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The Future of Parliaments and Their Libraries

A review article by Dr Russell Cope

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FOREWORD

A good deal is written about reform of Parliament, even in Australia where Parliament is a neglected subject of study, but very little is heard about parliamentary libraries. These institutions are important sources of information and analysis for members of Parliaments, and, as Dr Russell Cope points out, parliamentary reform requires intellectual activity in which ideas and information are vital. It is therefore to be expected that parliamentary libraries, as intellectual resources, would play a large role in stimulating reform proposals. It is surprising that this does not appear to have happened.

No one is better qualified to write about parliamentary libraries than Dr Cope. For over 30 years he was the Parliamentary Librarian of the New South Wales Parliament, and generations of parliamentary officers and students of Parliament have found his writings of great interest.

In the first part of the article to which this issue is devoted, he analyses, through a review of a history of the United Kingdom House of Commons Library, the ingredients which go to make a great parliamentary library. In the second part of the article he makes some observation about the future of Parliaments, and the role which parliamentary libraries should play in ensuring that that future is characterised by restoration and renewal rather than continued decline. His ideas and suggestions are worthy of serious attention.

The second part of this issue seeks to put into effect a suggestion made by Dr Cope: that there should be regularly published a parliamentary bibliography, a list of works and articles on Parliament and related subjects. The bibliography in this issue is backdated to 1991, which happens to be the life span of the current software on which the Senate Department's internal bibliography has been maintained.

It is intended that this bibliography will be updated in future issues. It is significant that the bibliography was not only suggested by Dr Cope but compiled with the assistance of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Library, one of the great, but neglected, and now threatened, institutions of the Commonwealth.

Harry Evans
Clerk of the Senate

Part One

Looking at London

Possibly more has been published on parliamentary librarianship in the last fifteen years than over the previous one hundred years. Australia has contributed its share, but except for the publication in 1965 of a pioneer international survey entitled *Library Services to the Legislature: A Symposium*, most of the items have been modest.¹ The publication in 1991 of Dr David Menhennet's *The House of Commons Library: A History* marks a culminating point in the study of parliamentary librarianship in parliaments of the Westminster system: it crowns the publications of recent decades and has scarcely a counterpart in its scope, depth and quality.² Although, strictly speaking, purely an institutional history, the work has a much wider import, raising incidentally vital questions about the practice and future of parliamentary librarianship in general. Apart from being the definitive history of the House of Commons Library, the work casts light on some of the less studied aspects of the life and atmosphere of the British Parliament, particularly in the nineteenth century. It offers much more than the title might suggest.

Dr Menhennet, recently retired as Librarian of the House of Commons, has had a lifetime's experience in the Library at Westminster, and is a distinguished practitioner of parliamentary librarianship. With this advantageous background of experience and inside knowledge goes the enviable asset of being a writer of quality. The style is lucid, the narrative flows easily with an engaging touch of personal involvement. Occasional authorial comments and exclamation marks enliven the work and are never intrusive or otiose. Not the least of the work's merit is that the author brings to life issues and policies of a bygone age. In lesser hands these matters could become ponderous and antiquarian.

Another facet of the work which deserves comment is the balanced use of extracts from official reports and minutes. To cite such sources is, of course, inescapable in histories of this kind. There is certainly a rich vein for the author to exploit. Indeed, readers might well welcome additional extracts, because there is obviously much more upon which to draw. A supplementary volume of documents and reports would provide a valuable source book for students and historians who may not have easy access to the range of materials quoted or alluded to by the author. Such a source book or 'reader' would be unique in its field and would do much to promote further study in the history and challenges of parliamentary librarianship.

It is surprising to learn that the Mother of Parliaments did not possess a properly constituted library until 1818. The Library of Congress dates from 1800 and the author states: 'The earliest official parliamentary library in the British Isles had belonged to the Irish House of Lords (p.2).' When was that library founded? What became of it? Dr Menhennet points out that the House of Commons definitely had books and records long before it had an identifiable library as such, so that there is a certain vagueness in setting a precise date for the 'founding' of the Library. The same cannot be said about the date of appointment of the first Librarian 'to', later 'of', the House of Commons: Benjamin Spiller was appointed in January 1818. Possibly the same arbitrariness about determining the date of origin of other parliamentary libraries might be true: it is so in the case of the Parliamentary Library of New South Wales. It would be an interesting exercise to seek to determine the dates of the earliest parliamentary libraries in the Westminster system: possibly Canada or the West Indies might provide some surprising details.³

1. *Library Services to the Legislature: A Symposium* Sydney, N.S.W. Parliamentary Library, 1965. 117p.

2. *The House of Commons Library: A History*, by David Menhennet (House of Commons Library Document no.21) London, HMSO, 1991. zii, 162p. ill. (includes 9 Appendices with lists of officers, details of staff, research services, list of publications produced etc.)

3. *Canadian Parliamentary Libraries and Their Environment Through the Years*: (A Paper by Brian Land. APLIC Conference, Quebec City, October 9 1991.)

The Library which Benjamin Spiller superintended from 1818 began fairly modestly with a single small room (The Ancient Committee Room). Spiller worked alone in quarters which from the outset were inadequate. The Library's holdings soon overflowed into corridors and other areas. This experience prefigures what was to be the experience of so many other parliamentary libraries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The author traces the various steps which finally led to what was 'clearly regarded in 1825 as the urgent task of designing and building a new Library for the Commons(p.5).' The new Library, designed by the famous Sir John Soane, was ready in 1828, but by then the new premises were again too small because use had greatly increased in the meantime, seating was insufficient, and the stock was growing rapidly. Dr Menhennet describes all these developments, drawing upon the indispensable Select Committee investigations into the Library in 1825, 1826, 1830 and 1832. Extra space was 'found' in 1832. This too has a familiar ring to it! In October 1834 the House of Commons and its Library were devastated by a fire. A new start became necessary.

Of great interest are the details of what books the Library had in its collections in its formative years. This is a question still of importance in the wider sense, because of disagreements still current in some quarters about what is the appropriate collection for a parliamentary library. Spiller had compiled a list of titles held in 1825: the list consists largely of official serials (debates, laws, journals, gazettes). During the period 1818 to 1827 the stock was stagnant, but by 1830 the collection had over 4,000 volumes, which grew to 5,500 volumes by 1832. A printed Catalogue, prepared in 1830, was issued as a parliamentary paper. It is noteworthy for its preface by J. Rickman, which is reprinted as Appendix One to the work under review. Dr Menhennet's analysis of the Catalogue makes it clear that the Library's books were still almost exclusively official in nature or interest. He notes that Shakespeare's name is not in the Catalogue and that the sole book of poetry is one entitled *Opera Poetarum Latinorum*. Rickman's preface is of value to students of British parliamentary papers for the information he gives on the indexing and analysis of parliamentary papers done by T.C.Hansard and his successors. Rickman also sets out details of the collecting policy of the Library and the nature of its holdings. It is of great assistance to have this information now so readily accessible.

In 1832 the Inglis Select Committee recommended that the Library should not collect 'the current literature of the day', and that it should exclude the ancient and modern classics in any language as well as works of science or books of theology. These restrictive guidelines were fortunately not to hold sway for long. When one considers the enormous role played in British public affairs by pamphlet literature, one realises how narrow the outlook of the Inglis Committee was. It would seem from later parts of the text that the Library nowadays has a collection of the theological tracts associated with the Oxford Movement. That particular theological controversy had devastating effects on quite a few of the families represented in the House of Commons. On page 11, the author comments that 'the austerities of the 1830 Catalogue were in some measure a calculated counterbalance to the extra-parliamentary tastes of those numerous wealthy Members... who came to Westminster from houses where a well-stocked private library was considered essential.' That is no doubt a just observation, reflecting something of the social composition of the Commons' membership at this period. The Reform Acts and other political and social changes would have an effect on that membership, vindicating the broader collecting policies actually adopted and creating a library collection valuable for the ever-changing and unforeseeable needs of the future as well as for present, often transient, concerns. The 1834 Fire unfortunately destroyed a large part of the early library collection, but the more liberal and sensible collecting guidelines were to survive that catastrophe. Those guidelines have also in the meantime demonstrated their validity.

In addition to the questions of suitable accommodation and the nature of the books to be collected and housed in the Library, the third great question of the time was concerned with its management and control. Dr Menhennet goes scrupulously into the sources, presenting a clear picture of the Library's evolution from an appendage to the Clerk's Department (which it was until 1830), to an establishment with a certain independent status. The question of the Library's 'future management and regulation' had begun to interest Members themselves in the 1830's: on several occasions recommendations were made that the Speaker be assisted in his control of the Library by a standing committee of Members. The first such committee was established in 1834: among its sixteen members was the young W.E.Gladstone. Dr Menhennet remarks(p.14):

In retrospect this large membership was to prove a blessing: with the coming disaster of the 1834 Great Fire, it was fortunate for the Library that a large Committee of Members should be concerning itself with its affairs.

The results of these decisions and the early deliberations about the appropriate method of control of the Library led to its being clearly established that 'either through Mr. Speaker or through a Select Committee or through a combination of both the Library should be directly answerable to the House. That general principle has not changed(p.15).'

Another point, also with great bearing on the Library's status and progress, was dealt with in the 1832 Inglis Select Committee Report. This related to the salary and career opportunities of the Librarian and his assistant. The Inglis Committee was aware of the limited career path within the Library and that other more lucrative employment possibilities were available within the House of Commons service. In order to retain staff it was recommended that the salaries in the Library be equal to those of 'Clerks of the Establishment of the same standing (p.15).' Even at this early stage of the Library's history we find a topic arising which has remained, it seems, one of the constant irritants in parliamentary librarianship generally. This question casts a long shadow into the future.

The themes dealt with from 1818 until the Great Fire of 1834 embrace issues which have, in one form or another, proved to be characteristic for many other parliamentary libraries. Much of Dr Menhennet's text applies consequently to similar libraries in other parts of the globe. The nature of the solutions reached at Westminster is thus of more than academic interest. In some instances Westminster has been the model to follow; in other instances it has had less influence, but certainly it has never been less than an example worthy of respect and study. Developments in the House of Commons Library after 1834 build on what was achieved up to that date. The basic pattern was established and as future problems arose their nature and solution had applicability to most other parliamentary libraries.

The highpoint for the House of Commons Library came in 1852 when the fine set of rooms designed for its use by Sir Charles Barry and Augustus Welby Pugin were first occupied. The intervening period since the 1834 fire seems to have been a difficult, stagnant one for the Library which necessarily had to improvise in inadequate and scattered quarters. The new Library, however, was in every respect superior: its location was central and most convenient for users, its outlook over the Thames was admired, the furnishings and outfitting of the rooms were elegant, and the space available for collections was ample. Attractive rooms made possible an improved level of service. The Library was thus excellently equipped in 1852 to move forward. The series of photographs accompanying the text amply document the handsome appearance and opulence of the Library's new accommodation.

The collections grew rapidly (1834:4,000 volumes; 1857:30,000 volumes). The ambit of collecting was wide and the 1857 printed Catalogue shows that the Library 'had become very much a general collection of books (p.48)", not just a collection of historical and constitutional information as had been envisaged at one stage. The author devotes interesting pages (47-50) to discussing aspects of the collection, listing titles of an unusual or rare nature. He mentions that the Library had acquired in French the complete works of the celebrated naturalist, Baron Georges Cuvier, and the folio set of Sylvestre's *Paleographie Universelle*. It may be worth comment that the N.S.W. Parliamentary Library holds the latter title and has an edition of Cuvier's twenty-volume work *Le Regne Animal*. Few libraries, however, could claim to hold the eleven-volume set of Blaeu's *Atlas Major*, a choice item indeed. Likewise, the pamphlet collection grew considerably and the author's description makes it obvious that the House of Commons Library had become both extensive and distinguished in its holdings as the century proceeded. He concludes (p.50):

Nevertheless, the House of Commons fortunately still possesses, in 1991, a fascinating mix of official, general and even recreational reading which is one of its strengths as well as constituting, in view of the shortage of shelf space, one of its problems.

The growth of the library continued unimpeded during the rest of the nineteenth century, but the nature of the collections and the acquisitions policy were seriously questioned in 1923, in a 'scholarly critical' report prepared by Sir Charles Oman, himself a Member of the House of Commons. Dr Menhennet briefly reviews the Oman Report (p.62) and believes that it was 'perhaps rather too sweeping' in some of its condemnations. It would be useful to see the historian's full text which does not appear to have been printed in its entirety. Oman's Report seems to be an expression of a wider feeling of dissatisfaction among Members generally with the way the Library was operating. The roots of this dissatisfaction stretch back into the previous century when, it may be surmised, stagnation rather than progress had set in after the heady days of the new premises had settled down. Dr Menhennet would not necessarily agree with that diagnosis to judge by his text on page 55 where he defends the Library as matching 'the spirit of the age' in the latter part of the previous century. His text is discreet and tactful, and he may well be quite just in his observations. One wonders, however, whether a deeper analysis might not provide some other points worth considering. From knowledge of the Australian parliamentary libraries of the same era, it seems clear that the second half of the nineteenth century was a period of stagnation in parliamentary librarianship. That the Australian parliamentary librarians occupied positions of prestige and privilege was acknowledged by other librarians; occasionally talk of 'sinecures' was heard. Their tenure of office was often long and may have contributed to a certain professional desiccation. It is a question which requires investigation in Australia. These remarks are not, strictly speaking, germane to Dr Menhennet's History and it is inappropriate to expect him to

compare the professional achievements of his Library with the contemporaneous position in other major libraries in London. Remarks later in his History, however, suggest that more light might be cast on the question which is of interest in itself.

One development highlighted by the author is certainly relevant to the House of Commons Library's progress and performance in the second half of the nineteenth century. The advisory committee of Members to assist the Speaker in the management and control of the Library ceased to operate from 1862. The contribution made by the members of the Library Committee is evaluated very positively on pages 33 to 34. The dissatisfaction with the Library referred to already led in 1922 to the establishment of a new informal Advisory Committee. It started off as an active body: Oman's Report was one of its first initiatives.

From what has been said already, it is clear that the Librarian had close contact with the Members, that he ran the Library with little help, and that his character and competence were essential factors determining the Library's development and success. This must have been especially the case during the long period (1862-1922) when there was no informal committee of Members advising the Speaker on the management and regulation of the Library. There may be little extant evidence to tell us how wide a scope the Librarian had in running the day-to-day affairs of the Library. Perhaps this scope varied according to the interest and energy of the respective Speakers and their Clerks. If the Library seemed to be proceeding satisfactorily, there would have been little cause for intervention. It would be useful to have some data on these questions. Obviously there is another book awaiting Dr Menhennet's skilful pen!

At this distance in time it would be difficult to establish much detail about the performance and professional competence of the early Librarians. It is not clear what qualities the Commons sought in its Librarians. Did it want bookmen, competent cataloguers or what? Perhaps these are wrong questions in this context, applying criteria of our century rather than those of the last. Social origins, family connections and patronage were all important then and they are even today not without influence in some parliaments. On one early staff member there is, happily, abundant information available: Thomas Erskine May's career is amply documented and the author deals with this important figure fully. He is at pains to highlight what Erskine May's library training and experience contributed towards his later substantial success.

That indexing of parliamentary records played a large role in this training and later success will surprise no one. It would be welcome to have details on other aspects of the technical side of the Librarian's job during these early years (for example, what amount of cataloguing was carried out and according to which principles? Were books and periodicals subject-indexed? How were books classified, shelved and identified? What kinds of catalogues other than the printed book catalogue were created?) These questions may be of little interest to lay readers, but would possibly allow other readers to get a fuller understanding of the early Library's environment. Also useful would be information on the types of records maintained by the Librarian. Did he have loan registers showing what each borrower used? Other facts of a pedestrian kind, such as hours worked, holidays granted, hours of opening and days on which the Library offered service would be also interesting for gauging the climate of the times in the House of Commons Library. It is probable that much of this information is contained in the reports of the various Select Committees on the work of the Library to which Dr Menhennet refers. If this is so, it only strengthens the plea made earlier for an additional publication of source material on the history of this important Library.

