



*'First Ministry under Responsible Govt  
N.S. Wales 1856.' Photograph.  
NSW GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE*

## CHAPTER 26

# PARLIAMENTS, PARTIES AND GOVERNMENTS

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### PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

SCHOLARSHIP AND PUBLISHING have blossomed abundantly in Australia since the end of World War II and the dual fields of parliament and government have received considerable attention from both. The growing number of schoolchildren and university students has led to a steady stream of educational texts on the parliamentary system and government in Australia. Many of these texts are valuable in heightening interest and awareness among the population generally.

It is equally clear that Australians' perceptions of matters relating to parliament and government have developed and broadened dramatically in recent decades, encouraged and supported by the mixed blessings of television, with its instant exposure to events, and such recent phenomena as talk-back and community supported radio. Sectional groupings of citizens and 'activists' promoting various causes are now commonplace, and an analysis of the way Australian society has changed over recent decades would undoubtedly identify many more factors having relevance to the practice of, and an interest in, politics and government.

So numerous and diverse have been developments in the fields of parliament and government in the last two decades, to take an arbitrary cut-off point, that there has been a radical questioning of hitherto accepted institutions and offices (such as that of the governor-general), of the political system (especially in its federal aspect), of the division of power (with women asking for proportionate share of power, Aborigines seeking ownership of land), and of the law, both in its substantive content and in its system of administration. There are many official reports, books and pamphlets on these questions. The conflict between capital and labour has also had its share of attention and it is apparent from this brief and certainly partial enumeration of topics relevant to parliament and government in Australia that to cite even representative titles in this vast area would lead to a list quite beyond the scope of this volume. The reading lists that follow are therefore selective and restricted to basic published works, acknowledged to be important in their field but within the grasp of the educated, non-specialist reader.

No attempt has been made to list the parliamentary and official publications which are basic to the study of the operations of the political system. A number of essays in *Australian official publications* edited by D.H. Borchardt (Melbourne, Longman Cheshire, 1979) throw a good deal of light on the publications of each legislature in Australia, although it is not always easy to gain access to official reports and papers. Parliamentary debates are obtainable from the government



printing office of each state or, for the commonwealth, from the Australian Government Publishing Service (AGPS). They are, furthermore, easily and freely available from most major libraries. Official reports, if generally available, can be obtained from the same sources.

It should be noted that papers tabled in each house of parliament are, unless specifically excluded, available at the parliament for public perusal under the provisions of the respective standing orders. Not all tabled papers are published as 'printed' or 'parliamentary papers'. They are, however, retained in the archives of the house in which they were tabled. The parliamentary archives do not normally hold personal papers of former members or ministers. Such papers are, if official records, part of the archives of the state, and their accessibility is governed by rules concerning public inspection of government materials. Those rules vary throughout Australia, but in the federal sphere the period of 30 years applies to most types.

Personal papers of members of parliament and statesmen are frequently bequeathed to, or acquired by, the National Library of Australia or the state libraries. University libraries have also shown interest in collecting such materials. Accessibility may depend on an embargo imposed by the donor or by the institution. The compilation in microfiche format issued by the National Library of Australia, entitled *Guide to collections of manuscripts relating to Australia*, lists many manuscript collections, including papers of Australian politicians and statesmen, held in major research libraries. The Australian Archives also collects the papers of federal politicians although these are not listed in the manuscript *Guide*. The reader will also find helpful the bibliographic references appended to articles in the multivolume *Australian dictionary of biography*.

The collections of state and national archives hold an immense quantity of documents relevant to the functioning of the Australian public services and the administration of governments. Local government matters are less easily found in central depositories and are more likely to remain in custody at the local level. Of particular value as a general guide is *Our heritage*, issued in 1983 by the Australian Society of Archivists (see chapter 8 of this volume) which provides a directory to archives and manuscript repositories throughout Australia.

A great deal of specialised research on parliamentary history, politics and government is contained in university theses which may be available for consultation (but generally not for loan) in the library of the university at which the thesis was presented. A certain number of theses are eventually published in book form, though frequently with a radical change in the title.

Several associations in Australia devote their energies to the study of politics and government. Two of the most notable are the Australasian Political Studies Association (APSA) and the Australasian Study of Parliament Group. These associations conduct conferences and seminars, and the papers discussed are often published at a later date. The associations also issue journals which contain valuable contributions and book reviews. The APSA journal *Politics* is particularly strong on reviews and bibliographical notes.

There is no dearth of information about works published on parliamentary government and politics in Australia. Particularly noteworthy is the detailed bibliography on parliamentary government by J.A. Pettifer (1981). There remains, however, a need for bibliographical surveys of particular aspects such as political biography, politicians as authors, parliamentary memoirs. More especially we need more evaluation and analytical surveys but this is a task requiring expertise and experience as well as bibliographical skills, a combination not as readily found as might be supposed. Generally those with the expertise are more active in contributing to the substantive study of the subject than to its bibliography. It is, however, encouraging to note that there is a growing awareness among authors and students of the value of accurate and detailed bibliographies. They are indispensable for any informed, serious research and the time spent on their study will yield benefit to all scholars.

### POLITICAL PARTIES

Although many specialist works on party politics in Australia have appeared over the past ten or fifteen years, a reader new to the subject is best advised to approach the parties as one component of the political system. Parties may well be studied as separate entities, with a life of their own,



and indeed they often are. They readily make sense, however, only when viewed as performing a specific function, both within a party system and in the wider sphere of politics. In Australia, party politics are influenced by federalism, the realities of cabinet government, the long tradition of responsible government, and ideas associated with alternating government and opposition. The best introduction to the study of political parties in Australia is therefore through general works on Australian politics which place the parties squarely in the context of the political system.

