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## DO WE NEED PARTIES POLITICS?

A Discussion between Cyril Lakin, M.P., R. C. K. Ensor, Maurice Webb, and Vernon Bartlett, M.P., in the Home Service session of the BBC.

YRIL LAKIN: What de- must be on a very broad cides how many parties basis. It can't afford to be there shall be in a particular country?

R. C. K. Ensor: It isn't decided by the number of ideas in the country, or the number of cleavages of opinion. It is decided mechanically, by the mode of election. In the year 1914 every Parliament in the world except two was elected by one of two modes: either by the British mode where you take only one poll and the candidate at the top is at once elected, irrespective of whether or not he has a majority of the votes cast; or by the French mode, called Second Ballot, where if the first poli doesn't yield any candidate a clear majority, you take a second poll a week later . . . The difference affects the working of politics in two ways. First of all it determines the character of parties. In a two-party system, each party, must aim to please over 50 per cent. of the electorate. It can never get office unless it does. Hence its appeal

narrow or dogmatic. On the other hand, in the manyparty system each party has got to distinguish itself sharply from others. Unless it can, it has no reason to

exist. But it never hopes or dreams that it will poll anything like 50 per cent of the electorate. Therefore, it can, and it must, be dogmatic, extremist, factious, often even revolutionary.

Maurice Webb: I find what Ensor has just said-or rather its implication somewhat provoking. He seems to suggest that it is a bad thing for a party to be dogmatic. But surely a party is only dogmatic in so far as it affirms its principles, or declares positively and clearly what it intends to do if elected. Isn't this a desirable thing?

Ensor: Under the two-party system the parties are really the Ins and the Outs, or the Reds and the Blues, but, of course, they have got to have some claims on the electorate for putting them in rather than the other men. To that extent they have distinctive principles. But to have distinctive principles is one thing and to have dogmas in the way the French parties have is another.

If you have a many-party system, every government is a coalition; no government has any real permanence; you can change your government many times in the same Parliament; there is no occasion ever to dissolve. But in the two-party system, normally speaking, if the Government is defeated, Parliament must be dissolved. That makes Parliament chary of defeating the Government, and enables Governments to be strong and stable.

Lakin: Now it's time we heard Vernon Bartlett. As an Independent M.P., he should have positive convictions on these matters.

Vernon Bartlett: I think there is a profound difference-almost a bielogical difference—between the Left and the Right, the Progressives and the Conservatives, or the Reds and the Blues as you call them. Most politicallyminded men or women are politically-minded because they sincerely believe that a certain policy would be in the interest of the nation, and, to some extent, to themselves.

Webb: One reason why people attack the party system is their belief that parties are all pretty much alike. The fact is that there are fundamental differences between the motives of the main political groups in this country.

Bartlett: Yes, and many people are bored with politics because of this failure to express political beliefs with enough conviction. But if you have no party, you have only to worry about two sets of interests: those of the nation and those of the constituency you represent. You avoid that third interest which leads to conflict between loyalty to the nation and loyalty to the party. And if I am right in believing that parties can be justified only if they proclaim their programmes bluntly and clearly, then you need at any rate a few people who are not tied to either programme and who can therefore take the initiative in suggesting compromise between conflicting views and in keeping what they believe is the national interest in the forefront of debate, because after all the basis of a successful parliamentary system is compromise.

Webb: I must register here one small but important point of difference with Bartlett. I don't accept the view that you get specialists only through the election of Independents. The parties give them to us in abundance. One of the notable things about Parliament is the way in which, whatever the subject it is discussing, there's always a group of men, on both sides, who can speak with practical experience and know-ledge. It's fashionable to deplore the number of Trades Union officials in the House, but on industrial questions their experience proves invaluable. There are, for instance, fifty-odd miners, and in

(Continued on next page)

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## Who They Are

CYRIL LAKIN is Associate Editor of the "Sunday Times." He is an M.A. of Oxford and a Barrister of the Inner Temple. He was born in

-R. C. K. ENSOR has been a lecturer in politics and history at Oxford, a leader-writer on "The Manchester Guardian," and a barrister. He is 66.

MAURICE WEBB is a retired member of the Indian Civil Service. Among positions filled by him in India were those of Manager of Encumbered Estates of Sind and Political Secretary to the Government of Bombay. He was born in 1880.

VERNON BARTLETT, who is 49, is an Independent Member of the House of Commons. He is a journalist and an author, with a special knowledge of European politics. For ten years he was London Director of the League of Nations.