The next stage of the Library's development came with the re-emergence of the 1922 Advisory Committee of Members to assist the Speaker who still had sole responsibility for the Library. Arising out of the Oman Report, and probably from a wider level of criticism of the Library's collecting policy, was the 1923 recommendation that the scope of collecting concentrate specifically on the subjects of political economy, finance, modern history, constitutional history, political science and law. The Advisory Committee also decided that it would 'assist' the Librarian at periodical meetings to consider purchases in other fields. This practice was similar to one pursued for some time in the N.S.W. Parliamentary Library during the thirties and forties. It was a cumbrous and ineffectual way of exercising some supervision over collecting. In reality it allowed the Committee members to have first choice of the newly received books. Dr Menhennet does not reveal whether the practice at Westminster amounted to much, but the measure seems to indicate a dissatisfaction with the Librarian's lack of accountability for the books collected. That most collecting policies have some element of arbitrariness is patent and may be the least of all evils in librarianship if the selector is a responsible person of broad culture and sound education. Biases can be acceptable if they do not develop into some kind of 'King Charles's head'. It would be instructive to have more of the author's personal views on these questions. Particularly welcome would be an objective discussion of the term 'gentleman's library' which seems to crop up regularly in the accounts of the genesis of many parliamentary libraries. Nowadays there seems to be the suggestion that a 'gentleman's library' is something reprehensible: it is far from clear whether

this is anything other than ideological rhetoric being carelessly repeated. Dr Menhennet is well placed to offer worthwhile thoughts on this and the other questions raised above.

One Member, Mr (later Sir) George Benson MP had strong feelings about the nature of the Library's collections and services. In 1930 he castigated the Catalogue as 'useless' and in 1938 he became a member of the Advisory Committee and had obviously gained a forum where his views might have impact. Later he was to chair a Select Committee into the Library in 1945. He became an influential member of the post-war Library Committee and was 'to play a very important role in the expansion of the Library's services to the House'(p.63). A Memorandum by this important Member is cited by Dr Menhennet. The terms of this document make curious reading since they reveal some preconceptions and prejudices about the Library — 'hardly progressed since 1850', 'atmosphere ... of a country gentleman's private library' — as well as fresh ideas about how to make the Library effective for the new Elizabethan Age. Dr Menhennet's History now enters on the most interesting stage of the Library's conversion from a traditional parliamentary library into what it has now become: a diverse and responsive parliamentary and legislative research, information and library service of international stature.

The passages on pages 63 to 65, devoted to explaining the relative torpor of the Library in the first decades of the century, could probably be applied to other parliamentary libraries as well. It would seem that by the early twentieth century the reputation of parliamentary libraries as a class had noticeably declined and their staff do not appear to have been as highly regarded as they once were by other librarians. In Australia the 1947 Report by Lionel McColvin, City Librarian of Westminster, on his survey of Australian public libraries, had some harsh incidental remarks to make about some Australian parliamentary libraries. Undoubtedly the First World War and the ensuing Great Depression had some part in their decline, but at least at Westminster the Librarian of the House of Commons and his staff seemed to be aware of the need for reform. Dr Menhennet quotes from a 1944 Memorandum from the Librarian to the Speaker, urging provision of a 'modern up-to-date library'.(p.65) It will be recalled that in Washington one of the major changes to affect the Library of Congress soon after the end of the War was to upgrade the Congressional Research Service in a thoroughgoing manner. It was indeed the changed postwar values and expectations which seem to have been the catalyst for action rather than mere words. The author reiterates D.Englefield's words:'it was to take the Second World War to crack the traditional mould of the House of Commons Library'.(p.73) The cracking of the mould resulted from Reports from a Select Committee appointed in late 1945 to inquire into the Library, but an earlier Select Committee appointed at the end of the previous Parliament paved the way.

The Reports of these Select Committees virtually provided the Library of the House of Commons with its present charter. Its recommendations 'represented a fundamental commitment to, as well as a vote of confidence in, the Library's future development.'(p.75) That George Benson MP was its chairman must have greatly assisted its deliberations. In addition to requiring the creation of 'a modern and efficient library-based reference and information service', the Reports were also to create the added dimension of specialised research for Members. The researchers were to have 'special qualifications in the Social Sciences'. This was the beginning of a service requiring the blend of expertise, local knowledge of the political and parliamentary environment and culture as well as knowledge of the characteristics of clients, coupled with political neutrality. These are the hallmark of such services in most parliamentary libraries of national parliaments in the Westminster system. Dr Menhennet's words on page 75 deserve to be quoted in full:

In placing this research function in the Library, rather than recommending the formation of a separate parliamentary research unit, Members of the Select Committee were again breaking relatively new ground. They established, in the process of doing so, the important principle that library, information and research facilities for the legislature should be integrated and mutually dependent the one on the other for their effective and economical running. Today, the much larger library-based organisations which have grown up, for example, in Westminster, Canberra and Ottawa, and which still combine these three related functions, owe much to the foresight of early bodies of Members such as the 1945-46 Select Committee which plotted the basic course to be followed.

In some respects the account given on pages 74 to 82 ('Time for a Change') form the heart of the History. They set out the numerous changes which sprang from the recommendations of the 1945-46 Select Committee. Those changes definitely established the current identity of the Library by giving its previous orientation a new direction, by setting it achievable objectives, by providing the necessary resources to allow it to develop an independent dynamism and vigour, but yet still preserving its valuable history and sense of tradition. It is remarkable how much was achieved on a variety of fronts simultaneously. It was one of those golden moments when all the necessary ingredients were available: the right ideas, the right men and the necessary resources. The author has done well to provide so much detail on this particular era. It is certainly the watershed for the Library in this century, paralleling, but

far outstripping, the building of the new library in 1852. A list on pages 80 to 81 gives the then Librarian's summary of the progress made in the decade 1950-1960. The list is extremely impressive.

The changes which occurred affected accommodation, stock, staff numbers, conditions and salaries, services, organisation and policies. All these changes were necessary to enable the Library to undertake an active role rather than the essentially passive one which characterised many parliamentary libraries for long periods of their history. Most significant must have been, if only gradually at first, the change in the calibre of staff needed to put into effect the newly defined objectives of the Library. A greater sense of identification with the calling of parliamentary librarianship as a career must have been one result. This aspect of the matter is only briefly touched on by the author at this point of his History. One would certainly like more information on the impact of those changes on staff, both in the Library as well as in the other sections of the Commons administration. Since it was also a time of general growth in the whole Parliament, the Library changes may have been viewed as part of a wider pattern of change. This would have dampened any sense of competitiveness or envy which can arise all too easily in the self-contained environment of parliaments.

The spirit of the times required the changes. They were only a start, of course. The author states at page 81:

By 1950, Members' outlook and expectations were different [from earlier years]. Most of them, certainly would have said that the Library was or should be an integral part of the whole process of parliamentary government...

The phrase 'integral part' may seem to be overstating the case at this juncture. To become an 'integral part' seems more apt as a long-term objective, but even then there are some who would argue that the phrase is rather too grandiloquent for the reality of the political and parliamentary situation. However one views the matter, the phrase and what it implies set the keynote for the further evolution of the House of Commons Library. Over and beyond that, the phrase has applicability in its wider content to parliamentary libraries in general: it encapsulates the host of issues which both challenge and give validity to parliamentary librarianship as a distinct calling with its own norms and ethics, in short with its own 'raison d'etre.'

Chapter 5 (Years of Challenge and Growth) and Chapter 6 (The Department of the Library) cover the years from 1960 to the year 1991. The final chapter, Chapter 7, is appropriately entitled 'Prospect: The Library and the New Parliamentary Building'. The events of this thirty-year period are in many respects a fleshing-out of the matters put in train by the 1945-46 Select Committee. These chapters are full of detail and it becomes somewhat arbitrary to pick out 'highlights'. The achievements were manifold and despite some temporary rebuffs, the Library moved consistently forward, both in terms of modernisation of its basis of operation and in terms of its level of service. Changes were likewise affecting the Westminster Parliament as an organisation, of which the Library is but a part. Among the important developments of an organisation-wide kind was the creation in 1965 of the House of Commons Services Committee which had a Library Sub-Committee. This Sub-Committee decided that the Librarian should assist it, 'a practice which has invariably been followed since then.' (p.88)

The effect on the Library of the 1975 Bottomley Committee's Report on the House of Commons (Services) was considerable. By legislation in 1978 the internal departmental administration of the House of Commons Service was modernised: the Library was one of the Departments set up under the Act. The Library had been indeed a 'Department' since August 1967. The Compton Committee report which preceded the Bottomley Committee by a little had not wanted the Library to be a separate Department, so the results of the Bottomley Committee's Report were very important for the Library's future status. Heads of Departments now form the Board of Management; the Deputy Librarian sits on the Administration Committee, a body of more restricted scope dealing with day-to-day issues, and operating under the Board. Dr Menhennet sets out fully the changes (and improvements) which flowed from the Bottomley Committee's findings: they make instructive reading for Australia where changes to parliamentary administration and organisation are now fashionable. The investigations and procedures followed by the Bottomley Committee have, however, not generally been followed here and results may be less likely to succeed in addressing the fundamental issues.

The development of research services is one aspect of the modernisation of services which deserves special mention. The modest beginnings where service was largely based on the preparation of bibliographies were soon to blossom out to include a range of specialised, individually tailored responses to specific requests for detailed reports, analyses and summaries. The inevitable need to foster subject specialisation was soon to follow. Although we might smile at the suggestion made by Librarian Saunders to the 1945-46 Select Committee that research staff should be able to undertake journeys to consult other libraries and information sources 'in any part of the globe' (p.76), his perception of what genuine research may require is sound. There are still unresolved problems in deciding what are the

limits of 'research' in parliamentary libraries; the term 'research' is slippery, not least to the clientele itself. The necessary yoking of 'research' and 'subject specialisation' raises additional problems. There is much talk about the need of the Legislature to be able to match the Executive's information preponderance, expertise and resources. This can never be a real option for Legislatures, but approximations are achievable in some areas. Costs and benefits are, however, harder to gauge. One sobering point which is scarcely ever raised is that politicians are not necessarily objective users of information. Sometimes they can be quite the opposite. The same can be said of governments which may also respond irrationally and 'politically' when pressures are severe.

It is scarcely possible to evaluate these complex issues in the abstract. They are protean and can only be understood in specific contexts. Economic criteria are sometimes adduced as the ultimate decisive factor in deciding the nature of a research service. Of course, cost-benefit issues must be addressed where it is possible to apply them, but they have limited applicability in the political and parliamentary arena. Dr Menhennet's text gives rise to all these reflections which relate to both the present position and future possibilities. It is fascinating to be able to trace the genesis and development of such issues within the context of one great parliamentary library.

In recent years the study of parliament and, in particular, the study of the House of Commons and the work of its Members, have given rise to a number of scholarly publications. In many of these attention has been paid to how Members can be made more effective. Naturally the role of the Library must be mentioned and Dr Menhennet makes the point that this outside interest in such questions has benefited the Library's efforts to expand and upgrade its services. Discussions of the 'information explosion' and of Members' need for information in manageable, evaluated form cannot but reinforce the necessity of having a research service of a particular kind which takes into account political contexts, personalities and other imponderables.

A further point of interest relating to research is made on page 97: the author outlines the Library's stated desire in 1975 to provide 'a more structured and effective service to Select Committees themselves'. This is a topic which points to the future as does the Library's early (1968) initiative to use computers for information storage and retrieval purposes.

The application of automation to a wide variety of library and information operations is a logical outcome of the objectives set up by the 1945-46 Select Committee. In this area the House of Commons Library has been notably successful.

It has led the way within the House of Commons Service and the achievements of its POLIS database have received wide recognition. The POLIS database is now being accessed by a number of users outside the United Kingdom. The author comments on the long gestation period of computer-based indexing in the Library, noting that the 'ten-year wait proved, with hindsight, to be not only necessary but beneficial.' (p.112) This is an observation that many other librarians would heartily endorse. POLIS itself became operational in 1980 and has continued to flourish ever since. It is indeed the indispensable platform for the Library to advance forward into the twenty-first century.

The latter parts of the History come back to familiar themes: the growth of the collection, overcrowding, and the acquisitions and weeding policies. Dr Menhennet's account (pp. 121-125) sets out the issues clearly and in a balanced fashion. He points out alliteratively that there is an 'almost limitless list of matters' on which the Library must have material available to answer inquiries. If one can envisage a parliamentary library having a subsidiary educational function in the future, the question of acquiring works of literature must be weighed. If it is true that writers, poets and dramatists provide us with the real picture of the world we live in and of ourselves as its denizens, it seems inescapable that literature must be an important library category. Did the Library acquire Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*? What about the plays of Vaclav Havel? The novels of Iris Murdoch, the poems of P.Larkin provide us with pictures of English social reality. Admittedly, they do not necessarily give legislators any guidance on how to set right what may be wrong! Are they in the Library? Should they be there? Those who have instant answers to these questions should be viewed with suspicion.

The prospect of a storage depot to cater for anticipated net growth 'for at least twenty years' is hailed as a breakthrough. It will certainly be a life-line, and in the meantime the Library will doubtless have an opportunity to assess its collection needs. The next decade will necessarily bring new factors to bear on this and other related questions.

As regards overcrowding of premises, new purpose-designed accommodation was occupied by the Library in Summer 1991. This entailed transferring one third of the Library's stock and about four-fifths of its staff. Whilst the Library will still retain a presence in the Palace of Westminster itself, most services and functions are now carried out in the new premises, 'Derby Gate' in Parliament Street nearby. This move consolidates fragmented services and staff, provides better overall control of

operations and also offers far more adequate facilities for Members' personal research staff, who number about 600. These persons are among the most active and library-dependent part of the Library's clientele. The projected changes mirror fairly closely similar developments which have overtaken some other parliamentary libraries. The creation of personal staff for Members is a trend which seems likely to continue. The parliamentary libraries are essential to Members' personal staffs in a way of which Members themselves may be unaware. Where else can these users find full collections of official materials organised specifically to meet political needs and where else is such a range of subject-expertise available exclusively for the use of politicians at short notice? Clearly parliamentary libraries are going to have to live with an ever widening circle of 'authorised' users from now on. This is but another justification for maintaining them at the requisite standard.

Services to the public represent a new and apparently growing aspect of the Library's information responsibilities. As a result of the 1977 report of the Services Committee of the House of Commons, entitled 'Services for the Public', a Public Information Office was created in 1978 within the Library. This Office, described by the author as a pioneering service, has proved a great success. Dr Menhennet provides statistics on its workload (p.107) and mentions its 'Weekly Information Bulletin' which is a guide to 'recent, current and forthcoming business of the House of Commons'.

The Public Information Office now includes the Education Unit of the two Houses of Parliament. The Unit, established in 1980, directs its activities mainly to teachers and students. The work of both the Office and the Unit interlock effectively with the Library's overall role as a provider of information at different levels of sophistication and as a source of expertise on the history and work of parliament. There is obviously the potential in these two bodies to develop a wider outreach benefiting groups not yet encompassed. The successes already achieved indicate that a public need is being met by these two Library-based operations. Their location within this context seems eminently sensible and cost-effective. Here too other parliamentary libraries may find something worth emulating.

The final section of Dr Menhennet's History briefly touches on the important Ibbes Report on House of Commons Services (1990). This is yet another review of management and control of services. Its recommendations are not spelled out, but it is mentioned that the Board of Management of which the Librarian is a member, will have an enhanced corporate management role. We will await the effects of all this with interest since it seems similar to concerns presently engaging the minds of Australian parliamentarians and parliamentary officers.

