

**AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY**

**VICTORIAN BRANCH**

**PANEL OF REVIEW 1998**

**MARK DREYFUS**

**7 December 1998**

### Summary of Review

1. This review was established by the Administrative Committee on 9 October 1998 and conducted by me with the assistance of a reference panel of Party members and in consultation with Victorian Branch Officers during October and November 1998.
2. The purpose of the review was to consider a range of issues concerning the Victorian ALP, including membership, participation in party activities, relationship with the union movement and the wider community, financial planning and new technology.
3. 200 written submissions were received from a wide range of Party members, branches, parliamentarians and affiliated unions. I consulted with submitters and other Party members, officers, current and former parliamentarians and union representatives as widely as possible in the time available.
4. I approached the review using the following objectives for the Victorian ALP:
  - a Party which is re-engaged with the community and with its own membership;
  - a Party with a larger membership;
  - a Party which operates democratically;
  - a Party which fully uses the talent and energy of its volunteer members;
  - a Party focused on winning government.
5. I make the following recommendations:
  - the Branch adopt the principle that the membership fees of every member be paid by that member, except in cases of real financial hardship or temporary absence.
  - the Rules be amended to provide for each candidate for internal Party office or for preselection for public office to pledge that they have not been involved in any organised payment of other members' membership fees.

- members be required to sign annual renewal forms, except where the member has previously signed a direct debit or credit card authority authorising continuing payment of membership fees, or pays the membership fees due on renewal by electronic means from a source which identifies the member.
- development of a direct membership renewal system continue to be given priority attention by the State Office.
- the Administrative Committee report to the 1999 Spring State Conference on the feasibility of financial incentives for members to renew their membership by direct debit
- the Administrative Committee establish written guidelines dealing with membership inquiries and referrals of inquiries to local branches, and following up all inquiries.
- the rules be revised to provide a mechanism for a prospective member attending a regularly scheduled but inquorate branch meeting with the intention of joining the Party, to become a member.
- the Administrative Committee consider and report to the Spring 1999 State Conference, on the practicability of introducing a lower, simpler fee structure, with a standard and a concessional fee, and voluntary additional payments from members able to pay.
- the Administrative Committee be directed to prepare a detailed recruitment strategy designed to substantially increase Party membership.
- the Party establishes a recruitment unit, staffed by people with recruitment expertise.
- the Administrative Committee adopt standing procedures to follow up all non-renewals of memberships within three months of the final date for renewals in each year, by at least one letter and telephone call.
- continuing implementation of the 1996 Maxwell Report on policy development processes.
- the Administrative Committee, with State Office, develop a human resource management plan to use the skills of members in Party activities, modelled on plans of other volunteer organisations.

- the Rules be amended to provide that a member's address shown on the Australian Electoral roll be the member's address for the purpose of compiling the Party's voters roll and that those members not on the Australian Electoral roll satisfy the State Secretary prior to the closing of the Party's voters roll of their residential address, by the production of appropriate and verifiable independent evidence of residential address.
- the Rules be amended to provide for the closing of voters rolls on the day on which nominations for the relevant elections or preselection plebiscites close, and that entitlement to vote, subject to proved errors and omissions, be determined in accordance with the roll at that time.
- the Rules be amended to provide for the election of a single member Disputes Tribunal to replace the existing 15 member Disputes Tribunal, such member to be elected by a 75% majority of the delegates to State Conference. The Disputes Tribunal should have the ability to appoint up to four advisory members to assist in deliberations, and should be required to use conciliation in resolving disputes.
- State Conference direct the Rules Revision Committee to report to the 1999 Spring State Conference on the feasibility of introducing direct elections for Party officers and plebiscites on Party policy.
- the Victorian ALP retain and provide support to ethnic branches, and that the Administrative Committee and Party offices investigate means of providing such support.
- the establishment of a Committee made up of key unions and Party members, to consider if any change in the level of union representation at State Conference is warranted.
- the Party actively encourage members of affiliated unions to join the Party as individual members and that the membership fee for union members be discounted by an appropriate amount.
- the membership of affiliated unions for affiliation purposes be determined by reference to the membership figure stated in that union's last return lodged with the Industrial Relations Commission.

- the development of a strategy to reorient Party branches to become more substantial local community organisations.
- the Victorian Branch assist and promote the Labor Women's Network established by the 1998 National Conference.
- the Administrative Committee investigate the production of promotional packages targeted at identified community groups.
- the Victorian Branch work towards legislation providing for public funding of election campaign expenses.
- the Victorian Branch establish a full time fundraising unit dedicated to soliciting private donations as well as organising public fundraising activities.
- a copy of this report be sent to all those members who sent written submissions without which this review would have been difficult, if not impossible, to undertake in the available time.

## 1. Establishment of the Review

1.1 At the State Conference of the ALP Victorian Branch in May 1998 the following resolution was carried:

*“The Labor Party is preparing for Government Federally and in Victoria. We are financially on a sound footing. Our membership is growing. The policy development mechanism is in place, our position in the polls is strong and a talented team has been pre-selected.*

*We have undergone a review of the 1996 state campaign. The process of developing policy was reviewed and the resulting Maxwell Report was brought to Conference.*

*The acceptance and implementation of the recommendations of each of these reviews has strengthened the Party by further involving the Party’s membership in Party activities.*

*Now is not the time to rest on these achievements, we must prepare the Party for the next millennium.*

*The Liberals will always have the capacity to raise and spend more in campaigns to demonise the Labor Party in the eyes of the electorate.*

*In order to prepare the Party for 2000 and beyond Conference calls on the Administrative Committee to establish a Panel of Review to be chaired by a respected Party figure, with the intention of developing a strategy plan for the next decade to consolidate and enhance the effectiveness and transparency of the Party and its structures.*

*The terms of reference are to examine and make recommendations on:*

- *membership (recruitment, retention and genuine democratic participation) relationship with the union movement and increase the number of union members directly joining and participating in the party*
- *relationship to the community*
- *organisational structures*
- *financial plan*
- *leading edge campaign techniques*
- *use of new technology*
- *greater direct involvement of Party members*

*This Panel of Review should be established and report to State Conference after the forthcoming federal election, with submissions being called for from all constituent units and members.*

*Conference adopts this resolution in the spirit of Rule 7.2.5 (... that all members should refrain from public comment on internal Party matters...).*”

- 1.2 After the Federal Election on 3 October 1998, the Administrative Committee met on 9 October 1998 and acted on the State Conference resolution. The Administrative Committee appointed me to conduct the Panel of Review and to report to the State Conference to be held on 12 December 1998, and also established a Reference Panel to assist me in the task. The Administrative Committee asked me to prepare a written report in consultation with the Victorian Branch Officers Group, in time for circulation before the State Conference.
- 1.3 The members of the reference panel established by the Administrative Committee were: Mordy Bromberg (proxy Peter Willis), Telmo Languiller (proxies Theo Theophanous and Carlos Baldovino), Julia Gillard, John Pandazopoulos, Garth Head (proxy David Feeney), Fiona Richardson, Linda White (proxy Lily D'Ambrosio) and Frans Timmerman.

