

Australian Labor Party

NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

**Report and Recommendations
to the National Executive**

March 1979

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FOREWORD

The National Committee of Inquiry was appointed following the 1977 election when the mood of the Party was somewhat depressed. The Committee consisted of a number of practising politicians and other members of the Party from various walks of life who might be said to have had a more detached view of the problems and needs of the A.L.P.

During the nine or ten months of its deliberations the Committee worked very hard to produce 10 Discussion Papers which were widely circulated. The Committee also had widespread discussions with Party officials, members of the Party, and affiliated unions.

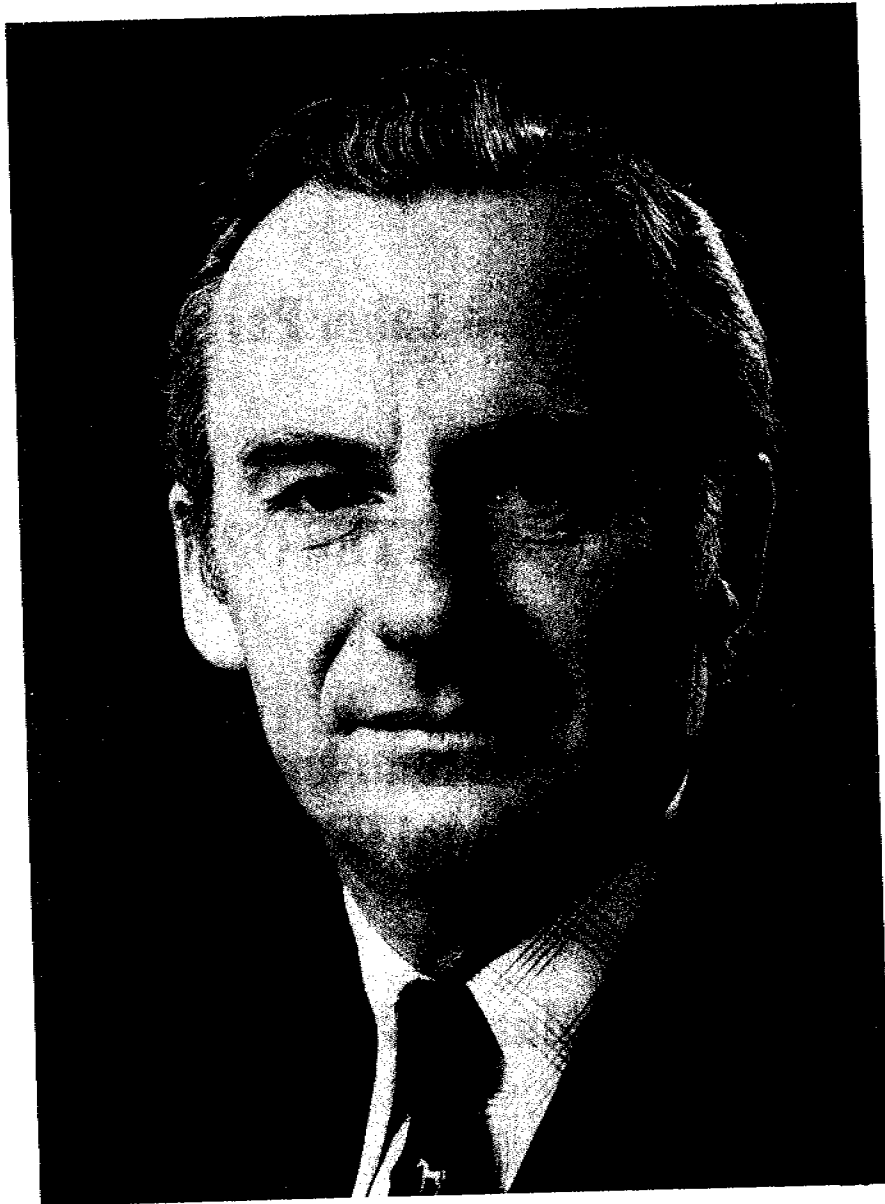
This Report was presented to the National Executive at its Meeting on 8 and 9 April 1979, and the Executive decided that it should be published and widely distributed.

The Report contains some major suggestions for structural and other reforms of the Party and a range of other comments and suggestions which will be invaluable to Party members at all levels of the organisation. The National Executive properly took the view that many of the major changes could not be implemented without discussion of the Committee's proposals throughout the Party.

I share the view of the Committee that the Party needs "an ongoing commitment to organisational change and policy reformulation in response to a rapidly changing society." But the form in which any changes are made will have to be determined by the Party in the light of consideration of the details of this Report.

This is an important document and the Committee of Inquiry is to be congratulated on its work, which I hope will receive wide consideration and analysis by all members.


BILL HAYDEN



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A. BACKGROUND

The A.L.P. National Committee of Inquiry was set up by the National Executive of the A.L.P. at its January 1978 meeting. It was a response to the federal election defeat of December 1977, which represented for the A.L.P. only a minimal recovery from the electoral disaster of 1975. Its tasks were:—

“to inquire into and report upon —

- (a) the changing social, economic and demographic structure, particularly in respect of the aspirations for a better Australian society.
- (b) the most effective functioning of the Party in terms of maximising the involvement and satisfaction of Party members and of communicating the policies and ideals of the Party to the Australian community.”

The political climate has much changed in the twelve months since the Committee was established. Never before in Australian history have the electoral pledges and promises of a Government been so quickly broken and abandoned by a Government, or refuted by the facts, as have been those of the Liberal Country Party of December 1977. At the same time, a small but re-invigorated Labor Opposition under the leadership of Bill Hayden is now poised as a credible alternative government, and the public opinion polls hold out the possibility of a Federal Labor victory in 1980.

But this dramatic change in the political climate in no way reduces the relevance of the Committee's terms of reference. They are as valid today as they were twelve months ago. Indeed, if the Labor Party is ever to be something more than simply the beneficiary of the follies and errors of our opponents, if it is ever to be the effective national force of its aspirations, if it is ever to be the radical and reforming party of its pretensions, then **the Party needs an ongoing commitment to organisational change and policy reformulation in response to a rapidly changing society.** Those who would urge the present popularity of the Federal Party as an excuse for putting aside the challenging and difficult issues raised by this report need to be reminded that, in the seventy-eight years since Federation, the Labor Party has governed this nation for less than twenty years. This is one of the worst electoral records of any democratic socialist party in the western world. This disappointing record is in part due to the relatively small size of Party membership, to the inadequacy of increasingly strained financial resources, to the relative failure of the A.L.P. to permeate the institutional framework of this society, and to the parochial horizons of too many Labor chieftains.

We need to stress the national concept of the A.L.P., that it is a national entity, and not merely a federation of state and territory branches. It is important for all members of the A.L.P. to recognise that, whatever the achievements and potential of State Labor governments, only sustained governmental action at the national level by a democratic socialist government can change the structures of Australian society. Given media ownership in Australia and its resulting hostility to the A.L.P., only a mass party can provide the basis for a lasting tenure of power by the A.L.P. at the national level. What we need is not the habit of

occasionally falling into government, but a strategy and structure to make Federal Labor a continuously effective national entity and, hopefully, the dominant political force in this country.

B. COMPOSITION

The original membership of the Committee was:—

Joint Chairpersons

Mr R. J. L. Hawke	Then President of the A.L.P., President of the A.C.T.U.
Mr W. G. Hayden	Leader of the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party.
Mr J. P. Ducker	(Proxy for Mr Hawke). Senior Vice-President of the A.L.P., President of the N.S.W. Branch of the A.L.P.
Senator J. N. Button	(Proxy for Mr Hayden). Deputy Leader of the Opposition in the Senate, Shadow Minister for Education and Science.

Members

Dr N. Blewett	M.H.R. for Bonython.
Professor Sol Encel	Professor of Sociology, University of New South Wales.
Mr D. Hamill	Queensland delegate, National Young Labor Conference.
Professor G. Harcourt	Professor of Economics, Adelaide University.
Professor M. Logan	Professor of Geography, Monash University.
Mr K. Turbet	President, Council of Australian Government Employees' Organisations; General Secretary, Australian Government Telecommunications Employees' Association.
Mr M. J. Young	M.H.R. for Adelaide, Shadow Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations.

In order to make the Committee more fully representative, the Committee requested at its first meeting a broadening of its membership. The following were added to the Committee:—

Mr K. Bennett	Assistant National Secretary, A.L.P.
Ms F. Bladel	Schoolteacher, President of the Queensborough Branch, Tasmanian A.L.P.
Ms A. Forward	Federal Vice-President, Administrative and Clerical Officers' Association.
Mr J. Garland	Joint Secretary, Amalgamated Metal Workers' and Shipwrights' Union.

On his appointment as an Arbitration Commissioner in August, Mr K. Turbet resigned from the Committee.

C. PROCEDURES

The Committee has worked under conditions which are familiar to those associated with Federal Labor. The difficulties of holding committee meetings with a national composition and involving people with heavy political or other commitments have been omnipresent. Nevertheless, the Committee has held eight full meetings, and a number of sub-committee meetings and, with few exceptions, attendance has been excellent. Staff resources, too, have been limited. We are deeply grateful to Ms Kate Moore of the National Secretariat, and Dr G. Evans of Senator Button's staff, for the excellent back-up they provided, and to State Secretaries who helped with the wide distribution of the discussion papers and provided other assistance.

In establishing the Committee, the National Executive recognised the need for the fullest participation of Party members in the work of the Inquiry. In their January resolution, the Executive stressed 'the urgent need for wider communication between the policy bodies in the Party, together with members of the general public', and recognised that 'wider discussion on the formulation of policies for the A.L.P. must occur in order to attract the support of the majority of voters'. But in addition to the stress on participation, there was a stress on urgency. The Committee from the outset worked on the understanding that its final report should reach the National Executive in sufficient time to ensure that its proposals might be given full consideration at the National Conference in July 1979.

The Committee of Inquiry has sought from the beginning the widest possible participation of A.L.P. members in its work. The Committee advertised widely for submissions and received 320 original submissions. Most of these were from individuals, but many came from branches or from meetings called especially to discuss the work of the Committee, and some from trade unions. In addition, members of the Committee attended Party meetings, seminars and conferences called to discuss the work of the Committee of Inquiry. All told, probably several thousand members of the Party contributed to the Committee's work.

These contributions did much to structure the subject matter of the inquiry, revealing as it did a desire for a more democratic national party organisation, for a revitalisation of branch activities, for a reconsideration of the links between the Party and the trade union movement, for greater attention to neglected elements of the population — rural voters, white collar workers, women, youth and migrants — and for a sustained response to the problems posed for the A.L.P. by the media bias in Australia.

The Committee responded by issuing an Interim Report in June, followed by a series of discussion papers during the latter half of 1978.

The discussion papers, with date of publication, were:—

1. Composition of the National Conference — July, 1978
2. The A.L.P. and the Media — August, 1978

3. The Role of the Local Branch — August, 1978
4. Women in the A.L.P. — September, 1978
5. Social Change and the Future of Australia — September, 1978
6. Economic Issues and the Future of Australia — September, 1978
7. Regional Australia, Issues in Non-Metropolitan Australia — November, 1978
8. Electoral Strategies for the A.L.P. — November, 1978
9. Unions and the A.L.P. — December, 1978
10. Ethnic Communities and the A.L.P. — December, 1978

These discussion papers were, with the co-operation of State Secretaries, circulated to all Party structures and affiliates and responses to them invited. To date, some 301 responses have been received. These responses have contributed to the writing of the final report. The Committee regrets that the late publication of its final discussion papers has permitted little or no feedback from Party members.

D. SCOPE/PURPOSE

This report is concerned with some of the ideas which have emerged in the context of the Committee's work. It should be remembered that the Committee is not a policy-making body, and the Committee has no desire to, or intention of usurping the role of the policy-making bodies of the Party.

Its terms of reference empower it only to make recommendations about the context, both social and organisational, within which policy will be made in the next decade.

It is for this reason that this report does not explicitly address the issue of Aboriginals in Australian society. The Committee, however, sees this issue as a critical policy question for the A.L.P., and accordingly in the published edition of its discussion papers, has included an admirable and succinct appraisal of the Aboriginal situation by Professor C. D. Rowley.

Again, the report has necessarily to deal with certain issues not canvassed in discussion papers, e.g. the structure and functions of the Federal Secretariat, and its relationship to the Parliamentary Party and the National Executive, and the policy formulation procedures of the Party.

All recommendations in this report represent the view of a majority of the Committee, but in continuance of the whole approach of the Inquiry, the report has endeavoured to incorporate dissenting viewpoints.

E. THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT

The Committee was required to investigate 'the changing social, economic and demographic structure of the community'. It is our conclusion from this investigation that the coming decade will be among the most momentous in Australian history. This conclusion results from the coincidence, or perhaps the interrela-

tion, of three major economic and social trends, which provide the context within which all the recommendations of this report are set.

