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Leadership Elections: Liberal Democrats

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Summary

Liberal Democrat leadership elections take place by a postal ballot of all party members. Candidates need to secure the support of 10% of all Liberal Democrat MPs as well as 200 party members drawn from at least 20 local parties for their nomination.

On 8 May 2015 Nick Clegg resigned as party leader and the timetable for the ensuing leadership elections was announced on 10 May 2015. On 16 July 2015, the Liberal Democrats announced that Tim Farron was elected party leader.

The previous leadership election had taken place in 2007, when Sir Menzies Campbell resigned. He had been elected to succeed Charles Kennedy as party leader on 2 March 2006.

Prior leadership contests took place in 1999 and 1988. The Liberal Democrat Party was launched on 3 March 1988, following a merger between the Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party. The leaders of these two parties served as joint leaders of the new party until leadership elections were held.

1. Leadership election rules

Leadership elections are called when the Leader of the Liberal Democrats resigns, dies, or loses his seat in Parliament; or if a vote of no confidence in the Leader is passed by a majority of Liberal Democrat MPs, or at least 75 local parties. Nominations must be of Members of the Parliamentary Party in the House of Commons and need the support of 10% of Liberal Democrat MPs, as well as 200 party members drawn from no less than 20 local parties. A postal ballot of all party members is held to determine who will become the next leader.

The rules for the election of a leader of the federal Liberal Democrat Party are set down in its Constitution. The Constitution was agreed in 1988, on the formation of the Liberal Democrats.¹ The leadership election rules remained unchanged until September 2005. Changes were then made to the nomination process (section 10.5): any future nominee would require the support of at least 10 per cent of the parliamentary party in the House of Commons (in place of the proposer and seconder, referred to in the previous, 2004 edition of the Constitution). The motion was proposed by Lord Kirkwood, who according to the BBC described it as a “tidying up exercise”. The BBC also reported that “the motion, which needed a two-thirds majority of delegates, passed comfortably”.²

The rules are contained in article 10 of the Constitution.

Box 1: Article 10 The Leader

10.1 The Leader of the Party shall be elected by the members of the Party in accordance with election rules made pursuant to Article 8.4.

10.2 An election for the Leader shall be called upon:

- a) the Leader asking for an election;
- b) the death or incapacity of the Leader;
- c) the Leader ceasing to be a Member of the House of Commons (other than a temporary cessation by reason of a dissolution);
- d) the receipt by the President of the resignation of the Leader or of a declaration of intent to resign upon the election of a new Leader;
- e) a vote of no confidence in the Leader being passed by a majority of all Members of the Parliamentary Party in the House of Commons;
- f) the receipt by the President of a requisition submitted by at least 75 Local Parties (including for this purpose, the Specified Associated Organisation or Organisations representing youth and/or students) following the decision of a quorate general meeting; or
- g) the first anniversary of the preceding general election being reached without an election being called under any of paragraphs (a) through (f), provided that:
 - (i) the Federal Executive may postpone such an election for no more than one year by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting; and

¹ The party’s full title was the Social and Liberal Democrats “but on 16 October 1989, following a membership ballot, the party announced that it was henceforth to be known as the Liberal Democrats (although for formal, legal purposes, it retained its full title)” [Butler and Butler, p169]

² [‘Lib Dems toughen leadership rules’](#), *BBC News*, 21 September 2005

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(ii) this paragraph (g) shall not apply if the Leader is a member of the Government.

10.3 Upon election, the Leader shall hold office until death, incapacity or resignation or the completion of an election called under this Article.

10.4 Upon the calling of an election, the Federal Executive shall publish a timetable for nominations, withdrawals, despatch and receipt of ballot papers and the holding of ballots and shall appoint a disinterested person or body to receive and count the ballot papers.

10.5 Nominations must be of a Member of the Parliamentary Party in the House of Commons, who must be proposed by at least ten percent of other members of the Parliamentary Party in the House of Commons and supported by 200 members in aggregate in not less than 20 Local Parties (including, for this purpose, the Specified Associated Organisations representing youth and students as provided by Article 13.8) and must indicate acceptance of nomination.³

Article 8.4 referred to above specifies that the Federal Executive may vary the rules for elections where appropriate, and that elections must be held by Single Transferrable Vote and secret ballot.

