

# M O N I T O R

## The Constitution Unit Bulletin

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### Lords reform 1,2,3...

#### Cabinet Committee on Lords Reform

On 22 December the Government announced a new Cabinet Sub-Committee, CRP(HL), "to consider policy and other issues arising from the Government's plans for reform of the House of Lords, and make recommendations to the Ministerial Committee on Constitutional Reform Policy". The Sub-Committee is surprisingly small. Chaired by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Irvine, it has only six other members: Jack Straw, Ann Taylor, Lord Richard (Leader in the Lords), Nick Brown (Chief Whip), Lord Carter (Chief Whip in the Lords), and Peter Mandelson.

The Committee is a strong signal that the Government are planning to introduce a bill in the second session. In anticipation of such a bill the Unit has embarked on three pieces of work on Lords reform. The first is reported here; the other two are on p2.

#### Reforming the Lords: A step by step guide

This new *Briefing* offers a step by step guide to the three likely stages of Lords reform:

- legislation to remove the hereditary peers
- a consolidation stage, to tidy up an appointed second chamber
- wider reform of the Lords.

The first two stages are for the current Parliament; stage three may be held over until the next. It will be difficult in stage one to avoid addressing the consequences of a 'House of Patronage': how far to redress the continuing party imbalance, and how to open up appointments. In stage two of the process these issues could be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses, charged with developing a new set of conventions to govern appointments to an all-nominated House of Lords.

Stage three will involve a review of whether the Lords

should be wholly or partially elected. Even if the focus is formally limited to the question of election, it will be difficult to avoid other issues; because the whole of the UK's constitutional architecture is changing, and the role of the Lords is likely to change with it. In particular, a stage three inquiry must take account of any change to the electoral system for the House of Commons, devolution, the growing influence of the EU and incorporation of the ECHR: with possible roles for the Lords in representing the nations and regions of the UK, or as a human rights and constitutional watchdog.

This stage three inquiry is too big a task for a joint parliamentary committee, and may need to be referred initially to an independent, non-parliamentary body.

To order this Briefing: see back page.

#### How to contact the Constitution Unit:

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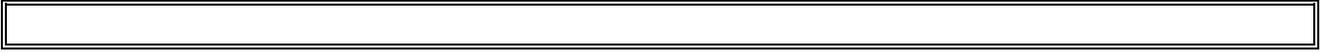
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# Constitution Unit Work in Progress

## Rebalancing the Lords: the Numbers

Redressing the party imbalance in the Lords is not as simple as it seems. The government wants to ensure that over time party appointees as life peers more accurately reflect the proportion of votes cast at the previous election. The Unit has developed a computer model to show the effect of future election results on the size of the Lords and its composition. The Unit's *Briefing* (£1) shows that rebalancing after each election will lead to an inexorable increase in numbers. The Lords may grow to 800 peers in 20 years' time. The only way to avoid this is not to aim for full proportionality; or to introduce term appointments instead of peerages for life.

## Welcome

To Richard Cornes, a lawyer from New Zealand, who has joined the Unit as a Visiting Research Fellow. He comes to us from the Constitutional Centenary Foundation in Melbourne, which is the nearest equivalent to the Constitution Unit in Australia.

## Role of second chambers overseas

The final stage of Lords reform will need to be preceded by a wide-ranging review of the options. One of the difficulties is that there is no agreed role for the second chamber within our parliamentary system. Politicians and others find it difficult to think beyond the House of Lords' current set of activities; but with so many changes in the rest of the constitutional framework, the role of the House of Lords must change too.

To widen the debate and open up people's thinking, the Unit is planning a study of second chambers overseas: in Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Spain and Ireland. These countries have been chosen to illustrate

the different functions of second chambers: in representing the regions, protecting human rights and the constitution, acting as a revising chamber, scrutinising the EU, etc.