The final aspect of this work to be mentioned here is that of its staff. Some incidental points have already been raised and these can now be rounded off. The staff in 1990 numbered 174; the authorised complement in April 1991 was 195. This is a far cry from the handful in 1946, but of course we are scarcely dealing with the same library. Appendix Five sets out categories and staff numbers at various periods from 1969 to 1990. It is not easy to distinguish between the designations. The author does not go into the qualifications required of the various categories, but on page 114 he gives details of recruitment policies. He points out that recruiting standards are exacting and exemplifies this by revealing that in 1978 four library clerkships were advertised nationally. Four hundred and thirty applications were received, but only three positions were filled. It would be useful to know about the Library's policies with regard to performance assessment, staff development and career planning. In view of the difficulties experienced by some other parliamentary libraries with integrating professional librarians with high-profile subject specialists, it would be valuable to learn whether the Library has had any similar problems, and how it handles such matters if they arise. There is, of course, no suggestion made here that there may have been such difficulties in the Library of the House of Commons. Indeed, the strong impression one gains from reading Dr Menhennet is that the Library has been well served in recent decades by able leaders and dedicated staff. If the example at the top is good, the morale on the 'shop floor' will respond.

Conclusion

The richness of *The House of Commons Library: A History* makes it inevitable that a review like the present one can only pick out a few plums. There are many others left untouched, and for that reason nothing has been said about important themes such as the Library's international relations, its publications program, its services at various points outside the Palace of Westminster, etc. The work is stimulating as an account of the progress of an exceptional library; it is equally stimulating for calling to mind parallels to the experience of other parliamentary libraries. But apart from its own substantial merit as an institutional history, Dr Menhennet's book suggests perspectives of a wider kind, relevant to the future development of parliamentary librarianship. These perspectives embrace the parliamentary institution as well as the parliamentary library's role within the institution. That he ends on something of an open note with the Ibbes Report is symptomatic in this respect.

The reader is left with a taste for more, and obviously much more can be said. If Dr Menhennet could be persuaded to continue his labours, we would be curious to have his views on the bundle of managerial and professional skills he sees as now required to run such a complex research, information and library system. He only obliquely refers to the 'public relations' skills parliamentary librarianship requires of its practitioners: his personal success in this field would make it beneficial to others to have his observations on the matter.

This History commands respect as a fine achievement in condensing a considerable body of fact and information, summarising complex situations, and giving sympathetic pen-portraits of participants in the story. The clarity of the account is admirable and the balance achieved is impressive. Dr Menhennet leaves the reader in no doubt that the Library he led from 1976 until 1991 has made remarkable advances and that it can look confidently forward to a future as a leader in its field.

Part Two

The Future Isn't What It Used To Be: Disputatious Observations

Introduction

The future of parliamentary libraries is inextricably linked with the future of parliament. This platitude will be examined from several points of view in this Part.

The point of departure must, therefore, be the parliamentary institution itself. An examination of the institution will necessarily involve a number of issues in which the parliamentary libraries do not figure, but the role to be assigned to them in this Paper can only be fully grasped once the full context has been established.

The complexity of these issues will be divided up as indicated below so as to facilitate argument and to keep the Paper as concise as possible. Section A examines the decline of parliament. Section B suggests how the parliamentary institution might act to redress the decline. The third section looks at the specific part the parliamentary libraries might play in assisting the institution to acquire a revitalised identity and renewed significance.

A. The Loss of Substance in Legislatures: A Diagnosis

It has been said that the 1980s brought an end to a good many certainties of the twentieth century. Interpretations of that contention will vary greatly; few observers, however, will want to claim that the twenty-first century will not radically differ from what we have known in our lifetime. The obvious failure of communism needs no special comment, but the democracies themselves are not without major problems and quandaries. Their fund of ideas and beliefs is under obvious stress in many areas, not just in the political and economic ones. Far-reaching shifts in public attitudes, beliefs and behaviour patterns are discernible. It would seem that many changes are irreversible, that old-established institutions (the churches, the monarchy, the family, political parties, etc.) and inherited value systems will be subjected to more constant questioning from now on. How much pressure can they withstand?

Legislatures have not been directly challenged yet, partly because their relevance is seen as 'symbolic' rather than as 'real'. They are not so much serious, independent players in the game of government as instruments to be used by other players to achieve political (not necessarily parliamentary) objectives. The old notion of legislatures as the real 'forum of the nation' is as antiquated as horse-drawn trams. In other words, the legislatures have suffered a loss of substance and reputation.

What is the substance that has been lost? Is it true to say, as so many scholars nowadays do, that parliament has long ceased to be a genuine sovereign part of the polity which under the Westminster system it was once considered to be? If we restrict our view to Australia, it is incontestable that parliament has largely lost its scope to call the Executive to account unless the Executive makes this possible. Several recent Papers by a knowledgeable observer, Mr Speaker Rozzoli of the N.S.W. Parliament, analyse aspects of the decline of parliament's sovereignty. Focusing on one aspect, he comments in a 1992 Paper:

I would like to comment on the decline or perhaps, non-existence, of real debate, both on committee reports and the whole range of matters that come before Parliament. Too often we observe Members reading a setpiece speech, perhaps written by their staff or others, then leave the Chamber. No genuine attempt is made to properly debate the issues. Members do not listen, assess, respond to points made...¹

1. *Submission by the Hon. K.R.Rozzoli MP, Speaker to the House of Representatives Standing Committee for Long Term Strategies: Inquiry into the Role of Parliaments in the Information Age.* (Sydney, Speaker's Office, 1992)

The decline of parliament is also exemplified by a lack of respect amongst politicians themselves for the institution. Parliament seems, in the eyes of many of its members, to have become merely an instrument and has ceased to be a value in its own right. This situation is, of course, part of the pattern of change affecting party politics. On this point Mr Speaker Rozzoli may again be appropriately quoted as a well-placed observer:

Another part of the answer is changing the culture of Australian Parliaments. Members need to be more conscious of the institution of Parliament and their role in it. Parliament must be seen as something more than just an extension of party conflict or a means of carrying through a party's program. Members need to realise they also have a role as parliamentarians representing a community beyond the party².

The public has grown deeply sceptical of politicians and political institutions, nor do parliaments any longer enjoy the public respect they once received. Their relevance to the processes of government seems now questionable. Their ritual significance and their function as 'theatre'(spectacle) are still acknowledged, but this is bought at the cost of substantive content. It should also be added that the selection process for members of parliament does not necessarily lead to persons of requisite calibre being found.

Diagnosis of parliament's contemporary decline in sovereignty and effectiveness focuses generally on the issue of control of the parliamentary budget. Important as this issue is, it does not in itself go to the core of the malaise. Even if the debate over parliamentary control of its own finances were to be resolved, many other things need to be rectified before the parliament can regain its lost relevance in the political system. Internal improvements to the parliamentary administration clearly form one area to be addressed, but even here the Executive has determined many of the parameters within which the parliament can operate. Norms of public employment and management procedures, incorporated increasingly in statute law (equal opportunity, anti-discrimination, etc.), are set by the Executive, leaving limited scope or flexibility to the Presiding Officers of Parliament to exercise their responsibilities with much independence or initiative.

To define the full extent of the loss of relevance and of independent substance of the legislature requires a detailed analysis of contemporary political realities, of the political and parliamentary behaviour of Members as well as an examination of why parliament's bureaucratic structure and its career officers have been ineffectual. Unfortunately, the career officers have been able to do little to stop the decline; perhaps, it could be argued, they have rather in some cases facilitated it. More generally, one can conclude that parliaments, whose debates are now often visible through television to large numbers of citizens, are being detrimentally affected by public perceptions about the behaviour they display. 'We are living in a world generally without dignity. Why then should we expect our politicians to be any different?'³

Who can deny that changed norms and mores today radically affect most aspects of our social, economic and political life?

There is a wide range of writing (sometimes abstruse) discussing the nature of late twentieth-century society. There is necessarily a speculative element in this discourse in which uncertainty and contradiction abound. Indeed, the range of ideas under discussion and the variety of viewpoints in public discourse present us with a situation of great fluidity. It is a process of fermentation where outcomes are still indeterminate. A few words on the ferment within political parties will make the picture a little clearer.

In contemporary Australian political parties there is a clash of philosophic and economic beliefs which is a response to the complexity of the world today. Passionate debate between parties and turmoil within parties is commonplace. What was yesterday's truth or unshakeable dogma no longer applies, it would seem. It is also interesting to note in Australia how changes in party adherence and voter behaviour are adding another layer to the problem.

The traditional adherents of the two major Australian political parties are no longer as numerous or as reliable as they once were. With fewer fee-paying members and affiliates the parties are confronted

2. Ibid, p.3.

3. *Constitutional Change in the 1990s: A Paper presented to Constitutional Conference, Darwin, October 1992 by the Hon. Kevin Rozzoli, Dip. Law, M.P. Speaker, Legislative Assembly of New South Wales.* (Sydney, Speaker's Office, 1992) See p.5.

with disconcerting financial problems. Neither party is able to attract the previous level of support at the ballot box. These trends have been observable for at least ten years, but were especially striking in the 1990 Federal General Election. The winning party (ALP) gained 39.4 per cent of the primary vote; the Liberal Party gained 35 per cent.⁴ The Coalition Parties (Liberal Party/National Party) actually polled 43.4 per cent of all primary votes. It is, of course, risky to extrapolate from such data, but it is equally clear that the parties themselves are taking these trends seriously. The 1993 General Election has just been held, with results astonishing almost the entire political spectrum. It will take a while to digest the results, but they seem to reaffirm the point that certainties are still hard to pinpoint.

The parties would like a return to predictability in people's voting behaviour and attitudes. Internally the parties have lost their own certainties if we are to judge by the turmoil they are undergoing in their attempts to come to grips with problems of policy formulation in a world with so many problems of its own. The 'global village' is not a comfortable place to live in!

These few points about the ferment within public discourse with its clash of opinions and beliefs form the backdrop for a consideration of the future of parliament and ultimately of the parliamentary libraries. Their future can only be understood if the proper context is in place. One point to emerge from the panorama sketched above should, however, be kept firmly in mind: nothing should be taken for granted when we come to question the validity and future of institutions in the 1990s.

B. Replacing the Loss of Substance.

Parliaments may be said to have a binary nature. On the one hand they are elected, legislative bodies and monitors of the performance of the Executive. On the other hand they are also 'public sector' organisations with a bureaucratic structure, staffed by career officers who serve the elected members. The norms and traditions which obtain in the bureaucratic structure are not necessarily of concern to the members of parliament whose activities are located in the publicly visible, legislative side of the parliamentary institution. There may at times seem to be a certain disjuncture between the two arms of the institution. Sometimes their interests appear to run in different directions.

The parliamentary bureaucracy in many parliaments evolved its present basis in the nineteenth century; its structure and rationale were given their initial identity then. Until relatively late into the present century parliaments were modest in their staffing and expenditure. Dr Menhennet's *History* documents this position clearly and sets out the reasons why changes occurred in the House of Commons Library (See Part One). To a large extent the same reasons led to changes in the other administrative parts of the parliamentary organisation. Change and modernisation were a concomitant of the end of the Second World War.

To the degree that the public's negative perception of the performance of parliament stems from those aspects of the institution which make unfavourable headlines and television exposes of Members' transgressions, rectification lies generally within the power of members and parties. Unbecoming behaviour in debate, personal abuse, scandals and excesses in the use of privileges and entitlements, and above all, glaring discrepancy between words and action are not at all uncommon in Australia and other countries as well. These are eagerly picked up by the media. They are often given a disproportionate amount of attention.

The decline in the importance of parliament as a political institution is, however, a problem of a different order, involving the difficult issue of Executive predominance over the legislature. The roots of this development are rather tangled. Perhaps it is simply a natural outcome of political processes and the trends of political reality in our time. To some extent it is an outcome abetted by the lack of institutional vigour in parliaments themselves and the general fall in standards of personal behaviour and public morality in contemporary society. Cause and effect are hard to determine and may indeed be reversible in some instances.

The second, non-elected arm of the legislature, its bureaucracy and its various services, can do little to influence the behaviour of the members in the first arm. If the second arm can give a positive example by maintaining high professional performance and preserving values and standards, even if with some disfavour from members of the first arm, at least this will be an indispensable step towards the ultimate goal of creating an entirely different image of parliament for the future. Nevertheless, the existing image may be too flawed to be able to be restored.

4. *The End of Certainty: The Story of The 1980's* by Paul Kelly. Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1992. See pp. 587-588.

Some managerial deficiencies of the second arm of the legislature are now becoming more widely recognised. This is partly because of the general process of re-assessment of public sector performance now sweeping over most of the English-speaking world. The political orthodoxy of our age demands such a review and parliaments are not excluded. There is, indeed, no reason why they should be excluded; there are good reasons for them to be included. The norms of effectiveness, efficiency and accountability are increasingly being applied to parliaments where firmer management practices are being introduced. One may wonder, however, whether a focusing on this arm of the legislature is not, to some degree, a device to deflect attention from the faults of the other arm. There is probably no answer possible to this question, but one may be fairly certain that an abundance of virtue in the bureaucratic management of the legislature will not outweigh derelictions committed in the elected arm of the legislature.

The contrast made above between the two elements or arms of the legislature cannot be pushed too far because the picture is in reality more complex. But nevertheless, the juxtaposition is valid in its broad outlines and provides a helpful framework which will, it is hoped, advance analysis of the issues of concern to us here.

Happily there are in each arm of the legislature forces anxious to redress the slide which is so widely recognised as to be generally incontestable. These forces, identifiable in individuals rather than in coherent groups, are scattered and without a unified voice. There seems now to be a growing recognition that the two arms of the legislature must do more to overcome the existing disjuncture and achieve a common unity of purpose. The asymmetry of the two arms is, of course, a fundamental characteristic of the legislature where the public functions must be paramount, but the need for the two arms to pull in the same direction is indispensable if the process of decline is not to prove irreversible.

Members wishing the parliamentary institution to regain substance are numerically few. The party system acts as a check on their freedom of independent thought and action and the predominance of politics over most other considerations limits the influence these members can wield. Being an Opposition Member or a Government Member also plays a role. These are all features well documented in studies of parliament and reinforce the view that the reform of parliament is difficult to envisage if we rely solely on its first arm.

The difficulties outlined above require the second arm of the legislature to be able to offer continuous support and intellectual input (ideas) so that the process of decline might be arrested. Mr Speaker Rozzoli also sees the need for 'Clerks-at-the-Table and the permanent staff of the Parliament' to assist members to create what he calls a 'meaningful chamber.'⁵ He continues:

Further, the length of a member's service does not always equate with an equivalent depth of interest and understanding of the Parliament. The preservation of Parliamentary standards is therefore very much in the hands of the continuing entity within the Parliament, that is, the Clerks and their staff.⁶

The argument in this Paper is for something compatible with what the Speaker pinpoints, but going beyond his analysis in some radical ways. It is not just a matter of getting back a lost sovereignty if the *raison d'être* of the institution is in question. All one would retain in this case would be an empty but expensive shell. The process must indeed go beyond mere reform (which is in train in most parliaments at the moment): what is now required for future survival and growth is 'self-transformation'. If the earlier analysis of parliament's loss of substance is accurate, reform as such will scarcely achieve much unless it can tackle the roots of the problem. This will involve a fundamental reappraisal of functions and purpose. This reappraisal seems indispensable if the parliamentary institution is to play a role in the polity of the coming century. It has scarcely played such a real, non-symbolic role in the last third of the present century. Ideas and objectives as well as prognoses about the fundamentals of public policies are now increasingly what are called for.

Reform of parliament is a topic which is well nigh inexhaustible. Dr Menhennet's *History* records how much the House of Commons Library benefited from the writings of academics concerning parliamentary reform and the need for the Westminster Parliament to provide its Members with information and research services of quality (See Part One). In Australia there has been less academic interest in parliament as an institution, but some attention has been paid to the question of its reform. It is not the purpose of this Paper to go deeply into the specifics of reform or, as is argued here, self-

5. See Footnote 5.

6. Ibid.

transformation. It is, however, important to emphasise the point that more will be ultimately achieved by the parliaments themselves defining their own reform needs and proposing the remedies than by reacting to the views from outside. The insights and assistance of outsiders may well be vital at the right time and place, but the institution should ideally instigate and, at best, lead the process. This requires the best efforts of each arm of the legislature, working together towards mutual goals.