There has long been an abundant literature on the Australian Labor Party and its place within the wider labour movement. Before detailed studies on the party system began to blossom in recent years, however, general works on Australian politics were the most accessible sources, particularly for the other parties. The fact that these works usually treated the parties in one or two relatively brief chapters is no measure of the influence that some of them have had on subsequent literature. In his wide-ranging book, *Australia* (1930; repr, Brisbane, Jacaranda, 1964), Keith Hancock devoted two chapters to the parties and established an important theme, namely that the Labor party is the party of initiative and innovation, the Liberal and Country parties the parties of resistance to change. Hancock's formulation has been a point of high controversy ever since. In *Australian government and politics* (1954; 4th edn, London, Duckworth, 1971), Professor J.D.B. Miller devoted a succinct but comprehensive chapter to the parties and elaborated the view that they are 'syndical' because they help to adjust the conflicts among 'syndicates' of workers, farmers, manufacturers and other groups.

More recent general works have treated the parties in the context of the wider political system. Professor L.F. Crisp (1978) used a wealth of primary sources to illustrate the three chapters devoted to the parties. Professor Hugh V. Emy, in *The politics of Australian democracy* (Melbourne, Macmillan, 1974) described the Australian parties as having a firm footing within the 'Westminster tradition' of parliamentary government.

In addition to the single-author works on Australian politics, several comprehensive readers have been published in recent years. In these, the discussions on the parties appear amid an array of other material on the political system and are usually in the form of self-contained essays bearing little direct relation to the surrounding articles. The best known of the readers are the series of five, edited first by Professor Henry Mayer and then by Mayer in collaboration with Helen Nelson (1980). Also among the most useful of the readers are Richard Lucy (1983) and the collection edited by Andrew Parkin *et al* under the title *Government, politics and power in Australia* (2nd edn, Melbourne, Longman Cheshire, 1980), both of which contain sound essays on the parties.

Many valuable discussions on the political parties are available in the general histories of Australian politics, too numerous to mention here. The bibliography contains only the more specialised works devoted to the political system, the parties, and the politicians who have been intimately involved in their activities.

The historical perspective of Australia's political system is clearly outlined by Loveday *et al* (1977) and by Jupp (1964, 1982). A suggestive analytical approach is taken by R.W. Connell and T.H. Irving (1980) and by J. Rickard (1975), both of which explore the controversial theme of class influence on political and social life. A number of the specific works on political parties, such as Russel Ward's translation of Metin (1977) and D. Well's on the Liberal party (1977) provide among other things an analysis of the relevant ideology. Many of the specific works on Labor are concerned with ideological analysis and deal comprehensively with socialist objectives.

The literature listed here does not deal with the broad theoretical aspect of political parties and party systems but is concerned with describing and analysing the structure of political parties and the development of the party system within Australia. A wider perspective of these important aspects of political parties and party systems may be found in such texts as *Political parties: their organization and activity in the modern state* (3rd edn, London, Macmillan, 1964) by Maurice Duverger, *Modern political parties* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1956) by S. Neumann, and *Parties and party systems: a framework for analysis* (CUP, 1976) by Giovanni Sartori.

The sections dealing with particular parties provide more specific information on events



surrounding the establishment, development, successes and failures of the parties, as well as their internal structures and ideological underpinnings. Many of these books, particularly those published since the early 1970s, have been inspired by the changing political circumstances and events of the last decade. The election of the Whitlam government in 1972, its re-election in 1974, the 'constitutional crisis' of 1975 and Labor's subsequent electoral defeat provided, among other things, a stimulus to authors and a heightened public awareness of political issues. Much of the material produced on both Whitlam and the constitutional crisis is journalistic in style, giving dramatic accounts of events rather than an analysis of the issues involved. The conservative view is presented by Barwick (1984) and Kerr (1978). Gough Whitlam's own account (1985) of his years in office should also be consulted.

The fact that the Liberal and Country (now National) parties have ruled in rather less controversial times perhaps helps explain the relative dearth of literature of these coalition parties. Possibly success is a less stimulating topic for study than unexplained failure and unfulfilled promise. Australia's minor political parties have attracted the least attention of all; the role they have played in Australia's essentially two-party system of government has always been somewhat peripheral. The Australian Democrats, now electorally the most significant of the minor parties, have yet to prompt more than two biographical works on their leader, Don Chipp, although the number of short essays devoted to them in journals and readers is increasing. The previously most important minor party, the Democratic Labor Party, has been the subject of many articles and at least two excellent analytical works.

Biographical works on notable politicians have enjoyed increasing popularity in recent years. Some of these are written in a popular vein, providing interesting personal insights into Australian politics and the people at the forefront of political life.

Among the most obvious and fruitful sources of bibliographical information on political parties and politicians are the bibliographies contained in the books on the subject. Of these, perhaps the best is the eighteen-page bibliography in Loveday *et al* (1977) which contains extensive references to manuscripts, documents, articles from journals and newspapers, theses and archival materials, as well as to other relevant books. In addition, the table of abbreviations at the front of the book gives a comprehensive list of political and quasi-political organisations which is useful in providing initial references for a catalogue search.

While the most obvious sources of archival material about politicians and parties are the records they have kept themselves, it is worth noting that commonwealth, state and parliamentary archives document in almost profligate detail the implementation of government policies adopted in party rooms and conferences, and may therefore provide considerable insight into the relationship between political theory and practice. Other potential sources for the history of politicians and parties include the archives of corporate bodies which have acted as lobby groups on particular issues—such as trade unions, professional associations, employer, producer or regional organisations and large companies—as well as the archives of local government.