Additionally, the Constitution includes leadership election regulations that specify relevant procedures (reproduced in Appendix 1). Among other things, these regulations specify that to be able to vote, party members need to have subscribed three months before the closing date of the nominations; and that candidates need to report their expenses and ensure compliance with the *Political Parties, Elections and Referendums Act 2000*, which regulates political party finance.

³ Liberal Democrats, [The Constitutions of the Liberal Democrats](#), December 2013

2. Leadership elections 1988-2015

Party members elect one candidate, nominated by both MPs and party members, to be Party leader

2.1 2015 Leadership contest

The day after the general election of 7 May 2015, Nick Clegg announced he resigned as party leader. In a letter to party members, he said:

I always expected this election to be exceptionally difficult for the Liberal Democrats, given the heavy responsibilities we have had to bear in government in the most challenging of circumstances.

But clearly the results have been immeasurably more crushing and unkind than I could ever have feared.

For that, of course, I must take responsibility and therefore I announce that I will be resigning as leader of the Liberal Democrats.

A leadership election will now take place according to the party's rules. Our President, Sal Brinton, will be in touch with you later on today with details of that process.⁴

The Federal Executive Committee announced the timetable for the leadership elections on 10 May:

- Opening of nominations: 13 May 2015
- Close of nominations: 3 June 2015
- Dispatch of ballot papers: 24 June 2015
- Deadline for ballot papers to be returned: 15 July 2015
- Count and declaration of the winner: 16 July 2015

The announcement also said that "any member who joins the party before the close of nominations is able to vote in the election".⁵

Two candidates confirmed their intention to stand: Norman Lamb (announced his intention on 12 May 2015) and Tim Farron (announced his intention on 14 May 2015).⁶ Both received enough nominations to appear on the ballot paper.

On 16 July, the Liberal Democrats announced that Tim Farron had been elected party leader, following a postal ballot. Turnout was 56 per cent of party members; Tim Farron received 56.6 per cent of the votes.⁷

Deputy leadership contest

Sir Malcolm Bruce, deputy leader of the Liberal Democrats since 2014, stood down as an MP for the 2015 general election.

⁴ ['A message from Nick Clegg to Liberal Democrat Members'](#), *Liberal Democrats Website*, 8 May 2015

⁵ ['New leader election timetable'](#), *Lib Dem Voice*, 10 May 2015

⁶ 'Norman Lamb confirms Lib Dem leadership bid', [BBC News](#), 12 May 2015; 'Liberal Democrat leadership: Tim Farron confirms his bid', [BBC News](#), 14 May 2015

⁷ ['Tim Farron elected as leader of the Liberal Democrats'](#), *Liberal Democrats Website*, 16 July 2015

Both leadership candidates have indicated that they would support a change to the rules for the election of a deputy leader: removing the requirement for the deputy leader to be an MP would enable a woman to be elected.⁸

2.2 2007 Leadership contest

On 15 October 2007, Sir Menzies Campbell announced that he was resigning as Leader of the Liberal Democrat Party with immediate effect. In his resignation statement, he said that:

... it has become clear that following the Prime Minister's decision not to hold an election, questions about leadership are getting in the way of further progress by the party.

Accordingly I now submit my resignation as Leader with immediate effect.⁹

Vince Cable, the Party's deputy leader, assumed the role of acting leader of the party.¹⁰

The Federal Executive Committee was already scheduled to meet on 15 October 2007, and it announced the timetable for the election of a leader:

- Opening of nominations: 16 October 2007
- Closing date for delivery of completed nomination papers: 31 October 2007
- Despatch of ballot papers: 21 November 2007
- Deadline for receipt of ballot papers: 15 December 2007
- Announcement of new leader: 17 December 2007¹¹

When nominations closed, two candidates had been nominated.¹² They were:

- Nick Clegg, candidacy announced 19 October 2007
- Chris Huhne, candidacy announced 17 October 2007

John Hemming had also announced his intention to stand but later withdrew as he was unlikely to gain the support of sufficient MPs for his nomination.¹³

On 18 December 2007, the Liberal Democrats announced that Nick Clegg had been elected party leader, following a postal ballot of party members:

⁸ 'Norman Lamb MP writes...', *Liberal Democrat Voice*, 15 May 2015; 'Tim Farron echoes Nick Clegg by saying Lib Dems "too male and too pale"', *The Guardian*, 5 June 2015