For parliament to be able to begin a genuine process of self-transformation, a lot of things need to be in place first. It is, in fact, at this point that the second arm of the legislature must come to the fore and play its appropriate (and enlarged) role. Probably the first point that needs to be made is that the second arm must have as unified a voice as one can expect from such a composite body. Then this voice must be made stronger. It will, of course, always be the case that the voice of the first arm of the legislature will be even stronger as befits the public face of the institution.

How can the second arm gain a stronger voice? Firstly, there is a need for a much greater and more consistent stress to be placed on professional identity and all that the idea implies. Professions earn recognition through their competence and intellectual stature. The profession of 'parliamentary officer' is largely undeveloped and still interpreted in too narrow a fashion. The creation of a recognisable 'parliamentary officer' corps with a genuinely parliamentary professional basis extending, with appropriate differentiations, across the whole spectrum of the parliamentary service, is becoming an inescapable necessity. More is said later on about this point, but it is now clearly the case that a complex range of professional skills, management expertise as well as practical experience are required to manage a modern legislature. Whilst knowledge of parliamentary practice will always remain a skill of exceptional importance, it is not necessarily enough to achieve the objectives of efficiency, effectiveness (both in costs and services), and accountability, or enough to assist the transformation process advocated in this Paper.

Modern legislatures must look more closely at how they utilise an often disregarded asset: the talents, skills and experience of all the staffs which they employ. Some conscious policy shifts, revised staff procedures and re-thinking are required, with some radical changes being the likely result. The fairly inflexible compartmentalisation of staff organisation and management perspectives within parliaments — to some extent an outcome of the bicameral nature of parliament — needs to be re-assessed to encourage staff mobility within the organisation and to create better career paths, but coupled with much more stringent performance norms from the top to the bottom. If re-assessment shows that the existing position is valid, there is no need to change it; if this cannot be demonstrated, it should be changed and improved. There is obviously a major study here waiting to be tackled.

The recent and on the whole deserved criticisms by members and others (compare with the Fitzgerald Report in Queensland) about the performance of the non-elected arm of the legislature are reason enough for re-appraisal and upgrading of activities, procedures and policies to be undertaken. There is already much progress in this respect in Australia. A further reason for re-appraisal is that the talents and skills of the various parliamentary staffs have only rarely and then fitfully been harnessed in an overall management and planning sense for the benefit of an institution suffering, not only internal stresses (criticisms of the second arm by the first arm), but also public criticisms of the effectiveness of the first arm and of the institution of parliament as such.

If the non-elected arm can undertake the steps of self-transformation (upgrading its performance, creating a recognisable career service with a genuine professional basis, functioning as a collective consciousness on matters affecting the institution's own viability, etc), it will be possible to create a synergism as one important step towards achieving the ultimate goal of transforming an institution which is fairly intractable to change. Synergism is the term used to describe the joint action of substances which increases and enhances their individual effectiveness. In other words, something additional is created by this combination which is not attainable to its unaided elements.

From this synergism, arising from possibly a largely new method of functioning of the second arm, we would expect it to create outputs able to assist parliament as an institution under real threat. These outputs include defining the nature of the threat, formulating ideas and strategies on how to counter it, and devising feed-back mechanisms to monitor the situation constantly. Perhaps it might be asked whether these outputs cannot be produced by the existing principal departments within the parliament, traditionally those serving each House. Evidence does not suggest that they can achieve these results unaided.

The idea of creating a synergism within the second arm implies an overall quality of staff and an inter-relationship of sections superior to anything traditionally seen in Australian parliaments. The idea is not intrinsically unattainable, however.

If the synergism within the second arm can be developed, it could produce long-range benefits for the institution and in particular spark off the creative thinking now so necessary for the institution's future direction. The results of this process, placed at the disposal of the first arm, will contribute towards redressing parliament's loss of relevance, but clearly a second synergism is required between both arms of the legislature.

The second synergism is ultimately the crucial one, for it alone can transform the legislature so as to convert it into an institution valuable and effective in its own terms and able to play a useful, not merely 'decorative' role in the country's polity. It will be very difficult to achieve this second kind of synergism. Unless it is achieved, however, one may be deeply sceptical whether any genuine transformation process of parliament is feasible.

Furthermore, the synergism of the two arms of parliament will only occur when the second arm can show itself capable of gaining the respect and ear of the first arm by the quality of its intellectual and professional outputs. Not the least of these outputs will be to define the objectives, strategies and mechanisms for parliament to acquire a new content and direction. The chief onus in creating these outputs, a process which must be a continuous one, will rest on the second arm. But the more the first arm can contribute to the process the stronger it will be. Naturally the implementation of strategies and the creation of the various mechanisms to upgrade and, hopefully, to transform parliament, will remain essentially the responsibility of the elected arm. To a large extent, the elected arm is the engine, whereas the non-elected arm provides the constant fuel supply for the engine to operate. The analogy sets out the processes which we see as necessary.

C: Parliamentary Libraries and The Transformation Process.

The argumentation of this Paper is that the decline of parliament as a sovereign body in the nation's polity will continue until the two arms of the legislature, the elected, public arm and the non-elected, bureaucratic and service arm, can create a synergism to regain at least some of the substance (independence, initiative and reputation) lost over recent decades. To retrieve the position in its entirety requires admittedly much more than what this synergism alone can achieve. But the process must necessarily involve the two arms co-operating in a way not yet in evidence.

The Paper is based on the assumption that transformation is possible as well as desirable, and that the will to undertake this action is present. If the will is lacking, the institution will not necessarily disappear. Its decline will simply continue and the institution will become a parasitical growth on the polity. The transformation process is pre-eminently an intellectual one. It is a task requiring ideas on how the legislature can once more be made effective; it is also a task requiring the power to convince sceptics and to overcome lethargy and intransigent entrenched interests which are comfortable with the status quo. It is a task which will not be easy to accomplish if the requisite mental and personal qualities are not present in those who may be ready, even with the odds against them, to devote themselves to it. And of course, the ideal situation is for input to come from a cross-section of the whole of the non-elected arm of the legislature, not just from a few isolated individuals within it.

The parliamentary libraries are well placed to be able to make a significant contribution to the process. They have already established credibility through the reliability and quality of their information and research services. They have also been amongst the first parts of the legislature to embark upon automation. Their services have received much attention in the literature on parliaments and need not detain us very long. Dr Menhennet's *History* is an excellent record of what one major library has achieved and he also indicates that there is much more that users can look forward to from the parliamentary libraries. In other words, the libraries have established the basis upon which enhancements and outputs going beyond their traditional raft of services can build.

The information, research and traditional library functions of the parliamentary libraries are, at their peak, unique in their range, depth and their personalised nature, aligned with ever increasing sophistication to the needs of individual legislators. It is qualities such as these that lend parliamentary librarianship its special identity, differentiating it from other types of librarianship. One must be sober, however, in assessing the value of such services in their present form to the parliamentary and political process. Nowadays a certain 'mystique' attaches to the word 'information'. Obviously we are all in need of the commodity, but it might be reasonably questioned whether the parliamentary libraries are at present strictly essential to the process they serve. Perhaps like most generalised questions, there is no real answer available. It may simply be a matter of perspective. What is, however, within the grasp of the parliamentary libraries is the capacity to make themselves, in Dr Menhennet's phrase, 'an integral part of the political process'.

Building upon the massive advantage of its resources and expertise, the parliamentary library can undertake important new functions on behalf of the institution as an entity in a way not yet attempted. What is envisaged here is first of all a feedback function through which the parliamentary library monitors and digests the data available in print and non-print (electronic) forms relating to the vitality, performance and reputation of the parliamentary institution, irrespective of party politics and ideology. A strict division between party affairs and the purely parliamentary aspects is not always possible, but the aim of the monitoring is to be a barometer of the health of the institution itself as an organism with an identity and life of its own.

The information gathered under this proposal must be analysed and evaluated. It must then be utilised so as to provide the data from which the first arm of the legislature can counter the decline in the institution. Ideally, the objective is to use the data to fuel the transformation process. The analysis and evaluation of the information gathered by the parliamentary library should be carried out by the best brains of the second arm. In any case the parliamentary library will have a significant input into the process. As an end-product of the analysis and evaluation it is possible to envisage the production of parliament's own institutional Green Papers, issued under the joint authority of the Presiding Officers. The Green Papers, issued possibly twice every 12 or 18 months, will be addressed to an audience which might have the improvement of the political system as a whole at heart as well as the continued effectiveness of the legislature as an element of the system.

If the monitoring of information regarding the reputation and performance of the parliament as described above forms the first part of the enlarged function of the parliamentary library, the second part derives its substance to some extent from it. The idea is for the creation of a kind of parliamentary 'think-tank', institutional in its basis but with a varying membership and participation extending beyond the legislative institution itself. The parliamentary library's research functions draw on an often extensive network of outside research bodies and specialists in a broad range of fields. It is easy to see the possibility of programs being implemented by the library on behalf of the second arm of the legislature and for the benefit of the institution as a whole, to bring together the relevant mix of members of parliament, outside experts and authorities, and parliamentary officers, to offer periodic assessments of the issues at the heart of the vitality and survival of the legislature. A potential network for this purpose exists already within the reach of the parliamentary library.

The parliamentary 'think-tank' envisaged here would have a fluid outside membership and should decidedly avoid any suggestion of its being a purely academic grouping. The input from academics and universities is desirable, but the Australian universities have not shown themselves very concerned with the study of parliament (as distinct from politics). It is preferable to have a broader membership from bodies active in public affairs as well as private foundations, commercial think-tanks, research associations, management bodies and the like. But even more important is the participation of trade union bodies and of the political party organisations. It may be that the latter suggestion will present some difficulties because of the danger of politicisation of the think-tank idea. This need not necessarily be the case if the idea is implemented and monitored sensibly and responsibly.

The activities of the parliamentary 'think-tank' which could, of course, be given a grander title if required, would be an ideal and obvious source of material for further Green Papers of the parliament. The funds to support the idea need not be great; in fact, the expenditures should not be allowed to become great because that will fuel potential criticism of parliamentary self-indulgence. Most parliaments have shown a readiness to draw upon financial sources for less useful purposes than a 'think-tank' proposal, the objectives of which certainly go to the heart of parliament's own survival.

It may be asked why the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association has not yet been mentioned as a participant in the processes and activities outlined above. In some respects that body seems an obvious focal point for addressing most of the issues raised in this Paper since it aims 'to promote the study of and respect for Parliament'. The reply might be that the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association has some of the failures which are being attributed to the parliaments themselves. It too has not been able to maintain a high rate of credibility. This is greatly to be regretted since its membership contains men and women of outstanding ability.

This is not the place to go into the weaknesses of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, but perhaps enough is said if it is pointed out that, in Australia at least, a number of parliamentarians choose not to be members of the Association for reasons of dissatisfaction with its role.⁷ That situation need not remain so, and one may hope that the future will see the emergence of a body which can be enthusiastically supported by all parliamentarians and parliamentary officers. Its contribution to the transformation of parliament could be invaluable, but there is little prospect of such a contribution being offered under existing circumstances.

7. Based on personal knowledge gained from conversations with Members of the N.S.W. Parliament.

The Study of Parliament Group might also be mentioned as an obvious body to be involved in the questions raised in this Paper. Regrettably there is little energy in the Groups at the local level in Australia, but the possibility for some input still exists. The Groups have an unfortunately limited membership and seem unattractive to persons outside universities and a few parliamentary staff.

The issues raised in this Paper affect parliaments in general and this fact makes it sensible for them to co-operate as far as possible in confronting them. Since the chief emphasis of the argumentation offered here has centred on the expanded role of the second arm of the legislature, it is a corollary that the co-operation of these arms should follow. There are already in existence excellent conferences of Presiding Officers and Clerks which produce proceedings and some occasional papers which relate to the problems of concern to this Paper. These conferences are not by their nature and constituency able to go much beyond what they have been in the past and that is certainly not enough for advancing the process of reform or transformation. There are also conferences of parliamentary librarians which are relatively limited in scope. The editors of debates also meet on a wider scale, but their objectives are, like those of the librarians, largely self-centred. Something of a different order from these conferences is now required, but this will require a degree of organisation and intellectual input which may be difficult to achieve if the effort is to be equally spread. The effort is well worth making, however, especially since there are some elements of a framework already in place.

The efforts of the present Speaker of the New South Wales Parliament, the Hon. K.R. Rozzoli M.P., deserve special notice. In particular his seminal Paper entitled *New Life for an Old Concept: An Automated Network of Australian Parliaments* should be seen as the source for a great part of the current Australian parliamentary discussion on bringing parliamentary co-operation to fruition.⁸ His strong personal advocacy for an automated network of Australian parliaments is unique amongst politicians at this level, both for an understanding of the issues and benefits involved and for continuing personal commitment to an idea which does not have immediate political attraction. Whilst the Rozzoli proposal is directed at the sharing of data and expertise, mainly through the parliamentary libraries, the networking proposal has far wider possibilities. It is the wider aspects of networking which are of concern here, although the data sharing aspects are not to be overlooked either.

Using the Rozzoli networking structure it would become possible for the second, non-elected arms of the Australian legislatures to tackle an issue which has been alluded to already. This is the creation of a class of 'parliamentary officer' with skills and qualifications able to attract superior recruits. There are no formal tertiary avenues in existence to offer the necessary training and certification, so it remains for the legislatures themselves to set up a mechanism to fill this gap. This could be done, at least initially, through the network providing some suitably devised and mutually acceptable courses and in-service training at an agreed location. There are now a number of senior retired parliamentary officers available and, presumably, willing to undertake the instruction required. This is obviously only the bare bones of a proposal which would need to be fully elaborated to be acceptable and viable. Some analogy to what is suggested here may be found in the practices of self-regulation and training carried out by guilds and smaller professions.⁹

A third area where the parliamentary libraries could play an enhanced role is concerned with education and public relations on behalf of the whole institution. It is now common enough for parliaments to have an education officer or even an education section to cater for the educational needs of schoolchildren. Much progress has already been achieved in the creation of programs of instruction, guided tours of parliamentary premises and the production of suitable educational literature. There is not as much done for the education of older groups or for in-House staff. Induction of new members and their staffs is the responsibility of the respective houses to which they belong. This induction process, which is sometimes reinforced by a second stage at a later date, needs to be enlarged so that it can become a more focused process able to offer help at any period throughout the year to newly employed members' staff (whose turnover is fairly high). There is also a great need to offer some educational services to media representatives who are sometimes unaware of how great their need for this service really is. For specialised groups the educational needs will be quite different from the pedagogical approach which characterises the work of existing parliamentary education officers.

8. *New Life for an Old Concept: An Automated Network of Australian Parliaments*, by the Hon. K.R. Rozzoli, M.P. Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Parliament of New South Wales; Sydney, Library of Parliament, 1990. (This paper was first presented to the Conference of Presiding Officers and Clerks in Perth, June 1990.)

9. For further discussion of this idea, see *Myths and Realities of Administering Australian Parliaments: Comments on the Foley-Russell Report*, by R.L. Cope, in 'Legislative Studies,' v.7 no.1., Spring 1992, pp. 45-52.

It would seem sensible for the education officers and the parliamentary libraries to be closely aligned so as to be able to carry out a much broader program of activity. The institutional and political knowledge and historical expertise on parliament which reposes in the library could be invaluable in this context. Dr Menhennet's *History* explains how the House of Commons Library carries out a well developed series of educational and public information activities. He documents the success of this aspect of the Library's work. A better degree of co-ordination and management of the whole complex of topics covered by the word 'education' is needed in the majority of Australian parliaments. Their tendency is all too often to create a myriad of ad hoc bodies for subordinate activities. There are various objections to this regrettable and probably wasteful management style. The educational and public information services could be more rationally and effectively combined under the umbrella of the parliamentary library whose resources and expertise relate so well to the functions of education and provision of information at varying levels of complexity.

