/annulment is denied
      a. There was the issue of Canon Law strictly limiting divorce/annulments
      b. And, importantly, Clement was dependent on Catherine’s nephew, the Emperor Charles, for support against the Lutherans
   3. Henry threatens papal jurisdiction over and revenues from church property in England
4. 1529-1536, Henry through Parliament expels the Church from England
5. Henry forms the Church of England
   a. The rites of the new Church are similar to those of Catholicism
   b. But the king becomes the head of the Church
   c. Henry’s Archbishop Cranmer grants the king his divorce
6. Consequences of England’s split with the Catholic Church
   a. It is easier for England to “secularize” its society and politics than it is for France, the Germans, or the rest of Europe
   b. By using Parliament as he does, Henry “unintentionally” shifts power from the Monarchy to Parliament

B. Elizabeth I (1558-1603)
   1. Daughter of Henry and Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth restored the Tudor direction lost under Edward VI and Mary I
      a. The Privy Council again became the Crown’s efficient servant
      b. Her focus: political unity, conformity, and expansion of naval power
   2. War with Spain, the Spanish Armada, the Irish rebellion
   3. 1601, Essex attempted coup fails, but internal discontent remains
   4. 1603, Elizabeth dies leaving no heir

IX. The Stuarts, The Commonwealth, and the Glorious Revolution (1603-1688)
A. James I (1603-1625): the first Stuart Monarch
   1. With the death of Elizabeth, Scotland’s Stuart Dynasty unites the crowns of England and Scotland
   2. James is an “absolutist” who doesn’t want to share power with Parliament, he believes that civil institutions exist to support the king
   3. He clashes with Parliament over taxes which he tries to impose without its consent

B. Charles I (1625-1649)
   1. Absolutist, his clashes with Parliament grow more frequent and bitter
   2. Unsuccessful wars with France and Spain are waged
   3. His religious beliefs conflict with those of the Puritans
   4. In 1642, civil war breaks out
      a. Royalist v. Parliamentarians
      b. Oliver Cromwell and his Puritan troops, Scots, and Sir Thomas Fairfax Yorkshiremen form the “New Model Army” of Parliamentarians
      c. In 1647, the first phase of the war ends with Charles’ capture and settlements with the Scots and Levellers, the second phase begins
      d. In 1648, Cromwell defeats the Royalist-Presbyterian-Scottish alliance, and in 1649, Charles is tried by Parliament, convicted, and beheaded

C. Oliver Cromwell and the Commonwealth (1649-1660)
   1. 1649, the “Commonwealth” is created with Cromwell as First Chairman of the Council of State, Commander-in-Chief
   2. April 1653, Cromwell and his soldiers forcibly dissolve the Rump Parliament and in December a new constitution is drawn with Cromwell as Lord Protector
   3. Ostensibly a republic, the government is in fact a military dictatorship with strict puritanical rule and censorship over conduct and morality
   4. Heavy taxes are imposed to fund the war with Spain
   5. In 1658 Cromwell dies and in 1660 the Commonwealth ends

D. Charles II (1660-1685): Restoration of the Stuart Monarchy
1. Tired of puritan rule, Parliament invites the son of Charles I to return from Dutch exile and assume the throne
2. The terms of the invitation put restrictions on Charles and puts him under the will of Parliament
3. Unable to rule “absolutely,” Charles tries to manipulate Parliament discreetly
4. Charles II pro-Catholic faith
   1. 1673, Charles issues the Declaration of Indulgence banning the laws against Catholics and non-Anglican Protestants
   2. Parliament blocks the Declaration and anti-Catholic sentiment grows
5. 1685, Charles II dies

E. James II and the “Glorious Revolution” (1685-1688)
   1. With the death of Charles, his brother, James II becomes king
   2. An “absolutist” like his father, James is dismissive towards Parliament
   3. A devout Catholic, he attempts to issue the Declaration of Indulgence again
   4. In June 1688, the birth of a son causes concern among opponents who appeal to William of Orange and his wife Mary (James’ Protestant daughter) for help
   5. William invades and advances slowly; without support, James flees

F. The English Bill of Rights of 1689
   1. Unlike the American Bill of Rights, it is not a listing of civil liberties
   2. It is, fundamentally, an outline of Parliament’s powers
      a. No laws or taxes may issue without Parliament’s assent
      b. Parliament is supreme; it can invite or dismiss monarchs