Not all these functions will necessarily be appropriate for the House of Lords: but the study should help to expose the full range of options for the second chamber. It will also help to widen the dimensions of the debate in the UK, where argument about the House of Lords has tended to begin and end with its composition. Logically there needs first to be discussion about the role of the House of Lords; only then can there be a sensible debate about the functions, powers and composition necessary to perform that role.

## Single chamber parliaments

As a counterpart study, the Unit is doing a small piece of work for the Scottish Office on unicameral parliaments. The context is the Scottish Parliament, which will have only a single chamber: what checks and balances need to be built in to compensate for the absence of the safeguards supplied by a second chamber? The study will look at unicameral parliaments in Canada and Australia; and at the parliaments of New Zealand, Sweden, Denmark and Sri Lanka, three of which have moved from bicameral to unicameral legislatures.

Contact: Richard Cornes

## Devolution and Health

The Unit is embarking on a series of case studies to assess the impact of devolution in different policy areas. The first is a study of the implications of devolution for the National Health Service, funded by the Nuffield Trust. Robert Hazell has teamed up with two health policy specialists, Professor Paul Jervis (Middlesex) and Professor Sue Richards (Birmingham). Initial conclusions from interviews with health policy makers and practitioners were presented at a London seminar in December:

- devolution offers the health service in Scotland and Wales few new freedoms. Most of these freedoms exist already but have not been used

- devolution will allow Scotland and Wales to reassert their stronger ‘communitarian’ culture, and the health service will provide a highly visible test of the ability to do this
- Scotland has a stronger political will for devolution, but Wales has a clearer reforming health agenda
- to develop a strong public health agenda both countries need to stimulate stronger health policy communities
- public health policies should be easier to operationalise in Scotland and Wales, because their smaller size makes it easier to work across departmental boundaries.

The next stage is to hold follow up seminars in February in Cardiff and Glasgow, to stimulate the development of the health policy networks in Scotland and Wales. A final seminar will be held in March in Leeds or Newcastle, to explore the implications of devolution and regional government for the health service in England. The conclusions will be reported in the next *Monitor*, and the study will be published in April. Contact: Robert Hazell

### **Devolution and higher education**

The second devolution case study is being conducted jointly with Sue Taylor of the CVCP and Professor Lindsay Paterson of Edinburgh. Universities in England will be affected by regional government and devolution, as well as the universities in Scotland and Wales. The study will look at changes in funding, research grants, cross-border student flows, maintenance of academic standards and university autonomy and accountability post-devolution. It will be published jointly by the Constitution Unit and the CVCP.

### **Freedom of information seminars**

The Unit is organising a series of six seminars with Whitehall departments on Government information policy, in conjunction with Andrew McDonald of the Public Record Office. Andrew McDonald is an international expert on freedom of information, having followed in Robert Hazell’s footsteps, to study the operation of the FOI laws in Australia, Canada and New

Zealand; and beyond in Sweden and the USA.

The seminar topics will cover:

- the FOI White Paper
- the Irish FOI Act 1997
- Crown copyright and pricing of government information
- the Data Protection Bill
- update on overseas experience
- FOI and the Law.

### **Electoral systems and party democracy**

The new list systems for voting for the European Parliament and Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly will use ‘closed’ lists, whereby electors can vote only for a party. Elsewhere in Europe open lists are used enabling voters to express a preference between the candidates within a party list.

The Unit is doing a study of list voting systems with Professor Iain McLean of Oxford and electoral experts throughout Europe. The issues covered are:

- open versus closed lists
- the different forms of open list
- impact of open lists
- registration of political parties
- candidate selection procedures of political parties.

Initial conclusions are that open lists make little difference, so that the parties’ selection procedures in choosing and then ranking their candidates are critical in determining who gets elected. The conclusions will be discussed at a seminar on candidate selection procedures with all the political parties. A separate seminar on open and closed lists will be held with the political parties and electoral experts. The study will also be relevant to the work of the Jenkins Commission on Voting Systems (see page 7).