It would not be difficult to suggest some further initiatives which might be undertaken by parliamentary libraries so as to enhance the image and the continuing good health of the legislature.¹⁰ One further example only will be offered so as not to tax the reader's patience unduly. The establishment of a parliamentary research centre under the direction of the Presiding Officers and located within the parliamentary library would be a further step towards fostering a wider, informed interest in the legislature. It could raise public and scholarly perceptions about the nature and role of parliament. The guidelines for such a centre would need to be rigorous so as to emphasis the institution and not the political parties.

The parliamentary research centre could encourage research from within the parliament as well as from outside it. Publications could be sponsored on a modest scale and could also contribute to the Green Papers of the parliament where suitable. The placing of the research centre within the library would link up with the public relation and educational roles outlined above. The Victorian Parliamentary Library has embarked on the creation of such a centre, but its orientation seem somewhat different from what is proposed here. Different versions would undoubtedly suit different parliaments. Finally one might ask why parliaments are so backward in using electronic means and modern technology to publicise themselves. They provide good facilities to the press and television industries within parliamentary premises, but get so little in return. This is once again an area where the parliamentary libraries could play a role.

Conclusion

The importance to the stability and progress of a nation of its public institutions scarcely needs stating. One can cite the sorry case of the states of Eastern Europe which, amongst other things, are now suffering the catastrophe of deficient public institutions and the lack of traditions associated with them. Parliaments are far from perfect because the political parties and their members are all too imperfect. Parliamentary officers are not perfect either and unfortunately the decline in the status of parliaments, especially as viewed through the media, means that parliaments as employers are not attractive to the really top flight of applicants. Nor can they retain the best brains as long as they would like. Staff turnover in most parliaments in Australia is reported to be higher than it ever was; those leaving are sometimes the better intellects and the more ambitious performers. These are the people whom the institution would normally look to for its future managers and executives.

The proposals outlined in this Paper are, in the context of Australian parliaments, radical, if not revolutionary. They may for that reason elicit little support or response. Not everyone will share the belief that the parliamentary institution is under threat. It is perhaps appropriate to end on a different note, citing the author Stephen Ambrose, who in volume 2 of his biography of R.M.Nixon writes (p.440):

It took no great insight or stunning brilliance to see these rather simple truths or to recognise the opportunities that were opened up by them. It did take courage, political skills, diplomatic sensitivity, and dogged determination to respond appropriately, because the men and forces...who were opposed...were numerous, cunning, and powerful.¹¹

10. For articles by a number of Australian and overseas parliamentary librarians on the future of parliamentary libraries, see the Bicentennial publication of the N.S.W. Parliamentary Library, entitled *Parliamentary Libraries and The Future: A Bicentennial Collection of Papers*. Sydney, Library of Parliament, 1988. 182p.

11. *Nixon: volume 2: The Triumph of a Politician, 1962-1972*, by Stephen E. Ambrose. New York, Simon and Schuster, 1989.

It will be interesting to see how the parliamentary institution looks in ten years' time. Stephen Ambrose's words, referring to a foreign policy context in the United States, may be applied to a totally different situation and be interpreted as indicating a *via dolorosa* for the parliamentary institution and its allies if the qualities he mentions are not available and the dogged determination absent. However, nothing will be achieved by accepting that this is an immutable situation; it has not always been so and it need not necessarily remain the case. This Paper has argued that transformation is possible, necessary and arguably urgent. Some suggestions have been made on how the existing positive forces in legislatures might be mustered to effect the process. That the parliamentary library can play a significant part has been the tenor of the argument, but equally there is a belief that the task requires the best efforts of all available talent and skill within the second arm. The library has no lien on those; others will want to play their part too. The challenges require a concerted effort and commitment from as many allies as the legislature can muster if they are to be successfully addressed.

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Craig, John *A United States of Australasia?*, Australian Journal of Political Science, vol.28, no.1, March 1993: 38-53.

[This article looks at the possibility of a political union between Australia and New Zealand and some of the processes and politics involved with five scenarios under which union might or might not take place.]

Cullen, Richard *Remaking the Australian Constitution*, Current Affairs Bulletin, vol.68, no.12, May 1992: 23-8.

Cunliffe, Ian *Facing up to the Constitution*, Directions in Government, vol.6, no.8, September 1992: 14-15.

Dale, William *The making and remaking of Commonwealth constitutions*, International and Comparative Law Quarterly, vol.42, no.1, January 1993: 67-83.

[This article attempts an assessment of the successes and failures of Commonwealth constitution-making during the past 40 years or more.]

Hulme, S E K *The Constitution and its confused critics*, *IPA Review*, vol.45, no.4, 1992: 15-19.

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Jull, Peter *Re-inventing Australia: voices in the cushions*, *Policy Options*, vol.13, no.1, January/February 1992: 29-31.

Legislative Assembly of the Northern Territory Committee on Constitutional Development *Constitutional change in the 1990s: papers presented to conference*, 4-6 October 1992

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|---|--|
| (a) Opening Address | Hon J.H. Muirhead, Administer of the Northern Territory |
| (b) Welcoming Address | Hon. Steve Hatton, MLA |
| (c) Keynote Address | Hon. Ray Groom, MHA, Premier of Tasmania |
| (d) A Government of Laws, and Not of Men | Justice John Toohey, AC, High Court of Australia |
| (e) Democratic Constitutionalism | David Solomon, Chairman, Electoral and Administrative Review Commission |
| (f) Wither Majoritarianism? | Peter McNab, Faculty of Law, Northern Territory University |
| (g) The Role of an Elected Convention in Constitutional Revision | R.D. Lumb, Professor of Law, University of Queensland |
| (h) Experiences in Constitutional Development in Post-Independent Papua New Guinea | Bernard Narokobi, MP, National Parliament of Papua New Guinea |
| (i) Constitutional Development in the Northern Territory | Hon. Steve Hatton, MLA |
| (j) Constitutions for all Australians | Lois O'Donoghue CBE AM, Chairman, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission |
| (k) The Australian Constitution in the 1990s: Context and Agenda for Change | Brian Galligan, Federalism Research Centre, Australian National University |
| (l) The Contents of Constitutions | Professor Cheryl Saunders, University of Melbourne |
| (m) Constitutional Change in the 1990s | Hon. Kevin Rozzoli, MP |
| (n) Accountability: Myths and Reality | Dr Alistair Heatley, Reader in Politics, Northern Territory University |
| (o) Accountability and the Fiscal Constitution | Professor Cliff Walsh, Director, Centre for South Australian Economic Studies, University of Adelaide |
| (p) Regions and Peoples: Some Trends in International Constitutional Practice | Frederik Harhoff, University of Copenhagen, Denmark |
| (q) Emerging Northern Territory Constitutions in Canada: National Policy, Settler Hegemony, Aboriginal Ethno-politics, and Systems of Governance | Peter Jull, Northern Territory research Unit, Australian National University |
| (r) Indigenous Law and Constitutional Change: the Road Ahead | Patrick Dodson, Chairperson, Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation |
| (s) Two Cultures - One Constitution: A Yolgnu Perspective on a Northern Territory Constitution | Wes Lanhupuy, MLA |
| (t) Reconciling Diversity: the Way Forward is to Understand the Past | Senator the Hon. Margaret Reynolds, Government Representative on the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation |

- (u) **Our Diverse Multicultural Society: a Matter for the Constitution?** Steve Karas OAM, Immigration Review Tribunal
- (v) **Understanding Each Other, Defining Ourselves - Our Diverse Multicultural Society: a Matter for the Constitution** Ms Sema Varova, Office of Multicultural Affairs, Department of the Prime Minister
- (w) **Reconciling Diversity: a Personal View** Graham Nicholson, Crown Counsel, Office of the Solicitor General for the Northern Territory
- (x) **Closing Remarks** Hon. Darryl Manzie, MLA, Attorney General of the Northern Territory
- (y) **Where do Aboriginal Town Campers fit in?** Tangentyere Council
- (z) **Niue: Constitutional Development 1974 - 1992** Robert Rex, MLA

Lumb, R.D. *Methods of constitutional revision in the federal sphere: an elected constitutional convention?*, University of Western Australia Law Review, vol.22, no.1, July 1992: 52-71.

[The author proposes the adoption of an elected Constitutional Convention, similar to that which was used to draft the current Constitution in 1897-98.]

Saunders, Cheryl *Making the best use of the constitutional decade*, Constitutional Centenary, no.1, April 1992: 12-14.

..... *Constitutional reform by 2001*, Australian Quarterly, vol.64, no.3, Spring 1992: 241-53.

..... *The world-wide constitutional debate*, Constitutional Centenary, no.1, April 1992: 9-10.

Stephen, Sir Ninian *The constitutional decade*, Constitutional Centenary, no.1, April 1992: 1-6.

..... *Time to take stock*, Review: the Australian Financial Review Magazine, April 1992: 16-26.

[The author argues that the time has come to launch a broadly based national debate about Australia's constitutional future.]

Thomas, Ken *Could this be Australia's new Constitution?*, Australian Business Monthly, vol.13, no.11, November 1992: 66-72.

[In May 1992, Ken Thomas published a document, *Regional Government: a Four-Year Plan for Restructure under a Modern Australian Constitution*, proposing a radically different system of government. In this article Thomas presents his arguments in depth.]

DELEGATED LEGISLATION

Argument, Stephen *Quasi-legislation: greasy pig, Trojan horse or unruly child?*, paper presented to the Fourth Australasian Conference on Delegated Legislation and First Australasian and Pacific Conference on the Scrutiny of Bills, 1993: 26p.

[One of the most difficult issues in dealing with quasi-legislation is to work out exactly what it is. This paper seeks to explore the nature of quasi-legislation by dealing with three aspects of its incidence.]

Cruickshank, Adrian *Why is regulatory scrutiny so far in advance of the scrutiny of bills*, paper presented to the Fourth Australasian Conference on Delegated Legislation and the First Australasian and Pacific Conference on the Scrutiny of Bills, 1993: 13p.

Phillips, John Harber *Opening address*, paper presented to the Fourth Australasian Conference on Delegated Legislation and the First Australasian and Pacific Conference on the Scrutiny of Bills, 1993: 21p.

Senate Standing Committee on Regulations and Ordinances

Justice delayed and denied, paper presented to the Fourth Australasian Conference on Delegated Legislation and the First Australasian and Pacific Conference on the Scrutiny of Bills, 1993: 6p.

The High Court and the Committee, paper presented to the Fourth Australasian Conference on Delegated Legislation and the First Australasian and Pacific Conference on the Scrutiny of Bills, 1993: 8p.

Whalan, D.J. *Scrutiny of delegated legislation by the Australian Senate*, Statute Law Review, vol.12, no.2, September 1991: 87-108.

"Who takes care of the caretaker's daughter?": the Victorian Supreme Court's approach to the Subordinate Legislation Act 1962, paper presented to the Fourth Australasian Conference on Delegated Legislation and the First Australasian and Pacific Conference on the Scrutiny of Bills, 1993: 5p.

ELECTORS' INITIATIVE

Batchelor, Anthony *Referendums and initiatives*, Politics Review, vol.1, no.3, February 1992: 21-5.
[The experience of referendums and initiatives in other countries suggests that Britain should give serious consideration to introducing them as a means of reviving democratic government.]

Boyer, Patrick *Is a mandate from the people on fundamental issues essential to a healthy democracy?*, Parliamentary Government, no.41, June 1992: 1-17.

[Following extensive discussion, and in the face of considerable opposition, legislation and plans are now in place to permit several referendums to be held in Canada over the next few months on the constitutional issue. The author argues that such forms of direct democracy have a place in the Canadian political system, and that they could complement and enhance the legislative process.]

Evans, Harry *Citizens' initiative versus constitutional government*, Legislative Studies, vol.7, no.1, Spring 1992: 53-6.

ELECTORAL REFORM

Cryer, Bob *Electoral reform*, Fabian Review, vol.104, no.6: 16
[An essay on first-past-the-post.]

Dummett, Michael *Toward a more representative voting system: the Plant report*, New Left Review, no.194, July/August 1992: 98-113.

Dunleavy, Patrick, Helen Margetts and Stuart Weir *How Britain would have voted under Alternative Electoral Systems in 1992*, Parliamentary Affairs, vol.45, no.5, October 1992: 640-55.

Evans, Harry *Too Many Elections: A Modest Proposal*, The House Magazine, 15 May 1991.

Goff, Phil *Voting for change: New Zealand's referendum on voting systems*, The Parliamentarian, vol.74, no.2, April 1993: 84-7.
[The first-past-the-post voting system suffered a battering at the hands of New Zealand voters in a 1992 referendum. A former New Zealand cabinet Minister explains why.]

Livingstone, Ken *Rejecting party bureaucracy*, Fabian Review, vol.104, no.6: 17.
[A change to Additional Member System would improve democracy and the economy.]

Mair, Peter *The question of electoral reform*, New Left Review, no.194, July/August 1992: 75-97.

Mapp, Wayne *New Zealand's electoral reform*, Policy, Winter 1993: 6-10.
[In November 1993 New Zealanders will vote not only in a general election but also in a binding referendum on electoral reform. The author argues for the option of retaining the present first-past-the-post electoral system in combination with a new upper house of parliament.]

Punnet, R.M. *The alternative vote re-visited*, Electoral Studies, vol.10, no.4, December 1991: 281-98.
[Electoral reform re-emerged in the 1980's as a significant issue in British politics - political developments in the last ten years have undermined satisfaction with the system.]

Short, Clare *Promoting pluralism*, Fabian Review, vol.104, no.6: 18-19.

[AV plus AMS would improve the political culture - giving positive votes for candidates and parties.]

Spellar, John *Labour's own system*, Fabian Review, vol.104, no.6: 17.
[An explanation of the alternative vote.]

ESTIMATES COMMITTEES

Coates, Senator John *Parliamentary use of evaluation data in program performance statements*, Australian Journal of Public Administration, vol.51, no.4, December 1992: 450-54.

Millar, Ann *Historical Note*, Papers on Parliament, No.12, September 1991.

Noon, Adrian *Accounting for results: portfolio explanatory notes become program performance statements*, Australian Journal of Public Administration, vol.51, no.1, March 1992: 27-34.
[This paper outlines the place of performance evaluation in the recent administrative reforms and, in that context, assesses the changes made for the 1991-92 Program Performance Statements.]

EXECUTIVE ACCOUNTABILITY

Argument, Stephen *Annual reporting by Commonwealth departments and statutory authorities: the cornerstone of executive accountability to the Parliament*, Legislative Studies, vol.6, no.1, Winter 1991: 16-24.

....., *Parliamentary committees and public accountability*, opening address to conference held by NSW Chapter of the Australian Institute of Administrative Law and the NSW Division of the Royal Institute of Public Administration Australia, September 1993.

Burnett, Kirsty *Parliamentary accountability for non-departmental organisations: New Zealand lessons*, Legislative Studies, vol.7, no.1, Spring 1992: 28-34.
[This article describes the various New Zealand State organisations that are not government departments. It examines the nature of their accountability to Parliament and the implications for the House of Representatives and its select committees.]

Grove, Russell D *The relationship between parliamentary committees and the executive: current events in NSW*, paper presented to the Presiding Officers and Clerks Conference, 24th, Vanuatu, 1993: 9p.

Marshall, Geoffry *The evolving practice of parliamentary accountability: writing down the rules*, Parliamentary Affairs, vol.44, no.4, October 1991: 460-9.
[This article discusses the need to define the relationship between the Executive and legislative arms of government in Britain as a prerequisite to constitutional reform.]

Martin, Stephen *The Effectiveness of Parliament's check on the executive arm of government*, paper presented to the Presiding Officers and Clerks Conference, 24th, Vanuatu, 1993: 6p.