Firstly, the western capitalist world, including Australia, remains gripped in a prolonged economic malaise, characterised by stagflation, which constitutes the most serious crisis to have faced international capitalism since the Great Depression. Secondly, this international malaise has highlighted structural faults in the Australian economy — the stagnation of manufacturing industry, the dependence of manufacturing industry on protection, and the prevalence of youth unemployment. Thirdly, these events have coincided with the maturing of a social revolution in Australia, ushered in by the Second World War. As with all such complex social transformations, some of the elements of this revolution still appear to have considerable momentum, while others appear stable, or even exhausted.

We merely list some of the major features of this transformation which are particularly relevant for this report.

- (a) The rise of a nationally interdependent economy, with much enhanced interstate mobility, and a greater sense of national identity and national aspirations.
- (b) The growth of an ethnically diverse society in which non-British migrants and their children, who now make up 18% of the population, are increasingly asserting the need for cultural pluralism, rather than cultural homogeneity.
- (c) A transformation of the social position of women, based on the demand for equal participation in all spheres. A notable example is the growth of the numbers of women in paid employment, which has become an essential part of the economy.
- (d) An educational revolution, which has altered dramatically the educational experience and expectations of Australians, and which has turned education into one of the largest industries in the country. The combined effect of an end to educational expansion, growing pressure on the system because of economic and social changes, and the continuing demand for equal opportunities, presents one of the most important challenges for government policy.
- (e) A distinct decline in the population growth rate which is unlikely to change unless there are significant changes in the scope and sources of the migrant intake. One important consequence of this decline will be the ageing of the population over the next thirty years.
- (f) The continuance of the long-term phenomenon of a declining proportion of the workforce engaged in rural industry, accompanied over the last decade by a decline in manufacturing industry, contrasting with the long-term and now accelerating increase in the proportion involved in tertiary occupations.

- Radical*
- (g) The accelerating rate of technological change, already unprecedented in the last generation, is likely to be even greater in the next generation. Life-styles are likely to change and work patterns to be disrupted. The 'information industry', employing some 30% of the Australian workforce, is likely to be particularly affected by the revolution in micro-electronics, with vast consequences for employment and industrial organisation.
 - (h) The reappearance of long-term unemployment after thirty years of stability, and the political exploitation of this fact by conservative forces to imply that unemployment is an inevitable feature of the economy, demand a fundamental revision of accepted orthodoxies about economic policy and the role of government in the economy.
 - (i) Shifts in social class identification, stimulated by occupational changes, educational expansion, increased social mobility and rises in expectations, mean that political party allegiances have become more complex and more fluid.
 - (j) A vast increase in energy consumption, both industrially and domestically, with an overdependence on oil, and with little sign as yet of an energy conservation and diversification programme.

This is the transformed Australian society to which the contemporary Labor Party has to appeal — more rational, more mobile, better educated, more ethnically diverse, more white collar, and subject to a more rapid and accelerating process of technological change than any generation in history. The attention paid in this report to the white collar unions, to women, and to the ethnic communities, reflects simply a recognition of some of the more dynamic elements in this transformed sociocultural mix.

Australia is faced in the immediate future with a bleak economic climate. The Committee believes that, despite much wishful thinking by conservative elements in Australia, the economic problems now facing capitalist societies are as deep-rooted as those encountered in the Great Depression. That the parallel is not more readily recognisable is due to two features of the contemporary economic dilemma:—

- (a) its deleterious impact on groups in the community is more selective than the impact of the Great Depression;
- (b) the development of welfare since the 1930s, which reduces some of the human burdens of the contemporary situation.

It is our view that prevailing economic orthodoxies offer no enduring solutions, but at best temporary palliatives, to the problem of stagflation. For the A.L.P. to pursue economic policies confined by the conventional economic wisdom will be as fatal to the A.L.P. in the 1980s as was the pursuit of economic orthodoxy in the Great Depression to the Scullin Labor Government in Australia, and the Labour Government of Ramsay McDonald in Great Britain.

The modern A.L.P. must refuse to be blinkered by the economic axioms of the age of affluence, increasingly irrelevant to these more troubled times. Just as the

Great Depression called forth radical solutions, both in political practice and economic theory — the so-called Keynesian revolution — so the present dilemma calls for a much more critical and sceptical approach on the part of democratic socialist parties.

As suggested in discussion paper no. 6, we believe that to remove the instability of the business cycle, to ensure a socially desirable output, and to undertake the restructuring of Australian manufacturing industry, a much greater national direction of investment is called for, possibly accompanied in the transition stage by an incomes policy. We also need a set of institutions which will have the effect of dampening the impact on real activity of financial aspects of the business cycle. In addition, the nettle of tariff reform must be grasped, but it is not obvious that a simplistic commitment to either high protection or so-called 'free trade' is the solution.

All the recommendations in this report are conceived against this changing and challenging environment. Judgements about organisational change, media influence, electoral tactics, and policy emphases, all need to be made against the context of a society plagued by national and international economic problems, and subject to great and rapid social change.

F. COMMUNICATION

Communication between political party and populace is a key task for any political party. It becomes even more critical in a society with considerable social fluidity, as in contemporary Australia, and in one plagued with fundamental economic problems, as is contemporary Australia. One important aspect is the ability of a party to identify itself with the interests and aspirations of as wide a spectrum of the society as possible, particularly with the emerging forces in that society. Or to put it another way, for the party to possess an image, a party identity, to which people and groups can respond.

The A.L.P.'s blue collar, male, Anglo-Irish image increasingly handicaps its ability to appeal to emerging forces in contemporary Australia. We take up this aspect of communication in later sections of this report. Here we are concerned more with the actual process of communication, with the conveying of information, views and policies through the mass media.

The bias of the mass media is unique. Control of the mass media in Australia is concentrated in few hands and is generally antagonistic to Labor. The A.L.P. is probably the only political party operating in a parliamentary democracy which does not have any permanent media support — it is totally dependent on the 'goodwill', or even caprice, of essentially hostile proprietors.

There are no easy solutions to the problem. Given the age and distribution of the Australian population, given the great costs involved, and given the comparative failure of private entrepreneurs to establish a viable national newspaper, a national Labor daily or weekly mass newspaper does not seem a sensible proposition.

Nor is it possible for Labor in opposition to establish a Commission along the lines of the A.B.C. to produce a newspaper independent of the existing media and of political parties. Nor is it likely that the public sale of existing Labor newspapers would attract or reach a significant readership. Finally, given technological developments, mostly adverse to the newspapers, it would seem an inappropriate time for the A.L.P. to contemplate the establishment of a daily or weekly national newspaper.

Rather, in this field we would urge that the Party resist the further encroachment by the media monopolies and seek means to ensure diversified control of the outlets created by technological advance, e.g. public broadcasting, extension of F.M. services, teletext, satellite options.

Accordingly, we recommend:—

- F.1 that the appropriate national policy committee give consideration to ensuring that A.L.P. policy is committed unequivocally to ensuring diversified control of developing media outlets, and that any further expansion of the existing media monopolies be strictly limited;*
- F.2 that the electronic media, in return for the advantages bestowed by the public in the granting of licences, have the responsibility to provide free time for advertising by political parties;*
- F.3 that the Party give a high priority to alerting all Party members to the opportunities offered in the media field as a result of technological developments, the growth of public broadcasting, and the holding of public hearings on licence renewal.*

The A.L.P. spends several hundred thousand dollars during the few weeks of an election campaign. The cost effectiveness of this expenditure has never been measured. At best, it possibly makes only a marginal difference to the outcome. At worst, it is simply a waste of money. On most occasions, the election is won before the campaign begins. Very rarely in elections is the party that led at the beginning of the campaign not also the victor on the night of the count. This, of course, is not to suggest that the A.L.P. should not campaign, for clearly an election serves many functions for a political party other than that of simply winning. But it does suggest that the A.L.P. should scrutinise much more carefully the money it pays to the media monopolies for campaign advertising. Indeed, we would urge that the A.L.P. give much more attention to the concept of an ongoing campaign, rather than simply concentrating on the galvanic action of a few weeks' election campaign.

We therefore recommend:—

- F.4 that the National Secretariat through the Communications Unit be responsible for sustaining a planned and continuous campaign, and that the Party accept a significant diversion of election campaign resources for the purpose of sustaining that campaign.*

The Committee recognises that the foregoing will demand the regular availability

of adequate funds and cannot be dependent simply on funds secured at election times.

Related to the concept of an ongoing campaign, and in accordance with the argument developed in discussion paper no. 2 that we should exploit existing media opportunities, we also recommend:—

- F.5 that the Communications Unit of the National Secretariat be responsible for:—*
 - (a) supplying press, radio and television on a continuing basis with news releases and information from national parliamentary spokespersons;*
 - (b) supplying designated offices in each State with information for distribution through Party networks;*
 - (c) supplying nationally relevant material for publication in trade union journals and newsletters;*
 - (d) planning and developing, as technology and resources become available, new methods for the dissemination of information throughout the Party;*
 - (e) providing A.L.P. speakers for talkback and comment programmes;*
 - (f) publishing a regular A.L.P. national newsletter;*
 - (g) distributing information lists for use within the Party.*

The Committee recognises that the carrying out of these provisions will be as much dependent on the readiness of Parliamentary spokesmen to perform media duties as on the professional expertise of the Communications Unit.

The Committee also recommends:—

- F.6 that, in liaison with the Communications Unit, A.L.P. media committees be established in each State to ensure effective penetration of the local media by the A.L.P. Such committees would have three tasks:—*
 - (a) to persuade local media to provide regular opportunities for Labor programmes, discussions, commentaries, trade union programmes, talkbacks, committed entertainment;*
 - (b) to maintain liaison with key figures and the local mass media, and to secure regular coverage for A.L.P. national spokespersons;*
 - (c) to organise the format of such programmes, ensuring competence, interest and entertainment, so that the local media would be encouraged to value the programmes and the facilities and personalities offered;*
- F.7 that each federal electorate organisation appoint an officer charged with responsibility for liaising with the local media, and securing publicity for locally relevant national material.*

It is rather ironic that, while the Party frequently protests about media bias, it makes remarkably little use of the media which Labor interests control. For this reason, the Committee was particularly impressed with a detailed submission entitled "Proposal for the Organisation of a Co-operative Labor Movement Broadcasting Network using existing A.L.P. and Trade Union Broadcasting Re-

sources", submitted on May 28, 1978. This submission advanced proposals to rationalise and reorganise the radio stations associated with the A.L.P. and the trade unions on a national basis, by improving their ratings and thereby profits, and by building for them a mass audience amongst young and middle-aged listeners, whose votes are critical to the electoral success of the A.L.P. Basically, the proposals envisage welding the stations into a strong network, with increased operational opportunities and savings due to economies of scale. The network envisaged would provide common management, creative programming, news, sales, operational and promotional services generated by a pool of handpicked radio professionals, who would be responsible to the licence holders for the overall direction, management and profitability of the network.

F.8 The Committee endorses the proposals for a co-operative Labor Movement Broadcast network and calls upon the National Executive of the A.L.P. and the licence holders of the Labor Movement radio stations to consider immediately the proposals advanced in the submission.

G. WOMEN IN THE A.L.P.

In the submissions received by the Committee of Inquiry, women were identified as the group most neglected by the A.L.P., and it was frequently alleged that the image and attitudes of the A.L.P. had little appeal for women. Women voters certainly give distinctly less support to the A.L.P. than do men. It has been argued before the Committee that if women had supported the A.L.P. in the same proportion as men, the A.L.P. would have won the majority of national elections since 1946.

Women constitute only about 25% of the membership of the Party and their representation declines sharply at the higher level of the Party hierarchy. Very few women are found either within the power structure of the Party, or representing the A.L.P. in the parliaments of the nation. The image of the A.L.P. as a working man's party is an accurate perception, at least of its upper echelons. The problem is that too few women are sufficiently attracted to the Party to join it and, once there, they are discouraged from aspiring to contribute in the manner the Party itself requires if it is to be a truly democratic, mass-based representative Party.

We recognise that the problem is not one peculiar to the A.L.P., but that the sources of this discrimination lie deep-rooted in Australian attitudes, perhaps particularly in the attitude of mateship, traditionally strong within the A.L.P. And it is sustained by the role structures of women in Australian society, which limit the opportunities for political participation, and by the nature of other institutions in Australian society, including some unions, which tend to deprive women of institutional sponsorship.

The reasons for the relative weakness of female support for the A.L.P. are complex, and they are not peculiar to Australia, since the greater conservatism of women voters has been observed almost everywhere. In the long run, the move

by women from a predominantly domestic role is likely to reduce the difference between male and female voters. For the immediate future, however, positive action is imperative, if only for electoral purposes. In this sense, there is an obvious connection between lack of female involvement in A.L.P. affairs and lack of electoral support.