Contact: Ben Seyd

#### **See also:**

- European Parliament Bill (p.7)
- Registration of Political Parties (p.7)

## The legislative programme starts to roll

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The September issue of Monitor reported on the eight constitutional bills in the Queen's Speech, and the four new Cabinet Committees established to guide the constitutional reform programme. The effort in the first three months of the new government was largely on devolution in Scotland and Wales, with the Cabinet Committee on Devolution (DSWR) meeting 15 times in May to July. In the autumn the focus has widened, with White Papers on human rights, regional development agencies and freedom of information, and half a dozen constitutional bills have now been introduced into Parliament.

### Human Rights Bill

In October the Human Rights Bill was introduced into the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor. The Bill has passed through its Committee stage and should go to the Commons in the New Year.

The Bill incorporates into domestic law the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR). The method of incorporation draws on experience in Canada, New Zealand and elsewhere, but the balance between parliament and the courts is unique to the UK:

- courts may strike down subordinate legislation (including legislation by the Scottish Parliament) but not Acts of the Westminster Parliament
- for Westminster legislation the court may make a 'declaration of incompatibility'
- the Government may then invite Parliament to remedy the breach by a fast track legislative procedure
- all new legislation must be accompanied by a declaration from the responsible Minister of compatibility with the ECHR
- there will be a new Parliamentary Committee on Human Rights, but no Human Rights Commission.

For the *Constitution Unit Briefing on the Human Rights Bill*: see the order form on the back page.

### Cabinet Committee with Liberal Democrats

In the summer the Prime Minister announced a new Cabinet Committee with the Liberal Democrats. The Committee has no fixed membership, but is chaired by the Prime Minister, and consists of four or five senior figures from each party.

The Committee met three times in the autumn. The first meeting was largely introductory; the second discussed the UK's presidency of the EU; and the third settled the terms of reference and membership of the independent Commission on the Voting System. Despite its wide terms of reference, the Committee has focussed mainly on constitutional issues. Lords reform is likely to be one of the topics the Committee will discuss in 1998.

## Devolution

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### Referendum results

The Referendums (Scotland and Wales) Act 1978 received Royal Assent in July. The referendums were held in Scotland on 11 September and in Wales on 18 September. In Scotland on a turnout of 60.4% of the electorate 74.3% voted Yes to a Scottish Parliament (25.7% No), and 63.5% agreed that the Parliament should have tax-varying powers (36.5% No). In Wales the result was much narrower: on a turnout of 50.3%, a slender majority of 50.3% voted Yes to a Welsh Assembly, and 49.7% voted No.

The Unit held a seminar a month afterwards with the main participants and officials. The main lessons for future referendums were:

- in both countries the Yes campaign was better resourced and better organised than the Noes. It was difficult for the broadcast media to maintain balanced coverage between the two campaigns and the rival political parties
- the government's neutral summary of the Devolution White Paper (distributed free to all households) was regarded as another statement for the Yes campaign. To ensure a minimum level of fairness, the government

could have offered a free mailing to both campaign groups

- the referendum on EMU may be similarly one sided. It will also be very market sensitive. The government might want to enact standing authority to hold a referendum so that it could seize an opportune moment without unduly destabilising the markets
- in the referendum on electoral reform the quality of public information will be critical, because the issues are more complex, and the electorate poorly informed.

## Government of Wales Bill

Welsh Office: Ron Davies and Peter Hain

The Government of Wales Bill was introduced on 26 November, and had its Second Reading on 8 December. It is a long bill (129 clauses and 12 Schedules), and the government is negotiating to take most of the committee stage in Standing Committee (with other constitutional bills the government has followed the convention that the committee stage is taken on the floor of the House).