## 2. Review Procedure

- 2.1 The State Secretary sent a letter on 14 October 1998 to all Victorian ALP members and affiliated unions advising of the terms of reference and requesting written submissions by 9 November 1998. The text of the letter is set out in Appendix 1.
- 2.2 I met with members of the reference panel on several occasions, commencing as soon as the membership was finalised, on 27 October 1998. The short time available for the completion of the review has meant that it was not possible for me to meet with all those ALP members who made written submissions, but I have attempted to consult widely across the Victorian ALP, and have met with or spoken to a large number of Party members, Party officers, current and former Federal and State parliamentarians (including the current and past State parliamentary leaders) and representatives of affiliated unions.
- 2.3 The time established for the conduct of the review was very short. I initially thought that the time was too short to allow for real contribution and involvement of Party members, or adequate reflection on the issues, and intended to recommend to the Administrative Committee that further time be

provided if only a few submissions were received. The short time provided was commented on by many members who sent submissions, but the substantial number of submissions received and the depth of many of them persuaded me that the review should be continued within the set time. I was heartened by comments such as that of the Geelong West Branch:

“...the Executive and some members of the Branch have expressed concern over the short time allowed for responses... however in the best tradition of the ALP we have got together and put in the effort. We look forward to the review being constructive in taking the Victorian Branch into the next century of Labor politics in this State”

Many of the submissions, and many of the Party members with whom I have spoken have expressed this same desire to work together to a common goal. It is apparent that the review process itself has provoked extensive fruitful discussion within the Victorian Branch.

- 2.4 To maximise the contribution and participation of the Party members in this review I have accepted all submissions received up to the time of writing this report. I asked the State Secretary and Head Office staff to advise any Party member who inquired that submissions would still be received and considered.
- 2.5 200 written submissions were delivered to me or the State Secretary during November 1998. The submissions are listed in Appendix 2. As well, the State Secretary referred to me a number of letters he had received from Party members and branches between the May State Conference and the establishment of this review. These letters deal with various matters covered by the terms of reference.
- 2.6 The State Secretary also referred to me a serious of changes to the Victorian Branch rules, proposed by several affiliated unions, which are already on the agenda for the December State Conference. Those proposed rules changes are set out in Appendix 3.

- 2.7 Members of the reference panel have assisted me in analysing written submissions, and in discussing the issues raised by the terms of reference, but the views and recommendations expressed in this report are mine.

### 3. Background to the Review

- 3.1 The ALP has lost the last two Federal elections (1996 and 1998), and the last two Victorian State elections (1992 and 1996). There is a broad acknowledgment across the Party of a need to reform and reshape the Party as a party ready to campaign for office, and to govern in office.
- 3.2 The Victorian Branch has undertaken a detailed review of its unsuccessful 1996 state campaign. Chris Maxwell in October 1996 produced a comprehensive strategy for reforming the ALP's policy development process, which was adopted by the State Conference in October 1996 and has been partly implemented. This review is a continuation of the process of reform.
- 3.3 As many of the submissions reflect, the State Conference resolution establishing this review was in part based on the concerns of some Party members about intensification of factional activity, allegations of "branch stacking" activities and alienation of rank and file Party members as well as general desire for reform and forward planning. As I understand the debate at the May 1998 State Conference which lead to the resolution, the terms of reference, particularly the first which deals with membership, were intended to reflect these concerns.
- 3.3 This review also takes place at a time when the Party's State Head Office is about to move to new premises in King Street, West Melbourne, which I comment on later in this report, and which provides a further opportunity for reform and streamlining of the Party's administration and practices.

### 4. Overview of Submissions

- 4.1 I received 200 written submissions. Many of these were joint submissions from two or more members, others from Party branches, groups and affiliated unions. Over 50 branches (including country and metropolitan branches),

seventeen current and former parliamentarians, and 8 affiliated unions made submissions, and over 200 individual branch members sent submissions in their own names, often additionally to participating in joint branch submissions.

- 4.2 It is not necessary to exhaustively set out or attempt to tabulate the contents of the submissions, many of which were lengthy and many of which reflected a tremendous amount of thought and effort. I will attempt to highlight particular matters emerging from the submissions as I deal with the terms of reference, but it is worth noting that there were some common themes in many submissions. The most common theme was concern about factional activities and “branch stacking”, followed by recruitment issues and the Party’s relationship with its members, particularly new members. A further issue dealt with in many submissions was the Party’s relationship with the union movement. Many submissions also referred to the reorganisation of British Labour Party which lead to electoral success in 1997.
- 4.3 It might be said that the written submissions I received do not necessarily represent, at least not in any statistical sense, the views of the whole Victorian Branch membership. This is of course true, because members who took the trouble to write submissions and to contact me are self-selecting, and are likely to include a disproportionate number of very active Party members. But despite this, the broad spread of views on many matters suggested to me that the submissions do approximately reflect a range of opinion of the Victorian membership.

#### Approach to Terms of Reference

- 5.1 The resolution establishing this review refers to the development of “a strategy plan for the next decade to consolidate and enhance the effectiveness and transparency of the Party and its structures”. In the short time available, this review could not construct the strategy plan, but I saw the review as an opportunity to suggest some objectives on which to found a comprehensive strategy. These objectives are a synthesis of the views expressed in the

submissions and by members who spoke to me, and my own views. I have used these objectives as a means of assessing the proposals and suggestions put to me during this review.

5.2 The objectives I suggest for the Victorian ALP are:

- a Party which is re-engaged with the community and with its own membership;
- a Party with a larger membership;
- a Party which operates democratically;
- a Party which fully uses the talent and energy of its volunteer members;
- a Party focussed on winning government.

5.3 There is considerable overlap between some of the terms of reference. It is difficult to consider “membership (recruitment, retention and genuine democratic participation)” separately from “organisational structures”, or “greater direct involvement of Party members”, and accordingly I propose to deal with the issues which have emerged in the course of this review under the following headings:

1. Membership procedures: joining and renewal
2. Participation of in Party activities, including voting and organisational structures
3. Relationship with the union movement
4. Relationship to the community
5. Financial plan
6. Campaign techniques and new technology.

#### Membership Procedures: joining and renewal

6.1 I deal with membership procedures first because this issue is at the core of many of the concerns raised by party members about “branch stacking” and the Party’s internal procedures. Many reforms and rule changes have been proposed, and in considering them I have been concerned to ensure that proposed changes truly grapple with the problem and do not cut across other

objectives of increasing membership and increasing the participation of members.

- 6.2 “Branch stacking” is very difficult, if not impossible, to define. Thus one member’s multiple recruitment of new members is described by the member’s factional opponents as “branch stacking” simply because the recruitment will increase the number of branch members perceived to be likely to vote in a particular way. The term “branch stacking” is also used to describe other practices including the recruitment of new members to join branches outside their federal electorate area, payment of membership fees for new members whose only participation in party activities is voting at internal Party elections and parliamentary pre-selections, and bulk payment of membership fees by a single factional organiser.
- 6.3 Mere recruitment of new members is not “branch stacking” . The Party needs to encourage recruitment of new members, and welcome new members into the Party and its activities. It is an indication of an over-intensification of factional activity that the recruitment of new members into particular branches is viewed with suspicion: in a fully functioning Party, recruitment should always be welcomed. But the Party is entitled to insist that all of its members are people who support the aims of the Party, who wish to join the Party and be involved in its activities. The recruitment of people who are members in name only and who do not participate in Party activities except to vote at the behest of others is unacceptable and undermines the internal democracy and functioning of the Party.
- 6.4 The difficulty lies in devising rules which achieve this aim without cutting across other objectives like increasing Party membership and improving the Party’s relationship with the community. As well, changes to rules and procedures which increase the Party’s internal administrative procedures would consume scarce resources. The Party is a volunteer organisation. Its energies and resources should be focussed externally, not on internal policing.