There is virtual unanimity in all the opinions that have been canvassed that a sustained attempt should be made to improve the position of women within the A.L.P. The Committee is agreed that integration of women in the Party should be the dominant consideration and therefore does not favour the continuance of separate women's organisations within the Party, such as the National Labor Women's Organisation. But the Committee has been faced with a wide range of remedial measures for carrying through an integration programme to improve the position of women within the A.L.P. These suggestions range from perpetual exhortation to an ambitious programme of affirmative action. After full consideration, the Committee recommends:—

G.1 that the A.L.P. accept a policy of affirmative action in favour of women for a fixed period (seven or ten years). During this period, women within the Party should:—

- (a) be guaranteed representation on local branch and federal electorate executives, at least in proportion to female membership of the said local branch or federal electorate organisation;*
- (b) be guaranteed representation at Party conferences and on Party executives at least in proportion to female membership of the said Party. Insofar as unions are granted representation or voting rights according to their number of members, they too would be required to include women in their delegations in proportion to female membership in the said union;*
- (c) be guaranteed, where the Party conference or executive is composed of state delegations, representation on that state delegation, at least in proportion to the female membership of the state branch. Where the size of the delegation is too small to make this practical, e.g. delegations to National Executive, a minimum of one woman shall be included, unless the total delegation is limited to one, in which case affirmative action shall not apply;*
- (d) that the National Executive should advise State Branches of the necessity of the Party moving progressively towards the desirable goal of women being represented in the Federal Parliamentary Party in rough proportion to their membership of the Party. To this end, positive steps should be taken to endorse women for safe and winnable seats;*

G.2 that women be guaranteed representation on all policy committees, executive committees and advisory bodies of the Party;

G.3 that the National Secretariat be charged with responsibilities for organising regular national forums on topics particularly relevant to the status of

women;

- G.4 *that all Party publications and Party ballot papers give an indication of sex by the use of given names;*
- G.5 *that a further Assistant National Secretary be appointed to the National Secretariat whose duties shall include, among others:—*
- (a) to act as a focal point within the Party at the national level for all Party activity related to women;*
 - (b) to investigate and make recommendations to the National Secretary on research topics, ongoing publicity, campaign strategies, policy proposals, and all other matters relevant to the national decision-making processes of the Party as they affect women;*
 - (c) to provide information and assistance to State Secretaries on courses of action open to them to improve the position of women in the Party and to improve the Party's image with women in the electorate;*
 - (d) to maintain relations with appropriate national and international organisations;*
- G.6 *that an immediate priority task for the Policy Resources Unit of the Secretariat be to research into the voting behaviour of Australian women, with a view to considering electoral and policy responses by the Party.*

H. THE A.L.P. AND THE ETHNIC COMMUNITIES

A major feature of the post-war social revolution has been the rise of a multi-cultural society, and the maturing of self-confident ethnic communities. Approximately 18% of the population are of non-British origin. Australia today has the largest overseas born population of any country except Israel. Melbourne is the third largest Greek-speaking city in the world; Sydney and Melbourne are two of the greatest cosmopolitan cities in the world. There are today in Australia 2,300 ethnic group organisations, and 74 publications in 24 languages other than English, with a combined circulation of over half a million. In terms of education, there are approximately 400,000 primary and secondary school children who have a first language other than English.

These characteristics provide a great opportunity for the Labor Party — witness the dominance of American politics by the Democratic Party for the past generation, founded on the maturing ethnic communities of the 1920s and 1930s. But it also provides a great challenge, for the A.L.P. as an institution — as distinct from some A.L.P. parliamentarians — has tended to neglect the ethnic communities, and is now faced with a sustained and determined Liberal bid to woo the ethnic vote.

The Committee recognised, as have the findings of every major inquiry, that inadequate mastery of English lies at the heart of ethnic difficulties — impeding sociability and education, decreasing information and awareness, limiting access to support services, affecting the outcome of legal proceedings, and of medical and hospital treatment, and above all, impeding prospects of employment,

industrial safety and participation. At the same time, we believe it to be axiomatic that every person whose first language is not English has a right to that language, and to learn that language. We see this, not as divisive or encouragement to cultural ghettos, but as a source of self-confidence, cultural pride, and as the basis for a full and confident social participation. Accordingly, the Committee recommends:—

- H.1 *that the appropriate national policy committee give consideration to developing a national language policy, which might include:—*
- (a) comprehensive provision for the learning of English through a wide and diverse range of courses;*
 - (b) the provision of bilingual practitioners and/or qualified interpreters in all professional fields, e.g. medical, dental, welfare, legal, educational;*
 - (c) the provision throughout the community of information in readily comprehensible English and in the major ethnic language;*
 - (d) the provision of maintenance courses in ethnic languages at the adult level;*
 - (e) the possibilities of multilingual education at the school level.*

Nearly half a million residents of Australia are not naturalised and are, therefore, denied the right to vote. The Committee believes that every encouragement should be given to migrants to become naturalised and enrolled. Voting will give ethnic communities a much greater voice in the nation's affairs and thus compel greater attention to their needs. Accordingly, the Committee recommends:—

- H.2 *that the National Secretariat in liaison with the State Branches undertake and organise a campaign for naturalisation;*
- H.3 *that the Policy Resources Unit prepare a handbook to assist in naturalisation campaigns.*

The Committee also accepts the recommendations of the Galbally Report that anomalies in voting rights be resolved, and that all permanent residents be placed on equal footing. Under the present laws, British migrants and migrants from Commonwealth countries who are British citizens are entitled to vote after six months residence, whereas non-British migrants must wait for a qualifying three-year period and then become naturalised. We believe that this discrimination cannot be justified. We do not believe the distinction should be remedied by disenfranchising migrants with British citizenship by requiring them to wait three years before voting. Accordingly, the Committee recommends:—

- H.4 *that the appropriate national policy committee give consideration to supporting a uniform six months qualifying period for the right to vote for all permanent residents.*

The Committee believes on grounds of both principle and practice that it is not desirable to guarantee reserved positions for representatives of ethnic communities within the Party. At present all members of the Party have the same rights to participate and seek election to office or pre-selection, irrespective of their

ethnic origin. Nevertheless, we recognise that there may be impediments to ethnic group participation, particularly because of the language problem, and believe that it is necessary to minimise such impediments. Certainly the Party needs to recognise that it cannot pursue a policy of multiculturalisation for the community at large, yet not practise it within the structures of the Party. The following recommendations are suggested as possible responses to this situation:--

- H.5 *that Party units be established at which meetings are conducted in a community language other than English. (The level at which these units are established would depend on the local context. In areas of high concentration of single ethnic communities, a unit at the branch level might be established; in other situations, a regional unit might be most appropriate; while particularly for the smaller ethnic communities, metropolitan wide units might be most appropriate);*
- H.6 *that local branches with English speakers plus a large number of members from a single ethnic group should conduct some of their meetings in the appropriate language and provide interpreters and opportunities for interpretation at all meetings;*
- H.7 *that recognised ethnic liaison groups composed of A.L.P. members from the respective communities be established at appropriate levels of the Party to act as a liaison between the formal units of the Party and the ethnic communities;*
- H.8 *that a multi-ethnic National Standing Advisory Committee be established, composed of members of the ethnic communities, to advise the national Party on policy, organisation and campaign matters. Among its tasks will be responsibility for advising on the provision of translations or translated summaries of Party documents and policy statements;*
- H.9 *that selected Federal MPs be appointed to provide a general liaison with each of the major ethnic communities.*

I. THE A.L.P. AND THE TRADE UNIONS

The issue of the traditional links between the A.L.P. and the trade unions constitutes a problem of considerable magnitude, and is seen in many submissions as critical to the future of the Party. It is also an exceedingly vexed issue. These links have remained formally little altered over time, despite the shift from a provincial to a national society, the revolution in communications, the great changes in the nature and the composition of the workforce, and the transformation of the trade union movement itself. Yet the unions affiliated with the A.L.P. today are basically the same as those affiliated in the first decade of the century, and the form of affiliation remains state-based.

The links between the A.L.P. and the unions are based on a great historic tradition, are sustained by strong bonds of mutual value and sentiment, and are of considerable financial significance. In addition, they have ensured widespread participation in the political process, and particularly in parliament. This contrasts with the situation in countries such as the United States and Canada. On

the other hand, the links have associated the A.L.P. with the contemporary unpopularity of the unions (presented by the media as some monolithic force), with the public hostility to strikes, as projected by the media, or at least the effect of strikes, and have entangled the Party in the ideological and interest conflicts of the trade union movement.

Effective communication between Labor parliamentary parties and the trade unions can do much to lessen the negative perceptions of the relationship. Where Labor Governments have enjoyed close working relationships with the trade unions in terms of consultation, participation of union members, and decision-making, there has been little disagreement. Again, where Labor Governments have been competent, relevant and dynamic, the relationship has proved no handicap. Moreover, Labor policies with respect to union amalgamation, the creation of a democratic framework in which unions may operate, and the implementation of policies associated with industrial democracy, all have the potential to improve the resources, the quality and the image of the trade unions.

Perhaps one of the most unsatisfactory aspects of the union relationship is the weakness of the A.L.P. link with the white collar unions. During the work of the Committee it has become increasingly clear that the white collar workers constitute a critical, perhaps the critical, element in the population for the A.L.P. Firstly, they represent a dynamic element in the workforce, characterised by considerable growth in recent years, in contrast to the decline in employment in manufacturing and primary industry. Secondly, union membership grows apace in the white collar sector, while it is static or even in decline in the majority of blue collar unions. Indeed, union membership has continued to rise in white collar and service occupations, despite the severity of the economic recession.

It can be argued that increasingly in recent years the white collar workforce has begun to share the occupational problems of the blue collar workers. Job insecurity in white collar occupations has grown with automation, and career mobility has in many occupations become much more limited. The changing nature of jobs and narrowing income relativities have also blurred distinctions between white and blue collar workers. White collar unionism has grown in response to these pressures, as has industrial militancy within some white collar unions.

The A.L.P. has not derived much support or assistance from these developments. Very few of the white collar unions are affiliated with the A.L.P. and the A.L.P. has benefited little from the growth of this segment in recent years. Thus, the gap has increased between the A.L.P. affiliated union membership and total union membership. In addition, it seems likely that the majority of union members in white collar occupations are less inclined to identify as A.L.P. voters.

Nonetheless, it should be acknowledged that many key white collar union officials are members of the A.L.P. and that, in the context of particular elections, white collar workers have made a tremendous contribution to the election

effort, (e.g. White Collar Workers for Whitlam in 1972 and 1974).

The Committee of Inquiry recognises the critical importance of the relationship between the A.L.P. and both the affiliated unions and the non-affiliated, mainly white collar, unions.

It recognises too that some of the other recommendations in this report, such as the direct representation of unions at the National Conference, will have important consequences for the A.L.P.-trade union relationship. However, it has lacked the resources and time to give these critical issues the attention they demand.

Accordingly, the Committee recommends that:-

1.1 the National Executive establish a taskforce to recommend ways of revitalising the relationship between the A.L.P. and the affiliated unions, and to consider ways of improving the relationship between the A.L.P. and the non-affiliated unions.

The Committee suggests that the following issues should constitute an early agenda for the consideration of the taskforce.

- (a) A much closer contact between the Party and the unions involved in particular industries, (e.g. banking, motor vehicles, textiles, insurance, communications). This could be achieved by allocating this responsibility to particular Members of Parliament and to the National Secretariat, which would have the responsibility for keeping lines of communication open in conjunction with the Members of Parliament concerned. The same machinery should be used for inviting policy contributions on particular topics from particular unions. These communications should be established by industry liaison committees, or in a more informal way.
- (b) An upgrading of the role of the Australian Labor Advisory Council (A.L.A.C.) in co-ordinating the political and industrial wings of the Party is seen by the Committee to be extremely important. The Committee believes that A.L.A.C. could, and should, play a more integrative role by bringing together a range of views and aspirations at the highest level. Currently, membership of A.L.A.C. comprises two delegates from each of the three major peak union councils, (A.C.T.U., A.C.S.P.A. and C.A.G.E.O.), four Parliamentary leaders, officers of the Party and the power to co-opt. The Committee is aware of the likelihood of peak union council amalgamations coming to fruition within the next few years in the formation of a national union council. In the expectation that such a council will be structured around the concept of industry groups, (as is the A.C.T.U. at present), the Committee suggests that the taskforce could usefully consider direct representation of each of these groups on A.L.A.C. Until such time as they might be merged in a peak union council, A.C.S.P.A. and C.A.G.E.O. should continue to be represented directly. Such arrangements would permit representation of a wide range of concerns and aspirations of affiliated and non-affiliated unions to the leader-

ship of the A.L.P. The political wing of the Party could continue to be represented as at present, with particular emphasis on the need for close liaison with the national strategy and planning committee, achieved possibly by overlapping membership. This would permit discussion of the Party's priorities and strategies with trade union leaders, thereby increasing the possibility of greater co-ordination. A.L.A.C. should be regarded as a highly significant body, meeting regularly and, where appropriate, reporting back to both union and Party members. All members of A.L.A.C. should be members of the A.L.P.