It is unlikely that primary sources will contain much in the way of political theory, which by its nature is prepared for publication. They can, however, be rich in examples of political practice, and certainly provide a contemporary view of the political scene, uncontaminated by hindsight. It is difficult to tap the wealth of information in this field held in government archives. Departmental records are so impregnated with the prevailing political system that the word 'politics' is rarely mentioned in indexes or file lists. To find political information, one has to approach it by specific issue, choosing events or policies that aroused contemporary political controversy or comment. The records of the most 'political' departments—the colonial secretary's, premier's or prime minister's—would be a good starting point but other departments will provide sources on political decisions in their own areas: for example, education.

The records of cabinet are usually disappointingly formal but can provide a way into the much more revealing departmental files by pointing up controversial topics and indicating which department provided the submission. Australian Archives in Canberra, for instance, holds an indexed partial set of copies of federal cabinet papers dating from 1901 which can be used as a



direct means of locating linked departmental records. Local government records, which should complement party branch records in the same way as state and federal records complement state and federal party records, are even harder to locate because of the number of local government organisations.

### FEDERATION

Intergovernmental relations began with agreements and conferences between the colonial governments. These became part of the move to federation. The steps by which that was achieved and the constitution framed have been well recounted by John La Nauze (1972). He has also edited Alfred Deakin's version (1963) of these events. Crisp (1979) is useful for sources. The provisions of the constitution and their significance have often been discussed. The simplest explanatory work is by Geoffrey Sawer (1975) who has also provided more details on the working of the federal system (1980) while elsewhere (1969) he has set Australian developments in a historical and international context. Colin Howard (1978) offers another very readable discussion. The various readers in *Australian politics* edited by Henry Mayer and Helen Nelson (1980) include a number of articles discussing aspects of federalism.

The literature on Australian federalism is such that it has been impossible to draw clear divisions between the subjects covered by the various sections of the following bibliography. While the books listed under 'Federation' cover either broad or specific aspects of constitutional arrangements they usually treat the material historically and therefore cannot be clearly separated from those included in the section on the constitution.

No-one could predict how the ex-colonies would develop in the commonwealth. There has been much interest in the shifting balance of power between state and central governments and in the changes in the working and interpretation of the constitution despite little formal amendment of its provisions. It is in this area that the tendency of Australian academics to publish symposia has been most marked. The best were edited by R. Else-Mitchell (1961), and the volumes by Sawer (1952) and the Australian Institute of Political Science (1949) contain excellent papers; though such collections are of uneven quality, they often present a diversity of views. Greenwood's readable account of constitutional development until the end of World War II is an argument for increased commonwealth powers. For reference Geoffrey Sawer (1956–63) has provided a detailed two-volume chronicle of developments from 1901 to 1949.

Much of the literature on the judicial interpretation of the constitution has been written by lawyers for lawyers, but the interested non-specialist should be able to follow most of Sawer (1967), benefit from Zine (1981) and enjoy the volume of essays on the Australian constitution edited by Zine (1977) published as a tribute to Geoffrey Sawer.

Most of the general works on the constitution are now somewhat dated, but C.J. Lloyd and G.S. Reid (1974) cover the activities of the Whitlam government. The essays collected by Sol Encel *et al* (1977) are typical of many of the immediate demands for constitutional reform. More considered views on the need for change can be found in Howard (1980) and in the bipartisan volume sponsored by the Law Foundation of New South Wales and edited by McMillan *et al* (1983). The reader is also referred to the 'Constitutional change' section of this chapter.

One aspect of Australian federalism which has remained unchanged until now is the number of states—six—although their relative wealth and significance may have varied. S.R. Davis (1960) presented the first detailed account of government in each state with analyses of the similarities and differences between them. An attempt to bring these studies up to date has been made in a series of volumes mostly edited by Colin Hughes and listed under 'Administration'. They cover the two territories and all states, but are uneven in their coverage and lack the comparative material that renders the Davis volume invaluable.

Those who drafted the constitution found two problems insurmountable. One was how to reconcile its federal elements (largely based on the United States' model) with the traditions of responsible government inherited from Britain. This problem centred on the powers of the Senate and lay dormant until 1975. The other problem was how to divide revenue between the



two layers of government. A temporary compromise known as the 'Braddon blot' was written into the constitution. But it was to last only ten years and finance was always the main bone of contention in intergovernmental relations. In general accounts of Australian federalism, including the works already mentioned, considerable space is inevitably given to financial relations and under 'Federal-state financial relations' are listed a few works primarily devoted to this aspect. Mathews and Jay (1972) have provided an excellent history and clear explanation of the growth of the financial power of the commonwealth. There have been some interesting comparative studies of financial arrangements in other federations, particularly because Australia has developed some unique extraconstitutional bodies largely directed to handling financial matters. The Loans Council, the Premiers' Conference and the Grants Commission have no real counterparts abroad. The studies by R.J. May (1971) and Campbell Sharman (1977) provide clear accounts of the development and functions of the last two.

The commonwealth has recently tended to use methods similar to those developed in other areas. Since 1972 there have been moves to establish machinery (such as the Schools Commission) to enable the federal government to play a greater role in health, education and urban development. Such developments are covered by the most recent works listed in the early parts of the bibliography and the last section lists a few studies of recent intergovernment relations in specific areas. They vary from single comprehensive accounts to the inevitable symposia and it is notable that the authors of these works are usually proponents of greater commonwealth intervention. Whatever politicians and state bureaucrats may say, most writers on intergovernmental relations have welcomed shifts in the balance of power in favour of the commonwealth. It is not surprising that in an area such as this, many authors have had clear and committed views, but we are fortunate that there are so many who, whether or not they were thus committed, have produced objective studies of the ever-changing relations between the governments of Australia.