- 6.5 The reforms which I propose rest on the notion that the Party should be easier to join and that the current concerns about internal Party democracy are best addressed by ensuring the integrity of the voting process in Party ballots. Ultimately however no rules changes can, in a volunteer political organisation, ensure an end to manipulation of Party procedures. There needs to be a change in the culture of the organisation, to create a culture in which the interests of the Party as a whole are always put ahead of factional interests, in which temporary majorities of voting power in Party ballots are used for the long term advancement of the Party's interests and not for short term factional advantage.
- 6.6 The payment of membership fees is an important indication of a willingness to support the party. It is contrary to all of the principles on which the Party is founded that members or others on their behalf should pay membership fees for individuals or groups who would otherwise be unwilling to pay their own fees. There are of course occasions on which it may be wholly appropriate to pay another member's fees, such as reasons of financial hardship or temporary absence, but this is not the problem. It also needs to be recognised that a rule requiring personal payment of fees would be difficult to enforce without applying expensive and time consuming administrative procedures. A rule which contained specific exceptions (perhaps allowing payment of another member's fees with the permission of the Administrative Committee or the State Secretary) would also involve additional administration. And ultimately any person seriously intent on avoiding the rule could devise some method to create the appearance of the fee being paid by the member. The submissions reflect a real concern about this matter, however, and the reform I propose, which is the adoption of a principle rather than a binding rule, should therefore be seen as an interim one. If the abuse of Party procedures involved in payment of other's membership fees is seen to continue, further consideration should be given to the introduction of a binding rule dealing with payment of membership fees.

I recommend that the Branch adopt the principle that the membership fees of every member be paid by that member, except in cases of real financial hardship or temporary absence.

- 6.7 Even if a principle, rather than a rule, is introduced the Party is entitled to expect that members standing for election to Party positions, or for preselection for public office, have not been involved in the organised payment of other members' membership fees. An appropriate mechanism to reflect this expectation would be to require an appropriate pledge from Party candidates.

I recommend that the Rules be amended to provide for each candidate for internal Party office or for preselection for public office to pledge that they have not been involved in any organised payment of other members' membership fees.

- 6.8 Applicants for membership of the Party are already required by the rules to sign the application for membership (Rule 5.3.6). The member's signature is also required for an application to transfer from one branch to another. One of the suggestions repeated in many submissions (and reflected in a rule change proposed by the LHMWU) is that renewals of membership should also be signed. This is a desirable change, which will not create any administrative burden but would improve the integrity of the Party's internal procedures. The rules should be changed to require this, but the requirement for signatures on renewals could be introduced administratively straight away as it is not inconsistent with any existing rules. There should be an exception from signing the annual renewal form where continuing payment has been previously authorised by signature or payment is made electronically from a source identifying the member.

I recommend that members be required to sign annual renewal forms, except where the member has previously signed a direct debit or credit card authority authorising continuing payment of membership fees, or pays the membership

fees due on renewal by electronic means from a source which identifies the member.

- 6.9 It is also evident that the introduction of widespread direct renewals is an opportunity to increase the integrity of the Party's membership list without any increased bureaucracy, and is consistent with making the Party easier to join, and rejoin. The State Office has been working on ways of improving the Party's capacity to direct debit member's accounts or credit cards for membership renewals and to make these options easier for members to use. The larger the proportion of members using such systems, the less need there will be for concern about signed renewals and other verification.

I recommend that development of a direct membership renewal system continue to be given priority attention by the State Office.

I further recommend that the Administrative Committee report to the 1999 Spring State Conference on the feasibility of financial incentives for members to renew their membership by direct debit.

- 6.10 Many submissions identified other problems in the process of joining the Party. Some criticism was directed to the handling of membership inquiries, by branches and the State Office, and this is something which can be dealt with administratively. It is essential that the Party have clear procedures for handling membership inquiries, which include providing a package of information, including application form, promptly in response to all inquiries, recording inquiries which are made and following up inquiries if the inquiry does not result in an application to join. As well, there needs to be a clear procedure, with follow up where inquires are directed to a local branch.

At present it is possible to join the Party through Head office (to become a non voting "Central member") or through a local branch (to become a fully voting member). Some members do not wish to join a local branch, all should be encouraged to do so and where an inquiry, or an existing Central member is referred to a local branch, it is imperative that the local branch secretary

respond promptly and appropriately to the referral. Some improvements have been made in State Office procedures regarding membership inquiries, but more needs to be done.

I recommend that the Administrative Committee establish written guidelines dealing with membership inquiries and referrals of inquiries to local branches, and following up all inquiries.

- 6.11 A related problem identified in some submissions is the attendance of a prospective member at an inquorate Branch meeting, intending to join the Party and being unable to do so because the rules presently specify approval of a new member at a branch meeting. This situation needs to be dealt with, to ensure that all prospective members are able to join as easily as possible. The necessary change to the Rules would be somewhat complex, but there should be a mechanism which allows such a prospective member to join (perhaps by delivery of the application form to the State Secretary by the local branch secretary, and conditional on approval at the next branch meeting).

I recommend that the rules be revised to provide a mechanism for a prospective member attending a regularly scheduled but inquorate branch meeting with the intention of joining the Party, to become a member.

### Membership Fees

- 6.12 The present membership fees of the Branch (which are set by State Conference under Rule 5.3.9(a)) are based on annual income levels: \$16,000 or less, \$23.00; \$16,001 to \$26,000, \$35.00; \$26,001 to \$37,000, \$48.00; \$37,000 to \$48,000, \$74.00; \$48,001 to \$63,000, \$105; and over \$63,000, \$210.
- 6.13 Many submissions suggested that these fees discourage recruitment and retention of members. Specifically, the fees appear to be too high in the lowest and middle brackets. The Party needs to consider whether to move away from the membership fee as a primary source of funds, but if this direction is taken,

it needs to be coordinated with attempts to substantially increase membership so as to minimise the possible loss of income.

6.14 As well, many members do not pay the fee fixed for their income level, mainly because they cannot afford to pay. There is at present a form of self assessment, based on capacity to pay, and this practice should in my view be formally recognised. The Party is a voluntary political association, and should not need to engage in policing its members.

6.15 A lower, single membership fee would in my view be a much better basis for active recruiting of new members. Members who can afford to pay a higher and voluntary additional membership fee should be encouraged to do so, in accordance with a suggested scale similar to the present system, and a new slightly lower concessional fee should be introduced for unemployed people, students, and holders of health care cards. People paying the lower, concessional membership fee should be required to state on their application or renewal form a student card number or health care card number as evidence of their entitlement, but no further policing should be required. The Party should be able to proceed on a basis of trust in such matters, and must do so if a major increase in membership is to be achieved.

6.16 The renewal of Party memberships for 1999 is now in progress, and consequently it would be inconvenient to change the membership fees for the current year. Under the present rules, the fees are fixed by State Conference. They should be reviewed in time to enable the State Conference to be held in Spring 1999 to review the fee levels, which in my view should be substantially lower, and simplified.

I recommend that the Administrative Committee consider and report to the Spring 1999 State Conference, on the practicability of introducing a lower, simpler fee structure, with a standard and a concessional fee, and voluntary additional payments from members able to pay.

6.17 The most important membership reform which the Party could undertake would be to increase membership, particularly in marginal seats. The British Labour Party managed to increase its membership from 200,000 in 1992 to 400,000 in 1997, approximately one person in every 150 in Britain. The Victorian ALP ratio is one to 275. Increased membership has obvious and direct benefits. It puts the Party in touch with Labor voters and the wider community. It improves the process of policy formulation. It creates a better base for campaigning, for fundraising, and for finding high quality candidates for public office.