- (c) While trade union training can be expected to have a long-term impact on union officials' sensitivity to their wider responsibilities, there is an immediate need for union spokespersons to be aware of the need for careful presentation of their views.
- (d) Factory gate meetings at election time are likely to be counter-productive unless they have been preceded by close communication between the M.P. or candidate and the workplace. It is suggested that M.P.'s and candidates regularly visit all the major workplaces in their electorates.
- (e) It should be acknowledged that affiliation with the A.L.P. is a two-way process, and unions should design publicity programmes which will discount some of the negative effects of the biased presentation of industrial news.
- (f) Much more policy development, liaison and publicity work should be done by the Party on matters which relate to the problems of particular sections of the workforce. The impact of technology is an example of a problem of growing concern to both the Labor Party and employees, particularly in white collar industries. In its approach to white collar workers, the A.L.P. should give major attention to the increasing threat to white collar jobs represented by computerisation, automation, and the rapid spread of micro-electronic devices, (the so-called microprocessor revolution). At least three European governments have shown their concern with the problem by commissioning special reports, all of which predict a serious drop in clerical/administrative employment. A British report estimates a reduction of ten to twenty per cent in the mid-1980's, and a West German report puts it at one-third. Similar estimates are given in the Nora report published by the French government in 1978. Only a Labor government is likely to show concern for the jobs of displaced workers, especially by comparison with the Liberals. In the meantime, the A.L.P. could show its concern by encouraging research, holding conferences and seminars, and co-operating with the union movement in developing policies to meet the technological threat and realise the potential benefits of technical change.
- (g) There is a need for more interchange between white collar union officials and members and A.L.P. spokespersons. On the one hand, forums or seminars should be held at which A.L.P. spokespersons can explain and justify policies to non-affiliated union officials. On the other, the A.L.P.

should extend opportunities for white collar officials to address Party bodies.

- (h) There is a need for public education about the character of the trade union movement and a need to correct the neglect of information about trade unions in the education system.

The Committee believes that a taskforce to deal with these and other issues is the most appropriate step to take at this stage, but recognising the urgency of the problems, the Committee also recommends that:—

- J.2 The National Executive invites the A.C.T.U. to meet with its representatives as soon as possible to consider the problems associated with the relationship between the unions and the Party, and to take immediate steps to improve the image of the Labor movement.*

J. THE A.L.P. AND NON-METROPOLITAN AUSTRALIA

Non-metropolitan Australia contains approximately one-third of the Australian population, earns about one-half of our export income, and constitutes a key component in our national life. Because of the great importance of these areas of Australia, the A.L.P. must recognise that the welfare of their people is vital to the welfare of all Australians.

Support for Labor in regional Australia peaked in 1969 and has been in decline since then. The A.L.P. holds only three of the approximately forty-eight predominantly rural seats in the House of Representatives. If in 1980 Labor returned to its 1972 levels in the metropolitan centres, it could not govern without substantial gains in non-metropolitan Australia.

Although it still retains a strong and faithful following, Labor's lack of success in regional Australia has been affected by an entrenched country-mindedness, exacerbated by rural decline, and exploited against Labor by the Country Party. To this must be added dislike and distrust of the trade unions; a sense that rural interests are neglected by Labor; an unsympathetic perception of the last Federal Labor Government; and a strong conservative tradition in the rural areas, which conceives of the A.L.P., paradoxically, as simultaneously anti-individualist, bureaucratic and permissive.

The A.L.P. needs to give much more thought and attention to rural policy and to the impact of its overall policies on rural areas. The Party needs to recognise the pluralism of non-metropolitan society; it needs also to recognise that the pursuit of equality is highly relevant to eliminating inequalities between cities and countryside. The Committee accordingly recommends:—

- J.1 that the following guidelines be referred to the appropriate national policy committees:—*
- (a) that the reduction of inequalities in education, transport, housing, communications, health, welfare services and the general quality of life deriving from the great distances in regional Australia be given a*

high priority in policy considerations;

- (b) that the reduction of inequalities in non-metropolitan Australia arising from difficulties in the provision of social, sporting and cultural facilities deriving from the dispersion of population be given a high priority in policy formulation;*
- (c) that the lack of employment opportunities in non-metropolitan areas is a serious structural flaw which, resulting as it has in the drift of the young to the cities, socially impoverishes regional Australia. Opportunities to develop local industries should be examined, while the development of tertiary industry and information-based services in, and the possible transfer of public service units to, regional centres, may well further regional employment opportunities;*
- (d) that in the country, as in the city, necessary restructuring of industry be carried out in a humane manner, and with sufficient time span to allow people to adjust.*

As with other groups not integrated into the Party's organisational structure, Party communication is poor with people in rural Australia. To appreciate rural values and perspectives is a necessary starting point for any successful communication with rural voters. Equally, the Party needs to give much more explicit attention to the National Country Party in order to expose the poverty and hypocrisy of its policy and performance for the long-term interests of regional Australians. Accordingly, the Committee recommends that:—

- J.2 the Caucus rural committee, the national rural policy committee, and the Policy Resources and Communications units of the Secretariat, together prepare guidelines for rural communication by the A.L.P.*

Because of the ease of social and group identification, greater communal interaction, and limited numerical support, being a member of the A.L.P. in much of regional Australia demands greater determination, even courage, and a willingness to stick out one's neck, which generally city members can evade. The A.L.P., both at the Parliamentary and the organisational level, has a moral, as well as a political, duty to provide a better service for its country members. Accordingly, the Committee recommends:—

- J.3 that there be more planned scheduling by the National Secretariat and State Branches to ensure that all major regional centres are adequately serviced by State and Federal Parliamentarians during the year;*
- J.4 that the National Secretariat and the State Branches give greater consideration to creating more country organisers, and to devoting more time and resources to supporting local country branches;*
- J.5 that the National Secretariat and the State Branches give consideration to a somewhat different structure of grassroots units in regional Australia than in the major cities, in order to cater for the distinct regional environment;*
- J.6 that, in certain states at least, consideration be given to establishing a*

- regional Party office, with full-time staff and organisers attached;*
- J.7 *that regional conferences be held in major provincial centres from time to time to make recommendations directly to the national A.L.P. on policy matters relevant to regional Australia.*

In relation to electoral activity in regional Australia, the Committee recommends:—

- J.8 *that, given the uniqueness of each rural electorate, the National Secretariat, in conjunction with the State authorities, plus those with local knowledge, prepare appropriate strategies for identified rural seats;*
- J.9 *that, in the selection of rural candidates, particular attention be paid to the selection of candidates who are identified with the local community and who will therefore command wide support;*
- J.10 *that candidates for Federal rural seats should be chosen early and with a five-year term in prospect, for in many rural seats it is likely to take two elections to erode conservative majorities, even in constituencies where Labor's chances are ultimately good;*
- J.11 *that, in general, Labor should expose the conflict of interest between the conservative parties by directing preferences in triangular contests involving the Liberal Party and the Country Party away from the sitting member.*

K. THE A.L.P. AND THE OUTLYING STATES

In 1974, Malcolm MacKerras noted a division between the two Australias — between the metropolitan centres of South-East Australia, which increased their support for the Whitlam Government, and the rest of Australia, which moved distinctly away from Federal Labor. This division between the two Australias is now obvious. In New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and the A.C.T., Labor holds 34 seats out of 89; in the remainder of Australia, the A.L.P. holds 4 seats out of 35. If in 1980 the A.L.P. did as well in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia as it did in 1972, it would still need to treble its seats in the outlying States in order to have a bare majority in the House of Representatives.

Tasmania has shown great electoral volatility at the federal level and a clear tendency to vote against incumbent governments. This tendency could well benefit the A.L.P. in Tasmania at the next federal election. Electoral weakness is more deep-rooted in Western Australia and Queensland, where entrenched and hostile conservative State governments have identified themselves with a crude policy of development at all costs, and rallied populist and provincial sentiment against Federal Labor. This has proved a powerful combination, and reduced Labor representation to an urban rump in both states.

The Committee believes that, given Labor's obvious electoral weakness in the outlying states, specific measures need to be taken. Accordingly, the Committee recommends:—

- K.1 *that a federal taskforce be immediately appointed which, in co-operation with the State Executives in Western Australia and Queensland, will begin planning and organising for electoral recovery in those states in 1980;*
- K.2 *that federal M.P.'s from other states be allocated to supportive campaigning roles in Queensland, Western Australia and Tasmania. This is particularly vital for Tasmania, where there are no A.L.P. members in the House of Representatives, and where two of the State's four senators are shadow ministers. But the situation is scarcely much better in Queensland and Western Australia. If such M.P.'s are to make a real contribution, they need a continuing commitment to their adopted states;*
- K.3 *the early selection of candidates, particularly in the critical seats. In Queensland, Tasmania and Western Australia, the monopoly of the conservatives will only be broken by continuous campaigning and by effective candidate identification with the particular interests of the electorate. Early selection is particularly important in Tasmania in order to combat the maverick tactics of the sitting Liberals, and vital in the large rural seats.*

L. THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The basic structure of the National Conference was laid down in 1902 and has remained unchanged ever since, for the important amendments of 1967 did not affect its basic structure. While in no way denigrating the work that has been done for the Party by the National Conference, the Committee believes that, given the enormous changes in the values and attitudes of Australian society in the past 76 years, the present structure of the National Conference is no longer appropriate for late twentieth century Australia.

The Committee believes that a larger, more national, more representative, and more directly elected conference would lessen the incongruity of a Party with a democratic and national commitment being headed by such a small, indirectly selected and federalist conference.

The implementation of the Committee's principles for a reconstituted National Conference would involve:—

- (a) direct representation at the National Conference of the federal electorate organisations, (F.E.C.s, F.D.E.s);
- (b) direct representation at the National Conference of the affiliated unions;
- (c) a State component, both to modify the national composition resulting from direct representation of affiliates, and to provide a means of ensuring that leading figures in the State Party would be present at National Conference;
- (d) direct election of delegates to National Conference by and from the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party, both to give Federal MP's direct access to National Conference, and also to exclude them from seeking to represent their federal electorate organisations, thus leaving these positions open to the rank and file;

(e) affirmative action to ensure representation at National Conference of disadvantaged groups.

We envisage a National Conference of approximately 300 as the result of the application of these principles.

Two fundamental and related objections have been raised to the approach of the Committee. It has been argued that these principles ignore the function of the National Conference, whose prime task is to determine the policies and perhaps to some extent the priorities of a Federal Labor Government. Related to this objection is the argument that a National Conference of the size suggested would be unwieldy and more suited to a mass rally than a policy making conference. Thus it is argued that the Committee, by ignoring the fundamental function of the National Conference, has produced a Conference whose size prevents it from effectively carrying out that prime function.

Our response is first that the National Conference, the apex of the structure of the Party, has symbolic functions which it must serve if the A.L.P. is ever to be a mass party, a movement of the Australian working people. The National Conference must be seen to be more democratic; it must be seen to be more representative; it must be seen to be more national.

Of course the policy making function of the National Conference cannot be neglected, and we appreciate the problems for policy formulation of a larger Conference. But our response is not to limit the size of the Conference, but rather to overcome the difficulty by effective internal organisation of the Conference. We would suggest adequate committee sessions, and plenary sessions only for the major controversial items. Not only would this be potentially a more efficient and participatory method of Conference policy making, but it would enable all delegates to participate in the areas of policy making in which they were most interested. We stress again that, even in policy formulation, it is desirable that the National Conference, as the final arbiter of Labor's national policies, be a fully legitimate body, i.e. one which embodies the values and aspirations of Labor supporters.

A further consideration is the cost of a larger National Conference. It would certainly cost more and this cost would ultimately have to be met by members and affiliates. But the cost could be covered by a Conference fund, administered by the National Secretariat, to which federal electorate bodies and affiliates could pay a fixed amount, say, \$250 a year. It is not so hard to raise money for a specific purpose such as this, and it helps to guarantee the right to representation. The Conference fund would have to be allocated according to need, e.g. if the Conference were held in Sydney, the expenses of the New South Wales delegates would be relatively low — those of the Western Australian delegates would be large. The total fund would have to be allocated accordingly.

The critical proposal in discussion paper no. 1 was the direct representation of each federal electorate organisation at the National Conference, thus giving a base of 124 delegates. Most of the other numbers are consequent on this de-

cision, and a Conference of approximately 300 is virtually inevitable if this base figure is accepted.

The principle of direct representation of federal electorate organisations could be retained, but the base number adjusted; for example, two representatives from every three federal electorates, i.e. approximately 82 rank and file delegates, or one representative from every three federal electorates, i.e. 41 rank and file delegates. While the first of these might help with affirmative action programmes, (see below), both schemes would occasion allocation and organisational difficulties which the simple one delegate for each federal electorate organisation would not.

The great virtue of direct electorate representation would be that it would make the Conference far more representative and responsive.

Rural opinion, virtually unrepresented at the present National Conference, would be represented by a bloc from the rural electorates. Again the strong sense of alienation from National Conference and the national organisation evident in many of the urban submissions — the feeling that members were 'cut off', that members have little chance of an input into National Conference — would at least be counteracted by direct representation. Such representation would not solve these problems, but it would undoubtedly be a step towards their solution.

Moreover, in the context of national politics, there is a case for direct representation at the National Conference. Australians tend to be confused between what are appropriately (and constitutionally) national issues, and what are essentially state or local issues. Members of the A.L.P. are no exception. The A.L.P. has to be a party of national purpose if Australia is to overcome some of its most deep-seated political problems. Confusion in politics, 'the Senate' principle taken to its extreme conclusion as it was in 1975, and divided political responsibilities, are the principle props of conservatism. The A.L.P. National Conference should break away from these traditional sources of conservative strength.