The reader's attention is drawn to the importance of the National Library's efforts in providing listings and indexes to Australian publications in book form as well as in journals and newspapers. The relevant reference works, the *Australian national bibliography* (ANB) and the *Australian public affairs information service* (APAIS) are discussed in detail in chapter 8 of this volume. Anyone seriously interested in the literature on Australian government and politics would do well to study that section thoroughly. Here special attention is drawn to the National Library's complementary service entitled *Australian government publications* which has entries for the wide range of official publications currently generated in Australia. Entries are grouped under the names of the governments and organisations which published them.

Further important sources of information for researchers are the national and international indexes which list journal articles published both within and outside Australia. These are, for the international scene, *International political science abstracts* (Paris, International Political Science Association, 1951- ), the *ABC pol. sci.* (Santa Barbara, California, American Bibliographical Center, 1969- ) and the *International bibliography of the social sciences: political science* (London, Tavistock, 1952- ). For Australian material, readers should be familiar with D.H. Borchardt's *Australian bibliography* (1976) with its numerous references to older sources of information. A wealth of unpublished material is contained in university theses which may be traced through the *Union list of higher degree theses*. These Australian source books are discussed in some detail in chapter 8 of this volume.

The bibliography for 'Parliaments, parties and governments' has been divided into the following sections:

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|--------------------------------------|--|
| Parliamentary history and membership | The Liberal and Country (National) parties |
| Political history                    | Minor political parties                    |
| The political system                 | Federation                                 |
| Public administration                | The constitution                           |
| The electoral system                 | Constitutional change                      |
| Political parties                    | The Federal-state financial relations      |



Politicians

The labour movement and the ALP

Attention is drawn to the variant spelling of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) and associated political organisations. Though it is now accepted that the Australian Labor Party is so spelled, this has not always been the case and some older works refer to it as the 'Australian Labour Party'. The Australian labour movement has usually been spelled with a 'u' and that practice is now accepted as the norm.

Other aspects of intergovernmental relations



PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY AND MEMBERSHIP

BENNETT, S.C. AND BENNETT, G. *Biographical register of the Tasmanian parliament, 1851–1960*. ANUP, 1980. 173 p.

BOLTON, G.C. AND MOZLEY, A. *The Western Australian legislature, 1870–1930*. ANUP, 1961. 225 p, maps.

BROWNE, G. *Biographical register of the Victorian parliament, 1900–84*. Melbourne, Library Committee, Parliament of Vic, 1985. 229 p.

CAMPBELL, E.M. *Parliamentary privilege in Australia*. MUP, 1966. 218 p.  
A scholarly, detailed account with thorough documentation.

CONNOLLY, C.N. *Biographical register of the New South Wales parliament, 1856–1901*. ANUP, 1983. 372 p.

COXON, H. et al, *Biographical register of the South Australian parliament, 1857–1957*. Adelaide, Wakefield Press, 1985. 245 p.

RADI, H. et al, *Biographical register of the New South Wales parliament, 1901–1970*. ANUP, 1979. 302 p.

RYDON, J. *A biographical register of the commonwealth parliament, 1901–1972*. ANUP, 1975. 229 p.

THOMSON, K. AND SERLE, G. *A biographical register of the Victorian parliament, 1851–1900*. ANUP, 1972. 238 p.

WATERSON, D.B. *A biographical register of the Queensland parliament, 1860–1929*. ANUP, 1972. 205 p.

WATERSON, D.B. AND ARNOLD, J. *Biographical register of the Queensland parliament, 1930–1980, with an outline atlas of Queensland electorates, 1859–1980*. ANUP, 1982. xxii, 144 p, maps.  
The biographical registers listed above provide details of members of the commonwealth, colonial and state parliaments.

CAMPBELL, E.M. *Parliamentary privilege in Australia*. MUP, 1966. 218 p.  
A scholarly detailed account with thorough documentation.

CONNOLLY, C.N. *Biographical register of the New South Wales parliament, 1856–1901*. ANUP, 1983. 372 p.

COXON, H. et al, *Biographical register of the South Australian parliament, 1857–1957*. Adelaide, Wakefield Press, 1985. 245 p.

GREEN, F.C. *Servant of the House*. Melbourne, Heinemann, 1969. 173 p.  
As clerk of the House of Representatives 1935–55 the author provides an unusual and detailed perspective on federal political and parliamentary affairs over a long period.

HAWKER, G.N. *The parliament of New South Wales, 1856–1965*. Sydney, Government Printer, 1971. 377 p, illus.

Comprehensive history with full documentation and many statistical tables.

ODGERS, JR. *Australian Senate practice* (5th edn). AGPS, 1976. 706 p.  
Comprehensive coverage of all aspects of parliamentary practice, history and procedure affecting the Senate. Major work of reference. First published in 1953.

*PARLIAMENTARY handbook of the Commonwealth of Australia* (21st edn). AGPS, 1982. 541 p, illus.  
Biographical details of past and current federal parliamentarians with coloured photographs. Data on cabinets, elections, constitutional referendums. First published in 1915 and periodically updated. Title varies.

PETTIFER, J.A. ed, *House of Representatives practice*. AGPS, 1981. 966 p, illus.  
Covers practices and procedures in the House of Representatives; a matching volume to that of J.R. Odgers (1976). Contains material on political history with a selection of documents. Bibliography.

*QUEENSLAND parliamentary handbook* (3rd edn). Brisbane, Qld Parliamentary Library, 1983. 385 p, illus.  
Biographical articles and photographs of former and current members of parliament, ministries, officers of parliament, election results. First published in 1977 and periodically updated.

TURNER, K. *House of review? The New South Wales Legislative Council, 1934–68*. SUP, 1969. 164 p, illus.  
A well documented and detailed analysis of the role of the legislative council in NSW politics. Bibliography.

POLITICAL HISTORY

BARWICK, G. *Sir John did his duty*. Sydney, Serendip, 1983. 129 p.  
The former chief justice of Australia explains the advice he gave to the governor-general, Sir Jonn Kerr, regarding the dismissal of the prime minister, E.G. Whitlam.