X. The Hanovers (1714-present House of Windsor)
A. William’s death leads to his daughter Anne’s becoming queen (1702-1714)
   1. Lacking political ability and grasp, her reign is marred by internal political bickering between Tories and Whigs and war with Spain
   2. 1707, the union of England (with Wales and Northern Ireland) with Scotland creates the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
   3. Her death in 1714 leaves no heir to the throne
B. George I (1714-1727)
   1. Parliament invites George of Hanover to become King of England; he accepts
   2. George does not speak English and is not interested in English politics
   3. Under George the British King becomes a “figurehead”

XI. The Rise of the British Prime Minister
A. Sir Robert Walpole (1721-1742)
   1. George I turns executive power over to the “Cabinet” of Parliament
   2. The “Cabinet” is composed of ministers chosen by the king
   3. The First Prime Minister chosen is Sir Robert Walpole
B. Lord North (Frederick, 2nd Earl of Guilford)
   1. Chosen by George III (1760-1789) in 1770, he serves until 1782
   2. Lord North is Prime Minister during the American Revolution
C. William Pitt the Younger
   1. Chosen by George III to succeed Lord North, he serves from 1783-1806
   2. He begins the tradition of the prime minister as leader of the majority party in the House of Commons
   3. The prime minister becomes answerable only to parliament not to the king
X. Democratization of Parliament and the Effect on Political Parties
   A. Up to the late 18th century, Parliament was not a democratic institution
      1. The House of Commons was an elitist body of privileged gentry
      2. The House of Lords was composed of "hereditary peers"
      3. Suffrage was limited to male property owners only
      4. Two political parties, however, had emerged
         a. The Tories: composed of the landed aristocracy, merchant classes, and
            official ministerial groups, this faction would become the base for the
            Conservative Party
         b. The Whigs: representing the interests of dissenters, industrialists, and
            advocates for electoral and parliamentary reform, this faction would
            become the base for the Liberal Party
   B. The Reform Act of 1832
      1. For the first time, the middle class was allowed to vote
      2. The Act increased the electorate to seven percent of the population
   C. The Second Reform Act (1867)
      1. Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli and the Conservative Party pass additional
         extension of voting rights
      2. The electorate is doubled; 16% of adult Britons are given the right to vote
   D. The Third Reform Act (1884)
      1. Farm workers are added to the electorate
      2. All male suffrage is practically complete
   E. In 1918, women are given the right to vote
   F. Political parties are transformed from "clubs" to mass-membership organizations

XI. The Rise of the Welfare State in Britain
   A. In the 20th century, social and economic change occur in Britain
      1. The expanding electorate presses its demands for public education, housing, jobs, and medical care
      2. Socialist ideas among intellectuals and trade unionists take root
      3. The great depression brings demands for greater government action in the economy
   B. The Rise of the Labour Party
      1. Around 1900, militant trade unionism combines with intellectual notions of "social democracy"
      2. The Labour Party adopts a pragmatic, gradualist approach to change in contrast to radical communism
      3. Labour advocates a policy of "leveling" socio-economic class differences
      4. From 1923-1924, and then from 1929-1931, Labour wins control of the government, under the leadership of Ramsey MacDonald
      5. The Conservatives control the government through the Second World War under Winston Churchill
      6. But in the autumn elections of 1945, Labour wins a stunning victory
         a. Clement R. Atlee becomes Prime Minister
         b. Labour implements an ambitious welfare program
         c. And the government nationalizes utilities, railroads, coal mines, and many heavy manufacturing industries
Chapter 3: Britain the Key Institutions

I. The “unwritten” English Constitution
   A. Not one but several sources
      1. Historic documents
         a. The Magna Charta 1215
         b. The English Bill of Rights 1689
      2. The Common Law and Equity
      3. Acts passed by Parliament
      4. Custom and Tradition
   B. Adaptability/Flexibility
      1. Since there is no Judicial Review, nothing can be declared unconstitutional;
      2. Commons can pass any law it pleases
      3. With no formal amendment process, the British political system can change
         without a systematic crisis
   C. Civil Liberties
      1. Pre-2000 there was no “written” guarantee of human rights
         a. And government abuse “happened”
         b. Example: 1975 conviction of 6 men falsely accused and convicted of
            being IRA bombers after being beaten into “confessing”
      2. 2000 adoption of European Convention on Human Rights as “domestic law”
         a. Adopted by Parliament with the support of PM Tony Blair
         b. In 2005 Lords ruled a portion of Britain’s anti-terrorist law violated the
            European Convention on Human Rights