6.18 Many submissions contained practical proposals for increasing Party membership. These included:

- lowering the membership fees;
- a lower starting fee for new members;
- recruitment drives and forums;
- telephone canvassing;
- a “Labor Week” each year;
- joining via the Internet;
- cheaper memberships for young people and union members;
- extensive advertising and letterboxing;
- simplifying the membership form;
- cheaper membership for new members from marginal seats;
- incentives for existing members to recruit new members;
- establishing a recruiting unit at State Office.

All of these proposals need to be examined, but the detailed strategy to be adopted is beyond the scope of this review. What is clear is that the development and implementation of a detailed recruitment strategy is unlikely to occur unless the Party established a properly resourced recruitment unit, staffed by people with recruitment expertise who are not chosen because of factional or even Party membership. There are recruitment techniques already used by other community organisations. The Party through a professional recruitment unit, needs to study and apply these techniques. A recruitment

strategy will not be developed if the party simply continues with occasional and uncoordinated attempts to increase membership.

I recommend that the Administrative Committee be directed to prepare a detailed recruitment strategy designed to substantially increase Party membership.

I further recommend that the Party establishes a recruitment unit, staffed by people with recruitment expertise.

### Participation in Party activities, including voting and organisational structures

- 7.1 The Party needs to recognise that not all Party members wish to or are able to participate in Party activities in the same way, and that being an active and committed member is not necessarily defined by attendance at branch meetings. In a society with a multitude of distractions and alternative activities, the Party needs to make itself attractive to members, by providing a range of ways to contribute and participate.
- 7.2 Many submissions criticised branch meetings. Some Party members find branch meetings interesting and fulfilling, partly because some branches offer a range of activities for members at meetings, and work at making meetings interesting. But just as many Party members find branch meetings boring and a waste of time. Branch meetings are a form of activity which the Party has used for a century, originating in a time before television and radio, before widespread use of the telephone, a time when most Party members would have walked or taken public transport to their local branch meeting. In such a time, meetings were often the only ready means of communicating and participating in Party activity. It is not so today, and the Party needs to recognise this.
- 7.3 Many members do not wish to attend branch meetings, but do wish to contribute in other ways:
- in policy development, by attending policy committee meetings, doing research and preparing written policy material;

- in fundraising, by making donations personally or organising fundraising activities;
- by providing their skills to the Party;
- in campaigning and recruitment, by providing their time and energy in doorknocking, letterboxing and telephone canvassing.

7.4 All of these contributions are valuable, and all of them need to be encouraged. No member of the Party should ever feel that the only “real” Party activists are those attending branch meetings, and it is primarily for this reason that I do not recommend the re-introduction of a branch meeting attendance requirement as a qualification for voting in Party ballots. My view is that this would be an artificial requirement, and would not necessarily reflect any real commitment or participation in the Party.

7.5 I do however favour retaining the present requirement to physically attend a branch meeting to become a voting member of the Party (either as a new member or as a transfer from central membership). It is important that members be in touch, at least initially, with their local branch, even if they are unable or unwilling to attend further branch meetings.

7.6 The Party has a poor record in retaining new members. It has over fifteen thousand members, and has attracted on average around two thousand new members in each of the last five years (1994, 2521; 1995, 1309; 1996, 3523; 1997, 2904; 1998, 2566). In the same period however there have been substantial numbers of Party members who have allowed their membership to lapse (1994, 2017; 1995, 2109; 1996, 1562; 1997, 2572; 1998, 2935). The survey conducted for the Party by Viney Consulting in October 1996 on the reasons for non-renewal of membership suggested a range of reforms, not all of which have been acted on. Their research suggested that the reasons for non-renewal included deficiencies in the renewal process itself, a lack of opportunity to shape policy and influence candidate preselection, and the general interest of branch meetings. The Party can and should do something about all these matters.

- 7.8 The Party has already given some attention to the renewal process, but the loss of members, particularly relatively new members, is too important not to pay particular attention to it.

I recommend that the Administrative Committee adopt standing procedures to follow up all non-renewals of memberships within three months of the final date for renewals in each year, by at least one letter and telephone call.

- 7.9 Greater opportunity to shape policy was in part the target of the 1996 Maxwell Review of the Party's policy development process. Many of the Maxwell recommendations have been acted on. In particular:

- membership of policy committees has been widened by creating the opportunity for automatic co-option of self-identified associate members. Some 450 members have joined the new policy committees;
- a comprehensive policy development framework has been developed;
- there has been much great consultation between policy committees and other parts of the Party;
- a Policy Coordination Committee was established and has met regularly;
- there has been some attempt to conduct policy forums at Conference.

- 7.10 Some of the Maxwell recommendations, despite endorsement by Conference, have not been implemented. One of the most important of these recommendations was the employment of a specialist research officer. As Chris Maxwell said in his report, it is vital that there be a capacity for research and analysis, which volunteer members of policy committees will usually be unable to perform. This research position has not yet been created.

- 7.11 It is not necessary to again review in this report the policy development process considered by Chris Maxwell. Implementation of his recommendations would achieve greater participation in policy, and I see little purpose in "reinventing the wheel" by reviewing the Maxwell recommendations. What needs to happen is implementation of his

recommendations, particularly those concerned with supporting and resourcing the policy process.

I recommend continuing implementation of the 1996 Maxwell Report on policy development processes.

### Tapping the talent of the Party

7.12 Party members have a great range of skills, and a desire to help the Party with their skills. In some areas the Party does take advantage of members' skills. The example with which I am most familiar is the work done by Labor Lawyers in providing representation and advice to the Party, particularly to State parliamentarians in freedom of information appeals. The Party could do much more to involve members with skills in public relations, fundraising, recruitment, administration, merchandising business development, management and policy areas.

7.13 One starting point for this process might be a questionnaire sent to all new members and to all members on annual renewal, to collect information about the member's skills and availability. Appropriate precautions to protect members' privacy would be needed. But before this is done some detailed planning is needed: there is no point in collecting this form of information unless there is a plan to use it.

I recommend that the Administrative Committee, with State Office, develop a human resource management plan to use the skills of members in Party activities, modelled on plans of other volunteer organisations.

### Voting in Party ballots

7.14 I have earlier in this report referred to the need to ensure integrity in the voting process in Party ballots. If it is easy to join the Party, it is important to apply some rigour in determining eligibility to vote, and all members of the Party interested in genuine democracy in the party will support such rigour.

Imposing clear requirements on eligibility to vote in Party ballots also gives an important message to new members of the Party: that their vote is valuable, and valued.

- 7.15 There is already a requirement in the rules for 12 months continuity of membership for eligibility to vote (Rules 9.3.3(a) and 15.4). There is no need to change these rules, and I do not support the suggestion made in some submissions that this eligibility period be increased.
- 7.16 A large number of submissions suggested use of the Australian Electoral Commission roll as a means of verifying the addresses of members. I endorse this proposal, because it potentially reduces the administrative burden and time spent by Party members in compiling the Party voters roll, and should ensure that Party members vote in the Federal Electorate in which they permanently reside. If members wish to change their address shown on the Party's voters roll, because they have moved, the first step will be to register their changed address with the Australian Electoral Commission. It will be necessary to provide for another means of establishing residential addresses for those Party members who are not on the Australian Electoral Roll (ie those under 18 and Australian residents who are not yet citizens).

I recommend that the Rules be amended to provide that a member's address shown on the Australian Electoral roll be the member's address for the purpose of compiling the Party's voters roll and that those members not on the Australian Electoral roll satisfy the State Secretary prior to the closing of the Party's voters roll of their residential address, by the production of appropriate and verifiable independent evidence of residential address.