Some submissions have suggested that a simpler and more appropriate solution would be simply to increase the number of delegates elected by State Conference. This could be either a uniform increase for each state, or an increase adjusted to reduce the federal element, i.e. larger numbers for the major states, smaller numbers for the smaller states. In addition, certain places on the delegations could be guaranteed for rank and file delegates; indeed, by this method the same rank and file representation, e.g. 33 from Victoria, 11 from Western Australia, could be achieved as proposed by the direct election of one delegate from each federal electorate organisation.

The advantages of these proposals are that they are highly flexible as regards overall numbers — state delegations can be adjusted to achieve a desired overall National Conference size — and through the State Conference, election of a slate of delegates, they make affirmative action simpler in practice.

Their disadvantages are that they weaken direct representation and many of our submissions reflect a rank and file fear that they would permit manipulation and encourage factionalism. Our own view is that the more directly elected and responsive the Conference, the less likely it is to polarise into factions, and the more likely it is to judge issues on their merits.

There is no magic formula for determining the total number of delegates from affiliated unions. However, there seems widespread agreement in submissions and comments that the total direct union representation should be approximately equal to the total direct representation of the federal electorate organisations. Thus if there were 124 electoral delegates, there should be approximately 124 trade union delegates. Again, given the concern with the size of the National Conference, it might be preferable to have a smaller number of union delegates with multiple votes to ensure vote equality with electorate delegates.

The relationship between the unions and the A.L.P. is often presented as a handicap for the A.L.P. The real tragedy of that relationship is that it is not working in terms of involvement and consultation. Both sides need a much greater awareness of their responsibilities to each other. This does not seem so true of the early days of the Federal Conference, but again it may well be that the National Conference has not been adjusted to meet vastly changed conditions in society, in the Party, and in the trade union movement. Direct representation of a wide range of unions at the National Conference seems desirable, both in terms of revitalising the relationship at the national level, and showing to the Party and the public that the union movement is not monolithic, but represents a wide diversity of interests.

The issue of trade union representation at National Conference is tied to the question of union affiliation to the Party at the national level, an issue to which as yet the Committee has given no detailed consideration. Which unions should be affiliated and therefore entitled to representation at the National Conference? It is arguable, for example, that unions which operate in one state only and which have rarely, if ever, been represented even indirectly at National Conference, should not be represented at a national level at all. Their interest might be better accommodated within the structure of the Party in the state in which they operate. Direct union affiliation and, therefore, representation at the national level could be achieved in one of two ways:—

- (a) merely affiliating at the national level unions affiliated with state branches of the A.L.P., and providing them with representation at the national level on a proportional basis;
- (b) by requesting unions affiliated in more than one state to affiliate directly with the national party as well.

The second of these alternatives is the one most favoured by the Committee. There are approximately 113 unions affiliated with state branches of the Party throughout Australia. Of these unions, 59 are affiliated in more than one state and would, according to the criteria referred to above, be entitled to representa-

tion at the National Conference. On the assumption that there should be an equal number of union and membership delegates, (124), each union would be entitled to a minimum of one delegate (59) and the remaining 65 delegates would be allocated on a proportional basis according to the affiliated union membership.

Whatever the details for implementing union representation, it would be unfortunate indeed if, following the recognition by the trade union movement of the desirability of its peak councils being amalgamated in order that they might speak with a national voice on issues which concern them, the Labor Party remained structurally one of the few organisations which ignored the importance of national unity, national purposes, and a concern for national issues.

We recognise, and many submissions have made clear, the need to moderate the national representation by a state component. We live in a federal system, and need to acknowledge the political realities of Australian federalism. There is certainly no magically appropriate number for the state component. By adjusting the numbers of the state component upwards, we could inflate the federal element; by reducing it we could deflate the federal element.

One advantage of a state component is that it would enable leading figures in the state party to be elected to National Conference. Or, indeed, it might be better for the state component to directly reflect the interest of the state party apparatus, e.g. include State Parliamentary Leader, State President, State Secretary. It has also been suggested that the Secretary of the state's Trades and Labor Council, or equivalent, be included in the state component.

It has been suggested to the Committee that rank and file representation, trade union representation and a state component could be secured through election at State Conferences. Thus in South Australia, for example, the State Conference could elect a National Conference delegation, consisting of eleven rank and file delegates, eleven trade union delegates, plus a state component of five delegates — a total of twenty-seven delegates. As noted earlier, selection through State Conference has a numerical flexibility, and makes affirmative action easier, (see below). On the other hand, it denies direct election and the advantages flowing from it.

A delegation to the National Conference elected by and from the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party seems acceptable, particularly if this were coupled with an exclusion clause preventing MPs from standing as delegates from federal electorate organisations. Automatic accreditation of the Parliamentary Executive, plus possible the election of five back-bench Members would be the maximum desirable.

The Committee has only considered affirmative action seriously with reference to women, having rejected it either on grounds of principle or practice, or both, for other groups. (See discussion paper no. 10 for discussion of the issue in relation to ethnic communities.) But it has been the prevailing view of the Committee that, at the very least, the Party must respond to the demand being

expressed by women for more adequate representation. We believe that there is a strong case for positive discrimination in favour of women, at least for a trial period, at the National Conference.

The major practical difficulty that we have encountered is that it is difficult to practise positive discrimination when our base principle is one delegate from each federal electorate organisation. As one sympathetic women's group responded, it is difficult to reconcile affirmative action with a single delegate from each federal electorate organisation. Two delegates from each federal electorate organisation, one of whom should be a woman, would resolve the issue, but at the expense of the National Conference being intolerably large. Thus the various proposals for an increased slate of delegates to National Conference elected by State Conferences are attractive, for they could have an inbuilt proportion of places guaranteed to women. But they deny in turn the principle of direct election. Various ingenious solutions have been proposed to us whereby each federal electorate organisation should elect a panel of delegates and then a vote be taken, either at State Conference, or by all the delegates so elected, to elect from them a slate to National Conference, which should conform with certain quota provisions guaranteeing positive discrimination in favour of women.

In the face of these practical difficulties, the Committee considers that in respect of each federal electorate organisation, it be specified that a woman should be the delegate from that organisation to the National Conference at at least one of each three successive Conferences.

There should also be representation at the National Conference of the A.Y.L. Probably given our national commitment, the appropriate method of election of A.Y.L. delegates to the National Conference would be through the National A.Y.L. Conference.

Accordingly, the Committee recommends:—

L.1 that the National Conference of the A.L.P. be structured as follows:—

- (a) 124 delegates elected directly by and from the federal electorate organisations of the Party, subject to the following provisions:—*
 - (i) that there be a woman delegate from each federal electorate organisation at at least one of each three successive Conferences;*
 - (ii) federal parliamentarians will not be eligible for selection as federal electorate organisation delegates;*
- (b) 124 delegates elected directly by and from trade unions affiliated with the Party in more than one State. Each union so affiliated shall be guaranteed a delegate to National Conference. The remaining delegate places will be allocated on a proportional basis according to the affiliated membership of the union;*
- (c) 40 delegates constituting the federal component, consisting of 6 delegates from each State and 2 from each Territory. In each case, the Party Leader in the State or Territorial legislature shall be a member*

of the delegation, with the remaining places being determined by the State or Territory Party;

(d) 20 federal parliamentary delegates, who shall be Executive members of the Federal Parliamentary Party;

(e) 2 A.Y.L. delegates elected by the National A.Y.L. Conference.

The Committee recognises that these proposals constitute the most comprehensive democratisation of the National Conference ever advanced in the history of the Party. We believe that such profound changes should not be introduced without the most wide-ranging discussion throughout all levels of the Party. Accordingly, the Committee recommends:—

L.2 that the proposals for the reform of the National Conference be placed on the agenda of the 1979 National Conference for discussion, with a view to their ultimate resolution at the 1981 Conference.

M. THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE AND SECRETARIAT

The Committee of Inquiry believes there is considerable room for improvement in the structure of business at the national level. The development of policy, the design and conduct of national elections, the presentation of the Party and its objectives to the Australian people, are essential functions whose discharge has been hampered by organisational weakness and failure to make proper use of human and material resources.

Submissions to the Committee, and discussions with Party members and officials, have underlined an absence of clarity about Party objectives and strategy. There is a widespread feeling that more debate is necessary about contemporary issues, about the Party's approach to them, about the substance of policy, and its presentations.

A number of Party officials have confirmed the view that relationships between the parliamentary and political wings of the Party have been unsatisfactory in the recent past. The resulting lack of co-ordination in election campaigns was the subject of comment in several submissions. Concern was expressed about statements made by federal M.P.'s apparently on behalf of the Party, which were in conflict with official policy. These conflicts may be due to vagueness of policy in particular areas, to poor communication, or to the absence of authoritative decisions about strategy and tactics.

The Committee also believes that insufficient attention has been paid to the need for political education within the Party, and it welcomes the advent of additional resources in the National Secretariat which could be used for this purpose. This should also make it possible to mobilise additional resources within the Party, including minority groups within the membership, (e.g. women, migrants, young people and Aborigines), and the considerable range of expertise among Party members.

The National Executive suffers from serious weaknesses in discharging its functions. First, its responsibilities are not clearly established or agreed. This was

particularly so when Labor was in Government, but also applies in Opposition. Too often, the Executive is required to spend its time on resolving internal differences and is unable to give sufficient (or any) attention to policy and strategy.

The deficiencies of the Executive are reflected in the difficult position of the Secretariat, whose role and responsibilities are even more ill-defined than those of the Executive. The Secretariat receives little direction or guidance, yet it is always the target for criticism when things go wrong.

Generally speaking, the functions of an executive committee involve the exercise of powers delegated by a larger body with ultimate authority, i.e. a conference or a general meeting. There is, however, no ideal formula for choosing the actual membership of an executive body, and the policy of 'horses for courses' should be applied. In the case of a voluntary association governed by an annual general meeting, simple direct nomination and voting are normal. Political parties are complex structures where other considerations are important.

If an executive committee is to exercise delegated authority, it is evident that its composition must reflect the principles guiding the composition of the national conference. It is also essential that the executive should be competent to carry out the managerial, administrative and policy-making tasks which devolve upon it and which are quite different from the functions of a conference which only meets biennially. In addition, the executive should be in a position to maintain effective contact with other sections of the Party whose co-operation and support are essential. The Committee of Inquiry recognises that these objectives are unlikely to be achieved if the executive is simply a microcosm of the proposed new conference structure. Accordingly, its recommendations for the composition of the executive represent the modified application of the principles on which the new conference is to be constructed. These recommendations bring together the industrial, parliamentary and organisational wings of the Party, and they also provide for the principle of direct accountability to the national conference which has hitherto been lacking at the national level (although embodied in State Party constitutions).

For reasons which we set out below, the Committee makes no firm recommendations about the composition of the National Executive. However, to focus discussion in the Party, the Committee recommends:—

M.1 that the following model be considered by the Party as the basis for a reconstructed National Executive. The National Executive should consist of thirty-five members, selected as follows:

8 chosen by and from the delegates at National Conference, elected by the Federal Electorate organisations;

8 chosen by and from the delegates at National Conference, elected by the affiliated trade unions;

14 (2 from each State and 1 from each Territory) elected by the State or

Territory Conferences and Conventions;

4 Parliamentary Party Leaders;

1 National Secretary.

The Committee has not argued for this model in greater detail for three reasons:—

- (a) it is dependent on the reconstruction of the National Conference;
- (b) it introduces in somewhat modified form the principles of the National Conference proposals which are discussed at length elsewhere;
- (c) the final form of the National Executive would in our view best be determined by a reconstructed National Conference.

At present, and if its composition were changed as suggested, the National Executive is envisaged as the authoritative body between conferences in respect of the management and administration of the Party. Its functions include, in theory at least, finance, campaigns, strategy and planning and membership matters.

The Committee believes that these functions would be better discharged if entrusted to appropriate committees under the ultimate authority of the Executive. A significant part of Executive meetings would thus be devoted to dealing with business brought forward by these committees.

As the tasks of the committees would vary widely, a different composition for each committee appropriate to its functions would be necessary.

The Committee of Inquiry therefore recommends that:—

M.2 the following be the Committee structure for the National Executive:—

(1) Committee on Strategy, Planning and Campaign Direction.

The function of this committee would be as follows:

- (a) *to recommend a general policy objective or theme to be pursued over a number of years;*
- (b) *to be responsible for the development of strategy, tactics, campaign requirements and research related to the major themes of Party policy;*
- (c) *to plan and direct campaigns as the need arises;*
- (d) *to maintain contact with other committees in relation to strategy, tactics, priorities and resources;*

The composition of this committee would be as follows:—

The National President, or his nominee;

4 Parliamentary Party Leaders, or their nominees;

The National Secretary, or his nominee;

3 State Branch Secretaries, elected by and from all Branch Secretaries;

3 National Executive members, chosen by the Executive;

Co-opted Party members, (up to three);

State Branch Secretaries not on the Committee would be co-opted for the direction of any individual campaign;

(2) Committee on Finance and Administration.