II. Institutions: The Monarchy
   A. As “Head of State”
      1. The Monarch is the symbol of the nation
      2. Responsibilities
         a. To receive foreign ambassadors and ministers
         b. To preside over “ceremonial functions”
   B. “Utility”
      1. The Monarch is a figurehead the people can rally around in difficult times
      2. Having no political position, he is not involved in political battles
      3. “He/she reigns but does not rule” – Sir Walter Bagehot
      4. It gives “dignity” to the government
         a. Although scandals have diminished its “dignity” among some Britons
         b. For example, the Charles, Diana, Camilla scandal

III. Institutions: The Cabinet
   A. Size and Membership
      1. Most are Members of Parliament from Commons (a few from Lords)
      2. In recent years composed of 20 Ministers
      3. Commons routinely approves the Prime Minister’s request to add, drop, or
         combine ministries
      4. See p. 36 (Roskin, 10th ed.) for list of 2007 ministries
      5. Offices below Cabinet rank
         a. 30+ non-Cabinet “Deputy Ministers”
b. 30+ “Junior Ministers” assigned to help Cabinet and Department Ministers

B. Function
1. Originally created to advise the King
2. In the 17th century, it became responsible to Parliament
3. Today, chosen by the Prime Minister with regard to “political qualifications”
   a. As a practice, both major parties have representation in the Cabinet
   b. Margaret Thatcher, however, ignored this policy and picked only Tories loyal to her and her philosophy
   c. Since 1921, the political power of the Cabinet has been in decline

C. The “Fusion of Powers”
1. The Cabinet “straddles the gap” between executive and legislative
2. The Cabinet practices “collaborative responsibility” (meaning they all stick together) and in public at least support the Prime Minister

IV. The Prime Minister
A. “Linchpin of the British system” – Roskin
   1. The prime minister leads the largest party in Parliament
   2. He/she picks and controls the Cabinet
B. Term of Office coincides with Parliamentary elections
   1. Not fixed, it can be up to 5 years between national elections
   2. A prime minister may call for an election anytime he/she chooses
      a. He/she will try to call for elections at a time advantageous to him/her
      b. If there is a crisis in government (e.g., a vote of “no confidence”), however, he/she may be forced into calling for an early election
C. Custom and fiction concerning the role of the prime minister
   1. It is “tradition” for the monarch to “ask” the leader of the majority party to form a government upon the resignation of a prime minister whose party loses an election
   2. The prime minister is “first among equals” in the King’s Cabinet
   3. The prime minister is but “chief advisor” to the monarch
D. The “efficient “office – Roskin
   1. The prime minister is Britain’s “Chief of Government”
   2. He/she is a member of Parliament and at the same time Britain’s Chief Executive
   3. As the Cabinet has declined in power, the prime minister’s power has grown
      a. He/she may be becoming more and more “presidential” in power
      b. Tony Blair, for example, has “concentrated and centralized power in his immediate office at the expense of the cabinet and Commons” (Roskin)
E. Tony Blair
   1. Spending less time in Parliament than any other prime minister (voting in Parliament only 5% of the time in Parliament in 1997)
   2. Tripled the size of his personal staff at 10 Downing Street
      a. He relies on his staff for decision making rather than the Cabinet
   3. He reformed the Labour Party (“New Labour”)
      a. The Labour Party now stresses economic growth and getting people off welfare
      b. His “Third Way” is a “vague economic ideology” somewhere between capitalism and socialism (Roskin)
4. He negotiated a truce for Northern Ireland
5. He devolved some home rule to Scotland and Wales
6. He reformed the House of Lords
7. He advocated the adoption of the European Convention of Human Rights
8. He joined with the U.S. in sending British forces into Afghanistan and Iraq

F. Factors contributing to the rise of power in the prime minister
1. Television and the focus on “personality” in elections and direct communication with the people
2. The decline of Parliament
3. The growth of interest groups
4. Voter centristism

G. Whitehall
1. No. 10 Downing St., the prime minister’s residence
2. on the ground floor to the back is the Cabinet meeting room
3. No. 12, next door, is the residence of the Chief Whip
4. No. 11, out of sight, is the residence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer
5. next door to No. 11 is the Foreign Office
6. at the corner of Downing St. is the cabinet secretariat, responsible for communications and coordination among the departments

V. The House of Commons
A. Theories of Commons’ Power
1. Legislative power has primacy – John Locke
   a. The Cabinet is a committee of Commons that keeps the administration under Parliamentary control
   b. Or that Commons is an “electoral college” that chooses the executive (the Cabinet) but remains in operation afterwards
2. Commons is a subordinate institution
   a. “Commons has rarely been free and independent and is becoming less so” – Roskin
   b. The prime minister leads and controls Commons