BERNAYS, C.A. *Queensland politics during sixty years, 1859–1919*. Brisbane, Government Printer, 1919. 564 p.

BERNAYS, C.A. *Queensland: our seventh political decade, 1920–1930*. A & R, 1930. 388 p.  
The author was clerk of the Qld parliament for many years and these two volumes are based on his detailed knowledge of the period.

HUGHES, C.A. AND GRAHAM, B.D. *A handbook of Australian government and politics, 1890–1964*. ANUP, 1968. 635 p.

HUGHES, C.A. *A handbook of Australian government and politics, 1965–1974*. ANUP, 1977. 162 p.  
The two volumes provide lists of governors, governor-generals, cabinets and portfolios, and detailed analyses of election results. Indispensable reference work covering all governments in Australia.



- KERR, JR. *Matters for judgement: an autobiography*. Melbourne, Macmillan, 1978. 468 p, illus.  
 Account of author's life and career with prominence given to the events leading to the dismissal of the Whitlam government. Discusses the nature and role of the office of governor-general.
- LACK, CL. comp, *Three decades of Queensland political history, 1929-1960*. Brisbane, Government Printer, 1962. 842 p, illus.  
 Comprehensive review of Qld government and politics. Many photographs of public personalities and events. Well documented. Complements Bernays' two volumes (1919, 1930) Bibliography.
- ORMONDE, P. *The movement*. Melbourne, Nelson, 1972. xxiii, 198 p.  
 Evaluation of the role of B.A. Santamaria and the impact of the Catholic Social Studies Movement on the Catholic Church, Australian politics and trade unions.
- SAWER, G. *Federation under strain: Australia 1972-1975*. MUP, 1977. 237 p.  
 Intended as a legal companion to studies of Australian federal government in the Whitlam period and constitutional problems
- WHITINGTON, D. *The house will divide: a review of Australian federal politics* (rev edn). Melbourne, Lansdowne, 1969. 193 p, illus.  
 Popular history of events from beginning of federation until 1950s by a political journalist. First published in 1954.
- WHITLAM, E.G. *The truth of the matter*. Ringwood, Vic, Penguin, 1979. 191 p, illus.  
 The former prime minister, dismissed in 1975 by the governor-general, gives his account of political events of the time. Work is conceived as reply to Kerr (1978).
- ### THE POLITICAL SYSTEM
- AITKIN, D. *Stability and change in Australian politics* (2nd edn). ANUP, 1982. 401 p.  
 Based on specially commissioned national surveys of political behaviour, this study reviews Australian attitudes to political parties and voting patterns in the 1960s and 1970s. Tables and footnotes. First published in 1976.
- AITKIN, D. AND JINKS, B. *Australian political institutions* (2nd edn). Melbourne, Pitman, 1982. 283 p, illus.  
 General account of processes of government in Australia, designed as a textbook. First published in 1980.
- CRISP, L.F. *Australian national government* (4th edn). Melbourne, Longman Cheshire, 1978. 523 p.  
 Thorough account of Australian federal government from its origins until 1977. Bibliography. First published with this title 1965. Previous editions as *The parliamentary government of the Commonwealth of Australia*.
- ENCEL, S. *Cabinet government in Australia*. MUP, 1962. 367 p.  
 Pioneering study of the sociological and political aspects in the federal and state spheres.
- FITZGERALD, B.C. *Background to politics: a sourcebook of major documents and statements which affect the course of Australian politics*. Melbourne, Cheshire, 1969. 130 p.  
 A compilation relating to the constitution, government finance, federal parliament, elections, political parties, international affairs. Bibliography.
- HASLUCK, P.M.C. *The office of governor-general*. MUP, 1979. 47 p.  
 Text of the William Queale Memorial Lecture 1972. Discussion of the nature and function of the office by a former governor-general and longtime politician.
- JAENSCH, D.H. AND TEICHMANN, M. *The Macmillan dictionary of Australian politics*. Melbourne, Macmillan, 1979. 264 p.  
 A reference work on Australian politics 1900-77.
- JOSKE, P.E. *Australian federal government* (3rd edn). Sydney, Butterworths, 1976. 216 p.  
 Explains the workings of the national government by a former parliamentarian and jurist. Well documented but no bibliography. First published in 1967.
- LUCY, R. ed, *The pieces of politics* (3rd edn). Melbourne, Macmillan, 1983. 532 p.  
 Essays on the Australian political system, parliamentary government and topical issues. No index. First published in 1975.
- MCCAW, K.M. *People versus power: a guide to the elements in the network of checks and balances which protect individual freedom from the exercise of arbitrary power*. Sydney, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1977. 183 p, illus.  
 The author analyses the exercise of power by institutions in Australian society.
- ROSE, L.J. *The framework of government in New South Wales*. Sydney, Government Printer, 1972. 136 p, illus.  
 Contains information on operations of the executive council and cabinet. Outlines administrative procedures relating to the office of governor in NSW.
- SOLOMON, D. *Australia's government and parliament* (5th edn). Melbourne, Nelson, 1981. 168 p.  
 Account of structure and operation of the three tiers of government at the federal level. First published in 1973.
- WELLER, P. AND JAENSCH, D. eds, *Responsible government in Australia*. Melbourne, Drummond for APSA, 1980. 276 p.  
 Essays with a good bibliography.
- WINTERTON, G. *Parliament, the executive and the governor-general: a constitutional analysis*. MUP, 1983. 376 p.  
 Examines what the commonwealth government can do without legislative authorisation.
- ### PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
- ATKINS, R. *The government of the Australian Capital Territory*. UQP, 1978. 206 p, maps.  
 Detailed study of the ACT from its inception until 1976. Brief chronology and bibliography.
- DAVIS, S.R. ed, *The government of the Australian states*. Melbourne, Longmans, 1960, 746 p, illus, maps.  
 First study of state government, still very useful, particularly for the comparative chapters.
- GREEN, F.C. ed, *A century of responsible government, 1856-1956*. Hobart, Government Printer, 1956. 317 p, illus.  
 An analysis of Tasmanian government and politics by the former clerk of the House of Representatives.
- HAZLEHURST, C. AND NETHERCOTE, JR. eds, *Reforming Australian government: the Coombs Report and beyond*. Royal Institute of Public Administration (ACT) in association with ANUP, 1977. 201 p.  
 Essays on various aspects of the Coombs Royal Commission into the Commonwealth Public Service.
- HEATLEY, A.J. *The government of the Northern Territory*. UQP, 1979. 211 p, maps.  
 A political and administrative history. Deals predominantly with period 1911 to 1978.
- HOLMES, M.J. *The government of Victoria*. UQP, 1976. 205 p, illus, maps.  
 Covers all aspects of contemporary government in Vic. Many statistical tables.