The Bill follows the proposals in the July White Paper *A Voice for Wales*. Points of note are:

- the powers of the Assembly do not appear in the Bill, but are to be listed in a draft Order in Council
- with only 60 members the Assembly may find it difficult to man all the committees envisaged in the Bill, which will include subject, regional and procedural committees
- there will be an Executive Committee consisting of the leaders of the subject committees ('Assembly Secretaries'), and chaired by the First Secretary, who is to be elected by the whole Assembly
- an appraisal of the compliance costs of any proposed subordinate legislation must be carried out before it is laid before the Assembly.
- the Assembly must make schemes for promoting local government and the voluntary sector in Wales, and must establish a Partnership Council for Wales with local authorities
- an Advisory Group has been appointed, chaired by John Elfen Jones to prepare

guidance for the Standing Orders Commission.

## Scotland Bill

Scottish Office: Donald Dewar and Henry McLeish

The Scotland Bill was introduced on 17 December. It is shorter than the Wales Bill (116 clauses and 8 schedules), and conceptually neater. The Bill sets out the powers reserved to Westminster in Schedule 5; and the Scottish Office has published a guide on the legislative powers which by implication are devolved to Scotland.

The Scotland Bill is more recognisably a constitutional document:

- it provides for entrenched majorities (two thirds) before the Parliament can vote for a dissolution or agree to the removal of judges
- the number of Scottish MPs at Westminster is to be revised in line with the electoral quota for England. This will mean a reduction in 2005 from 72 to 57 MPs - with a corresponding reduction in the size of the Scottish Parliament, and a ratio of constituency to additional members of 50:50
- the Bill protects the independence of the Lord Advocate as head of the prosecution system in Scotland; and creates a new Ministerial office in the UK government of Advocate General for Scotland.

## The Barnett Formula

In November the Treasury Select Committee conducted an inquiry into the Barnett Formula. Their conclusions were published in a short report on 22 December.

- all parts of the UK are entitled to broadly the same level of public services, and expenditure should be allocated according to relative need
- the Barnett Formula is only a way of allocating increments in expenditure. It does not determine overall shares of public expenditure, nor does it reflect spending needs
- in 1995-96 expenditure in Scotland was 23% higher than in England and in Wales 16% higher

- it is time for a fresh needs assessment, to show whether the Barnett Formula remains the appropriate method of allocating changes in expenditure to the four nations of the Union.

The Select Committee did not say who should conduct this needs assessment. The Unit has argued the task should be given to an independent commission.

### **Regional Development Agencies**

DETR: John Prescott and Dick Caborn

The June consultation paper on RDAs in England evoked a big response. 1500 replies were received, most expressing strong support: with joint responses in many regions from business leaders and local authorities.

In December the government published its legislative proposals in the White Paper *Building Partnerships for Prosperity - sustainable growth, competitiveness and employment in the English regions* (Cm 3814).

- RDAs will be national quangos, appointed by Ministers, funded by government grant and accountable to Ministers and Parliament
- They will have 12 member boards, and be business led
- RDAs must also be responsive to regional chambers, and consult them on their corporate plan
- local authorities should be dominant on the regional chambers, but they must involve the other regional stakeholders
- the regional budgets of DTI and DfEE will not be transferred; but RDAs will administer the SRB Challenge Fund, the regeneration functions of English Partnerships and the Rural Development Commission, and take a leading role on EU structural funds.

John Prescott's introduction to the White Paper says this is only the start. "Modernisation of the structures in the English regions is part of the wider reform of the governance of the United Kingdom and in particular the devolution of powers to Scotland and Wales. England's regions may also go down this road; where there is popular demand, we are committed to further consultation on directly-elected regional assemblies".

### **Greater London Authority**

DETR: John Prescott and Nick Raynsford

The Greater London Authority (Referendum) Bill was introduced in October, passed by the House of Commons, and introduced in the Lords on 27 November. It provides for a referendum to be held on the government's plans for a new Greater London Authority on 7 May 1998. The single referendum question will be

- are you in favour of the government's proposals for a Greater London Authority, made up of an elected mayor and a separately elected assembly?

Put a cross in one box: Yes/No.