- 7.17 In recent years there has on occasions been disputation about entitlements to vote in Party ballots up to and including the day of the Party ballot. In order to reduce this kind of disputation and particularly to make the job of Returning Officers easier, the voters roll should close on the day on which nominations for the particular election or preselection plebiscite close. The rules already provide a procedure for correcting inaccuracies and updating the roll before

elections. Subject to proof of direct errors and omissions, entitlement to vote should be determined in accordance with the roll as closed at the date nominations close. This rule will also place the onus of recording changes or address squarely on members themselves.

I recommend that the Rules be amended to provide for the closing of voters rolls on the day on which nominations for the relevant elections or preselection plebiscites close, and that entitlement to vote, subject to proved errors and omissions, be determined in accordance with the roll at that time.

### Dispute Resolution

- 7.18 Many submissions criticised the present Disputes Tribunal rule. This provides for fifteen members of the Disputes Tribunal, which is an obviously unwieldy number. The main criticism was that the Disputes Tribunal was perceived to be subject to factional influence, not least because its members are elected by the proportional representation voting system by State Conference. The criticism is in effect that Party members need to be able to take disputes to a Tribunal which is seen to be beyond reproach, and that the existence of such a Tribunal would in itself act as a deterrent to breaches of Party rules or other unacceptable conduct.
- 7.19 Most criticisms were directed at the composition of the Tribunal rather than the procedures established in the current rules, which already provide for a hearing, representation, summary dismissal of unsubstantiated charges, penalties including reprimand, suspension and expulsion and an appeal to State Conference against the Tribunal's decision. In my view a relatively simple rules change is needed to meet the concerns expressed, which is to provide for a single member Disputes Tribunal to be elected by a 75% majority of the delegates to State Conference. The single member would replace the existing 15 members. Because there is a possibility that the resources of the single member may be insufficient at certain times, the new rule should also include the possibility of the single member appointing up to four advisory members, and should require the Disputes Tribunal to attempt

to resolve disputes by conciliation. A similar rule was introduced in South Australia in 1995. The requirement of a 75% majority is intended to ensure the election of a person of integrity who is recognised as such by all elements within the Party.

I recommend that the Rules be amended to provide for the election of a single member Disputes Tribunal to replace the existing 15 member Disputes Tribunal, such member to be elected by a 75% majority of the delegates to State Conference. The Disputes Tribunal should have the ability to appoint up to four advisory members to assist in deliberations, and should be required to use conciliation in resolving disputes.

#### Direct voting by Party members

- 7.20 The Party has for decades been organised as a collegiate structure, where members vote for delegates to State Conference, and those delegates elect party officers and committees and determine policy. The only direct voting by members, other than for Conference delegates and local branch positions, is as part of the process of pre-selecting candidates for public office.
- 7.21 Some submissions called for direct elections of Party officers, including members of the Administrative Committee the State President and Vice-Presidents. Others called for a plebiscite on policy (a procedure adopted by the British Labour Party) where members have a direct vote on the policy platform. These ideas are worth considering, but are not a substitute for actual participation in policy development. More particularly, these innovations would require a substantial revision of the rules because they are a substantial change to the present structure.

I recommend that State Conference direct the Rules Revision Committee to report to the 1999 Spring State Conference on the feasibility of introducing direct elections for Party officers and plebiscites on Party policy.

## Ethnic Branches

7.22 A small number of submissions criticised ethnic branches, calling for their abolition or review. I do not support these suggestions. Ethnic branches have been part of the Victorian ALP for some decades. They provide a congenial means for ethnic communities to participate in Australian political life, and appropriately reflect the ALP's commitment to cultural diversity. Ethnic branches should be retained, but could be better supported so as to enable ethnic branches to participate to the maximum extent possible in Party activities. Such support could take the form of providing Party material in languages other than English, and providing speakers for ethnic branch meetings.

I recommend that the Victorian ALP retain and provide support to ethnic branches, and that the Administrative Committee and Party officers investigate means of providing such support.

## Relationship with the Union Movement

8.1 The trade union movement founded the Labor Party, and has continued a special relationship with the Party throughout this century. What is needed in the next century is to ensure that the relationship remains a genuine partnership, in which the Party provides a political voice to advance the interests of working people.

8.2 The current institutional relationship between the Victorian Branch and the trade union movement was set during Federal intervention in 1970. 60% of State Conference delegates were allocated to affiliated unions and 40% of delegates to Federal Electorate Assemblies. Because the four State Parliamentary leaders and two of the Victorian Federal parliamentarians are six of the delegates to State Conference the precise numbers are affiliated unions, 270 delegates and FEA's, 180, giving affiliated unions 59.2% of the total number of 456 delegates, but ratio is popularly referred to as 60:40. The

60:40 ratio of unions to FEA's became standard in all State and Territory branches through the 1970's and 1980's.

- 8.3 The Party's 1994 National Rules provide in the Party's national principles of organisation for a ratio between 60:40 and 50:50:

*“In all States the State Conference shall comprise not less than 50 percent nor more than 60 percent union representation and not less than 40 per cent or more than 50 percent constituency representatives.”*

In South Australia, Tasmania, the Australian Capital Territory and the Northern Territory the Party's branches now have a 50:50 rule. The New South Wales, Queensland and Western Australian branches have a 60:40 rule.

- 8.4 There are presently thirty six unions or union divisions affiliated with the Victorian Branch. These affiliates between them have approximately 350,000 members. There has been a steady decline for several years in the membership of affiliated unions: ten years ago unions affiliated with the Branch had approximately 530,000 members. There has also been a drop in the total number of affiliated unions, but this decrease represents the effect of union amalgamations and not the departure of any large unions. Some significant unions, including the Australian Education Union, the Australian Nurses Federation, the Finance Sector Union and the Public Sector Union are not affiliated with the Victorian Branch.
- 8.5 Despite the decline in overall union membership the affiliated unions provide the financial foundation of the Victorian branch: last year unions contributed \$1.128 million to the Victorian Branch.
- 8.6 Several submissions suggested changes to the 60:40 ratio. Some submitters favoured a change to 50:50, and a very small number suggested more radical changes, although this would contravene the Party's current national principles. The usual rationale advanced for reducing the State conference representation of affiliated unions was that it would improve the Party's electoral prospects, or that it would allow branch members a greater role in

Party deliberations and policy formulation. The basis for suggesting that reducing the union delegation would make the ALP more electable is said to be that it would, at least symbolically, reflect an equal partnership between the unions and branch members and reduce a public perception of a union majority and which delivers “control” of the Branch. As far as I can determine the only reason for altering the 60:40 ratio is the perceived symbolism of introducing an equal ratio. The reality of union participation in the Branch is that union delegates to State Conference, and union representatives in other Party forums and bodies, do not vote as a union bloc or seek to impose a combined “union position” on the Party. Branch members already dominate Party deliberations and policy formulation, and reducing the union representation to 50% would have little or no effect on Party activity. But if altering the ratio makes the Party more electable it must be further considered. The ALP in government will do far more to improve the lot of workers than the ALP in opposition.

- 8.7 If it is concluded that reducing union representation is worthwhile, there are several means by which this end could be achieved. A new ratio could be introduced immediately, or a new ratio could be phased in over time. One mechanism which would achieve a reduction to 50% over about eight years based on the current rate of decline in union membership, would be for delegates not to be “redistributed” among all unions as membership of affiliated unions declines but instead for 90 delegate positions to disappear over time until there remained 180 union delegates.
- 8.8 I am not presently convinced that because of the present functioning of the Party the ratio needs to be changed, and if a change in any way threatens the maintaining and improving of a genuine partnership between unions and the Party, it should be abandoned. But this matter can be further examined. An appropriate means of examining the matter would be a Committee comprising representatives of key unions and Party members, who will need to negotiate and consider whether any change is warranted and if so the mechanisms by which the change could be achieved.