B. The Structure of Commons
1. The chamber is designed so that the parties face each other on long parallel benches
   a. “Her Majesty’s Government” (the largest party) is on one side
   b. “Her Majesty’s Opposition” (the opposing party) is on the other
2. The chamber is 45’x65’ designed for 400 members
3. There are no desks, MPs sit in the aisles or stand
4. Each side of the oblong chamber has 5 rows of benches
   a. The front row is reserved for the leadership of each major party (i.e., the Cabinet and the “shadow government”)
   b. Behind the leaders sit/stand the rank and file MPs (the “backbenchers”)
5. In the center of the chamber, between the two sides, is the “Center Table” for the introduction and placing of proposed legislation

C. The Speaker of the House of Commons
1. The Speaker is elected for life
2. A neutral participant, he/she never takes sides on issues
3. His/her responsibility is to manage floor debate and maintain order
4. He/she sits in the throne-like chair at the head of the chamber
D. The current membership of Commons is 659
E. Sessions
   1. The Speaker calls the House to order at 11:30 am
   2. The session may last to 7:30 pm
F. Commons in Operation
   1. Opening in November with the “Speech from the Throne”
      a. “Black Rod” (the monarch’s messenger) summons the MPs from
         Commons to the House of Lords (tradition dictates that neither the
         monarch nor Lords enter Commons)
      b. The monarch reads a speech prepared by the prime minister
   2. Practically all legislation is introduced by the government (“what the PM
      wants the PM gets” – Roskin)
   3. “Her Majesty’s Opposition”
      a. Seated to the Speaker’s left
      b. Its function is to question, denounce, challenge anything that might make
         the government look bad
   4. Few members of Commons specialize in particular areas
   5. The Committee
      a. Pre-1979: committees in Commons were unspecialized, called no
         witnesses, gathered no data on issues
      b. 1979 Reform
         (1) Established 14 select committees set up to scrutinize the
             workings of each ministry;
         (2) These committees have the power to take written and oral
             evidence
         (3) They have permanent, stable membership
      c. “Neither Tory nor Labour governments have been enthusiastic about
         specialized committees that can monitor and criticize executive
         functions” – Roskin
VI. The House of Lords
A. 1999 Reform
   1. Blair’s sponsored reform measure ended most of the “hereditary peers” (92
      hereditary peers and 26 top clergy remain)
   2. Today “peerage” in the House of Lords is “for life”
B. Peerage in Lords since 1958 has given to “distinguished Britons” in science, literature,
   politics, military service, business, and the arts
C. Current Size of Lords is 500+
D. 1911 Parliament Act
   1. Allows Lords to delay legislation
      a. Not more than 30 days on financial bills and 2 years on all other bills
      b. 1949 Amendment reduced the delay on other bills to 1 year
E. Lords may amend legislation and return it to Commons, but Commons may delete the
   change by simple majority
   1. Such action by Lords, however, may cause Commons to re-examine the bill
F. Lords is able to debate issues “too controversial” for elected officials (e.g., abortion or
homosexuality)
G. Attendance of peers in Lords is low
   1. Fewer than 300 actually attend
2. A quorum is three members

H. A few Lords are named to the Cabinet or to other high political or diplomatic positions

I. The Law Lords
   1. Five life peers are the “top judges” in the British court system
   2. Cases may be appealed to the Law Lords for review
   3. However, there is no power of judicial review

VII. Political Parties

A. “The cornerstone of British government” – Roskin
   1. The party with the most MPs controls Commons and forms the government

B. The British Two Party System
   1. Tories and Labour dominate politics, third parties win few seats
   2. Reasons for the two party domination
      a. Single member districts are the basis for elections (one MP per constituency)
      b. “first past the post” (FPPT): the candidate with the most votes wins

C. Nature of British political parties
   1. More cohesive, centralized and ideological than U.S. parties
   2. Tories and Labour today tend to converge ideologically toward the center