Amendments will be moved in the Lords to provide for two questions. The Conservatives are in favour of an elected mayor but not an assembly; the Liberal Democrats support an assembly, but not a separately elected mayor. The government is concerned about low turnout; but by holding the referendum on the same day as the local government elections in London they should at least achieve the normal London turnout of over 40%.

### **Lord Hunt's Local Government (Experimental Arrangements) Bill**

Lord Hunt of Tanworth was chairman of the House of Lords Select Committee on Central-Local Government Relations which reported in July 1996. This Bill, introduced on 26 November as a Private Peer's Bill, gives effect to one of the Select Committee's recommendations. Local government committee structures have long been criticised as cumbersome and inefficient, with responsibility for decisions being too diffuse. The Bill will allow local authorities to experiment with

- elected mayors with executive powers
- single councillors exercising executive powers
- single party committees (including an executive committee)
- scrutiny committees.

Local authorities must apply to the Secretary of State for approval to run an experiment for up to eight years; and the government must consult

with the Local Government Association and the Audit Commission before giving its approval.

## **Elections**

### **European Parliament Elections Bill**

Home Office: Jack Straw and George Howarth

From 1999 the UK will move into line with the rest of the EU by introducing PR for electing the UK's 87 MEPs in place of first past the post. The Bill introduces a regional list system for the 1999 elections to the European Parliament. England will be divided into nine regions each electing between six and eleven MEPs. Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland will count as separate regions and will elect eight, five and three MEPs respectively. Northern Ireland will retain the Single Transferable Vote system (STV).

The Bill provides for 'closed' lists (see page 2) under which electors can vote only for parties but not for individual candidates (except Independents). At Second Reading Jack Straw indicated the government's willingness to consider a more open list, and the Home Office has placed in the House of Commons Library a memorandum on how open lists operate in Belgium. A move to open lists would have implications also for Scotland and Wales, where the two devolution bills currently provide for closed lists for the additional members.

Voting by party lists will require legislation for the registration of political parties, and new spending limits for regional election campaigns.

### **Independent Commission on Voting Systems**

After discussion in the new Cabinet Committee with the Liberal Democrats the government announced on 1 December an independent Commission to advise on an alternative voting system for the House of Commons. The Commission is chaired by Lord Jenkins of Hillhead. The other members are Baroness Gould, a Labour peer and former party Director of Organisation; Lord Alexander of Weedon, a Conservative peer and chairman of NatWest; Sir John Chilcot, former Permanent Secretary in the

Northern Ireland Office; and David Lipsey, Political Editor of The Economist.

The Commission has been charged with exploring 'broadly proportional' alternatives to first past the post. This appears to rule out the Alternative Vote, which does not deliver a proportional result; but the Commission might consider single member constituencies elected by AV, with additional members to provide proportionality. The Commission has also been instructed to pay attention to the need for stable government and to the maintenance of the MP-constituency link.

The Commission has been asked to report within a year. Electoral reformers hope the government might then hold a referendum in 1999, but this seems unlikely. The government will want to deliberate and possibly consult on the Commission's recommendations; legislation is needed before a referendum can be held; and a major public education exercise will be required. More likely is a referendum at the time of the next General Election (see the Unit's Briefing *Changing the Electoral System*, March 1997).

### **Home Office Elections Working Party**

The Home Office has established the usual Elections Working Party to study the lessons of the last General Election. This time it is chaired by the Minister of State, George Howarth, and the focus will be on easier voting. The agenda will include: improving access to polling stations; making it easier to obtain a postal or proxy vote; improving the electoral register; experimenting with different days of polling; and voting in a wider choice of locations. Most of these changes would require legislation.

A similar agenda is being considered by Hilary Armstrong, Minister for Local Government, in a consultation paper to be issued shortly on ways of reviving local democracy.

### **Local Government Commission**

In November Robert Hazell was asked by the government to undertake a review of the Local Government Commission, which revises the electoral boundaries for local authorities. The

review will also assess the case for merging all or part of its functions with the Parliamentary Boundary Commission.