I recommend the establishment of a Committee made up of key unions and Party members, to consider if any change in the level of union representation at State Conference is warranted.

8.9 A number of submissions included other suggestions concerning affiliated unions.

8.10 At present few members of affiliated unions are members of the Party. The only relevant requirement for Party membership in the rules is that all union delegates to State Conference are required to be members of the Party. Because most union members already pay significant dues to their unions, and may regard their union's participation in the Party as sufficient involvement on their part, union members often see no need to individually join the Party. The Party should attempt to change this situation. Greater individual membership in the Party by union members would improve the partnership with the unions and give the Party more access to the large number of talented and energetic people in the union movement. To assist this recruitment, consideration should be given to giving a small discount (say \$4.00) on membership fees payable by union members, in recognition of the financial contribution their union already makes to the Party.

Unions themselves could also be encouraged to promote membership of the ALP by union members. Various inducement mechanisms could be used, the obvious one being a discount on union fees on proof of ALP membership. This is a matter for individual unions, but the Party could encourage affiliates to promote ALP membership.

I recommend that the Party actively encourage members of affiliated unions to join the Party as individual members and that the membership fee for union members be discounted by an appropriate amount.

8.11 A further suggestion made by several submitters was a proposal that affiliation levels of each union be determined solely on the basis of annual membership number returns made by each affiliated union to the Industrial Relations

Commission. This is a good proposal, because it promotes the integrity of the Party's membership and structure similarly to the suggested changes for membership and voting of branch members. There is no valid reason why affiliated unions should not use the union membership figure stated in their last lodged Industrial Relations Commission return as the basis for determining memberships for affiliation purposes. This change can be introduced without requiring a change to the relevant rule, Rule 5.2.

I recommend that the membership of affiliated unions for affiliation purposes be determined by reference to the membership figure stated in that union's last return lodged with the Industrial Relations Commission.

### Relationship to the Community

- 9.1 The importance to the ALP of a close and active relationship with the wider community does not need restating. But in many parts of the State, and some areas of the Metropolitan Melbourne the relationship is tenuous. In part this is because of low Party membership in some areas. The historically high Victorian Branch membership of over 15,000 masks the fact that about half of the membership is concentrated in seven of the 37 Federal electorates, and that in eleven Federal electorates the Party has less than 200 members. The effect of low Party membership is to lessen effective contact with the community in that area.
- 9.2 Many of the proposals considered elsewhere in this report would assist in re-engaging with the community. Increased party memberships in areas with low membership would be a start, but local branches also need to participate in community activities, to become more substantial local community organisations. There are local issues in most communities which the Party branches can be involved in. Planning and local government issues and obvious examples. Party branches can lead or be involved in local campaigns: the toxic dumps in the western suburbs, or the wave of multi-unit development sweeping most Melbourne suburbs, are currently topical examples.

I recommend the development of a strategy to reorient Party branches to become more substantial local community organisations.

- 9.3 A further opportunity to re-engaging with the community will come from the Labor Womens Network initiative. The Labor Womens Network was established at the 1998 ALP National Conference, and offers a model that can take the Party into the community, by inviting and encouraging women to participate in the political process, within a flexible network structure.

I recommend that the Victorian Branch assist and promote the Labor Women's Network established by the 1998 National Conference.

- 9.4 The 1996 Maxwell recommendations envisaged engagement by policy committees with relevant organisations in their policy area, and the holding of at least one public forum in the life of each policy committee. It is important that these recommendations be implemented.

- 9.5 Several submissions criticised the lack of ALP “promotional packages” between elections. Some Party information is available, and the State Parliamentary Leader's office distributes material, but there is scope for the production of packages aimed at particular groups such as:

- new members and potential members
- school and university libraries
- politics students requesting information
- union members

I recommend that the Administrative Committee investigate the production of promotional packages targeted at identified community groups.

## Financial Plan

## Background

- 10.1 The Victorian Branch requires funding for election campaigns and administration of the Branch. Election campaign spending is periodic, and it can be planned for. The Branch has in place detailed financial planning for the next State election.
- 10.2 During the 1988 State Election, the Branch spent \$3,000,000 of which \$800,000 was raised through fundraising and the balance from cash reserves and a bank overdraft. During the 1992 State election, the Branch spent \$1,500,000, of which only \$78,000 was raised from fundraising and the balance from cash reserves and overdraft. The Branch made major cuts to its operation following the loss of government, one direct result of which was the loss of over \$100,000 per annum from parliamentary salary levies. For the 1996 State Election campaign the Branch spent \$750,000, raising \$394,000 through fundraising and the balance from cash reserves. One of the main focuses of the Review of the 1996 campaign was campaign spending; the Branch has budgeted to spend \$2,700,000 for the next State Election, all of which will be met from cash reserves.
- 10.3 The Branch undertook a major administrative overhaul in 1995 to deal with the serious financial position it then faced. The measures introduced then included:
- increasing the membership fees by 25%, with automatic indexing for inflation.
  - increasing the union affiliation fee by 25%, with automatic indexing for inflation.
  - increasing the parliamentary levy by 35% to the present level of 5% of salary and electorate allowance.
  - staff cuts, including one organiser, the office manager, a part time field officer, a part time computer consultant and a part time trainee position.
  - cuts to general administrative services, including reducing the Journal from ten to five editions per year.
  - the commencement of a bequests program.
  - the commencement of a donor acquisition program

- the commencement of a Corporate Visits Program and Corporate Functions Program.
- approaches to all non-affiliated unions to encourage affiliation.

The donor acquisition program has produced an increase from a handful of regular donors to a list of 3,000 member and 3,000 non-member donors at October 1998.

- 10.4 Following the 1996 State Election review, Party officers and the Administrative Committee reorganised the Branch's financial structure, primarily to avoid past practices of allocating funds to the next election campaign without serious regard for the long term financial viability of the Victorian Branch. Since 1 July 1996, the Branch has operated four separate accounts covering the following operations:

Party Administrative Account

- meets all Victorian Branch Administrative Expenses
- meets National Secretariat sustentation fees and other costs
- receives all membership fees
- receives all union affiliation fees
- receives all income from the Capital Investment Fund

Capital Investment Fund

- receives half of any Administration Account surplus at financial year end
- receives all bequests made to the Victorian Branch

Federal Election Account

- meets all Victorian Branch Federal Election expenses
- receives all Federal parliamentary levies
- receives all income from corporate and member fundraising dedicated to the Federal Election
- receives any National Secretariat rebates from public funding towards the Federal Marginal Electorates Campaign.

### State Election Account

- receives half of any Administration Account surplus at financial year end
- meets all State Election expenses
- receives all income from corporate and member fundraising dedicated to the State Election
- receives all State parliamentary and State officials' levies.

### Objectives of the Capital Investment Fund

10.5 The purpose of the Capital Investment Fund is to provide a stable base for the long term financial needs of the ALP in Victoria. The Branch Rules provide for interest only to be withdrawn from the Fund, unless a 75% majority of State Conference determines otherwise. At present the Fund contains approximately \$630,000. With bequests and administrative surpluses it is expected to grow at approximately \$200,000 per year for the foreseeable future, provided union affiliation levels do not substantially decline.