D. Third Parties
   1. 1981 the moderate wing of the Labour party split to form the centrist Social Democratic Party
   2. 1983/87 the Liberal party and the Social Democratic party ran jointly as an alliance, and in 1988 they formally merged to form the Liberal Democratic party
   3. Scotland and Wales have nationalist parties that have a few seats in Westminster and many seats in the Scottish and Welsh assemblies
VIII. The Supreme Court of the United Kingdom
A. Creation
   1. Established by Part 3 of the Constitutional Reform Act of 2005
   2. Assumed the judicial responsibilities of the House of Lords, exercised by the Lords of Appeals in Ordinary (Law Lords)
   3. Began work on 1 October 2009
B. Location: Middlesex Guildhall, London
C. Composition and Term of Office
   1. Twelve professional judges
      a. The President of the Supreme Court
      b. Deputy President and 10 “Puisne Justices”
   2. Appointed by the Monarch with the advice of the Prime Minister
   3. Not subject to term limits, like all British judges Supreme Court justices they are subject to mandatory retirement
      a. 70 if first appointed to a judicial office after 31 March 1995
      b. 75 otherwise
D. Jurisdiction
   1. The Supreme Court of the United Kingdom is the supreme court in all matters under English, Northern Irish, and Scottish civil law
   2. It is the court of last resort and highest appellate court in the United Kingdom
   3. However, the High Court of Judiciary remains the supreme court for criminal cases in Scotland
   4. The Supreme Court has jurisdiction to resolve disputes relating to devolution in the United Kingdom
   5. It has jurisdiction concerning the legal powers of the three devolved governments or laws made by the legislatures
E. Judicial Powers of the Supreme Court and Parliamentary Sovereignty
   1. Due to the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty, the court is limited in its power of judicial review
   2. The Supreme Court cannot overturn any primary legislation of Parliament
   3. It can overturn secondary legislation if that legislation is found to be ultra vires (“beyond the scope”) of the primary legislation allowing it to be made
F. The European Convention on Human Rights
   1. Under section 4 of the Human Rights Act of 1998, the Supreme Court may make a declaration of ‘incompatibility’
   2. In effect, the court declares its belief that a law is incompatible with one of the rights of the European Convention on Human Rights adopted by Parliament
   3. The law is not overturned by the declaration but it effectively ceases to have effect
   4. Under section 10 of the Human Rights Act, British Ministers can amend the law by statute to remove the incompatibility
   5. A declaration can apply equally to primary and secondary legislation
American System of Separation of Powers

- House of Representatives: Two-year term
- Senate: Six-year term
- Judges: Life-term
- President: Four-year term
- Electors
- Voter

British Parliamentary System of Concentration of Responsibility

- Prime Minister
- Cabinet: Members serve at the pleasure of the Prime Minister or until the House of Commons is dissolved
- Speaker
- House of Commons: Five-year terms unless dissolved earlier by the Prime Minister
- Majority Party
- Minority Party
- Ballot
- Crown (Figurehead): Life term (No power of judicial review)
- Judges: Life terms (Little power)
- House of Lords
The cabinet is supported by a set of institutions that help formulate policy, coordinate operations, and facilitate the support for government policy. Acting within a context set by the fusion of legislature and executive, the prime minister enjoys a great opportunity for decisive leadership that is lacking in a system of checks and balances and separation of powers among the branches of government.

COURT SYSTEM OF ENGLAND AND WALES

CIVIL CASES

Court of Appeal
The Master of Rolls and Lord
Justices of Appeal (not less
than 8 nor more than 11)
Appeals in civil cases from
County Courts or High Court of
Justice. May send to another
lower court for a fresh trial or
reconsider evidence itself but
without fresh testimony.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE

Queen's Bench Division
Lord Chief Justice
and 27 judges
Any civil case.

Chancery Division
Lord Chancellor (nominally)
and 6 judges
Cases formerly in field of
equity like estates or bankruptcy.

Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty
Division
President and 10 judges
Wills, divorces, maritime cases.

Local Courts

County Courts
74 county court judges
About 400 county courts
Civil cases not exceeding £400.

CRIMINAL CASES

HOUSE OF LORDS

Lord Chancellor, Legal Peers, and
9 Lords of Appeal in Ordinary
Appeals in civil and criminal
cases involving a point of law of
general public importance.

CRIMINAL CASES

Court of Criminal Appeal
3 judges of Queen's Bench
Appeals may be instituted only
by the defendant.
Involves a retrial of the case.

Court of Assize
1 judge of Queen's Bench
Serious offenses including mur-
der and treason.

Indictment Courts
Trial with Jury

Quarter Sessions
Justices of the Peace for a county
65 courts of county
quarter session
96 separate borough
quarter-session courts
Cases like assault, stealing, or
house breaking where specialized
judicial knowledge not essential.

Summary Jurisdiction
Trial without Jury

 Petty Sessions
2 or more justices of the Peace
Minor offenses and investiga-
tion of cases to be referred to
higher court for jury trial.

Justice of the Peace
Very small offenses.

Juvenile Courts
Not more than 3 judges from
Petty Sessions
Specially constituted.
For those under age 17.