⁹ Andrew Grice and Colin Brown, "Campbell quits, the loser of the election that never was – The resignation letter", *Independent*, 16 October 2007

¹⁰ *Ibid*

¹¹ Rosalind Ryan, "[Liberal Democrat election timetable](#)", *Guardian*, 16 October 2007; '[Sir Menzies tells of 'irritation'](#)', *BBC News*, 16 October 2007

¹² Contenders: Lib Dem Leadership, *BBC News*, 7 November 2007
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/7045894.stm

¹³ '[A straight choice between Clegg and Huhne?](#)', *Liberal Democrat Voice*, 18 October 2007; '[Contenders: Lib Dem Leadership](#)', *BBC News*, 7 November 2007

- Nick Clegg 20,988 votes (50.6 % of votes cast)
- Chris Huhne 20,477 votes (49.4 % of votes cast)

The turnout was 41,465 (64.4%).¹⁴

2.3 2006 Contest

On 5 January 2006, after several weeks of questioning and reported criticism of his leadership of the Party,¹⁵ the Liberal Democrat leader, Charles Kennedy, announced his intention to give the Party's members "their say over my leadership":

Over the past eighteen months I have been coming to terms with and seeking to cope with a drink problem. [...]

I've sought professional help and I believe today that this issue is essentially resolved. [...]

This issue has - understandably - been of concern to several of my parliamentary colleagues. [...]

It also lies beneath much of the current leadership speculation within the parliamentary party.

Therefore, let me be clear. I consider myself capable and in good health - and I remain politically determined as leader of the party.

This party's members have shown me tremendous support over the years and overwhelmingly in recent weeks and days. It is a privilege to serve as their leader. I want to continue doing so, not least because the prospects in front of us in this parliament are so great.

Given my statement today I believe it is only fair now to give our party members their say over the continuing leadership.

It is open to any colleague who believes that they can better represent the longer-term interests of the party to stand against me in such a leadership election. [...]¹⁶

Following this announcement, Simon Hughes, the President of the Party, confirmed that "The party Federal Executive will meet shortly to decide all necessary procedures".¹⁷

But then on 7 January 2006, Charles Kennedy announced that he was standing down with immediate effect as he felt he did not have the support of the Parliamentary party.¹⁸

Sir Menzies Campbell, the Party's deputy leader, assumed the role of acting leader.¹⁹

¹⁴ ['Nick Clegg is the new leader'](#), *Liberal Democrat Voice*, 8 December 2007

¹⁵ e.g. Brendan Carlin, "Angry Kennedy is again forced to quell leadership rumours", *Daily Telegraph*, 13 December 2005; Peter Riddell, "Kennedy needs to decide if he has the stomach for the fight", *Times*, 14 December 2005; Ben Russell and Nigel Morris, "Campbell warns Kennedy he has three months to 'raise his game'", *Independent*, 17 December 2005; Christopher Adams, "Kennedy warned to raise his game by critics", *Financial Times*, 30 December 2005

¹⁶ 'Kennedy calls for leadership election', *Liberal Democrats News*, 5 January 2006

¹⁷ 'Comments on Kennedy statement', *Liberal Democrats News*, 5 January 2006

¹⁸ 'Charles Kennedy resigns', *Liberal Democrat News*, 7 January 2006

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On 9 January, the Federal Executive Committee met to “finalise details of the Party's leadership election”. The Federal Executive Committee announced that nominations were open and confirmed the following timetable:

- Opening of nominations: 9th January
- Closing date for delivery of completed nomination papers: 4pm, 25th January
- Deadline for withdrawal of candidature: 4pm, 26th January
- Preparation of mailing to members: 27th Jan - 5th February
- Despatch of ballot papers: 6th February
- Deadline for receipt of ballot papers: 1st March
- Count and declaration: 2nd March²⁰

When nominations closed on 25 January 2006, three candidates had been nominated.²¹ They were:

- Sir Menzies Campbell, candidacy announced 7 January 2006²²
- Simon Hughes, candidacy announced 12 January 2006²³
- Chris Huhne, candidacy announced 13 January 2006²⁴

In addition, Mark Oaten declared his candidacy on 10 January 2006,²⁵ but withdrew on 19 January.²⁶

On 2 March 2006, the Liberal Democrats announced that Sir Menzies Campbell had been elected party leader, following a postal ballot of party members:

Final round

- Sir Menzies Campbell 29,697 votes (58 % of votes cast)
- Chris Huhne 21,628 votes (42 % of votes cast)

First round

- Sir Menzies Campbell 23,264 votes
- Simon Hughes 12,081 votes
- Chris Huhne 16,691 votes

The turnout was 52,036 (72 %).²⁷

¹⁹ Ben Russell, “Leadership contenders square up to battle over Lib Dems’ top job”, *Independent*, 9 January 2006

²⁰ ‘Timetable for Liberal Democrat Leadership Elections’, *Liberal Democrat News*, 9 January 2006

²¹ [‘Three contest Lib Dem leadership’](#), *BBC News*, 25 January 2006

²² Ned Temko, Gaby Hinsliff and Lorna Martin, “Kennedy resigns: Lib Dem leader bows to inevitable and says ‘I put the party first’: Support grows for Menzies Campbell”, *Observer*, 8 January 2006

²³ Brendan Carlin and Jonathan Isaby, “Bookies back Hughes as he joins Lib Dem race”, *Daily Telegraph*, 13 January 2006

²⁴ Patrick Wintour, “Huhne launches bid to be Cameron of Lib Dems”, *Guardian*, 14 January 2006

²⁵ Andrew Grice and Ben Russell, “Oaten enters leadership race suggesting that rival Campbell is too old for the job”, *Independent*, 11 January 2006

²⁶ Ben Hall, “Oaten gives up race for Lib Dem leadership”, *Financial Times*, 20 January 2006

²⁷ Liberal Democrats, *Ming Campbell elected Liberal Democrat Leader*, 2 March 2006

2.4 1999 Contest

On 9 August 1999, Charles Kennedy was elected leader of the Liberal Democrats, following a postal ballot of all members of the party.²⁸ The election was conducted on the basis of a single transferable vote:

Final round

- Charles Kennedy 28,425 votes (57 % of votes cast)
- Simon Hughes 21,833 votes (43 % of votes cast)

First round

- Charles Kennedy 22,724 votes
- Simon Hughes 16,223 votes
- Malcolm Bruce 4,643 votes
- Jackie Ballard 3,928 votes
- David Rendel 3,428 votes

The turnout was 51006 (61.6%).²⁹

2.5 1988 Contest

On 28 July 1988, Paddy Ashdown was elected leader of the Liberal Democrats,³⁰ following a postal ballot of all members of the party:

- Paddy Ashdown 41,401 votes (71 % of votes cast)
- Alan Beith 16,202 votes (29 % of votes cast)

Between March 1988, when the Party was formed, and July 1988, when Paddy Ashdown was elected leader, David Steel and Robert Maclennan, the leaders of the merging Liberal Party and Social Democratic Party, respectively, jointly led the Liberal Democrats.

²⁸ David Butler and Gareth Butler, *Twentieth-Century British Political Facts 1900-2000*, 8th edition, 2000, MacMillan, p169

²⁹ Thomas Quinn, *Electing and Ejecting Party Leaders in Britain*, 2012, p196

³⁰ David Butler and Gareth Butler, *Twentieth-Century British Political Facts 1900-2000*, 8th edition, 2000, MacMillan, p169

Appendices³¹

1. Leadership election regulations

1. The Chair of the Federal Appeals Panel shall be the Returning Officer. The Chief Executive shall be Acting Returning Officer.
2. The electorate for the purpose of the election shall be those members with current membership of the Liberal Democrats on the closing date for nominations, including those members whose subscriptions were due not more than three months before the closing date.
3. The sections of the membership register containing the names, addresses and telephone numbers of members will be released in electronic version to each candidate subject to the candidate signing a data protection statement.
4. The timetable for the election shall be no shorter than 8 weeks and no longer than 13 weeks. It shall contain a minimum of 15 days for nominations to be collected which must be on the official forms provided by the Acting Returning Officer for the specific election and available from the day following the setting of the timetable by the Federal Executive. It shall provide for at least 21 days between the close of nominations and the despatch of ballot papers and at least 21 days for the return of ballot papers.
5. (a) The Acting Returning Officer shall co-ordinate arrangements for official party member hustings events via the states and regions with a view to balancing the competing demands for media coverage of the campaign, parliamentary and other duties. Other party bodies may only hold hustings-type events if they invite all candidates to attend, but they do not require the agreement of all candidates to attend or send a representative in order to proceed. Events designated as official hustings by the Acting Returning Officer shall take precedence over any other arrangements a candidate may have made.