### Sources of Funds

10.6 Fees from affiliated unions remain the largest single source of regular income for the Branch, as is the case for all ALP branches except the Northern Territory. This income of the Victorian Branch has been declining as the number of members of affiliated unions has declined. (Illustratively, at the current affiliation rate of \$0.83 per union member per quarter, the decline from 531,841 in 1987 to 341,300 today represents a drop in annual revenue to the Victorian Branch of \$632,000). The possibility of further decline is the primary reason for establishing and building the Capital Investment Fund as a potential permanent source of income.

10.7 The other major sources of regular income are membership fees and parliamentary salary levies. Compared to other State and Territory Branches, the Victorian Branch has higher fees and higher parliamentary levies which together with the substantial income from union affiliation fees gives it an income per FEA which is similar to the income received by the New South

Wales and Queensland branches, both of which are publicly funded. Statistical and financial data comparing the Victorian Branch to the other State and Territory Branches is set out in Appendix 4 to this report. The data suggests that the single most important financial difference between the various branches is that there is public funding for the NSW, Queensland and ACT elections, but not in any other State. (All branches receive some income from the public funding of Federal elections. As well, the NSW Branch receives an annual subsidy from the State of New South Wales as do other NSW political parties). The subsidy received by the NSW Branch last year was \$634,000.00

- 10.8 The income from public election campaign funding to other ALP Branches is very substantial:

ACT Election 1998 (Estimate)	\$99,000
Federal Election 1998 (Actual)	\$13,956,456
Queensland Election 1998 (Estimate)	\$800,000
NSW Election 1999 (Estimate)	\$2,800,000

While each State and the Territory use different formulas, the amounts received by the ALP National Secretariat from the Commonwealth in respect of votes cast for the ALP in Victoria at the 1998 Federal Election was \$3,913,448. A similar sum being available to the Victorian Branch for State Election purposes would increase the amount now budgeted by 145% which neatly illustrates the importance of continuing to press for public funding of State Election campaigns.

- 10.9 The other notable difference from other State branches is that the Queensland, New South Wales and ACT branches all have sources of income additional to affiliation and membership fees and parliamentary levies. The Victorian Branch is working to develop this situation through the Capital Investment Fund, but needs to do more to raise funds through donations. The British Labour party before the 1997 election established a full time fundraising unit, dedicated to soliciting private donations as well as more public fundraising activities, and operating with methods used by many charitable organisations.

The Victorian Branch needs to consider establishing this kind of fundraising operation: the task should fall solely on the State Secretary but should be the function of a separate unit or Branch officer.

- 10.11 A further financial matter to note is that the Branch has purchased and is fitting out new Head office premises in King Street, West Melbourne. With the sale of the existing Drummond Street office, the move is intended to be effectively cost neutral, but will produce larger, more comfortable and much more modern premises.
- 10.12 In summary, the Victorian Branch is on a sound financial footing, but more funds would enable an expansion of functions, such as the employment of policy and research staff. The Branch faces some threat of further decline in income from affiliated unions if union membership declines. The Branch needs to continue to work to expand its income. The biggest single change in the Branch's finances would come from public election funding, as now exists in Queensland, New South Wales, the ACT and Federally. A further major change could be achieved by establishing a full time fundraising unit.

I recommend that the Victorian Branch work towards legislation providing for public funding of election campaign expenses.

I further recommend that the Victorian Branch establish a full time fundraising unit dedicated to soliciting private donations as well as organising public fundraising activities.

### Campaign techniques

- 11.1 Many submissions contained detailed suggestions for the introduction of new campaign techniques. In particular, members who observed the 1997 British Labour Party campaign and have already provided detailed reports to the State Party provided material setting out some of the sophisticated techniques employed in that campaign. These techniques include:

- Direct canvassing (door knocking) with voter identification - use of information collected during doorknocking to shape the campaign
- “Blitzing” - a door knocking technique where groups of Party supporters accompanying the candidate direct the candidate to households wanting to speak to the candidate
- Targetted direct mail
- Volunteer telephone banks, using Party supporters trained in professional telephone canvassing techniques.
- Coordinated media monitoring during campaigns.
- Skills training for candidates
- Skills training for party campaigners
- Campaign staffing using Party members with useful professional skills
- mini-campaigns to test policies or themes in the electorate.

- 11.2 The Party has started to adopt new technology in its activities. The Party has a website, which is the subject of ongoing improvement, and the move to a new, renovated State office in King Street, West Melbourne has provided an opportunity for extensive cabling. This will allow quick installation of communications technology during election campaigns, and the use of telemarketing techniques.
- 11.3 Many submissions urged the Party to embrace new technology, suggesting that use of e-mail be encouraged and the Party establish a larger and more interactive presence on the Internet. I agree with these suggestions, but would sound a small note of caution: not all Party members have access to new information technology, and the Party should take care not to exclude these members as it takes up new technology.
- 11.4 It is outside the scope of this review to devise a detailed strategy for campaign techniques and the introduction of new technology. The 1996 Campaign Review Committee report recommended detailed planning for the next campaign, much of which has been implemented. Apart from specific

suggestions about campaigning, the major themes emerging from the submissions were:

- the need to ensure coordination between the State office and the Parliamentary Party
- proposals to put the Party on a footing of “continuous campaigning”

#### Continuation of Review

- 12 A number of submissions suggested that I should recommend a continuation of this review, or that the review should be converted into a kind of ongoing commission of inquiry. While the Party should continue to consider possible reforms, this review was established in a particular form to investigate defined matters within a short time. The Party has established structures for on-going consideration of reforms and I do not favour the continuation of this essentially ad-hoc review.

#### Implementation of Review

- 13.1 The proposed rules changes which are on the agenda for this State Conference (Appendix 3) deal with some of the matters I have made recommendations on. I agree with the intention of most of the proposals, but for various technical drafting reasons all of them need to be revised or recast in some way. I suggest that a more appropriate way forward, if Conference approves some or all of the recommendations in this review, would be for a package of rule changes to be put forward at the next State Conference.
- 13.2 Because the next State Conference is to be held in late February 1999, it may be necessary for rule changes to be drafted promptly and produced to the Administrative Committee before the end of December 1998 if they are to be considered at the next State Conference.
- 13.3 If other recommendations which do not involve rule changes are endorsed, they should be implemented as soon as possible.

- 13.4 My final recommendation is that a copy of this report be sent to all those members who sent written submissions without which this review would have been difficult, if not impossible, to undertake in the available time.

Mark Dreyfus

7 December 1998

**APPENDIX 1**

Dear Member,

The Victorian Branch Administrative Committee has selected leading Melbourne barrister, and long standing ALP member, Mr Mark Dreyfus, to head a panel of Review to make recommendations on the branch's structure and to develop a blueprint for the party for the next decade.

The Panel of Review will produce a report to be considered for approval at a special one day ALP conference on 12 December.

The decision to carry out the review was made at the May State Conference. As you will see from the attached terms of reference, its purpose is to prepare the Party for 2000 and beyond and help establish a strategy for the next decade.

All members and constituent units are invited to make written submissions to the Panel of Review to be received no later than Monday, 9 November. Executives of Branches that do not have a scheduled meeting before the close of submissions should consider bringing forward their branch meeting date to enable their branch to discuss possible submissions.

I look forward to the Panel of Review as a positive step forward to help prepare the party for the new century and to strengthen the gains made by the party organisation in recent years.

Mark Dreyfus is a man of outstanding character and ability, and I am confident that the unanimous vote of the Administrative Committee to appoint him bodes well for the task in front of us all.