## Political Parties

### Registration of political parties

The new electoral systems based on party lists (for Scotland, Wales and the European Parliament) will require a system for the registration of political parties. The Home Office is preparing a bill to be introduced in February, which will also cover party funding (see below). It is likely to give the registration function to an existing Registrar, possibly the Registrar of Companies. Issues which arise include:

- will the Registrar be able to disallow confusing party names (such as ‘Literal Democrat’)?
- will the parties be forced to incorporate (the major parties are unincorporated associations)?
- will there be special criteria for registration, in terms of financial propriety, or internal party democracy?
- what returns will the Registrar require of income and donations, and expenditure (including election expenditure)?

### Funding of political parties

The Labour manifesto contained two commitments:

- to ban foreign funding, and to oblige parties to declare substantial donations
- to ask the Nolan Committee to advise on how to regulate party funding.

The new government could have sought Nolan’s advice before legislating; but the Committee had to wait six months for a reference. Following the Formula One affair in November, the Prime Minister asked the Committee “to review issues in relation to the funding of political parties, and to make recommendations as to any changes in present arrangements”.

This will be new territory for the Committee. For the first time it will be examining issues of public policy which go far beyond standards of conduct. State funding of political parties has divided several previous inquiries. In December

the Committee issued a consultation document with 39 questions covering disclosure of donations; party funding and the honours system; state funding; regulation and accountability; and limits on expenditure, in referendum campaigns and PR elections as well as ordinary elections.

### Neill Committee members

The Committee on Standards in Public Life has a new chairman, Sir Patrick Neill QC (now Lord Neill of Bladen), and four new members: John MacGregor (former Conservative minister); Lord Goodhart QC (Liberal Democrat); Sir Anthony Cleaver (businessman); and Frances Heaton, Director of the Bank of England and of Lazards.

### Parliamentary Reform

Lead Minister: Ann Taylor, Leader of the House

The Modernisation Committee, which is chaired by Ann Taylor, published its first report on the Legislative Process at the end of July. The report was debated on 13 November. The debate brought out the cautious nature of the Committee’s report, which emphasised the need for the House to make more flexible use of existing procedures, and to conduct more experiments. Experiments this session include the publication of seven bills in draft, with pre-legislative scrutiny hearings by Select Committees: the draft freedom of information bill, for example, will go before the Select Committee on Public Administration.

The Committee’s next topic is the parliamentary year and the parliamentary week, and the conduct of debate in the chamber.

### Committee stage of constitutional bills

To preserve cross-party agreement, the Modernisation Committee did not recommend that the Committee stage of constitutional bills be taken in Standing Committee. The constitutional bills introduced so far have all been relatively short, and have been kept on the floor for their Committee stage: but the Amsterdam Treaty Bill had to be guillotined.

The Scotland and Wales Bills are long and complex, and their Committee stage will need to be referred to Standing Committee; with a possible compromise that the clauses of principle remain to be debated on the floor.

### **Freedom of Information White Paper**

Cabinet Office: David Clark, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster

The government's proposals for a Freedom of Information Act, *Your Right to Know* (Cm 3818) were published in December.

- the Act will extend to central government, local government, the health service and the wider public sector (including the privatised utilities)
- there will be seven categories of exemption, based on a test of 'substantial harm'
- the investigation and prosecution of crime will be completely excluded
- appeals will go to a new Freedom of Information Commissioner, with power to order disclosure
- there will be no system of ministerial certificates to restrict or veto the Commissioner's decisions
- for personal files there will be overlapping access rights with the Data Protection Act
- there will be an application fee of £10, a maximum of a further £10 for access to personal files, and the possibility of a two tier charging regime to impose higher charges on commercial users.

The Select Committee on Public Administration will conduct an inquiry into the White Paper proposals, and has appointed Robert Hazell as its specialist adviser, together with Professor Patrick Birkinshaw of Hull. The Select Committee will want to probe the state of readiness in Whitehall for the introduction of freedom of information; the degree of commitment in different departments; and the level of resources required for the proper implementation of FOI.