(b) Official party communications channels may only be used to promote hustings events approved by the Acting Returning Officer. Responsibility for organising and paying for any hustings event shall lie with the hosting organisation, but the Acting Returning Officer will assist in publicising official hustings events via the party's website, e-mail communications, Liberal Democrat News, etc.
6. After acquiring the necessary nominations for candidacy, each candidate may nominate an agent for his or her campaign. A candidate who fails to nominate an agent will be deemed his or her own agent.
7. Nominations from the Parliamentary Party shall not include the candidate themselves and no member of the Parliamentary Party may sign more than one nomination paper. A nomination will be rejected if it depends upon the signature of an MP who has signed a previously submitted nomination form for another candidate standing in the election.

³¹ Source: David Butler and Gareth Butler, *Twentieth-century British Political Facts 1900-2000*, 8th edition, 2000 (other sources are recorded in the footnotes).

8. Federal Party employees shall maintain strict neutrality from the opening date for declaration of candidacy. It is recommended that employees of state parties, SAO's and any other relevant employing bodies shall also maintain such neutrality.

9. Party Officers, acting in their capacity as officers at federal, state, regional and local level, are expected, as far as possible, to give equal opportunities and fair balance to all candidates.

10. The provision of food, drink or entertainment by or on behalf of the candidates, and any other form of treating, will not be allowed.

11. The Federal Executive shall set a spending limit for election expenses, not including travel or subsistence, for each leadership candidate, when they set the timetable for the election. No candidate, or his agent, shall exceed this limit in the production of publicity material and all other expenditures connected with the campaign. All donations above £200 must comply with the provisions of Schedule 7 of the Political Parties, Elections and Referendums Act 2000.

12. (a) All publicity material produced in paper or electronic form for or on behalf of a candidate shall bear his or her agent's imprint including a full postal address. Any email messages sent out for or on behalf of a candidate for the purposes of publicising their candidacy shall also include a standard form of words provided by the Returning Officer specifying how the recipient of the message may opt out of future messages.

(b) Each candidate shall be responsible for supplying material that verifies, to the satisfaction of the Acting Returning Officer, any statement in his or her personal election address claiming that he or she is endorsed by any individual or organisation. Such material must accompany the candidate's personal election address artwork.

(c) Each candidate shall be entitled to include in the mailing of ballot papers a personal election address covering up to two sides of A4 paper, or A5 in the event of there being more than three candidates, printed by and at the expense of the Federal Party. Election address artwork in camera ready form must reach the Acting Returning Officer at an address and by a date to be notified.

(d) The Returning Officer may make provision for voters to view the candidates' election addresses electronically as well as, or instead of, through the postal mailing.

(e) The published personal election address may be reproduced in whatever format is decided by the Returning Officer so long as the minimum coverage provided for in regulation 12(b) is met.

(f) The Returning Officer may carry out electronic communications to facilitate the election and send out e-mail communications on behalf of the candidates in the election.

13. No material published or circulated in paper or electronic form under regulations 10, 11 or 12 shall defame by name or implication any other candidate and no candidate shall so defame any other candidate in the course of personal canvassing.

14. The Returning Officer may make provision for voters who wish to do so to cast their ballots electronically.

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15. Any party publication whether in paper or electronic form shall give, as far as possible, equal coverage and a fair balance to all candidates.

16. The election shall be conducted by secret ballot and the single transferable vote. Counts shall be conducted in accordance with the current edition of the Electoral Reform Society's publication 'How to conduct an election by the single transferable vote'. The election count may be scrutinised by the candidate, their agents and one other personal representative and shall be open to any party member, subject to capacity of the venue.

17. Each candidate and their agent shall complete and lodge with the Acting Returning Officer an election expenses return form. The form must have attached receipts or invoices for all expenditure and must be lodged with the Acting Returning Officer by midday on the 35th day after the declaration of the election result. The Acting Returning Officer will hold the expenses returns of each candidate on file and these may be examined by any party member. The expenses form shall also contain the necessary information to prove compliance with schedule 7 of the PPERA 2000.