Channel of Appeal
Channel of Remand for Trial
by Superior Court

3 These are not manned by J.P.'s but each by a professionally trained recorder.
Chapter 4 British Political Culture

I. British Social Class and its influence on politics
   A. Analyzing “social class”
      1. Objective analysis uses income, education, life-styles, neighborhoods, etc.
      2. Subjective analysis involves self-identification
   B. Divisions of Social Class in Britain
      1. working class – becoming wealthier
      2. middle class - growing
      3. upper class – becoming poorer
   C. “Solidarity” – German sociologist Ralf Dahrendorf – not “social class”
      1. Britons do not seek individual improvement or improvement as other Europeans do
      2. Britons prefer “sticking with old jobs, old neighborhoods and pubs”

II. Education: The “Public Schools”
    A. “Public schools” are actually private and very expensive
       1. Their purpose: to train boys for “public service” in the military or the government
       2. Eton, Harrow, Rugby, St. Paul’s, Winchester
       3. Their mission: to instill self discipline, self confidence, leadership
    B. “Public schools” generate an “old boys network” that assists graduates later in life
       1. Classmates often help each other get positions in industry and government
       2. Over half of Conservative MPs are public school graduates
    C. British education is weak and still divided by class
       1. Labour governments phased out the selective system of examination in favor of “comprehensive schools”
       2. The result did not solve the problems of poor quality schools and equality
          a. “better off students” go to boarding school
          b. “middle-class students” go to private day schools
          c. “working-class students” go to comprehensive and technical schools
       3. Only 65% of British 17 year olds are in high school compared to Germans (97%), Americans (88%) or Japanese (83%)

III. “Oxbridge”
    A. “The real path to position and power in Britain is through the elite universities of Oxford and Cambridge.” – Roskin
       1. Nearly half of Conservative MPs are Oxbridge graduates;
       2. Approximately one-fourth of Labour MPs are Oxbridge graduates.
    B. The small percentage of Oxbridge graduates who go into politics have an advantage
       1. Their degree commands respect
       2. The major (philosophy, politics, economics) trains them how to run a country
       3. The “sense of effortless superiority” graduates carry with them

IV. Class and Voting in Britain
    A. “Class voting” (i.e., working class voting Labour, middle-class voting Conservative) is a thing of the past
    B. Factors diluting class voting
1. Economic growth, low taxes, anti-immigrant appeals to many working class
2. The intellectual appeal of Labour attracts many middle-class/educated voters
3. Some middle-class grew up working class and vote like their parents
C. Class *plus* one or more other factors (e.g., religion, ethnicity, urban/rural) still influences voting behavior

V. Deferential British
A. The deference the British gave to the Oxbridge-educated Establishment is obsolete.
B. “Resentments” by working class have done away with such deference

VI. British Civility
A. Civility is based on a “sense of limits” and that politics isn’t a game of annihilation
B. But British civility allows insults and heckling
C. Civility in public is usually the case—but not always (e.g., race and immigration)

VII. Pragmatism: “using what works without paying much attention to theory or ideology”
A. “The British are generally pragmatic.” – Roskin
B. “There is and always has been a certain amount of ideology in British politics, but it has usually been balanced with a shrewd practical appreciation that ideology neither wins elections nor effectively governs a county.” – Roskin
C. “Muddling through” style of problem solving
   1. “The British tend not to thoroughly analyze a problem and come up with detailed options or ‘game plan’.” – Roskin

VIII. Tradition and Symbols
A. Tradition and symbols contribute to a society’s stability and continuity
B. The typical Briton likes traditions and symbols
   1. Only a minority favor replacing the monarchy with a presidential republic
   2. The trappings of royalty deepen the British feelings of the “rightness” of the system – Roskin

IX. Legitimacy and Authority
A. Legitimacy is a “feeling of rightness” which results in obedience
B. Authority is “obeying duly constituted officials”
C. Terrorism, crime, and urban riots have eroded legitimacy and authority in Britain

X. The Ulster Ulcer
A. Eight centuries of conflict between the British and the Irish resulted in Ireland becoming a “free state” of the British Commonwealth in 1922
B. In 1949 the bulk of Ireland becomes sovereign Eire
C. But Northern Ireland remains part of the United Kingdom as “Ulster”
   1. 1.5 million people in 6 counties are Protestant (Orangemen) determined to remain part of Britain
   2. Violence between Protestants and Catholics have killed over 3,000

XI. A Changing Political Culture: Britons are neither angels nor devils
A. A bias in perception can distort the reality of a country’s political culture
B. Studies of political culture are carried out during particular times and times change
C. Political attitudes change, they can get nastier or better
Chapter 5 Britain Patterns of Interaction

