## CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

# Constitutional Change in the United Kingdom

F.N. Forman



The Constitution

Unit

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### **Preface**

This is a comprehensive account of constitutional change in the United Kingdom. Because such change has often taken place over a very long period of time, the book does not focus exclusively on what has happened since Labour came to power in May 1997, but reaches back, where appropriate, to explain the historical background to the significant reforms pursued by successive Blair Administrations. It also uses a broad definition of what is involved in constitutional change for the very good reason that in the United Kingdom, to a greater extent than elsewhere, almost all significant political reforms can have constitutional consequences.

New Labour came to power in May 1997 on the basis of a Manifesto in which it declared:

our system of government is centralised, inefficient and bureaucratic. Our citizens cannot assert their basic rights in our own courts. . . . There is unquestionably a national crisis of confidence in our political system to which Labour will respond in a measured and sensible way.

Four or five years later we are in a better position to judge the significance of these words and the extent to which the Labour Government has met the expectations which it raised.

Certainly the scope of constitutional reform under Labour has been wide-ranging; but in the eyes of some people it has been essentially cautious, pragmatic and occasionally incoherent in its implementation. This has left campaigners for constitutional reform, such as those in Charter 88, in the Liberal Democrats and in the academic community, disappointed with Tony Blair's apparent unwillingness to exploit huge Labour majorities in two successive Parliaments in order to transform the constitutional context within which our system of government operates. In particular, there has been disappointment in these quarters at the lack of substantial progress towards radical reform of the House of Commons, full British participation in Economic and Monetary Union in Europe, and the introduction of proportional representation as the basis for elections to the Westminster Parliament. Yet it remains possible that these outstanding goals will be achieved during the remainder of Labour's period in office and the author of this work is in no doubt that future historians will acknowledge the enduring significance of the constitutional reforms introduced by successive Blair Administrations.

The attentive reader will quickly appreciate that there are several important themes running through the agenda of constitutional change in this country, although the Lord Chancellor, Lord Irvine of Lairg, was content to say that 'principled pragmatism' is the unifying thread which has run through the whole of Labour's programme. In the author's opinion, one theme has undoubtedly been the political determination of Ministers to honour

the legacy of the late John Smith, who was a genuine believer in the value of comprehensive constitutional reform, mainly by implementing a devolution strategy which so far has contained the political threat to the Labour Party from buoyant nationalism in Scotland and Wales.

A second theme has been the need to restore hygiene and respectability to our political system, something which was identified by Tony Blair and his senior colleagues in Opposition as an urgent priority for a New Labour Government after years of Tory sleaze. This has been largely a matter of making a virtue of necessity by tightening up the rules of what had become a manifestly sleazy political game, moving from a culture of official secrecy towards freedom of information, adjusting the methods of democratic decision making in an attempt to make elections cleaner and more attractive to the general public, and searching for many new ways for politicians to relate to the people they represent in what is nowadays a notably spontaneous and unpredictable political culture.

Traditionally, such a 'soft' discussion would probably not have been included in a book of this kind – certainly not one written by a constitutional lawyer or a political scientist. Yet there is compelling evidence that a combination of changing social attitudes and dynamic technological advances has affected not only our ways of conducting politics but also the rules of the political game and hence the constitutional arrangements within which those active in the policy community have to operate.

A third theme has been 'modernisation', which is the elastic term used by Tony Blair and his New Labour colleagues to present, explain and justify all manner of reforms, whether governmental, institutional or legal. Thus there have been ambitious attempts to modernise both central and local government by changing the pattern of goals and incentives for civil servants and local councillors alike. It is a nice irony, however, that in spite of the decentralisation implicit in the Government's policy of devolution, the policy of modernisation has entailed the further concentration of power within central Government and in the structures of government overall at the expense of the more

traditional power centres in Whitehall Departments and regional or local authorities.

Modernisation is a term which has been applied by successive Blair Administrations to the presentational adjustments that have been made to the functioning of the Monarchy, the compositional adjustments to the membership of the House of Lords and the procedural adjustments to the working of the House of Commons designed to make the Lower House more professional and effective in processing Government business.

In the legal sphere, which has been the expanding bailiwick of the Lord Chancellor, there has been much use of the 'm' word to describe the Government's reforms. Yet it would be more accurate to say that the traditional institutions and practices of the law have been transformed by Lord Irvine's reforming zeal, aided and abetted by learned reports from Lord Woolf, Lord Justice Auld and Sir Andrew Leggatt. Indeed, it is already clear that this area of the Government's reform agenda is likely to have far-reaching consequences, especially if it leads to genuine democratisation of the judiciary and the whole legal profession over a period of time.