Pelchat, Christiane *Managing public funds: backbenchers and the control of spending*, The Parliamentarian, vol.23, no.2, April 1992: 95-7.
[Members of the Quebec National Assembly, facing public spending deficits in an economic recession, have developed a new mechanism to add to the more usual parliamentary control on the public purse.]

Phythian, Mark and Walter Little *Parliament and arms sales: lessons of the Matrix Churchill affair*, Parliamentary Affairs, vol.46, no.3, July 1993: 293-308.
[The British government covertly helped British firms export defence-related equipment to Iraq for many years. Parliament proved ineffective for a number of reasons and an open question, whether the British Parliament can ever effectively oversee the actions of the executive, remains.]

Quine, R.E. *Spending controls: financial responsibility in the democratic process*, The Parliamentarian, vol.23, no.2, April 1992: 95-7.
[Parliamentary power has traditionally sprung from control over public taxation and spending. Is Parliament today able and willing to exercise to exercise this authority?]

Ryle, Michael *Parliament's financial functions in the 1980s*, Contemporary Record, vol.4, no.4, April 1991: 23-5.

[Financial oversight is an aspect of Parliament's work which is often overlooked, yet it is one which has changed considerably in the United Kingdom during the 1980s. This article explains clearly its role in the scrutiny of government finance.]

Woodhouse, Diana *Ministerial responsibility in the 1990s: when do ministers resign?*, Parliamentary Affairs, vol.46, no.3, July 1993: 278-92.

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Drucker, Peter *The New Realities*, A book review by Peter Hamburger, Australian Business 4 July 1990.

Weller, Patrick *Prime Minister, political leadership and cabinet government*, Australian Journal of Public Administration, vol.50, no.2, June 1991: 131-44.

FINANCE AND TRADE

Galligan, Nethercote and Walsh, *The Cabinet and the Budget Processes*, Book review by Harry Evans, Australian Journal of Political Science, November 1991.

Pusey, Michael *Economic Rationalism in Canberra*, Book review by Peter Hamburger, Australian Journal of Public Administration, December 1991.

Reich, Robert *The Work of Nations*, Book Review by Peter Hamburger, Australian Business, 27 February 1991.

HANSARD

Gislason, Garth *Chips, blips and slips: computers and the art of eloquence*, The Parliamentarian, vol.74, no.2, April 1993: BC20-1.

[Computerized Hansard will probably soon be technologically possible. But will it be desirable?]

INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY SERVICES

Hjortdal, Helge *Report on the introduction of new technology in parliaments*, Constitutional and Parliamentary Information, no.161, 1991: 1-34.

[The author reports on a survey of IPU members.]

LEGISLATION

Bates, T.St.N. *European Community legislation before the House of Commons*, Statute Law Review, vol.12, no.2, September 1991: 109-34.

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[Includes a paper by Professor Charles Sampford, delivered at the OPC/RIPAA Seminar on New Policy Processes: Fundamental Legislative Principles, Brisbane, 2 April 1993.]

Ganz, Gabriele *The War Crimes Act 1991 why no constitutional crisis?*, Modern Law Review, vol.55, no.1, January 1992: 87-95.

[The *War Crimes Act 1991* set a number of constitutional records. It was the first time that a Conservative Government in Great Britain used the Parliament Acts. It was also the first Act to become law under the *Parliament Act 1949* and only the fourth time the Parliament Acts 1911-49 had been invoked. The author looks at why there was so little reaction.]

Green, John M. *A fair go for fuzzy law*,, Making Law More Intelligible and Effective Conference, Canberra, 6 March 1992.

[A paper, together with accompanying document, presented to a conference sponsored by the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Corporations and Securities and the Victorian Law Reform Commission.]

Izard, Ian *Law on a laptop: legislation goes electronic*, The Parliamentarian, vol.74, no.2, April 1993: BC18-19.

[Consolidating years of parliamentary enactments is nothing unusual, unless they are consolidated on computer disk and released within days of the end of a session.]

Loveland, Ian *Redefining parliamentary sovereignty? A new perspective on the search for the meaning of law*, Parliamentary Affairs, vol.46, no.3, July 1993: 319-32.

McGee, D.G. *The Influence of parliamentary procedure on the form of legislation in New Zealand*, Statute Law Review, vol.12, no.2, September 1991: 135-45.

Mags, Gregory E. *Reducing the costs of statutory ambiguity: alternative approaches and the Federal Courts study committee*, Harvard Journal on Legislation, vol. 29, no.1, Winter 1992: 123-73.

[The author identifies the costs of statutory ambiguity and evaluates the efficacy of the Federal Courts Study Committee's proposals.]

Newmarch, Geoffrey *Who legislates more: Liberal and Labor? a study of Victoria, South Australia and the Commonwealth*, Legislative Studies, vol.7, no.1, Spring 1992: 23-7.

Richardson, A.T. *War Crimes Act 1991*, Modern Law Review, vol.55, no.1, January 1992: 73-87.

[The history and background to the enactment of the War Crimes Act in Britain.]

Seidman, Robert B. *Justifying legislation: a pragmatic, institutionalist approach to the memorandum of law, legislative theory, and practical reason*, Harvard Journal on Law, vol.29, no.1, Winter 1992: 1-77.

[A description of the elements of a theory of legislation helpful in making drafting decisions and justifying them in an accompanying memorandum of law.]

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McCrossan, Paul, *Parliament and the private member*, Canadian Parliamentary Review, vol.13, no.4, Winter 1990-91: 7-9.

McHugh, Peter J *Training for members of Parliament*, paper presented to the Presiding Officers and Clerks Conference, 24th, Vanuatu, 1993: 5p.

[The training needs have been identified by members of the WA Legislative Assembly, now a representative group will be asked to consider a structured training approach.]

Mitchell, Austin *Harassed but happy*, The House Magazine (U.K.), vol.16, no.527, 22 July 1991: 13-14.

[Even though House of Commons members are overworked and understaffed, the majority of them are happy in their work.]

....., *Advice to new members: 'the real truth' - or the parliamentary gospel according to Austin Mitchell, MP*, The House Magazine, vol.18, no.554, 18 May 1992: 8.

Norton, Philip *An MP's work is never done*, The House Magazine (U.K.), vol.16, no.527, 22 July 1991: 12.

[The workload of the House of Commons is increasing, quantitatively and qualitatively, and members are in danger of being overloaded.]

Rizzoli, Kevin *On the health of members: doing the job better*, paper presented to the Presiding Officers and Clerks Conference, 24th, Vanuatu, 1993: 11p.

Robertson, James R. and Margaret Young *Parliament and the police: the saga of Bill C-79*, Canadian Parliamentary Review, vol.14, no.4, Winter 1991-92: 18-21.

[This article examines recent attempts by the Canadian Parliament to deal with the issue of police investigations involving Members of Parliament.]

Tham, N.S. *My own activities within the parliamentary system*, The Parliamentarian, vol.72, no.4, October 1991: 297-8.

[Sabah has a population of approximately 1.4 million people, including just over 500,000 voters, who are all divided among 48 state Assembly constituencies. A member from one of those constituencies describes his place in the state's political system - from the market to the Assembly Chamber.]

MEMBERS - AUSTRALIA - QUALIFICATIONS

Clerk of the Senate outlines the constitutional law on which legal challenges can be made to the eligibility of Members of Parliament: former member seeks High Court ruling for a by-election in the seat of Wills, Daybreak, Friday 27 November 1992: 6p.

Saunders, Cheryl *The Cleary case: who should be eligible to stand for Parliament?*, Constitutional Centenary, vol.1, no.3, December 1992: 1-2,14.

MEMBERS - CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

Atkinson, Michael M. and Maureen Mancuso *Conflict of interest in Great Britain and the United States: an institutional argument*, Legislative Studies Quarterly, vol.16, no.4, November 1991: 471-93.

Carney, Gerard *New requirements for the disclosure and registration of interests by Queensland parliamentarians*, Queensland Law Society Journal, vol.21, no.2, April 1991: 99-105.

....., *The duty of parliamentarians to make ad hoc disclosure of personal interests*, Public Law Review, vol.2, no.1, March 1991: 24-43.

[This article advocates the imposition of an obligation on all members of parliament to make ad hoc disclosure of their personal interests whenever they are or appear to be in conflict with their public duties. An outline of the current position in Australia at both the Federal and State levels reveals the need for reform in this area, in respect of which certain recommendations are given.]

Gunn, Sheila *A conflict of interests?*, House Magazine (U.K.), vol.16, 25 March 1991: 6.

..... *To declare or not to declare*, House Magazine (U.K.), vol.16, 22 April 1991: 6.

Kagedan, Barbara Laine *Public duties and private interests: the special joint Committee on conflict of interest*, Canadian Parliamentary Review, vol.15, no.4, Winter, 1992-93: 17-28.

[Reconciling the public duties and private interests of Members of Parliament is a task which has proven in the past to be as difficult as it is important. A Special Joint Committee of the Canadian House of Commons and the Senate recently studied the issue and recommended that a completely new system be instituted to address conflicts of interest. The Committee's recommendations are the subject of the article.]

McCrossan, Paul *Parliament and the private member*, Canadian Parliamentary Review, vol.13, no.4, Winter 1991: 7-9.

Polsinelli, Claudio, *Conflict and the Commissioner: the Ontario solution to conflict of interest*, The Parliamentarian, vol.71, no.4, October 1990: 240-2.

[An argument for the need to legislate to solve the problem of conflict of interest.]

Reid, John *Parliament and the Executive*, 8 Canadian Parliamentary Review, vol.13, no.4, Winter 1991: 10-11.

Rozzoli, K.R. *Conflict of interests, codes of conduct and the responsibilities of members of Parliament*, Legislative Studies, vol.6, no.2, Summer 1992: 9-12.

Ryle, Michael, *Analysis; Disclosure of financial interests by M.P.s: the John Browne affair*, Public Law, Autumn 1990: 313-23.

MEMBERS - ETHICS

- Cranford, John R. *Keating hearings take Senate into thick of S&L swamp: publicity will affect senators' futures and raise issues of constituent service and campaign finance*, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 10 November 1990: 3787-93.
- Cranford, John R. *et al*, *Decision in Keating Five case settles little in Senate*, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, vol.49, no.9, 2 March 1991: 517-23.
[The spectacle of the high-profile scandal may do more to shape senators' behaviour than did the ruling.]
- Dumbrell, John *Corruption and ethics codes in Congress: ethics issues in the U.S. Congress*, Corruption and Reform, vol 6, no.2, 1991: 147-69.
[This article treats, and places into historical context, recent ethics scandals in the U.S. Congress. The formulation and operation of the codes are critically assessed in the article, and related to the currently low public reputation of the American Congress.]
- Edwards, Ken *The Spoils of power*, Time, 1 June 1992: 22-6.
[The resignation of Senator Graham Richardson has raised questions about the way politicians use their influence to help constituents, friends and family members.]
- Ellis, David *Time to clean the House*, Time, 30 March 1992: 44.
[Many Congressmen lay the blame for the House bank scandal at the feet of the Speaker.]
- Elving, Ronald D., *Senators cleared by panel await political judgment*, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, vol.49, no.9, 2 March 1991: 556-7.
[Four of the Keating Five are expected to run for re-election and may face a harsher verdict from voters.]
- Fowler, Jack, *The Keating fizzle*, National Review, vol.43, no.2, 11 February 1991: 22,24.
- Hook, Janet
The bank buck stops with Foley, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, vol.50, no.11, 14 March 1992: 600.

Those who owned up early still incur scorn and ridicule, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, vol.50, no.11, 14 March 1992: 602-3.
[Articles relating to the latest scandal in Congress - the House bank scandal, and the players in the game.]
- Kuntz, Phil, *McDade continues long ordeal as grand jury keeps digging*, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, vol.49, no.7, 16 February 1991: 406-8.
-, *Stokes named as chairman of reconfigured panel*, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, vol.49, no.6, 9 February 1991; 330-1.
[A new US House ethics committee has been installed. This article looks at the history of the new chairman and the likely approach of the new committee.]
- *Full disclosure, spin control await beleaguered House*, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, vol.50, no.11, 14 March 1992: 599-605.
[The disclosure of the identity and records of all those who wrote bad cheques at the House bank may be seen as either a hope for restoring the credibility of the House or a development that will reshape the makeup of the House.]
-, *House agrees to hand over records of its bank*, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, vol.50, no.18, 2 May 1992: 1127-34.
[The US House of Representatives ignored its Speaker and cast aside deep concerns about institutional power and individual rights in deciding to turn over House bank records.]
-, *Post Office inquiry spreads to campaign mail delivery*, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, vol.50, no.22, 30 May 1992: 1517-8.

Kuntz, Phil and Janet Hook, *Even without new guidelines, senators tiptoe to safe side*, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, vol.49, no.9, 2 March 1991: 524-527.

Martin, Stephen *Steps towards the development of a code of conduct for members and senators in the Australian parliament*, paper presented to the Presiding Officers and Clerks Conference, 24th, Vanuatu, 1993: 8p.

[The author reviews Australian moves to a code of conduct in the States and the Commonwealth, and especially the determinations of the Working Group established by the Commonwealth Parliament to develop such a code.]

Matlack, Carol *Moving from Capitol Hill to K Street*, National Journal, no.16, April 20 1991: 941-2.

[Under a new ethics law the time honoured career path: lawmaker-turned-lobbyist will be a thing of the past.]

Simmons, Charlene Wear *Thoughts on legislative ethics reform and representation*, Political Science and Politics, vol.24, no.2, June 1991: 193-200.

Traver, Nancy *Why Foley stood idle*, Time, 13 April 1992: 50.

[Faced with an odious whispering campaign, he refused to act against the House bank's proprietor].

United States. Congress. House of Representatives. Ethics Committee *Panel calls for disclosure of worst bank offenders*, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, vol.50, no.11, 14 March 1992: 660-8.

[Excerpts from the ethics committee's report on the House banking scandal.]

U.S. Senate Ethics Committee, *Committee singles out Cranston for strongest criticism*, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, vol.49, no.9, 2 March 1991: 563-6.

[The text of the conclusions of the U.S. Senate Ethics Committee after hearings on the Keating Five senators.]

MEMBERS - REMUNERATION AND ALLOWANCES

Kuntz, Phil *Pay hike tied to looser gift rules in deal on hill funding measure*, Congressional Quarterly, 3 August 1991: 2128-30.

Dixon, Daryl *The pension club*, Independent Monthly, vol.4, no.5, November 1992: 41.

[The author explains the Commonwealth parliamentary superannuation scheme.]

MEMBERS - RESEARCH SERVICES

Warhurst, John , Alan Davies, Ed Parr and Alison Ransome *The Information and policy analysis sources of Australian federal parliamentarians*, Legislative Studies, vol.6, no.2, Summer 1992: 13-20.

MEMBERS - RESIGNATION

Brazier, Rodney, *Analysis; Post-resignation explanations*, Public Law, Autumn 1990: 301-7.

MEMBERS - STAFF

Members assistants, Constitutional and Parliamentary Information, no. 164/2, 1992: 116-33.

[An article prepared after a questionnaire was sent to all members of the IPU. It covers the work done by Members staff in various parliaments around the world.]

MEMBERS - TERMS

Atkinson, Michael M. and David C. Docherty *Moving right along: the roots of amateurism in the Canadian House of Commons*, Canadian Journal of Political Science, vol.25, no.2, June 1992: 295-318

[It has been argued that the rapid membership turnover in the Canadian House of Commons robs the institution of a dedicated and experienced group of MPs and produces a Parliament stocked with political amateurs.]

Calamita, F. Paul *Solving the voters' dilemma: the case for legislative term-limitation*, Journal of Law and Politics, vol.8, no.3, Spring 1992: 559-607.

[The author argues that limiting legislative tenure will further the goals of representative democracy. Part I analyses the Framers' intended structure and rationale of a bicameral legislative branch and Part II discusses the merits of term limitation.]