I. The Complex Relationship between People and Political Parties
   A. Party Image: The picture political parties try to portray of themselves
   B. Party Identification
      1. The picture people have of the parties’ policies, leaders, and ideologies
      2. The association/loyalty people have with a political party
      3. The family is a major factor contributing to party identification
   C. Both party image and party identification are reasonably clear in Britain
      1. Most Britons recognize what the main parties stand for generally
         a. Labour is for social and educational reform
         b. Conservatives aim for economic growth with little state intervention
      2. But the situation isn’t static as party images change and voters lose their party identification

II. National and Local Party
   A. The “all-powerful” British national political party isn’t a completely accurate picture
      1. Parliamentary candidates covet the “safe seat”
      2. This means getting the local constituency organization’s support
   B. The local party often requests lists of possible candidates from headquarters
   C. Settling on one candidate, the local party gets it approved by central headquarters
   D. Some constituency organizations insist that a candidate actually live in the district
   E. But many constituencies do not require their MP actually live in their district
      1. The feeling is that the MP’s job is in London
      2. And periodic visits to hear complaints and maintain ties is sufficient
   F. Unsafe seats
      1. These are testing grounds for energetic newcomers to politics
      2. Though he/she may lose his/her performance is noted for later election in another safer constituency

III. Politics within the Parties
   A. The political parties “balancing act” among factions and voters
      1. Leaders cannot favor or ignore one faction in the party
         a. If the party takes too firm an ideological stand it risks alienating moderate voters
         b. Thus, leaders tend to hedge and moderate their positions
      2. Both Labour and Conservative have ideological factions in their ranks
         a. Labour left is militant trade unionism and intellectual radicalism wanting nationalization of industry, higher taxes on the rich, no nuclear weapons, dismantling “public schools,” and leaving the EU
         b. Labour right favors some welfare programs but not nationalization nor higher taxes, pro-NATO, pro-American, pro-Europe
         c. In 1997 Blair called his party “New Labour”
         d. Traditional Tories (“wets”) want to take “everybody’s interest into account” under the guidance of “people born and bred to lead” are pro-Europe, cautious capitalists
e. Thatcherites ("dries") are much like American conservatives who favor "rolling back government" and freeing the economy; they favor the Common Market but oppose the EU (Eurosceptic)

IV. Parties and Interest Groups
A. Parties quietly strike deals with interest group members
B. Labour unions are important constituent members of Labour
   1. Especially important is the Trade Union Congress (TUC)
   2. Yet, both party and unions deny charges of union domination
   3. Many union members are MPs, many MPs owe unions for their election
   4. Unions exert power, but they have backed down to save elections
C. The Confederation of British Industry (CBI) while having no formal links to the Conservative party does interests that are often "parallel"

V. Two Ways to Look at British Election Politics
A. Brief and efficient 3-4 week campaigns once every few years
B. "Nearly permanent campaigns" between Parliaments

VI. The British Civil Servant
A. Permanent secretaries: the highest civil servants
   1. Their tenure is much longer than the British cabinet minister (the "nominal head" of each British department)
   2. Socially and economically, permanent secretaries do better
      a. Most are knighted later in life
      b. They earn more (some nearly twice as much)
   3. Ministers find it nearly impossible to fire or transfer permanent secretaries
   4. They are assisted by deputy secretaries, undersecretaries, and asst. secretaries
B. Permanent secretaries are powerful
   1. They are "professionals" who know their ministry—its personnel, problems, interests, and budget
   2. Bills and budgets pass through the cabinet, but they originate in the ministries
C. The Treasury or "the department of departments"
   1. It supervises the main lines of economic policy
   2. It decides who gets what among the ministries
   3. Chancellor of the Exchequer is the 2nd most powerful figure in the cabinet
   4. "Treasury chaps" are "a breed unto themselves"
      a. Smarter and more powerful than other bureaucrats—they see the whole picture of the British government not just one piece
      b. They have an attitude and an image of "cold, callous remoteness"

VII. The Civil Service and British Interest Groups
A. While unions prefer party politics, business groups prefer the bureaucracy
B. The ministries in turn see themselves as concerned and attentive to business
   1. Economic prosperity reflects on agency performance
   2. Business groups become "clients" and ministries are "colonized"
C. The "revolving door" between permanent secretaries and business executives
   1. Permanent secretaries retire to become a business executive
   2. A business executive accepts a high administrative position
Chapter 6 What Britons Quarrel About?