The Government has undertaken to publish the Freedom of Information Bill in draft in the spring. The Select Committee will then hold pre-legislation scrutiny hearings into the draft bill.

For the *Constitution Unit Commentary on the FOI White Paper*: see order form on back page.

## **Nexus groups on the Constitution & Devolution**

The Nexus Group on Devolution held its inaugural meeting on 11 December. Iain McLean (Nuffield College, Oxford) and John Osmond (Director of the Institute of Welsh Affairs, Cardiff) gave presentations on the Government's White Papers for Scotland and Wales. A wide-ranging discussion took place on the fundamentals of the Union, the activist role of the judges, and the interplay between devolution in Great Britain and relations with Ireland, both North and South. Subsequent meetings may look at the plans for Regional Development Agencies and for London.

### **Media database of constitutional experts**

To raise the level of constitutional debate, the Unit with funding from The Economist has put together a database of academic and other experts who are willing to give interviews to the media. The database is available in hard copy, and on the Internet so that it can be easily searched by journalists and programme producers looking for briefing or comment from a recognised expert.

If we have not already approached you and you want to be included on the database please contact us as soon as possible. If you are a journalist or editor and want a hard copy of the register of constitutional experts please contact Sara Northey at the Constitution Unit, Tel: 0171 209 6669 or Fax: 0171 209 6594.

### **Constitution Unit website**

<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/>

The Constitutional Unit website is funded by The Economist

# Bulletin Board

## **Publications by the Unit**

Reforming the House of Lords: a step by step guide by Ben Seyd and Robert Hazell. (December 1997), £3.

Reforming the Lords: the Numbers by Ben Seyd. (December 1997), £1.

Rights Brought Home: a briefing on the Human Rights Bill by Francesca Klug, with Rabinder Singh and Murray Hunt. Published jointly by the Constitution Unit and King's College London, (November 1997) £2.

## **Publications received**

### *Devolution*

The Scotland Bill: A Guide. Published by the Scottish Office. (December 1997).

To Make the Parliament of Scotland a Model for Democracy by Bernard Crick and David Millar. Available from the John Wheatley Centre, 20 Forth Street, Edinburgh EH1 3LH Tel/Fax: 0131 477 8220, £5.

A Parliament for the Millenium: a report of the advisory committee on Telematics for the Scottish Parliament. Available from the John Wheatley Centre, 20 Forth Street, Edinburgh EH1 3LH Tel/Fax: 0131 477 8220, £8.

Comments by The Law Society of Scotland on the White Paper "Scotland's Parliament". Available from the Society at 26 Drumsheugh Gardens, Edinburgh EC3 7YR Tel: 0131 226 7411 Email: lawsoc1@nildram.co.uk.

Making the Assembly Work, Institute of Welsh Affairs. (November 1997).

Putting the People First - Electing a Welsh Assembly by Tom Ellis and John Osmond. Available in Welsh and English from the Electoral Reform Society, 6 Chancel Street, Blackfriars, London SE1 0UU. Tel: 0171 928 1622 Fax: 0171 401 7789 Email: ers@reform.demon.co.uk (£9.95 plus p&p).

British Regionalism and Devolution, the challenges of state reform and European integration edited by Jonathan Bradbury and John Mawson (October 1997). Published by Jessica Kingsley at £18.95.

A Federal Constitution for the United Kingdom: an alternative to devolution by M. A. Fazal. (March 1997) Available from Dartmouth Publishing Company, Gower House, Croft Rd, Aldershot, Hants. GU 11 3HR Tel: 01252 331551 Fax: 01252 317446 Email: ashgate@cityscape.co.uk (ISBN: 1 85521 876 3, £42.50).