18. At the completion of the Election any candidate who needs to make a report to the Electoral Commission shall do so in consultation with the Party's PPERA Compliance Officer.

19. The Returning Officer shall have the power to disqualify before declaration of the result, or unseat if declared elected, any candidate who:

(a) has brought the party into disrepute during the campaign or where the Returning Officer has clear evidence (e.g. from bankruptcy or financial embarrassment) of this happening in the near future; or

(b) is found to be in breach of regulations 3, 10, 11, 13 or 17.

18. Any party member may lodge, in writing, a formal complaint of infringement of election regulations at any time up to 21 days after the declaration. The written complaint should be addressed to the Acting Returning Officer and specify in detail the nature of the infringement. The Returning Officer shall then decide, in full consultation with the Acting Returning Officer, whether there is sufficient evidence and grounds to uphold the complaint.

19. Appeals against decisions of the Returning Officer must be referred to the Federal Appeals Panel within 14 days of the decision. For the purposes of Appeals under these regulations the Chair of the Federal Appeals Panel shall not act as a member of the Federal Appeals Panel, and the other Panel members shall appoint one of their number as Acting Chair.

20. These regulations will be reviewed by the Federal Executive no later than six months after any Leadership Election.³²

³² Liberal Democrats, [The Constitutions of the Liberal Democrats](#), December 2013

2. Liberal Democrat leaders since 1988

- David Steel and Robert Maclennan³³, 1988 (March)
- Paddy Ashdown, 28 July 1988
- Charles Kennedy, 9 August 1999
- Sir Menzies Campbell (acting leader: 7 January to 1 March³⁴), 2 March 2006
- Vince Cable (acting leader), 15 October 2007
- Nick Clegg, 18 December 2007

3. Liberal Party leaders, 1900-1988³⁵

- Sir H Campbell-Bannerman, 1900
- H Asquith, 30 April 1908³⁶
- David Lloyd George, 14 October 1926³⁷
- Sir H Samuel, 4 November 1931³⁸
- Sir A Sinclair, 26 November 1935
- C Davies, 2 August 1945
- Jo Grimond, 5 November 1956
- Jeremy Thorpe, 18 January 1967
- David Steel, 7 July 1976³⁹

4. Social Democratic Party leaders, 1981-1988

The Social Democratic Party was formally established on 26 March 1981 but its first leader was not elected until July 1982. In the intervening period, "the Gang of Four [Roy Jenkins, David Owen, Bill Rodgers and Shirley Williams] took collectively all those decisions that had to be taken collectively".⁴⁰

- Roy Jenkins, 1982
- David Owen, 1983
- Robert Maclennan, 1987
- David Owen, 1988⁴¹

The party formally suspended operations in June 1990, although its three remaining MPs sat as independent Social Democrats.

³³ James Naughtie, "Steel wants new leader for SLD", *Guardian*, 7 March 1988

³⁴ Ben Leapman and Nina Goswami, "'He never failed the party – it failed him'", *Sunday Telegraph*, 8 January 2006

³⁵ All were Liberal 'Leaders in the House of Commons'. Sir H Campbell-Bannerman from 1905 to 1908 and H Asquith from 1908 to 1926 were formally the only 'Leaders of the Liberal Party' from 1900 until the 1969 Constitution came into force.

³⁶ After H Asquith's defeat at the 1918 General Election, Sir D Maclean was elected chairman of the Parliamentary Party but relinquished the post on H Asquith's return to the Commons in March 1920.

³⁷ D Lloyd George was the chairman of the Parliamentary Liberal Party from December 1924.

³⁸ After the general election in 1931 there were three Liberal groups in the House of Commons. Sir H Samuel led the main group of Liberal MPs. D Lloyd George led a small family group of Independent Liberals and Sir J Simon led the Liberal National group. On 25 November 1935 D Lloyd George and other Independent Liberals rejoined the Liberal Party in the House of Commons.

³⁹ An electoral college representing all constituency associations voted: D Steel 12,541; J Pardoe 7,032, in the 1976 leadership contest. J Grimond was acting Leader 12 May-7 July 1976.

⁴⁰ Ivor Crewe and Anthony King, *SDP: The Birth, Life and Death of the Social Democratic Party*, Oxford University Press, p135

⁴¹ James Naughtie, "Steel wants new leader for SLD", *Guardian*, 7 March 1988

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