I. What is the “cure” for Britain’s decline?
   A. “The British Disease”
      1. Explanation One: The “psycho-cultural approach”
         a. Britons have a non-work attitude that emphasizes “having wealth not creating it”
            (1) Old aristocracy disdains work as “tawdry money making”
            (2) Rising entrepreneurs become “gentlemen of leisure”
            (3) Public schools and Oxbridge favor the humanities over commercial and technical skills
         b. The British class system aggravates the situation
            (1) British managers (middle-class) are snobbish toward workers
            (2) Workers show solidarity with “mates” and their union
         c. The solution: change British attitudes
      2. Explanation Two: The “politico-economic approach”
         a. The creation of the welfare state resulted in a society of consumers not producers
         b. It also subsidized inefficient industries
         c. Unions were allowed to raise wages and lower productivity
         d. It diverted funds from investment causing insufficient production and stagnating living standards
         e. The solution: Cut welfare benefits, bureaucracy, and industry subsidies
   B. The “Thatcher Cure”
      1. Deep cuts and control of the money supply (a monetarist approach)
      2. Anti-Thatcherites charged Thatcher’s policies were brutal and ineffective
         a. Unemployment reached 14%
         b. Thousands of firms went bankrupt
         c. GDP was anemic
      3. The verdict
         a. Inflation rose in the 1980s but by 1997 had gone down
         b. Welfare was cut resistant
         c. Home ownership rose as public housing was sold off at low cost
         d. Economic growth was among the fastest in Europe
         e. Manufacturing jobs were lost to other countries
         f. New small and middle-sized firms sprang up (e.g., “silicon glen in Scotland and a “software valley” around Cambridge University)
         g. Unions ability to call strikes was limited by law and the number and length of strikes “dropped drastically”
         h. Income inequality grew
            (1) The number of families with less than ½ the average income rose from 5 million in 1979 to 14 million in 1993
            (2) Unemployment among young Britons rose
         i. South England prospered with the influx of technological industries while North England declined with the loss of manufacturing jobs

II. How should the National Health Service be funded?
   A. Labour: The National Health Service should be funded by general tax revenues.
B. Britain should adopt the European model, employee/employer contributions along with a bigger role for private health care providers.

III. Is the Northern Ireland conflict settled?
A. The 1998 Good Friday Agreement, despite initial violence, has worked.
   1. The Northern Ireland Assembly at Stormont was reopened
   2. There have been free/fair elections using proportional representation.
   3. Ministries have awarded on a balanced basis (most of the 9 parties get at least one)
   4. A power sharing plan has been established
      a. First Minister is leader of the Ulster Nationalist Party (Protestant)
      b. Deputy Minister is leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (Catholic)
   5. Powers of the Stormont Assembly
      a. Runs educational, medical, social, housing, and agricultural services
      b. With the Republic of Ireland supervises cross-border policies
B. London has had to suspend Stormont’s powers several times and resume direct control

IV. What should the government do to control Britain’s racial tensions and British racism?
A. There is animosity between whites and non-whites in Britain.
   1. Since 1958 there have been several race riots
   2. In 1967 white resentment of coloureds spawns the racist National Front party (today the British National Front party)
   3. Young white “skinheads” terrorize non-whites (“Paki-bashing”)
   4. Unemployed Muslim youth turn to crime and Islamism
B. Muslim immigrants are segregated and discriminated against.
C. At the same time, Muslims reject assimilation preferring to keep their faith and culture.
D. The British government’s response:
   1. Thatcher called for a “clear end to immigration” before it “swamped” British culture
   2. Since 1962 both parties have tightly restricted immigration
   3. Blair has said immigrants who violate British laws should be expelled

V. What should Britain’s relationship with Europe be?
A. Historically Britons have not seen themselves as “Europeans.”
   1. They have emphasized its Commonwealth and its “special relationship” to the United States.
   2. Most Britons looked down on anyone across the English Channel.
B. Britain stayed out of the European Community when it was formed in 1957
   1. When it applied in 1963, its admission was blocked by de Gaulle of France
   2. Tories opposed entry because it “threatened British sovereignty”
   3. British manufacturers, fishermen, and workers also were opposed because of the threat of cheaper imports, competition, and lower workers’ wages
C. In 1971, Commons voted 356 to 244 to join the EC
   1. Right wing Tories and left wing Labourites oppose joining
   2. In 1973, Britain, Denmark, and Ireland are admitted into the Common Market
   3. In 1975, Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson’s referendum on staying in the Common Market finds most Britons want to stay though one-third wants out
D. Thatcher (a Eurosceptic) takes a hard line with the European Union (1993 successor to the European Community)

E. Many Britons rejected joining the European Monetary Union (EMU) and its euro currency
   1. Many felt it threatened British ability to control its own currency
   2. There also was fear that Germany would dominate the EMU and policy on money supply and interest rates would be set by the Bundesbank.

VI. What is the future for Britain?