Making Local and Regional Economies Work. Available from the British Chambers of Commerce, Manning House, 22 Carlisle Place, London SW1P 1JA Tel: 0171 565 2000 Fax: 0171 565 2049 Email: 100563.415@Compuserve.com.

### *Elections*

Comparing Electoral Systems by David M. Farrell. Published by Prentice Hall, (1997).

The Politics of Electoral Reform by Michael Meadowcroft. Available from the Electoral Reform Society, 6 Chancel Street, Blackfriars, London SE1 0UU. Tel: 0171 928 1622 Fax: 0171 401 7789 Email: ers@reform.demon.co.uk (£3.00 plus p&p.)

New Votes for Europe: Making the Changes Work for Everyone by Alan Francis Available from the Green

Research & Development Trust and Third Wave, Eastside, Huntingdon PE18 7BY. ISBN 1 902238 00 1.

Coalitions and Co-operation in Local Government by Michael Temple. Available from the Electoral Reform Society, 6 Chancel Street, Blackfriars, London SE1 0UU. Tel: 0171 928 1622 Fax: 0171 401 7789 Email: ers@reform.demon.co.uk (£6.95 plus p&p).

Approaching Electoral Reform in the UK: Insights from Germany by Dr Charlie Jeffery of the Institute for German Studies, University of Birmingham.

Electoral Reform, constituencies and Boundary Commissions in the UK: Establishing principles for constituency definition by Ron Johnston, Charles Pattie and David Rossiter. Available from Professor Ron Johnston, Department of Geography, University Road, Bristol BS8 1SS. Tel: 0117 928 9000, Fax: 0117 928 7878.

### *Other*

The Voice of the People: A Constitution for Tomorrow by Robert Alexander, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, (September 1997).

This Time - Our Constitutional Revolution by Anthony Barnett, Published by Vintage, (December 1997).

Parliament under Pressure by Peter Riddell. To be published by Victor Gollancz (January 1998).

Religious Privilege: A report into the Legal Privileges of Religions in England and Wales by James Sandbach and Robert Ashby (January 1998). Available from the British Humanist Association Tel: 0171 430 0908, Fax: 0171 430 1271.

Making a Bill of Rights Stick: Options for Implementation in Northern Ireland. A discussion paper published by the Committee on the Administration of Justice, 45/47 Donegal Street, Belfast BT1 2FG Tel: 01232 232394 Fax: 01232 246706 (September 1997).

## **Forthcoming events**

### **Constitutional Reform in the United Kingdom: Practice and Principles, 17-18 January 1998**

Two day conference in Cambridge organised by the University of Cambridge Centre for Public Law and the Board of Continuing Education. Details from Mr Michael Dean, Tel. 01954 212258, Fax: 01954 212258 or Mrs Valerie Reed Tel: 01954 210636, Fax: 01954 210677.

### **Freedom of Information, 2nd February 1998**

One day conference on Monday 2nd February at Church House, Westminster. David Clark (Minister for Public Service) and overseas speakers. Contact: Andrew Ecclestone at Campaign for Freedom of Information,

Tel: 0171 831 7477, Fax: 0171 831 7461 Email: admin@cfoi.demon.co.uk

### **Towards Electoral Reform - preparing for PR, 12 February 1998**

One day seminar organised by QMW Public Policy Seminars at the Royal Over-seas League, Park Place London SW1. Contact: Pamela Shenton at QMW Public Policy Seminars Tel: 01422 845584 Fax: 01422 845880.

### **Regional Government, March 1998**

One day conference on Regional Development Agencies and Regional Chambers. Jointly organised by the Local Government Association and the Constitution Unit. Contact Tony Blake at LGA, Tel: 0171 664 3348.

If you want us to mention a publication or forthcoming conference or seminar in the next issue of the Monitor (March 1998) send details by the end of February to Sara Northey, School of Public Policy, Brook House, 2-16 Torrington Place, London WC1E 7HN Tel: 0171 209 6669, Fax: 0171 209 6594, Email: s.northey@ucl.ac.uk.

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