This Committee is, in fact, already operating and the Committee of Inquiry has no particular comments to make on its functions or composition;

(3) Committee on Membership and Political Education.

The functions of this Committee would be:—

- (a) to monitor levels of membership and affiliations and to prepare programmes for increasing membership;
- (b) to consider the ongoing needs for political education within the Party and to develop programmes designed to meet such needs;
- (c) to promote debate among Party members concerning the philosophy, objectives and policies of the Party and to co-operate with the National Secretariat in providing assistance to State Branches for the purpose;
- (d) other interrelated tasks as directed by the Executive;

The composition of this Committee would be as follows:—

3 Executive members;

All Secretaries of State Branches;

2 representatives of the National Secretariat;

2 representatives of the Federal Parliamentary Party;

(4) Committee on Policy Development and Co-ordination.

The functions of this Committee would be:—

- (a) to maintain a general oversight of policy development within the Party, to initiate development in new or emerging areas of policy, and to reduce overlapping and duplication between policy committees;
- (b) to pay special attention to the avoidance of contradictions between particular aspects, including long-term implications, of Party policy;
- (c) to maintain contact with other committees of the Executive, especially those dealing with strategy and political education;
- (d) to consider the totality of policy committee reports before their distribution to national conference delegates, and to prepare a general statement including recommendations, to ensure co-ordination and consistency in national Party policy, and an examination of the constitutional, legal, economic and social implications of such policy and their implications for the status of women;

The composition of the Committee would be as follows:—

Any one of the four Federal Parliamentary Party leaders, with the other three having the right to attend;

3 Executive members;

1 representative of the National Secretariat;

8 members of the individual policy committees, chosen by the Executive from a list of nominees submitted by all policy committees;

2 co-opted members.

The Committee regards liaison with the Federal Parliamentary Party as being an important function which has not always been discharged effectively in the past. At present, the rules provide for a Platform Review Committee, but its responsibilities do not cover the whole of this area. Moreover, its functions overlap with those of the proposed Policy Development and Co-ordination Committee. In the longer run, the Platform Review Committee may become unnecessary.

The Committee considers that there is not much point in dwelling on past breakdowns in communication between the administrative machinery of the Party and the parliamentary wing. It is sufficient to say that it is a matter of public knowledge, in respect of which the Party must learn from past mistakes.

To this extent, the Committee is concerned that machinery be developed to strengthen the inter-relationship between the National Executive and Secretariat, and the Parliamentary Party. There are already signs of improvement, with more frequent consultation taking place and initiatives such as the establishment by the Parliamentary Party of a task-force on Government Administration. The Committee welcomes these developments, but in addition, makes the following recommendations:—

M.3 that the Parliamentary Party be asked to initiate with the Secretariat an examination of the ways in which the communications and policy resources units of the Secretariat can be used in conjunction with the resources of the Parliamentary Party, and methods developed for maximising the use of those resources;

M.4 that the National Secretariat maintain a close liaison with the Federal Caucus, and particularly the Caucus Executive;

To secure the objective of recommendation M.4, the Committee recommends:—

M.5 (a) that the National Secretary be entitled to attend Executive meetings of the Federal Parliamentary Labor Caucus;

(b) that there be regular meetings between the National Secretary and the four Parliamentary leaders.

With reference to (a) above, the Committee is impressed with the Canadian practice of holding 'political' cabinets, as distinct from 'legislative' cabinets, at which Party officials are present.

In addition to its consideration of the Committees of the National Executive,

the Committee also examined the operation of national policy committees (sometimes called "Platform" committees). It is considered that they should have an expanded and more specified role.

In the Committee's view, the functions of the national policy committees should be as follows:—

1. To consider all aspects of particular heads of policy, including the legal, constitutional, economic and social consequences, and the implications for the status of women.
2. To prepare recommendations in relation to the matters referred to in the preceding paragraph, including supporting argument, estimates of costs and proposals for implementation.
3. To receive submissions from constituent units of the Party, interest groups and individuals with relevant expertise and/or experience.
4. To refer matters requiring further research to the National Secretariat for action.
5. To provide to the National Secretariat a list of speakers and a set of speakers' notes relating to approved Party policy in the relevant area, with cost estimates and proposals for implementation.
6. To provide advice and guidance as requested by Federal candidates, relating policy proposals to their local areas.

With regard to the composition of policy committees, the Committee of Inquiry is aware that a new system of constituting policy committees has recently been introduced, and in the light of this fact, and of the establishment of the Policy Resources Unit of the National Secretariat, does not wish to make specific proposals at this stage.

The Committee also considered the role of the National Secretariat. For some years, the National Secretariat has operated with two full-time officers and a small secretarial and clerical staff. It has had neither the funds nor the staff to compete on a basis of equal resources with either the Liberal Party or the National Country Party secretariats. It has had a smaller staff than most State Branches of the Party.

The Committee welcomes the recent appointments by the National Executive of three additional full-time staff members, who will operate a Policy Resources Unit and a Communications Unit. Elsewhere in this report, the Committee has made recommendations about the appointment of additional staff in the future.

The Committee has not given detailed attention to the Secretariat, believing that the intimate relationship between the National Executive and the National Secretariat demands that the Executive maintain a continuing review of the structure and activities of the Secretariat. However, the Committee is concerned to find that at no time have the functions of the National Secretariat been clearly defined. This is no doubt due in part to the fact that the National Executive has, for reasons referred to in this report, not operated successfully as an administrative body. The absence of defined functions has, however, the doubt-

ful consequences that members of the Party do not understand the role of the national office, and the officers of the Secretariat have a doubtful and ambiguous understanding of their own roles.

The Committee accordingly recommends:—

M.6 that the functions of the National Secretariat be defined as follows:—

under the direction of the National Secretary, inter alia:

- (a) to service the National Conference, Executive and their committees;*
 - (b) to initiate and/or conduct studies and surveys;*
 - (c) to maintain an inventory of advisors, including women, to provide ongoing or urgent advice on all policy matters;*
 - (d) to conduct the activities of the Policy Resources Unit and Communications Unit, and such other units as may be established from time to time, e.g. an education unit, in support of the functions of Conference and the Executive, and the work of the Parliamentary Labor Party;*
 - (e) to establish working parties when required to perform particular functions in execution of the responsibilities of the Secretariat;*
 - (f) to provide Caucus members with policy advice and/or reference to relevant sources upon request;*
 - (g) to maintain a close liaison with the Federal Caucus, and particularly the Executive, by the National Secretary attending Caucus Executive meetings under the same constraints as apply to its members, (i.e. confidentiality etc.), and to meet with the Parliamentary Leader or Deputy Leader at least weekly during Parliamentary sittings and election campaigns;*
 - (h) to initiate and supervise fundraising activities;*
 - (i) to maintain liaison, co-ordination, co-operation with State Branches;*
 - (j) to maintain liaison with relevant international organisations;*
 - (k) to administer the property and investments of the Federal Party;*
- and to perform such other functions as are determined by the Executive.*

The Committee also believes that a suggestion made to the Committee that, if possible, the staff of the National Secretariat should be rotated for short periods with members of the staff of State Branches, should be favourably considered. It believes that such moves would assist in encouraging greater knowledge and understanding of the workings of the Party as a national entity.

N. THE ROLE OF THE LOCAL BRANCH

In discussion paper no. 3, an analysis of the traditional functions of the local branch was undertaken, mainly on the basis of submissions to the Committee, which were in general highly critical.

The main points made in these submissions were as follows:— the branches failed to secure potential recruits; the concentration on local fundraising seemed

“obsessive” and “questionable”; as sources of political education, the branches were not impressive, given the level of political knowledge, lack of serious study groups, inability to disseminate political information, and failures to follow through proposals; community impact seemed non-existent except at election times; the impact on the State Party apparatus appeared minimal, a fault underlined by feedback failure from Party offices; and there seemed a general failure to provide an ongoing source of involvement and a worthwhile level of activity.

The Committee suggests that the solution lies in encouraging a more effective community presence on the part of A.L.P. branches. This would involve a continuing interaction with the local community, and a self-assured notion of the branch as the local embodiment of the oldest, and still the most heavily supported, political party in Australia.

One important method of achieving this would involve local branches working towards the purchasing of a permanent headquarters and meeting place as a physical presence of the Party in the community. A headquarters of this kind could be manned by volunteers and used for a variety of purposes, including public education activities such as seminars, meetings, stalls and personal contacts. It could also be used as a centre for fundraising activities.

The Committee believes that a focal point for a local branch would assist the development of the sort of activities in which a branch ought to be involved in the community. These activities are:— emphasis on door-knocking type activities which aim to make a personal approach to every household in the community, seeking and tapping support; continual recruitment drives using a variety of approaches; local community newsletters; strong identification with local issues; constructive activity by A.L.P. members as participants of other local community groups; a firm, positive liaison with other community groups and the provision of services to them; and continual fundraising and consolidation of support and assistance amongst A.L.P. voters in the local community.

Branches would then centre their activities within the local community, and engage in tasks and activities for which they could see tangible and satisfying results in terms of impact on the local community. At the moment, the great mass of A.L.P. voters and potential members within every community are not aware of their local A.L.P. branch's presence. The Party lacks a profile in many electorates; in some, it cannot even be found. Accordingly, the Committee makes the following recommendations:—

- N.1 *that branches strive to have a stronger community presence, be easily identified within the local community, and engage in tasks and activities for which they can see tangible and satisfying results, in terms of impact on the local community;*
- N.2 *that it be recognised that branches are entitled to more adequate servicing from State head offices. More attention needs to be given to supplying typing, duplicating, copying and printing facilities. Attention needs to be given to the provision of a wider range of audiovisual facilities, such as*

video-tapes, cassettes, etc. Material needs to be supplied to branches in a more easily manageable form that can be more readily disseminated;

- N.3 *that branches need to promote a wider range of interesting activities;*
- N.4 *that branch meetings need to be conducted in a less ritualistic form, with more flexible arrangements, in accord with the needs of members and the local community;*
- N.5 *that more attempt needs to be made to use the abilities, interests and time of all branch members more effectively, and to set up and experiment with administrative arrangements which will permit this, and at the same time enable the local branch to conduct the range of tasks entrusted to it more effectively. We suggest, therefore, that there should be limited tenure of branch officers to the extent necessary to prevent long-term incumbency of such officers, and that branches experiment with a wider range of sub-committees, and explore the possibility of study groups, and groups to monitor developing issues;*
- N.6 *that more attention needs to be given to organising the procedures of the existing executive committees or of setting up additional administrative sub-committees to analyse, act on, and disseminate the increasing amount of material likely to be available from state and federal policy committees, state head office, and the National Secretariat;*
- N.7 *that the Federal Electorate Assemblies and branches each year set specific, obtainable objectives in terms of new members, finance, community activities, etc;*
- N.8 *that State executives examine the possibility of defining and distinguishing more clearly the functions of local branches and federal electorate organisations;*
- N.9 *that State branches, in liaison with the National Executive Committee on Membership and Political Education, mount a vigorous campaign of education for:—*
 - (a) *branch executive officers: through seminars to arouse interest in the potential of local branches and to equip officers with the skills whereby this potential might be realised;*
 - (b) *members: through seminars and provision of materials to enable them to contribute to local branches by coping with meeting procedures and with the skills necessary for presentation and argument;*
 - (c) *new members: through quarterly or twice-yearly sessions providing them with materials and discussions on the structure, relations, role and potential of the Party, with opportunities for personal contact with leading members of the Party, and with encouragement to play an active role in their local branches;*
- N.10 *that State officials ensure adequate servicing of branches by the Parliamentary Representatives of the Party.*

There are two other matters arising from the submissions to the Committee which should be commented on:—

1. The Committee was impressed by the frequent reference in submissions received to the need for a much greater effort in political education at the branch level. The Committee recognises that many branches would benefit from guidance and assistance in this matter. Accordingly, it recommends:—

N.11 that the National Executive Committee on Membership and Political Education, in consultation with the State Secretaries, prepare a handbook for branches containing practical suggestions for the development of political education programmes. Such a handbook should contain background material, suggestions for topics and speakers, details of information sources, and suggestions for co-operation between branches.

2. The Committee was also impressed by the frequently expressed complaint that branch meetings were too uninspiring and unattractive to members. It appears that too many branches have not given any serious thought to alternative forms of activity and procedure. The Committee accordingly recommends:—

N.12 that the National Executive should instruct the Secretariat to prepare a handbook for branches, outlining activities which branches could usefully undertake.

O. FUNDRAISING

It is common knowledge that the financial situation of the A.L.P. is a serious and continuing problem. With some exceptions, there is an almost continual shortage of funds, both at the Federal level and in the respective State branches. Many of these problems could be overcome by Government funding of political parties, as is the case in many overseas countries, and Parliamentary spokesmen for the A.L.P. have continually advocated this development. There is little prospect, however, in the foreseeable future of conservative governments agreeing to this course, for the simple and obvious reason that the imbalance of financial resources suits them very well. In the circumstances, it is surely incumbent upon the A.L.P. to think a little more seriously about its fundraising activities.