Erickson, Stephen C A *bulwark against faction: James Madison's case for term limits*, Policy Review, no.63, Winter 1993: 76-8.

Frenzel, Bill *Term limits and the immortal Congress: how to make congressional elections competitive again*, Brookings Review, vol.10, no.2, Spring 1992: 18-22.

Jost, Kenneth *Term limits: will a recent setback derail the term-limit movement?*, CQ Researcher, vol.2, no.1, January 1992: 3-23.

[Setting term limits for members of Congress has long been talked about, but proposals drew little attention. However a national term-limit movement has suddenly grown up. Now efforts are under way to place initiatives on the ballot in at least a dozen states.]

Kurtz, Karl T. *Limiting terms: what's in store?*, State Legislatures, vol.18, no.1, January 1992: 32-4.

[This article focuses on some of the unintended outcomes of limiting terms.]

Moncrieff, Gary F. (et al) *For whom the bell tolls: term limits and State legislatures*, Legislative Studies Quarterly, vol.17, no.1, February 1992:37-47.

[This article is an effort to assess the potential effect of term limits and US state legislatures.]

Moore, W. John *So long, Mr Smith*, National Journal, vol.24, no.37, 12 September 1992: 2052-6.

[Voters in more than a dozen states will decide whether limiting congressional terms is the only sure cure for Washington's woes.]

....., *A lawyer who's pushing the limits*, National Journal, vol.24, no.33, 15 August 1992: 1909.

Petracca, Mark P. *The poison of professional politics*, USA Today, vol.120, no.2560, January 1992: 10-13.

[Limiting terms of office is the first step toward controlling a government dominated by Congressional careerists and lifetime lobbyists.]

....., *Why political scientists oppose term limits*, Cato Institute Briefing Papers, no.14, 18 February 1992: 10p.

....., *What's wrong with political term limitation*, USA Today, vol.121, no.2570, November 1992: 17-18.

....., *Predisposed to oppose: political scientists and term limitations*, Polity, vol.24, no.4, Summer 1992: 657-72.

Rothenberg, Stuart *How term limits became a national phenomenon*, State Legislatures, vol.18, no.1, January 1992: 35-9.

['Throw the rascals out' has taken on ominous new meaning as irate voters across the United States threaten to throw everybody out.]

Studlar, Donley T *The challenge to incumbency in the US*, Politics Review, Vol.2, no.2, November 1992: 30-32.

[As legislators in the US have become more secure, so dissatisfaction with US legislatures has increased. Is the limitation of terms the answer?]

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Astwood, Sen. Norma Cox, *Women in politics: a challenge to tradition*, The Parliamentarian, vol.71, no.3, July 1990: 153-6.

Chalker, M.P., Rt Hon. Lynda, *Women in politics: that's no lady - that's my MP*, The Parliamentarian, vol.71, no.3, July 1990: 157-9.

delli Carpini, Michael X and Ester R Fuchs *The Year of the woman? Candidates, voters, and the 1992 elections*, Political Science Quarterly, vol.108, no.1, Spring 1993: 29-36.

Lord, Margaret *Women's way: the importance of women in politics*, The Parliamentarian, vol.74, no.2, April 1993: BC11

[Women have a different approach to problems, an approach which is badly needed in politics today, argues a female member of the British Columbia legislature.]

Politics in a new key? Senator Christabel Chamarette, Senator for the Greens (WA), St Mark's Review, Spring 1992: 26-32.

Reid, Linda *Women in politics: from "persons" to Parliamentarians*, The Parliamentarian, vol.74, no.2, April 1993: BC10.

[British Columbia women have worked for decades to achieve full political equality with men, a goal yet to be reached.]

Sawer, Marian *Housekeeping the state: women and parliamentary politics in Australia*, Inkwel, no.2, March 1992: 3-6.

[Extracts from the paper presented as a Senate Occasional Lecture, 9 March 1992].

Schapiro, Beth S *It's a man's world: unless you know the right questions to ask*, Campaign Elections, vol.13, no.1, June 1992: 52-4.

Symonds, Ann *It's still a man's world: women and Parliament*, The Parliamentarian, vol.72, no.4, October 1991: 278-81.

[This is a challenge to women parliamentarians as well as men: change the system!]

Trust the women: women in the federal Parliament, Papers on Parliament, no.17, September 1992.

[This issue brings together papers given by Dr Marian Sawer, The Hon. Susan Ryan AO, Janine Haines, The Hon. Dame Margaret Guilfoyle, DBE as part of the Senate Department's *Occasional Lecture* series and Senator Patricia Giles at the opening of the exhibition entitled **Trust the Women**.]

Wild, Dorian *No job for a woman*, Ita, vol.5, no.7, September 1993: 16+ [8p.]

[Nearly 100 years after Federation, women account for just 18 percent of Australia's MPs. It's not right, it's not fair and it's not democratic!]

Women in Parliament, Julie Derrett Show, 25 March 1992: 6p. 20 March 1992: 4p.

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Coates, Senator John *Parliamentary review of the Ombudsman*, Canberra Bulletin of Public Administration, no.66, October 1991: 149-50.

....., *Review of the office of Commonwealth Ombudsman*, Australian Institute of Administrative Law Newsletter, no.9, 1992: 12-14.

Pearce, Dennis *Minding the people's minder*, Australian Institute of Administrative Law Newsletter, no.9, 1992: 14-16.

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Commonwealth Parliaments: a commemorative souvenir. 37th Parliamentary Conference, New Delhi, September 1991, Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, 1991.- reviewed by Senator the Hon. Kerry Sibraa, The Parliamentarian, vol.73, no.1, January 1992: 69.

Conflicts between Parliaments and the Courts, Constitutional and Parliamentary Information, no.163/1, 1992: 22-31.

[An article prepared after a questionnaire was sent to all members of the IPU.]

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Two historical views of parliaments: Ireland and Russia, Papers on Parliament, no.16, June 1992.

[This issue contains two papers given as part of the Senate Department's *Occasional Lecture* series - *Russia's Parliaments* by Harry Rigby and *Parnell and the Art of Politics* by Professor Oliver MacDonagh.]

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[Former member Neil Brown suggests four reforms which he feels would result in substantial improvements in the workings of Parliament.]

Cohen, Barry, *How to put our House in order*, The Bulletin, 22 January 1991: 32-7.

Evans, Harry *Information and parliamentary reform: report on a seminar conducted by the Electoral and Administrative Review Commission of Queensland*, The House Magazine, 21 August 1991:21-2.

....., *A Parliament Votes for War*, The House Magazine, 13 February 1991.

....., *Parliamentary reform: new directions and possibilities for reform of parliamentary processes*.

[Paper presented to a seminar on *Parliamentarians, The Opposition and Scrutiny of Government, 26 July 1991*, organized by the Queensland Electoral and Administrative Review Commission.]

Kelly, Paul *Who runs Australia: the press gallery or Parliament?*, Media Watch, no. 18, June/July 1991: 21-5.

[This article is the speech given by the author in a debate on the Canberra Parliamentary Press Gallery.]

Lynch, A. *At the Feet of the Master A Gentle Man - Memories of Professor Gordon Reid, 1923-1989*, (Ken Spillman ed) Cancer Foundation of Western Australia, 1990.

O'Brien, Denis, *Dissolving the Parliament*, Public Law Review, vol.1, no.1, 1990: 17-20.

[Should a set of rules relating to dissolutions of popularly elected House be in place? Should the rules relating to the exercise by Governors and Governors-General of their reserve powers be defined?]

Smith, Anthony D., *Parliament degraded*, IPA Review, vol.43, no.3, Autumn 1990: 10-14.

[The amount of legislation which comes before Parliament is increasing at an alarming rate. But the conventions which allowed full debate and scrutiny of proposed laws and regulations and which kept governments accountable are in decline.]

Solomon, David (ed.) *Ban on election advertising facing challenge*, The Legal Reporter, vol.13, no.1, 22 January 1992: 1-4.

Stone, John *Yes Minister? Politicians and bureaucrats in Canberra*, Quadrant, vol.36, no.10, October 1992: 14-19.

PARLIAMENT - AUSTRALIA - ADMINISTRATION

Cope, R.L. *Myths and realities of administering Australian parliaments: comments on the Foley-Russell report*, Legislative Studies, vol.7, no.1, Spring 1992: 42-45.

PARLIAMENT - AUSTRALIA - NEW SOUTH WALES

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Hatton, John *The myth that is Parliament*, Insight Bookmagazine, no.4, 1992: 49-52.

Miller, Ronda *Joint Committee on the Office of the Ombudsman*, The Table, vol.59, 1991: 46-7.

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Willis, Max *The management of Parliament: a New South Wales perspective*, paper presented to the Presiding Officers and Clerks Conference, 24th, Vanuatu, 1993: 6p.

PARLIAMENT - AUSTRALIA - QUEENSLAND

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Fouras, J *The tides of change: Queensland's emerging parliamentary committee system*, paper presented to the Presiding Officers and Clerks Conference, 24th, Vanuatu, 1993: 6p.

[This paper traces the historical development of the Queensland parliamentary committee system.]

Parliament. Queensland. Legislative Assembly. Select Committee on Privileges

Report on petitions to Parliament, 5 December 1991

Report on privilege attaching to parliamentary papers, 5 December 1991

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Prasser, Scott *Parliamentary reform in Queensland: easy does it*, Legislative Studies, vol.7, no.1, Spring 1992: 3-9.

PARLIAMENT - AUSTRALIA - SENATE

Academic [Marian Simms] *comments on the Budget and the balance of power in the Senate*, Julie Derrett Show, 26 August 1993: 4p.

Leader of the Opposition in the Senate explains his proposed resolution for deadlines for the introduction of budget bills, P.M., 3 August 1993:2p.

[Michael Brissenden speaks with Senator Robert Hill, Leader of the Opposition in the Senate.]

The legislative process in the Australian Senate: a brief description of the procedures under which bills are considered in the Senate, Procedure Office, May 1992

The President of the Senate, Senate Brief, no.6, June 1992: 8p.

Procedural motion to impose a deadline on the introduction of legislation into Federal Parliament has been passed by the Senate, A.M., 19 August 1993: 3p.

Senate, Daybreak, Wednesday 4 August 1993:4.

[Pru Goward speaks to Harry Evans, Clerk of the Senate and Senator John Faulkner, Manager of Government Business in the Senate.]

The Senate Chamber and the role of Senators, Senate Brief, no.7, August 1992.

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Senator Chamarette and the filling of casual Senate vacancies, Parliament program, Friday 20 March 1992: 4p.

Waterford, Jack *The Senate gets a taste of power*, The Independent Monthly, August 1993: 13-14.

[The election gave Paul Keating more personal power within the ALP than any previous prime minister. But, as the author explains, he lost control of the Senate and is now dependent on both minor parties to pass legislation.]

PARLIAMENT - AUSTRALIA - VICTORIA

Hermann, Anton *Revitalizing Parliament in Victoria*, IPA Review, vol.44, no.3, 1991: 19-20.

[Can the Strategic Management Review, commissioned by the Presiding Officers, revitalize the Victorian Parliament and become a model for other Australian parliaments?]

PARLIAMENT - AUSTRALIA - WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Black, David *An index to parliamentary candidates in Western Australia elections*.-rev.ed, Perth, Parliament of Western Australia, 1991: Black, David and Geoffrey Bolton *Biographical register of members of the Parliament of Western Australia: volume 1 1870-1930; volume 2 1930-1990*.-Perth, Parliament of Western Australia, 1990: Mandy, John and David Black *The Western Australian parliamentary handbook centenary edition*.-Perth, Parliament of Western Australia, 1990 - reviewed by Lenore Layman, The Australian Journal of Politics and History, vol.38, no.2, 1992: 291-2.

Changing WA for the better: the era of the public watchdog, Directions in Government, December 1992/January 1993: 16-18.

[Widespread change to parliamentary and public sector practices has been recommended by the WA Inc Royal Commission to prevent a recurrence of the excesses of the 1980s.]

Johnston, Peter W *The legal personality of the Western Australian Parliament*, University of Western Australia Law Review, vol.20, no.2, 1990: 323-339.

PARLIAMENT - CANADA

Blenkarn, Don *et al Parliament and the constitutional debate*, Parliamentary Government, vol.10, no.1, 1991: 3-7.

[Three Canadian members discuss Parliament's ability to respond to regional concerns and grievances on constitutional matters, the current mood in the House of Commons, and the need for parliamentary reform.]

Dobell, Peter C. and John Reid *A larger role for the House of Commons*, Parliamentary Government, no.40, April 1992: 3-4

....., *A larger role for the House of Commons, part 1: question period*, Parliamentary Government, no.40, April 1992: 5-10.

[News clips from question period are all that most Canadians see of Parliament in action. And they are not impressed. Focused policy debates could be a more meaningful principal arena in which the opposition leadership could confront the government.]

....., *A larger role for the House of Commons, part 2: voting*, Parliamentary Government, no.40, April 1992: 11-16.

[Objections to excessive party discipline often result in calls for more free votes, but straightforward free voting would undermine effective, responsible government. A more nuanced approach could make MPs more responsive to constituency and regional concerns.]

....., *A larger role for the House of Commons, part 3: a different role for committees*, Parliamentary Government, no.40, April 1992: 17-20.

[Standing committees remain partisan and seem to have limited impact on government policy or legislation. A better approach would be for the government to turn deliberately to standing committees for advice.]

....., *A larger role for the House of Commons, part 4: special problems of minority government*, Parliamentary Government, no.40, April 1992: 21-4.

....., *A larger role for the House of Commons: conclusion*, Parliamentary Government, no.40, April 1992: 25.

Doody, Hon. William *Houses in conflict: an elected government faces a hostile upper Chamber*, The Parliamentarian, vol.72, no.2, April 1991: 109-10.

[Canada's governing party goes to unprecedented lengths to overcome the opposition party's majority in the nation's appointed Senate.]

Kilgour, David *The perils of executive democracy*, Policy Options, vol.13, no.5, June 1992: 3-7.

[A member of the Canadian Parliament looks at ways of reforming that Parliament, including a strengthened committee system and a Senate modelled on the Australian Senate.]

PARLIAMENT - CANADA - SENATE

Crimmins, James E. *Comedy or remedy?*, Policy Options, vol.12, no.7, September 1991: 29-30.

[A modest proposal for Senate reform along the lines of the British House of Lords.]

Hunt, Wayne *An elected Senate and the peaceable kingdom*, Policy Options, vol.12, no.3, April 1991: 10-11.

[Reform may seem a recipe for boredom, but an elected Canadian Senate offers the best hope of setting right historic injustices and racial delusions.]

Malcolmson, Patrick *Reflections on Canada's first Senate 'election'*, Canadian Parliamentary Review, vol.14, no.3, Fall 1991: 15-17.

Mathis, Dan *The entire system needs a new look*, Policy Options, vol.12, no.2, March 1991: 16-18.

[Canadian Senate reform and federal-provincial relations should be addressed in the same forum, in effect, creating a new Canadian system.]

Schneiderman, David *On stacking the Senate*, Policy Options, vol.12, no.9, November 1991: 34-5.

[While many Canadians were outraged by the passage of the GST, they should not doubt the constitutionality of stacking the upper house.]

Stoett, Peter J. *Elect senators by proportional representation*, Policy Options, vol.12, no.2, March 1991: 13-15.

[The Canadian Senate, as it now stands, is unacceptable. Choosing its members on a province-wide basis might provide an answer.]

PARLIAMENT - HUNG

Winterton, George *Tasmania's hung parliament, 1989*, Public Law, Autumn 1992: 423-49.

PARLIAMENT - INDIA

Bhagat, Shri B.R. *Who controls whom? Parliament in Indian polity*, The Parliamentarian, vol.72, no.3, July 1991: 201-3.

[An examination of the central position that Parliament occupies in India's political system.]