HUGHES, C.A. *The government of Queensland*. UQP, 1980. 322 p, maps.

Comprehensive treatment of political and administrative system.

JAENSCH, D. *The government of South Australia*. UQP, 1977. 203 p, maps.

Comprehensive treatment of political and administrative history.

NETHERCOTE, JR. ed, *Parliament and bureaucracy; parliamentary scrutiny of administration: prospects and problems in the 1980s*. Sydney, Hale & Iremonger in association with the Australian Institute of Public Administration, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and Law Foundation of NSW, 1982. 363 p, illus.

Papers dealing with the growing importance of parliamentary committees, financial control of government departments and certain legal aspects of the parliamentary process.

PARKER, R.S. *The government of New South Wales*. UQP, 1978. 462 p, maps.

History of contemporary political and administrative system.

PERVAN, R. AND SHARMAN, C. eds, *Essays on Western Australian politics*. UWAP for the Education Committee of the 150th Anniversary Celebrations, 1979. 237 p, illus. Essays written for the sesquicentenary of WA, providing information on some of the topics covered by the UQP series on the government of the other states.

RORKE, J. ed, *Politics at state level: Australia*. Sydney Dept of Adult Education, University of Sydney, 1970. [8], 113, [3] p, maps.

One of the few attempts to gather comparative material on politics in the various states. Most of the contributions were previously published as *Current affairs bulletins*.

SPANN, R.N. ed, *Government administration in Australia*. Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1979. 524 p.

Major study of public service structure and management.

TOWNSLEY, W.A. *The government of Tasmania*. UQP, 1976. 169 p, maps.

Comprehensive treatment of political and administrative history.

## THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM

HUGHES, C.A. AND GRAHAM, B.D. *Voting for the Australian House of Representatives, 1901–1964*. ANUP, 1974. 544 p.

HUGHES, C.A. AND GRAHAM, B.D. *Voting for the New South Wales Legislative Assembly, 1890–1964*. Canberra, Dept of Political Science, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1975. 518 p.

HUGHES, C.A. AND GRAHAM, B.D. *Voting for the Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1890–1964*. Canberra, Dept of Political Science, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1974. 337 p.

HUGHES, C.A. AND GRAHAM, B.D. *Voting for the South Australian, Western Australian and Tasmanian lower houses, 1890–1964*. Canberra, Dept of Political Science, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1976. 639 p.

HUGHES, C.A. AND GRAHAM, B.D. *Voting for the Victorian Legislative Assembly, 1890–1964*. Canberra, Dept of Political Science, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1975. 468 p.

These five books consist almost wholly of statistics and tables, showing candidates, party affiliations and polling results. They constitute a major reference series and supplement the authors' *Handbook of Australian government and politics 1890–1964* (1968).

MACKERRAS, M. *Australian general elections*. A & R, 1972. 284 p, maps.

Study of voting patterns in the 1960s and 1970.

PENNIMAN, H.R. ed, *Australia at the polls: the national elections of 1975*. ANUP, 1977. 373 p.

PENNIMAN, H.R. ed, *The Australian national elections of 1977*. Washington, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1979. 367 p.

PENNIMAN, H.R. ed, *Australia at the polls: the national elections of 1980*. Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1983. 280 p.

Three books presenting a thorough analysis of the elections of the Australian electorate and the campaigns of the major parties.

WRIGHT, J.F.H. *Mirror of the nation's mind: Australia's electoral experiments*. Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1980. 160 p, illus. Scholarly but readable discussion of various Australian electoral systems and analysis of their effects. Bibliography.

## POLITICAL PARTIES

ALEXANDER, F. *From Curtin to Menzies and after: continuity or confrontation?* Melbourne, Nelson, 1973. 247 p, illus.

Party politics from Curtin's election as ALP leader in 1935 to the Whitlam government's first parliament, with policy analysis. Argues for continuity in Australian politics despite the appearance of conflict.

CONNELL, R.W. AND IRVING, T.H. *Class structure in Australian history: documents, narrative and argument*. Melbourne, Longman Cheshire, 1980. 378 p, illus.

A discussion of the origins of capitalism and the rise of the working class; analysis of class conflict and of party politics.

HAZELHURST, C. ed, *Australian conservatism: essays in twentieth century political history*. ANUP, 1979. 337 p.

Diverse essay on aspects of conservative party politics and the 'image' of the Liberal party.

JAENSCH, D. *The Australian party system 1945–1982*. Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1983. 235 p.

A history of parties and the party system with analysis of the effects on politics of the electoral system, internal party organisation, the federal system of party organisation and political ideology.

JUPP, J. *Australian party politics*. MUP, 1964. 235 p.