For the purposes of this report, the Committee of Inquiry must be concerned basically about fundraising at the Federal level. The traditional sources of funds at this level have been:—

- (a) affiliation fees paid by State branches on the basis of affiliated union membership and branch membership;
- (b) donations from business, unions and individuals;
- (c) donations from business, unions and individuals in respect of election campaigns.

The first source of funds referred to is totally inadequate and, in part, this results from the small membership of the Party. The second and third sources of funding are highly unreliable and inadequate to meet the rapidly increasing costs of management of a political party and election campaigns.

The situation is unlikely to change because of the greater demands now being placed on the resources of trade unions, which have been forced to limit their contributions to the A.L.P., and also because of the growing reluctance in business circles to donate to political parties, and particularly to the A.L.P.

As the costs of administering a political party and the costs of election campaigns increase, the Party continues to make more and more demands on its affiliated unions and members. The Committee urges that it be accepted as a basic principle of fundraising that fundraising activities should be directed more towards non-members of the Party, rather than members who are already overburdened with demands.

It follows from arguments advanced in earlier sections of this report that the Committee also regards it as important that the aim should be to provide a continual source of funding, rather than to rely on the large donation at the time of an election, because the Committee rejects the notion of vast media expenditure in the last few weeks before an election in favour of the notion of continuing campaigning.

The Committee's attention has been drawn to the Campaign Manual recently published by the National Secretariat in conjunction with the Victorian Labor Resource Centre. This well-produced document has a short, but informative, section on fundraising. The production of this manual is important, but its existence does not detract from the importance of general observations which we make about the fundraising question.

It seems to the Committee that fundraising should be a far more purposeful activity, involving all constituent organs of the Party. In the context of the National Conference, it was suggested that the Conference could be funded by a special payment by each federal electorate organisation, say, \$250, into a Conference fund. Similarly, there is no reason in the opinion of the Committee why every federal electorate organisation should not set itself or be allocated a specific fundraising target each year for the specific purposes of the expanding National Secretariat. The Committee believes that it is much easier for organisations within the Party to raise funds if they are given a specific annual responsibility. The Committee is, however, conscious of the fact that different electorates have different capacities to raise funds and that, particularly in rural areas, the problems are much greater. Nonetheless, we are concerned to raise the idea of special federal fundraising with specific targets. Similarly, we see no reason why approaches should not be made to affiliated unions to try and reach agreement for more regular donations to be made to the Party in lieu of larger donations at election time.

The Committee recognises that the problems with existing methods of fundraising are firstly that requests are made on an ad hoc basis, the demands are usually made on members of the Party, as distinct from non-members, and members are insufficiently informed of the specific purposes for which funds are being raised. It seems to the Committee that it is essential for members of

the Party to see where the funds they raise are going, that is, to see what happens to the money which they raise.

It is not within the competence of the Committee to consider specific fundraising methods, particularly as the appropriateness of any particular method will vary from State to State and electorate to electorate. However, it is considered that the following matters should be explored:—

1. the introduction of regular donor supporter schemes at the local electorate level in the context of endeavouring to expand the "community presence" of the local branch;
2. experimenting with new fundraising activities which more closely relate to the interests of the public, e.g. sporting activities and music (note that approximately 70% of the under 25 age group state their preferred activity as listening to music);
3. making better use of the membership resources of the Party in devising different fundraising methods, including sales of books, handicrafts, paintings and similar activities.

The Committee believes that new directions in fundraising should be encouraged from the national level of the Party and be emphasised at all levels. It accordingly recommends:—

- O.1 that a short, well-produced fundraising manual be prepared by the National Secretariat for use by all constituent units of the Party;*
- O.2 that federal electorate organisations be charged with the responsibility of raising a regular and specific amount for the national fund as an additional means of financing the Secretariat's work;*
- O.3 that consideration be given to requesting unions which donate to the Party to do so on a regular basis, rather than making donations for specific election purposes;*
- O.4 that each constituent unit of the Party, (including local branches), have, in addition to the traditional officers of such unit, a fundraising officer with specific functions and responsibilities.*

The Committee also considers that there is insufficient attention given to the methods of fundraising by Party members. They are given little direction on this issue, with the result that the traditional methods of having barbecues, raffles, dinners, etc. are still relied on heavily. These are methods which involve a lot of work, the time of activists who organise and attend the functions, and frequently pay for them, and produce relatively poor returns.

The attention of the Committee was drawn to a recent example of successful fundraising in Victoria, where the Kooyong Federal Electorate organised a book fair, which produced \$8,000 in one day. The important thing about this activity was that it involved members of the Party in the specific task of collecting books from A.L.P. supporters in the electorate, there was minimal cost, and the proceeds came from the public, and not from members of the Party. It is suggested that this would be an appropriate fundraising method in every electorate,

but it is referred to as an example of an imaginative departure from the usual methods, which produced highly satisfactory results.

It is implicit in the foregoing comments that the Committee believes that there is room for a considerable change in the emphasis given to fundraising activities at all levels of the Party, and if this change of emphasis is made, the funds generated can be substantially increased.

The U.S. Democratic Party Manual on 'Fundraising' contains the following comment:

'it cannot be overemphasised that the task of Party members in soliciting funds is just as important as the task of soliciting votes.'

This sort of emphasis has never existed in the Labor Party and, if the Committee's recommendations on improving the community profile and activities of the local branch are accepted, it is perhaps an appropriate time to try and make significant changes. In part this could be achieved by the appointment of fundraising officers at each level of Party organisation with specific tasks distinct from the traditional book-keeping role of the treasurer.

CONCLUSION

The National Committee of Inquiry was given a massive task by the National Executive and has worked under considerable time constraints to produce its final report. As we noted earlier, our commitment to participation has frequently been in conflict with the need to forward recommendations to the National Executive in time for the National Conference. Nevertheless, we believe that the Inquiry has achieved a degree of involvement of Party members rare in the history of the A.L.P. at the national level.

It is hoped that our recommendations will be subject to equally wide discussion in the Party. Indeed, the Committee itself will have contributed to the national revival of the Party if such participatory processes become the "norm" within the Party, and if there is engendered within the Party the need for a constant openness to change.

It is in the hope that these recommendations are but the beginning of a continuing participatory process of change that the National Committee of Inquiry submits this report to the National Executive.

Neal Blewett
Secretary

March 21, 1979.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To facilitate quick reference, a list of all the recommendations made by the Committee of Inquiry in this report is set out below.

F. COMMUNICATIONS

- F.1 that the appropriate national policy committee give consideration to ensuring that A.L.P. policy is committed unequivocally to ensuring diversified control of developing media outlets, and that any further expansion of the existing media monopolies be strictly limited;
- F.2 that the electronic media, in return for the advantages bestowed by the public in the granting of licences, have the responsibility to provide free time for advertising by political parties;
- F.3 that the Party give a high priority to alerting all Party members to the opportunities offered in the media field as a result of technological developments, the growth of public broadcasting, and the holding of public hearings on licence renewal;
- F.4 that the National Secretariat through the Communications Unit be responsible for sustaining a planned and continuous campaign, and that the Party accept a significant diversion of election campaign resources for the purpose of sustaining that campaign;
- F.5 that the Communications Unit of the National Secretariat be responsible for:—
- (a) supplying press, radio and television on a continuing basis with news releases and information from national parliamentary spokespersons;
 - (b) supplying designated offices in each State with information for distribution through Party networks;
 - (c) supplying nationally relevant material for publication in trade union journals and newsletters;
 - (d) planning and developing, as technology and resources become available, new methods for the dissemination of information throughout the Party;
 - (e) providing A.L.P. speakers for talkback and comment programmes;
 - (f) publishing a regular A.L.P. national newsletter;
 - (g) distributing information lists for use within the Party;
- F.6 that, in liaison with the Communications Unit, A.L.P. media committees be established in each State to ensure effective penetration of the local media by the A.L.P. Such committees would have three tasks:—
- (a) to persuade local media to provide regular opportunities for Labor programmes, discussions, commentaries, trade union programmes, talkbacks, committed entertainment;
 - (b) to maintain liaison with key figures and the local mass media, and to secure regular coverage for A.L.P. national spokespersons;
 - (c) to organise the format of such programmes, ensuring competence, interest and entertainment, so that the local media would be en-

couraged to value the programmes and the facilities and personalities offered;

- F.7 that each federal electorate organisation appoint an officer charged with responsibility for liaising with the local media, and securing publicity for locally relevant national material.
- F.8 the Committee endorses the proposals for a co-operative Labor Movement Broadcast network and calls upon the National Executive of the A.L.P. and the licence holders of the Labor Movement radio stations to consider immediately the proposals advanced in the submission.

G. WOMEN IN THE A.L.P.

- G.1 that the A.L.P. accept a policy of affirmative action in favour of women for a fixed period (seven or ten years). During this period, women within the Party should:—
- (a) be guaranteed representation on local branch and federal electorate executives, at least in proportion to female membership of the said local branch or federal electorate organisation;
 - (b) be guaranteed representation at Party conferences and on Party executives at least in proportion to female membership of the said Party. Insofar as unions are granted representation or voting rights according to their number of members, they too would be required to include women in their delegations in proportion to female membership in the said union;
 - (c) be guaranteed, where the Party conference or executive is composed of state delegations, representation on that state delegation, at least in proportion to the female membership of the state branch. Where the size of the delegation is too small to make this practical, e.g. delegations to National Executive, a minimum of one woman shall be included, unless the total delegation is limited to one, in which case affirmative action shall not apply;
 - (d) that the National Executive shall advise State Branches of the necessity of the Party moving progressively towards the desirable goal of women being represented in the Federal Parliamentary Party in rough proportion to their membership of the Party. To this end, positive steps should be taken to endorse women for safe and winnable seats;
- G.2 that women gain representation on all policy committees, executive committees and advisory bodies of the Party;
- G.3 that the National Secretariat be charged with responsibilities for organising regular national forums on topics particularly relevant to the status of women;
- G.4 that all Party publications and Party ballot papers give an indication of sex by the use of given names;
- G.5 that a further Assistant National Secretary be appointed to the National

Secretariat, whose duties shall include, among others:—

- (a) to act as a focal point within the Party at the national level for all Party activity related to women;
 - (b) to investigate and make recommendations to the National Secretary on research topics, ongoing publicity, campaign strategies, policy proposals, and all other matters relevant to the national decision-making processes of the Party as they affect women;
 - (c) to provide information and assistance to State Secretaries on courses of action open to them to improve the position of women in the Party and to improve the Party's image with women in the electorate;
 - (d) to maintain relations with appropriate national and international organisations;
- G.6 that an immediate priority task for the Policy Resources Unit of the Secretariat be to research into the voting behaviour of Australian women, with a view to considering electoral and policy responses by the Party.

H. The A.L.P. AND THE ETHNIC COMMUNITIES

- H.1 that the appropriate national policy committee give consideration to developing a national language policy, which might include:—
- (a) comprehensive provision for the learning of English through a wide and diverse range of courses;
 - (b) the provision of bilingual practitioners and/or qualified interpreters in all professional fields, e.g. medical, dental, welfare, legal, educational;
 - (c) the provision throughout the community of information in readily comprehensible English and in the major ethnic language;
 - (d) the provision of maintenance courses in ethnic languages at the adult level;
 - (e) the possibilities of multilingual education at the school level;
- H.2 that the National Secretariat in liaison with the State Branches undertake and organise a campaign for naturalisation;
- H.3 that the Policy Resources Unit prepare a handbook to assist in naturalisation campaigns;
- H.4 that the appropriate national policy committee give consideration to supporting a uniform six months qualifying period for the right to vote for all permanent residents;
- H.5 that Party units be established at which meetings are conducted in a community language other than English. (The level at which these units are established would depend on the local context. In areas of high concentration of single ethnic communities, a unit at the branch level might be established; in other situations, a regional unit might be most appropriate; while particularly for the smaller ethnic communities, metropolitan wide units might be most appropriate);
- H.6 that local branches with English speakers plus a large number of members from a single ethnic group should conduct some of their meetings in the

appropriate language and provide interpreters and opportunities for interpretation at all meetings;

- H.7 that recognised ethnic liaison groups composed of A.L.P. members from the respective communities be established at appropriate levels of the Party to act as a liaison between the formal units of the Party and the ethnic communities;
- H.8 that a multi-ethnic National Standing Advisory Committee be established, composed of members of the ethnic communities, to advise the national Party on policy, organisation and campaign matters. Among its tasks will be responsibility for advising on the provision of translations or translated summaries of Party documents and policy statements;
- H.9 that selected Federal M.P.'s be appointed to provide a general liaison with each of the major ethnic communities.