Chatterjee, Shri Somnath *Privilege: preserving Parliament's traditional rights*, The Parliamentarian, vol.72, no.2, April 1991: 131-4.

[The view of Parliament as the highest court of the land - the court of public opinion - is not always accepted by the land's other courts.]

Halim, Hashim Abdul *Bad behaviour: are Indian legislatures in decline*, The Parliamentarian, vol.72, no.3, July 1991: 227-8.
[To function effectively, Parliament must defend the right of its members to speak freely and forthrightly - subject to certain limitations.]

Malaviya, Hon. Satya Prakash *The Whips: order and co-ordination*, The Parliamentarian, vol.72, no.2, April 1991: 127-8.

Minhas, Sardar Surjit Singh *The legislator: representative and intermediary*, The Parliamentarian, vol.72, no.3, July 1991: 225-6.
[The Punjab Speaker considers the qualities that legislators need to carry out their duties effectively.]

Nath, Jyotirmoy *Division of duty: we represent the people*, The Parliamentarian, vol.72, no.3, July 1991: 221-3.
[An Indian state Speaker assesses Parliament's role as legislator and the relationship between central and state powers.]

Rehman, Shakeelur *Committee review*, The Parliamentarian, vol.72, no.2, April 1991: 129-30.
[The Parliament of India is at the apex of the world's largest democracy. To undertake its vast responsibilities, some of Parliament's work has been assigned to a carefully formulated collection of committees.]

Tamilkudimagan, M. *Full partners? responsible relations between Parliament and the Executive*, The Parliamentarian, vol.72, no.3, July 1991: 212-3.
[Constitutionally and in practice, Parliaments and legislatures should be partners in the conduct of public affairs, working in harmony - most of the time.]

Thakur, C.P. *Money matters: Parliament and economic issues - the Indian case*, The Parliamentarian, vol.72, no.2, April 1991: 124-6.
[Are parliamentarians adequately equipped to monitor government spending and financial policies? An Indian member examines his Parliament's performance in an area which is historically the basis of parliamentary power.]

Varma, Hon. Umeshwar Prasad *Independence and democracy: the spirit of the Indian Parliament*, The Parliamentarian, vol.72, no.2, April 1991: 120-3.
[A constitution alone cannot create a true Parliament. Every Assembly needs Members with vision and courage to stand firm for democracy against grasping governments. India has its share of such Parliamentarians.]

PARLIAMENT - MEDIA

Leopold, Patricia M. *When a leak is a scoop*, Journal of Media Law and Practice, vol.11, no.4, December 1990: 118-24.
[This article looks at the law of parliamentary privilege in the area of leaks from House of Commons (G.B.) select committees and considers whether there are any alternative approaches to the problem.]

PARLIAMENT - PROCEDURE

Cumming Thom, A R *Odgers' Australian Senate Practice: the sixth edition*, Legislative Studies, vol.7, no.1, Spring 1992: 57-64.

Evans, Harry *Rescission of order for publication of evidence*, The Table, vol.59, 1991: 27-35.

Fisher, Karen *Commission continues Mason's work*, State Legislatures, vol.18, no.7, July 1992: 43-4.
[Paul Mason worked diligently for more than 40 years to keep legislators up to date on parliamentary law. Now a seasoned commission has taken up where he left off.]

Ganz, G., *Recent developments in the use of guillotine motions*, Public Law, Winter 1990: 496-506.

- Little, John G *Use of the guillotine procedure*, paper presented to the Presiding Officers and Clerks Conference, 24th, Vanuatu, 1993: 11p.
- McGee, D.G. *The Influence of parliamentary procedure on the form of legislation in New Zealand*, Statute Law Review, vol.12, no.2, September 1991: 135-45.
- O'Brien, Gary *Jeremy Bentham's theory of parliamentary procedure*, The Table, vol.60, 1992: 14-34.
- Shapiro, Larry G J and Edwin J Maley Jr *The thoroughly modern Mason's manual*, State Legislatures, vol.18, no.7, July 1992: 40-1.
[The latest edition of the legislator's bible on procedures reflects today's pressures and practices.]
- Sibraa, Senator The Hon. Kerry, President of the Senate, *Truth and Unparliamentary Language*, Paper given to 24th Conference of Presiding Officers and Clerks, Port-Vila, July 1993.
- Tester, Neil *Procedure*, The House Magazine (U.K.), vol.16, no.521, 10 June 1991: vi-vii.
[In this background guide for non-parliamentary readers, House of Commons questions and the way in which business is arranged are examined.]

PARLIAMENT - UNITED KINGDOM

- Alderman, R.K. *The Leader of the Opposition and Prime Minister's question time*, Parliamentary Affairs, vol.45, no.1, January 1992: 66-76.
[This article looks at the role of the Leader of the Opposition during Prime Minister's question time.]
- Allen, Graham, *Restoring pride in Parliament*, The House Magazine (U.K.), vol.16, no.505, 11 February 1991: 18-19.
[Parliament is the most sophisticated political prison in the world' says a British member of Parliament, but he can see a way to escape.]
- Bennett, P. and S. Pullinger *Making the Commons work: information analysis and accountability*.-IPPR, 1991: Carstairs, C. and R. Ware (eds) *Parliament and international relations*.-Open University Press, 1991: Engelfield, D. (ed) *Workings of Westminster*.-Dartmouth, 1991; Franklin, Bob (ed) *Televising democracies*.-Routledge, 1992: Jordan, G. *The Commercial Lobbyists*.-Aberdeen University Press, 1991: Shell, D. *The House of Lords*.-2nd ed.,Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992 - reviewed by R.K. Alderman, Parliamentary Affairs, vol.45, no.3, July 1992: 437-8.
- Blackburn, Robert *The Meeting of Parliament: a study of the law and practice relating to the frequency and duration of the United Kingdom Parliament*, Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1990 - reviewed by Michael Ryle, Public Law, Winter 1991: 620-1.
- Cormack, Patrick, *Looking to a civilised Parliament*, The House Magazine (U.K.), vol.16, no.505, 11 February 1991: 15.
[A British member of Parliament suggests some reforms which would make for a more civilised Parliament and healthier members.]
- Garrett, John *Westminster: does Parliament work?*, Victor Gollancz Ltd., London, 1992. . reviewed by Austin Mitchell, The House Magazine (UK), vol.18, no.572, 23 November 1992: 14.
- Gregory, Roy and Jane Pearson *The Parliamentary Ombudsman after twenty-five years*, Public Administration, vol.70, no.4, December 1992: 469-98.
[This article looks at the twenty-five years the Parliamentary Commissioner scheme has been operating and at what can be done to realise its full potential.]
- Harman, Harriet, *"Time gentleman, please"*, The House Magazine (U.K.), vol.16, no.505, 11 February 1991: 19.
[The ways of working are out of date, does this member of the British Parliament have solutions?]
- Hattersley, Roy *Parliament must change*, The House Magazine (UK), vol.18, no.553. 11 May 1992: 9.

[The Deputy Leader of the Labour Party (UK) sees changes in parliamentary procedure as the way to obtain consensus government.]

Ingle, Stephen *The Glorious Revolution and the party system: has the myth passed its sell-by date?*, Politics Review, vol.1, no.3, February 1992: 2-5.

[It has traditionally been claimed that, since the Glorious Revolution, the United Kingdom has had a two-party system. The author critically examines this claim and argues that Britain needs a different way of running its affairs.]

..... *The Glorious Revolution and the party system: has the myth passed its sell-by date?*, Politics Review, vol.1, no.3, February 1992: 2-5.

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Letter to a new member: advice from an old lag, The House Magazine (U.K.), vol.18, no.551, 27 April 1992: 5-6.

MacGregor, Rt Hon. John *A responsible House*, House Magazine (U.K.), 25 March 1991: 19-20.

[Working in a House that looks more like a museum than a modern legislature has its drawbacks.]

Mitchell, Austin, *House cleaning*, The House Magazine (U.K.), vol.16, no.505, 11 February 1991: 16-17.

[A British member of Parliament sees the prospect for reform and modernisation coming not only from reorganising the system within but from a fundamental constitutional reform outside.]

New members guide, The House Magazine (U.K.), vol.18, no.551, 27 April 1992: 26-42.

Norton, Philip *The new session: sessional variations*, The House Magazine (U.K.), vol.17, no. 534, 4 November 1991: 14.

[How do the business managers plan for a session that they know will not last beyond June 1992?]

....., *Parliament since 1945: a more open institution*, Contemporary Record, vol.5, no.2, Autumn 1991: 217-34.

....., *A reform Parliament?* The House Magazine (UK), vol.18, no.559, 22 June 1992: 15.

Parliamentary ledger: members of the 1992 Parliament, The House Magazine (U.K.), vol.18, no.551, 27 April 1992: i-v.

Quade, Quentin L. *Don't fix it too much*, Political Quarterly, vol.63, no.2, April/June 1992: 186-96.

[After renewed observation of British politics the author feels that the reforms needed can best be satisfied within the extant system.]

Rush, Michael *Parliament and government: an annotated bibliography of government publications for the 1990-91 parliamentary session*, Parliamentary Affairs, vol.46, no.1, January 1993: 133-42.

Shell, Donald *The House of Lords in the 1980s*, Contemporary Record, vol.4, no.4, April 1991: 17-8.

[The 1980s was a decade in which the House of Lords, dismissed by many before 1979 as being of no consequence, appeared to enjoy a new burst of life. This article purposely stresses the case for achievement.]

Tester, Neil *The old order changes*, The House Magazine (U.K.), vol.16, no. 525, 8 July 1991: 17.

[George Bright, MBE, about to retire after nearly 43 years as Editorial Supervisor of the Vote, reminisces.]

Wade, H.W.R. *What has happened to the sovereignty of Parliament?*, Law Quarterly Review, vol.107, January 1991: 1-10.

[Ever since it was enacted in section 2 of the *European Communities Act 1972* that Acts of Parliament, both past and future, should take effect subject to Community law, there has been the prospect of a clash. The clash has now occurred.]

PARLIAMENT - UNITED KINGDOM - ADMINISTRATION

Proctor, W A *Implementing Ibbs*, The Table, vol.60, 1992: 66-74.

[The process of reforming the administration of the United Kingdom Parliament is now in full swing. This article outlines the changes that are being undertaken and their benefits.]

PARLIAMENT - UNITED KINGDOM - HOUSE OF COMMONS - COMMITTEES, SELECT

Cremin, Matthew *The Setting-up of the departmental select committees after the 1992 election*, Parliamentary Affairs, vol.46, no.3, July 1993: 309-18.

[The process of re-establishing the departmental select committees after the 1992 general election showed once again weaknesses in the system by which these committees are set up and have their members elected.]

PARLIAMENT - UNITED KINGDOM - HOUSE OF COMMONS - PROCEDURES

Gunn, Sheila *The great paper chase*, The House Magazine (U.K.), vol.16, no.526, 15 July 1991: 4.

[A look at the latest Commons Procedure Committee report into parliamentary questions.]

McKay, W.R. (ed.) *Observations, rules and orders of the House of Commons: an early procedural collection*.-London, H.M.S.O., 1989

(House of Commons Library Document no.17): *Clerks of the House of Commons 1363-1989: a biographical list*.-London, H.M.S.O.,1989.- reviewed by G.A. Harrison, Parliamentary History, vol.11, pt.1, 1992: 157-8.

Points of order at Westminster, The Parliamentarian, vol.74, no.2, April 1993: 114.

Procedure notes for new members by the Clerk of the House, The House Magazine (U.K.), vol.18, no.551, 27 April 1992: 24-5.

Ryle, Michael *Recent procedural changes in the Commons*, Parliamentary Affairs, vol.44, no.4, October 1991: 470-80.

PARLIAMENT - UNITED KINGDOM - HOUSE OF LORDS - COMMITTEES

Burton, Simon *Procedure Committees in the House of Lords 1907-43*, The Table, vol.59, 1991: 59-85.

Runciman, W.G., *Diary*, London Review of Books, vol.13, no.1, 10 January 1991: 21.

[The author questions what he is doing joining in an unelected Upper House on the basis of 'no damn merit whatever'.]

PARLIAMENT - UNITED STATES

Biskupic, Joan *Supreme Court: Congress keeps eye on justices as court watches Hill's words*, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, vol.49, no.40, 5 October 1991: 2863-7.

[Members of Congress are now being more attentive in their approach to the drafting of legislation due to the approach of Justice Scalia, "We are a government of laws not of committee reports."]

Cohen, Richard E. *World's greatest non-debating society*, National Journal, no.31, 3 August 1991: 1940.

[Debate before voting on issues would appear to be a thing of the past in the U.S. Senate.]

....., *Look out, Congress*, National Journal, vol.24, no.31, 1 August 1992: 1770-4.

[Capitol Hill is bracing for the largest freshman class since 1932. Many of the prospective Senators and House members are campaigning as outsiders, swearing that they'll do things differently.]

- Edwards, Mickey, *A conservative defense of Congress*, The Public Interest, no.100, Summer 1990: 81-8.
- Felten, Eric *Little princes: the petty despotism of congressional staff*, Policy Review, no.63, Winter 1993: 51-7.
- Hook, Janet, *Reforming Congress: lessons of the past*, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, vol.49, no.9, 2 March 1991: 570.
[Procedural reforms cannot improve Congress' standing as much as decisive action on meaningful legislation.]
- Johnson, Loch K *The study of congressional investigations: research strategies*, Congress and the Presidency, vol.19, no.2, Autumn 1992: 137-56.
[The power to investigate has evolved into one of the most potent weapons available to Congress in its perennial struggles with the executive branch. This article attempts to map what stimulates an inquiry and its course and outcome.]
- Lind, Michael *A radical plan to change American politics*, The Atlantic Monthly, August 1992: 73-83.
[From the term-limitation movement to the rise of Ross Perot, the signs of discontent with the political status quo are everywhere. The author outlines a plan to channel that discontent in an innovative direction, one that would make the House of Representatives more democratic and more responsive to the variety of opinion found in the country.]
- McDowell, Gary L., *Congress and the courts*, The Public Interest, no.100, Summer 1990: 89-101.
- Morin, Richard *Female aides on Hill: still outsiders in man's world*, The Washington Post, 21 February 1993: A1, A18,19.
- Ornstein, Norman, *The permanent Democratic Congress*, The Public Interest, no.100, Summer 1990: 24-44.
- Owens, John E. *Congress in the 1980s*, Politics Review, vol.1, no.3, February 1992: 30-3.
[The USA Congress has faced a number of changes in recent years. This article charts the nature and development of these changes, and examines the impact they have had on Congress in the 1980s.]
- Reiselbach, Leroy N., *Institutional factors, legislative behavior, and Congressional policymaking: developments in the 1980s*, Annual Review of Political Science (vol.3, ed. Samuel Long): 160-97.
- Rogers, Chester B. *New member socialization in the House of Representatives*, Congress and the Presidency, vol.19,no.1, Spring 1992: 47-63.
[The apprenticeship norm that encouraged new members to learn about the ways of the institution before striking out on their own is a thing of the past. New members are now encouraged to actively pursue their own self interests and to be aware of their importance to such an extent that it decreases the effectiveness of the House as an organization.]

PARLIAMENT - UNITED STATES - CONGRESS - CONFERENCE COMMITTEES

- LeBlanc, Robin M. *Conference committees: the Congressional context*, Canadian Parliamentary Review, vol.14, no.3, Autumn 1991: 24-8.
[In the United States all legislation must be adopted in identical form by both Houses. The Americans make extensive use of conference committees to resolve differences between the chambers. This article uses three case studies to examine the congressional conference as a legislative institution in its own right.]

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[This article looks at who participates in the legislative work of the U.S. Senate committees, why, and what are the consequences for policy making at this stage of the process?]

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[In 1984, the author argued in a paper entitled "A new Parliament House - a new parliamentary order", that the design of the new Parliament House would have a significant impact on the operation of Parliament. Now, after a study conducted to test his hypotheses, he reports on the impact which the building has had on the Parliament.]

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