JUPP, J. *Party politics, Australia 1966–1981*. Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1982. 232 p.

The two books by Jupp cover developments and activities of the major political parties, 1901–81.

LOVEDAY, P. AND MARTIN, A.W. *Parliament, factions and parties: the first thirty years of responsible government in New South Wales, 1856–1889*. MUP, 1966. 207 p.

Politics in colonial NSW, where the emergence of strong cabinet government and collective responsibility prefigured the growth of a party system.

LOVEDAY, P. et al eds, *The emergence of the Australian party system*. Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1977. 536 p, illus.

Essays on the early development of political parties.

MANNE, R. ed, *The new conservatism in Australia*. OUP, 1982. 290 p, illus.

Essays exploring the intellectual and cultural traditions of conservatism, focusing on episodes like the Petrov affair and the Whitlam dismissal which highlight the conflict between conservatives and their opponents.

OVERACKER, L. *Australian parties in a changing society: 1945–67*. Melbourne, Cheshire, 1968. 337 p.



OVERACKER, L. *The Australian party system*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1952. 373 p, illus, map.

Basic studies by a scholarly, outside observer covering in all six decades.

PATIENCE, A. AND HEAD, B. eds, *From Whitlam to Fraser: reform and reaction in Australian politics*. OUP, 1979. 320 p. Essays analysing federal political history from 1972 to 1978, linked by the theme that the 'convergence' trends of party politics were temporarily reversed by policy difference between the Whitlam and Fraser administration.

RICKARD, J.D. *Class and politics: New South Wales, Victoria and the early commonwealth, 1890–1910*. ANUP, 1975. 371 p, illus.

The period was a critical time for social, economic and political change in Australia. The emergence of the Labor party and the party system are examined in this context.

SAWER, M. ed, *Australia and the new right*. Sydney, Allen & Unwin 1982. 181 p.

Essays exploring radical conservatism in Australian society since 1975, showing that the coalition of 'free-market devotees, libertarian political thinkers, moral conservatives, religious fundamentalists and biological determinists' has no intellectual connection with traditional conservatism.

STARR, G. et al, *Political parties in Australia*. Melbourne, Heinemann Educational, 1978. 399 p.

Each author takes a sympathetic view of the history, structure and ideological basis of one of the three major political parties; includes a survey of minor parties.

## POLITICIANS

AITKIN, D. *The colonel: a political biography of Sir Michael Bruxner*. ANUP, 1969. 293 p, illus, map.

Study of the career of a key Country party figure, prominent in NSW politics over a 40-year period.

BROWNE, W. *A woman of distinction: the Honourable Dame Annabelle Rankin, D.B.E.* Brisbane, Boolarong, 1981. 136 p, illus.

A biography of the public life of the first woman to be elected to the Senate from Qld, to hold a federal ministry and to be appointed as a high commissioner.

BURGER, AS. *Neville Bonner, a biography*. Melbourne, Macmillan, 1979, 169 p, illus.

An account of the personal life and political career of Australia's first Aboriginal parliamentarian.

CRISP, L.F. *Ben Chifley: a political biography*. Melbourne, Longmans, 1961. 428 p, illus.

The career of the locomotive driver who became federal treasurer and Labor's last prime minister before the Menzies era. The author was a close associate of Chifley.

D'ALPUGET, B. *Robert J. Hawke: a biography* (rev edn). Ringwood, Vic, Penguin, 1984. 426 p, illus.

A sympathetic but critical account of the prime minister's early life, and his rise through the ACTU and the Labor party to the presidency of both organisations. First published in 1982.

EDWARDS, C. *Bruce of Melbourne: man of two worlds*. London, Heinemann, 1965. 475 p, illus.

This biography of Stanley Melbourne Bruce, Nationalist prime minister from 1922 to 1929, gives insight into the politics of the times and politicians such as Hughes, Page, Latham and Menzies.

EVATT, H.V. *Australian labour leader: the story of W.A. Holman and the labour movement*. A & R, 1940. 589 p, illus.

Political biography by one great Australian Labor Party leader of another, William Holman, providing insights into Labor activities and personalities to the 1930s. An abridged edition was

issued in 1954 and in 1979 published in facsimile as *William Holman: Australian labour leader*.

FITZHARDINGE, L.F. *William Morris Hughes, a political biography*. A & R, 1964–79. 2 vols, illus.

Vol 1 is entitled 'That fiery particle 1862–14'; vol 2 'The little digger 1914–52'. A comprehensive biography offering insights also on other Labor figures, particularly prime ministers Watson and Fisher.

FORD, P.P. *Cardinal Moran and the A.L.P.: a study in the encounter between Moran and socialism, 1890–1907, its effects upon the Australian Labor Party, the foundation of Catholic social thought and action in Australia*. MUP, 1966. 319 p, illus.

An account of the prominence and influence of this renowned Catholic churchman in the early years of the Australian Labor Party.

FREUDENBERG, G. *A certain grandeur: Gough Whitlam in politics*. Melbourne, Macmillan, 1977. 429 p.

An account of Whitlam's rise to the prime ministership, the political events leading to the Labor victory in 1972, and the achievements and shortcomings of the Labor government up to its dismissal.

HEWAT, T.E.P. AND WILSON, D. *Don Chipp*. Melbourne, Widescope, 1978. 154 p, illus.

Portrait of the former Liberal minister who founded the Australian Democrats in 1977, together with the rise of support for the Democrats and their first policy statement.

HUGHES, C.A. *Mr. Prime Minister: Australian prime ministers, 1901–1972*. OUP, 1975. 208 p, illus.

Biographies of all the prime ministers to McMahon, with a brief discussion of the origin and nature of the office. In part based on an ABC series.

JOSKE, P.E. *Sir Robert Menzies, 1894–1978: a new, informal memoir*. A & R, 1978. 354 p, illus.