I. THE A.L.P. AND THE TRADE UNIONS

- I.1 the National Executive establish a taskforce to recommend ways of revitalising the relationship between the A.L.P. and the affiliated unions, and to consider ways of improving the relationship between the A.L.P. and the non-affiliated unions;
- I.2 the National Executive invites the A.C.T.U. to meet with its representatives as soon as possible to consider the problems associated with the relationship between the unions and the Party, and to take immediate steps to improve the image of the Labor movement;

J. THE A.L.P. AND NON-METROPOLITAN AUSTRALIA

- J.1 that the following guidelines be referred to the appropriate national policy committees:—
- (a) that the reduction of inequalities in education, transport, housing, communications, health, welfare services and the general quality of life deriving from the great distances in regional Australia be given a high priority in policy considerations;
 - (b) that the reduction of inequalities in non-metropolitan Australia arising from difficulties in the provision of social, sporting and cultural facilities deriving from the dispersion of population be given a high priority in policy formulation;
 - (c) that the lack of employment opportunities in non-metropolitan areas is a serious structural flaw which, resulting as it has in the drift of the young to the cities, socially impoverishes regional Australia. Opportunities to develop local industries should be examined, while the development of tertiary industry and information-based services in, and the possible transfer of public service units to, regional centres, may well further regional employment opportunities;
 - (d) that in the country, as in the city, necessary restructuring of industry be carried out in a humane manner, and with sufficient time span to

- allow people to adjust;
- J.2 *the Caucus rural committee, the national rural policy committee, and the Policy Resources and Communications units of the Secretariat, together prepare guidelines for rural communication by the A.L.P.*
 - J.3 *that there be more planned scheduling by the National Secretariat and State Branches to ensure that all major regional centres are adequately serviced by State and Federal Parliamentarians during the year;*
 - J.4 *that the National Secretariat and the State Branches give greater consideration to creating more country organisers, and to devoting more time and resources to supporting local country branches;*
 - J.5 *that the National Secretariat and the State Branches give consideration to a somewhat different structure of grassroots units in regional Australia than in the major cities, in order to cater for the distinct regional environment;*
 - J.6 *that, in certain states at least, consideration be given to establishing a regional Party office, with full-time staff and organisers attached;*
 - J.7 *that, regional conferences be held in major provincial centres from time to time to make recommendations directly to the national A.L.P. on policy matters relevant to regional Australia;*
 - J.8 *that, given the uniqueness of each rural electorate, the National Secretariat, in conjunction with the state authorities, plus those with local knowledge, prepare appropriate strategies for identified rural seats;*
 - J.9 *that, in the selection of rural candidates, particular attention be paid to the selection of candidates who are identified with the local community, and who will therefore command wide support;*
 - J.10 *that candidates for federal rural seats should be chosen early and with a five-year term in prospect, for in many rural seats it is likely to take two elections to erode conservative majorities, even in constituencies where Labor's chances are ultimately good;*
 - J.11 *that, in general, Labor should expose the conflicts of interest between the conservative parties by directing preferences in triangular contests involving the Liberal Party and the Country Party away from the sitting member.*

K. THE A.L.P. AND THE OUTLYING STATES

- K.1 *that a federal taskforce be immediately appointed which, in co-operation with the State Executives in Western Australia and Queensland, will begin planning and organising for electoral recovery in those states in 1980;*
- K.2 *that federal M.P.'s from other states be allocated to supportive campaigning roles in Queensland, Western Australia and Tasmania. This is particularly vital for Tasmania, where there are no A.L.P. members in the House of Representatives, and where two of the State's four senators are shadow ministers. But the situation is scarcely much better in Queensland and Western Australia. If such M.P.'s are to make a real contribution, they need a continuing commitment to their adopted states;*

- K.3 *the early selection of candidates, particularly in the critical seats. In Queensland, Tasmania and Western Australia, the monopoly of the conservatives will only be broken by continuous campaigning and by effective candidate identification with the particular interests of the electorate. Early selection is particularly important in Tasmania, in order to combat the maverick tactics of the sitting Liberals, and vital in the large rural seats.*

L. THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

- L.1 *that the National Conference of the A.L.P. be structured as follows:—*
 - (a) *124 delegates elected directly by and from the federal electorate organisations of the Party, subject to the following provisions:—*
 - (i) *that there be a woman delegate from each federal electorate organisation at at least one of each three successive Conferences;*
 - (ii) *federal parliamentarians will not be eligible for selection as federal electorate organisation delegates;*
 - (b) *124 delegates elected directly by and from trade unions affiliated with the Party in more than one State. Each union so affiliated shall be guaranteed a delegate to National Conference. The remaining delegate places will be allocated on a proportional basis according to the affiliated membership of the union;*
 - (c) *40 delegates constituting the federal component, consisting of 6 delegates from each State and 2 from each Territory. In each case, the Party Leader in the State or Territorial legislature shall be a member of the delegation, with the remaining places being determined by the State or Territory Party;*
 - (d) *20 federal parliamentary delegates, who shall be Executive members of the Federal Parliamentary Party;*
 - (e) *2 A.Y.L. delegates elected by the National A.Y.L. Conference;*
- L.2 *that the proposals for the reform of the National Conference be placed on the agenda of the 1979 National Conference for discussion, with a view to their ultimate resolution at the 1981 Conference.*

M. THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE AND THE SECRETARIAT

- M.1 *that the following model be considered by the Party as the basis for a reconstructed National Executive. The National Executive should consist of thirty-five members, selected as follows:—*
 - 8 chosen by and from the delegates at National Conference, elected by the federal electorate organisations;*
 - 8 chosen by and from the delegates at National Conference, elected by the affiliated trade unions;*
 - 14 (2 from each State and 1 from each Territory) elected by the State or Territory Conferences and Conventions;*
 - 4 Parliamentary Party Leaders;*

1 National Secretary;

M.2 the following be the Committee structure for the National Executive:—

(1) Committee on Strategy, Planning and Campaign Direction

The function of this committee would be as follows:—

- (a) to recommend a general policy objective or theme to be pursued over a number of years;
- (b) to be responsible for the development of strategy, tactics, campaign requirements and research related to the major themes of Party policy;
- (c) to plan and direct campaigns as the need arises;
- (d) to maintain contact with other committees in relation to strategy, tactics, priorities and resources;

The composition of this committee would be as follows:—

The National President, or his nominee;

4 Parliamentary Party Leaders, or their nominees;

The National Secretary, or his nominee;

3 State Branch Secretaries, elected by and from all Branch Secretaries;

3 National Executive members, chosen by the Executive;

Co-opted Party members, (up to three);

State Branch Secretaries not on the Committee would be co-opted for the direction of any individual campaign;

(2) Committee on Finance and Administration

This committee is, in fact, already operating and the Committee of Inquiry has no particular comments to make on its functions or composition;

(3) Committee on Membership and Political Education

The functions of this committee would be:—

- (a) to monitor levels of membership and affiliations and to prepare programmes for increasing membership;
- (b) to consider the ongoing needs for political education within the Party and to develop programmes designed to meet such needs;
- (c) to promote debate among Party members concerning the philosophy, objectives and policies of the Party and to co-operate with the National Secretariat in providing assistance to State Branches for the purpose;
- (d) other interrelated tasks as directed by the Executive;

The composition of this committee would be as follows:—

3 Executive members;

All Secretaries of State Branches;

2 representatives of the National Secretariat;

2 representatives of the Federal Parliamentary Party;

(4) Committee on Policy Development and Co-ordination

The functions of this committee would be:—

- (a) to maintain a general oversight of policy development within the Party, to initiate development in new or emerging areas of policy, and to reduce overlapping and duplication between policy committees;
- (b) to pay special attention to the avoidance of contradictions between particular aspects, including long-term implications, of Party policy;
- (c) to maintain contact with other committees of the Executive, especially those dealing with strategy and political education;
- (d) to consider the totality of policy committee reports before their distribution to national conference delegates, and to prepare a general statement including recommendations, to ensure co-ordination and consistency in national Party policy, and an examination of the constitutional, legal, economic and social implications of such policy and their implications for the status of women;

The composition of the Committee would be as follows:—

Any one of the four Federal Parliamentary Party leaders, with the other three having the right to attend;

3 Executive members;

1 representative of the National Secretariat;

8 members of the individual policy committees, chosen by the Executive from a list of nominees submitted by all policy committees;

2 co-opted members;

M.3 that the Parliamentary Party be asked to initiate with the Secretariat an examination of the ways in which the communications and policy resources units of the Secretariat can be used in conjunction with the resources of the Parliamentary Party, and methods developed for maximising the use of those resources;

M.4 that the National Secretariat maintain a close liaison with the Federal Caucus, and particularly the Caucus Executive;

M.5 (a) that the National Secretary be entitled to attend Executive meetings of the Federal Parliamentary Labor Caucus;
(b) that there be regular meetings between the National Secretary and the four Parliamentary leaders;

M.6 that the functions of the National Secretariat be defined as follows:—

Under the direction of the National Secretary, inter alia:—

- (a) to service the National Conference, Executive and their committees;
- (b) to initiate and/or conduct studies and surveys;
- (c) to maintain an inventory of advisors, including women, to provide ongoing or urgent advice on all policy matters;

- (d) to conduct the activities of the Policy Resources Unit and Communications Unit, and such other units as may be established from time to time, e.g. an education unit, in support of the functions of Conference and the Executive, and the work of the Parliamentary Labor Party;
- (e) to establish working parties when required to perform particular functions in execution of the responsibilities of the Secretariat;
- (f) to provide Caucus members with policy advice and/or reference to relevant sources upon request;
- (g) to maintain a close liaison with the Federal Caucus, and particularly the Executive, by the National Secretary attending Caucus Executive meetings under the same constraints as apply to its members, (e.g. confidentiality, etc.), and to meet with the Parliamentary Leader or Deputy Leader at least weekly during Parliamentary sittings and election campaigns;
- (h) to initiate and supervise fund-raising activities;
- (i) to maintain liaison, Co-ordination, Co-operation with State Branches;
- (j) to maintain liaison with relevant international organisations;
- (k) to administer the property and investments of the Federal Party; and to perform such other functions as are determined by the Executive.

N. THE ROLE OF THE LOCAL BRANCH

- N.1 that branches strive to have a stronger community presence, be easily identified within the local community, and engage in tasks and activities for which they can see tangible and satisfying results, in terms of impact on the local community;
- N.2 that it be recognised that branches are entitled to more adequate servicing from State head offices. More attention needs to be given to supplying typing, duplicating, copying and printing facilities. Attention needs to be given to the provision of a wider range of audiovisual facilities, such as video-tapes, cassettes, etc. Material needs to be supplied to branches in a more easily manageable form that can be more readily disseminated;
- N.3 that branches need to promote a wider range of interesting activities;
- N.4 that branch meetings need to be conducted in a less ritualistic form, with more flexible arrangements, in accord with the needs of members and the local community;
- N.5 that more attempt needs to be made to use the abilities, interests and time of all branch members more effectively, and to set up and experiment with administrative arrangements which will permit this, and at the same time enable the local branch to conduct the range of tasks entrusted to it more effectively. We suggest, therefore, that there should be limited tenure of branch officers to the extent necessary to prevent long-term incumbency of such officers and that branches experiment with a wider range of sub-committees, and explore the possibility of study groups, and groups to monitor developing issues;

- N.6 that more attention needs to be given to organising the procedures of the existing executive committees or of setting up additional administrative sub-committees to analyse, act on, and disseminate the increasing amount of material likely to be available from state and federal policy committees, state head offices, and the National Secretariat;
- N.7 that the Federal Electorate Assemblies and branches each year set specific, obtainable objectives in terms of new members, finance, community activities, etc.;
- N.8 that State executives examine the possibility of defining and distinguishing more clearly the functions of local branches and federal electorate organisations;
- N.9 that State branches, in liaison with the National Executive Committee on Membership and Political Education, mount a vigorous campaign of education for:—
 - (a) branch executive officers: through seminars to arouse interest in the potential of local branches and to equip officers with the skills whereby this potential might be realised;
 - (b) members: through seminars and provision of materials to enable them to contribute to local branches by coping with meeting procedures and with the skills necessary for presentation and argument;
 - (c) new members: through quarterly or twice-yearly sessions providing them with materials and discussions on the structure, relations, role and potential of the Party, with opportunities for personal contact with leading members of the Party, and with encouragement to play an active role in their local branches;
- N.10 that State officials ensure adequate servicing of branches by the Parliamentary Representatives of the Party;
- N.11 that the National Executive Committee on Membership and Political Education, in consultation with the State Secretaries, prepare a handbook for branches containing practical suggestions for the development of political education programmes. Such a handbook should contain background material, suggestions for topics and speakers, details of information sources, and suggestions for co-operation between branches;
- N.12 that the National Executive should instruct the Secretariat to prepare a handbook for branches, outlining activities which branches could usefully undertake.

O. FUNDRAISING

- O.1 that a short, well-produced fundraising manual be prepared by the National Secretariat for use by all constituent units of the Party;
- O.2 that federal electorate organisations be charged with the responsibility of raising a regular and specific amount for the national fund as an additional means of financing the Secretariat's work;

- O.3 *that consideration be given to requesting unions which donate to the Party to do so on a regular basis, rather than making donations for specific election purposes;*
- O.4 *tht each constituent unit of the Party, (including local branches) have, in addition to the traditional officers of such unit, a fundraising officer with specific functions and responsibilities.*