Yours in friendship,

JOHN LENDERS  
State Secretary

**APPENDIX 2**List of Submissions

1. Lindsay Tanner M.P. Member for Melbourne.
2. John Brown.
3. Aileen Graham.
4. Mervyn J. Geddes
5. Lee Alexander
6. Tony Robinson M.P. Member for Mitcham
7. Wannon FEA
8. Dianne Hadden-Tregear & Simone Nichol
9. Bill Pitt
10. Mount Martha Branch
11. Val McKenna
12. Sophie Hill
13. Edwin Morales
14. Barrie Stacey
15. Yoland Wadsworth
16. Glen Marshall
17. Michael Freeman
18. Max Hall
19. Peter Eisen
20. Beth Gott
21. Pat Corbett
22. Peter Love
23. Meredith Doig
24. Campaign for International Co-operation & Disarmament
25. David Davies
26. Greensborough/East Greensborough Branches
27. Peter Holding & John Scheffer
28. Health & Community Services Policy Committee
29. Newport Branch
30. Ballarat East Branch
31. Patricia & Frank Kun
32. Yvonne Orr
33. North Melbourne Branch
34. Ted Smith
35. Mia Vitue
36. Jacki Willox & Antonia Parkes
37. Warrnambool Branch
38. Melbourne Ports Women
39. Warrnambool Branch – further submission
40. Wannon FEA – further submission
41. Genevieve Forde
42. Ken McAlpine
43. Charles Power
44. Mark Goldblatt
45. Ivanhoe Branch
46. Kerry Baker
47. Mordy Bromberg, Michael Pearce & Peter Willis

48. Andrew McKenzie
49. John Scheffer – paper one
50. John Scheffer – paper two
51. Pat Noonan
52. Lilly Cook
53. Ken Mooney
54. Joanne Mooney
55. Stawell Branch
56. Gillian Walker
57. Dale Vagg
58. Alan McPhate
59. Queenscliff/ Pt. Lonsdale Branch
60. Bill Sharrock
61. Traralgon Branch
62. Bayswater Branch
63. Dorothy Kiers
64. Ruth Shnookal
65. John Maroulis
66. David Pringle
67. Public First
68. Northcote Branch
69. St.Kilda Branch
70. Carlo Carli M.P. Member for Coburg
71. Camperdown Branch
72. Stephen Morey
73. Australian Workers Union
74. Colleen Gray
75. John Lannan
76. Robert Manhal
77. Tony Lennen
78. Dandenong Ranges Branch
79. Frank Pederick
80. Margarita Caddick
81. Felicity Woppenkamp
82. Kate Nash
83. Phillip Ramsden
84. Margaret Dunphy
85. Macedon Ranges Branch
86. Frank Trajer
87. Halina Strnad
88. David Littlewood
89. James Dooley
90. Richard Morrow
91. Chandler Branch
92. Tim Holding
93. Greg Sword
94. Henryk Kay
95. Ange Kenos
96. Williamstown Branch
97. John Button

98. Martin Foley (ASU), Dean Mighell (ETU), Graham Bird (AMIEU), Terry Bourke (PTU), Brian Daley (LHMU), Nurcihan Ozturk (TCFU), Tom Watson (FEDFA)
99. Judith Couacaud Graley
100. Barry Pullen M.P. Member for Melbourne Province
101. Harry Bartz
102. John Thwaites M.P. Member for Albert Park
103. Susan Scalise & Tanya McIntyre (Richmond Branch)
104. Ron Kennett
105. Ringwood Branch
106. Australian Services Union
107. Paul Reid
108. John Brumby M.P. Leader of the State Opposition
109. Wills FEA
110. Kyneton Branch
111. Megan Lilly
112. Footscray North Branch
113. Fitzroy Branch
114. Giovanni Sgro
115. Country Labor Executive
116. Dandenong North Branch
117. Natalie Sykes, Nathan Niven, Mark Karlovic
118. Gavan O'Connor M.P. Member for Corio
119. Frank Liebler
120. David McKenzie
121. Graham Ihlein
122. Mount Martha Branch – further submission
123. Dave Robinson
124. Dianne Anderson
125. Frank Purcell
126. Andrew Giles
127. Wayne Chamley
128. David Hassett
129. Jessie & Donald Smith
130. Burwood Branch
131. Upper Yarra Branch
132. Keilor East Branch
133. Peter Mitchell
134. North Fitzroy Branch
135. ALP Members for Democratic Change
136. Werribee Branch
137. Bryan Davies
138. Higgins FEA
139. Marlene Campbell
140. Robin Rothfield for Northcote SEC Branches
141. Boronia Branch
142. Geelong West Branch
143. Jill Hennessy
144. Julie Warren
145. Young Labor Network

146. Tim Laurence
147. Jim Claven
148. Lily D'Ambrosio
149. Corio FEA
150. Williamstown Branch – further submission
151. Val Nicholls
152. Lev Lafayette
153. Anon
154. Graeme Willcox
155. Hamilton Branch
156. Frank Mountford
157. Waverley West Branch
158. Richard Gray
159. Gordon Christie
160. Eddie Micallef M.P. Member for Springvale
161. Keren Clark
162. Malvern Branch
163. Ian Bransgrove
164. Gurkan Capar
165. Melton Branch
166. Brunswick/Brunswick South Branches
167. Peter Steedman
168. Knoxville/Rowville Branches
169. Port Melbourne Branch
170. Cheryl Wragg
171. Creswick Branch
172. Carlton North Branch
173. Wayne Chamley – further submission
174. Barbara Murdoch
175. Elizabeth Nash
176. Bendigo South Branch
177. Don Nardella M.P. Member for Melbourne North Province
178. Essendon Branch
179. Tooronga Branch
180. Upwey Branch
181. Watsonia Branch
182. Beechworth Branch
183. Zuvele Leschen
184. South Melbourne Branch
185. Christine Fensham
186. David Henshaw
187. Mitcham Branch
188. Wonthaggi/Bass Branch
189. Robert Larocca
190. Pat Corbett – additional submission
191. Lev Lafayette – additional submission
192. M.L'Estrange
193. Garth Head
194. Highett ALP Branch
195. Bairnsdale and District ALP Branch

196. Anthony Leong
197. Margaret Dunphy
198. Daniel Casey
199. Willi Carney
200. Phil West

### APPENDIX 3

#### Proposed Rule Changes

Pursuant to Rule 6.4.6, notice has been given of the following proposed rules changes:

#### **from the LHMWU - Liquor and Hospitality Division**

Add to rule 5.3.5 (b) “If eligible a member of must be enrolled with the Australian Electoral Commission at the appropriate residential address”

and

Add rule 5.3.9(c) “Applications for and renewals of, membership shall be signed by the member”.

#### **from the AMIEU:**

Add to Rule 9.3.3(d) “For the purposes of compiling voters rolls, the State Secretary shall use only residential addresses advised to State Office as at the close of nominations”.

Add new rule 15.5.2 “For the purposes of compiling voters rolls, the State Secretary shall use only residential addresses advised to State Office as at the close of nominations”. Rule 15.5 renumbered as rule 15.5.1.

#### **from the ASU - MEU/Private Sector Branch:**

Add to rule 5.3.5(d) “Advice of change of residential address is to be signed by the member”.

#### **from the Electrical Trades Union:**

Add to rule 9.3.3(c): “Members who are not enrolled with the Australian Electoral Commission at the same address as listed on Party records shall be required by the Returning Officer to produce evidence of their residential address prior to their vote being admitted to the ballot.”

Replace rule 15.4 with “The provisions of rules 9.3.3(a) and (c) apply to Selections for Public Office.”

#### **from the Public Transport Union:**

Add Rule 5.3.5 (h): “No person shall pay a membership fee for any person other than themselves or a member of their immediate family.”