A fourth theme has been the steady, almost remorseless, Europeanisation of our constitutional arrangements which has manifested itself in some obvious and some less obvious ways. For example, since our entry into the European Communities in 1973, we have been drawn ever more deeply into adopting European legal norms, such as the doctrines of positive rights, purposive legal interpretation, proportionality in jurisprudence and direct effect in Community law. Since the 1998 Human Rights Act came into force in October 2000. we have laid ourselves open to the possibility that British courts, inspired by what might once have been described as alien legal doctrines, will increasingly feel able to look Parliament in the eve and so begin to cast doubt upon the much vaunted principle of Parliamentary supremacy.

As a significant sub-plot in the European play, we have seen the steady growth of regulation at arm's length by quasi-judicial (sometimes supranational) authorities rather than by elected Ministers accountable to national Parliaments; we have seen

a growing tendency to pool national sovereignties and so create a justiciable body of superior constitutional law via cumulative international agreements enshrined in further European treaties; and we have witnessed a gathering crisis of democratic legitimacy in all our representative institutions which has encouraged more frequent recourse to referenda to resolve big constitutional issues in which the interests of national Parliaments are at stake.

These have been among the really important themes of constitutional change since Labour came to power in May 1997 and indeed over a longer period as well. They have brought into play the law of unintended consequences which has been exemplified in several interesting ways. For example, the drive for Celtic devolution has thrown a spotlight on various awkward aspects of the English question, such as the need (but not yet an overwhelming demand) for new governmental structures in England at the regional and municipal levels; and on various equally awkward aspects of the Union question, such as the need for a financial rebalancing between the four constituent 'nations' of the United Kingdom, regardless of what structural changes may or may not be made to the pattern of local government in England.

Another example of unintended consequences might well be the fact that those who want further reform of the Upper House have discovered that their goal makes little sense – and is probably unsustainable in the long run - unless they also tackle the more fundamental need for parallel reform of the Lower House and maybe the Monarchy as well for good measure. This realisation serves to emphasise the reality that in a political system without the fixed points and political anchors of a codified constitution, it is effectively impossible to make a single discrete change in our constitutional arrangements. Sooner or later this generation of constitutional reformers will need to present a coherent and synoptic view of everything which they have been trying to do. Otherwise their ambitious reforms will not be sufficiently understood or appreciated by the people whom they seek to serve.

Looking to the future, there are at least three large constitutional uncertainties which could

challenge many of our current assumptions. The first is whether or not the Government, Parliament and people of this country will finally resolve to abolish the pound and adopt the euro, thus rendering much more likely the eventual submersion of the United Kingdom into the political depths of the European Union. The second is whether or not the same triumvirate of forces will ever resolve to abandon first-past-the-post elections to the Westminster Parliament and adopt instead some version of proportional representation. The third is a categorical question: whether the United Kingdom is likely to remain the most satisfactory political and constitutional structure within which to strive for the timeless goals of peace, prosperity and public welfare; or whether we shall need to think more globally and act more locally in the twenty-first century.

Whatever the answers to these questions may be, I must now record my debts of gratitude to all those who have assisted me in different ways with the production of this book. I begin by thanking Professor Robert Hazell of the Constitution Unit at University College London, whose suggestion it was that I should write this book and who kindly brought his editorial skills to bear upon the text, and his Assistant, Lucinda Maer, for her help in editing much of the text. I must also thank Mark Kavanagh and Heidi Bagtazo, Craig Fowlie, Jenny Lovel and Iain Hunt of Routledge, and Rosamund Howe, the copy editor, for all their help and support throughout the two years and more that were involved in the writing and publication of this book.

A number of friends whose judgement I respect have been kind enough to read and comment upon parts of the text: Dr Nicholas Baldwin, Professor Vernon Bogdanor, Oonagh Gay, Christopher Jary, Professor George Jones, Peter Riddell, Dr Frank Vibert, Dr Tony Wright MP and Sir George Young Bt MP. Others have kindly supplied me with useful material: Dr Tony Barker, Caroline Bell, Rebecca Blackwood, Richard Cornes, Jeremy Croft, Katherine Fisher, Avis Furness, Gabrielle Garton Grimwood, Dylan Griffiths, Timothy Holmes, Mary Morgan, Dr Roger Mortimore, Kirsty Nichol, Meg Russell, Bryan Wells and Professor Bob Worcester. Any value which there may be in this volume owes

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a great deal to all these people. Any errors of fact or dubious opinions are my own responsibility.

The book has been described as 'a monotext' – a mixture of monograph and textbook. Although this is an inelegant description, it captures something of the hybrid quality of the subject and indeed of the author's claims to be able to write about it. My main hope is that the reader

will find the narrative and the argument clear and convincing and will be encouraged to embark upon further exploration of what I have found to be a dynamic and fascinating subject.

London December 2001 F.N. Forman

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## Historical background

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