The highlights of Menzies' academic, legal and political career written by a friend.

KIERNAN, C. *Calwell: a personal and political biography*. Melbourne, Nelson, 1978. 310 p, illus.

The private and public life of Labor's Arthur Calwell who spent 32 years in the federal parliament, including seven as leader of the opposition. A tribute to the man, though not commissioned as such.

LA NAUZE, J.A. *Alfred Deakin: a biography*. A & R, 1979. 714 p, illus.

Comprehensive biography of the foremost statesman and orator of his time, a major figure in Victorian politics, a 'founding father' of Federation and prime minister. Bibliography. First published in 2 vols in 1965.

MARTIN, A.W. *Henry Parkes; a biography*. MUP, 1980. 482 p, illus.

An analysis of the life and career of the key political figure in NSW colonial politics. Bibliography.

MURPHY, D.J. *Hayden: a political biography*. A & R, 1980. 182 p, illus.

Detailed account of the political fortunes of the Qld expoliceman who became treasurer in the Whitlam government and later leader of the ALP.

MURPHY, D.J. *T.J. Ryan: a political biography*. UQP, 1975. 596 p, illus.

Biography of Qld Labor party leader and account of state politics in the first two decades of this century.

PAGE, E.C.G. *Truant surgeon: the inside story of forty years of Australian political life*. Ed by A. Mozley. A & R, 1963. 431 p, illus.



An autobiography by a founding member of the Country party and a federal parliamentarian for over 40 years. A political history of the time.

REYNOLDS, J. *Edmund Barton*. A & R, 1949. 224 p, illus.

Politics in NSW in the 1880s and 1890s, the federation movement, and the legal and political career of Australia's first prime minister. Facsimile edition, A & R, 1979.

ROBERTSON, J. *J.H. Scullin: a political biography*. UWAP, 1974. 495 p, illus.

The career of the Labor prime minister of the depression years, with insights into his socialist principles, the events of the depression and the secession of the Lang Laborites.

ROSS, L. *John Curtin: a biography*. Melbourne, Sun Books, 1983. 432 p, illus.

Biography covering Curtin's early days as labour journalist, anti-conscription campaigner, then leader of the opposition and wartime prime minister. Labor party history narrated and discussed in parallel. First published in 1977.

ROSS, L. *William Lane and the Australian labor movement*. Sydney, The Author, 1935. 375 p.

The English immigrant and labour journalist who propagated socialist ideals in Australia, then led the ill-fated 'New Australia' expedition to Paraguay. Reprinted, Hale & Iremonger, 1980.

SCHNEIDER, R. *The colt from Kooyong: Andrew Peacock, a political biography*. A & R, 1981. 144 p, illus.

A journalist's account of Peacock's rise, written before his accession to leadership of the Liberal party. Some discussion of the subject's political philosophy and power base in the Senate.

SCHNEIDER, R. *War without blood: Malcolm Fraser in power*. A & R, 1980. 172 p.

J.M. Fraser's rise as leader of the opposition and prime minister. Derived from interviews of those connected with the events, into the first four years of the Fraser administration.

TENNANT, K. *Evatt: politics and justice* (rev edn). A & R, 1981. 418 p, illus.

H.V. Evatt as Australia's youngest high court judge, Labor minister, president of the UN General Assembly, leader of the opposition, and his campaign for justice and legal rights. First published in 1970.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND THE ALP

CALWELL, A.A. *Labor's role in modern society* (2nd edn). Melbourne, Cheshire, 1965. 192 p.

Insights into Labor history and philosophy, relations with the trade unions, planning and socialised industry, by the leader of the opposition in the later Menzies era. First published in 1963.

CHILDE, V.G. *How Labour governs: a study of worker's representation in Australia* London, Labour Publishing Co, 1923. 216 p, map.

The famous archaeologist, as participant observer, provides an analysis of the labour movement in the early twentieth century and the relationship between the parliamentary and union wings. Second edition published in 1964.

CRISP, L.F. *The Australian federal labour party, 1901-1951* (2nd edn). Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1978. 341 p.

Examines Labor activity in the federal sphere, and outlines the formal structure and functions of the party, its objectives, policies and problems. Appendices contain party documents and rules. First published in 1955.

EBBELS, R.N. *The Australian labor movement, 1850-1907: extracts from contemporary documents* (2nd edn). Ed by L.G. Churchward. Melbourne, Cheshire-Lansdowne in association with the Noel Ebbels Memorial Committee, 1965. 255 p.

Covers the earliest period of Labor activity, with particular emphasis on social and industrial problems. First published in 1960.

FARRELL, F. *International socialism and Australian labour: the left in Australia, 1919-1939*. Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1981. 284 p, illus.

A study of the beliefs, theories and practices of left-wing politics in Australia. The author examines the challenges of the Labor party, and raises some of the relevant policy issues.

FITZPATRICK, B.C. *A short history of the Australian labour movement*. Melbourne, Rawson's Bookshop, 1940. 182 p.

A survey of the labour movement with emphasis on the tension between collectivist principles and individual rights. Second enlarged edition 1944; reprinted by Macmillan in 1968.

GOLLAN, R. *Radical and working class politics: a study of eastern Australia, 1850-1910*. MUP, 1974. 238 p.

The roots of nationalist and radical politics in the eastern colonies of Australia, the role of the trade unions in politics and the rise of the ALP. First published in 1960.

HUGHES, W.M. *The case for Labor*. Sydney, the Worker Trustees, 1910. 144 p.

Twenty articles from 200 contributed to the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* by the future wartime prime minister on unemployment, the Labor pledge and socialism. Facsimile edition, SUP, 1970.

*LABOR essays*. Melbourne, Drummond for the ALP, Victorian Branch, 1980-

Essays exploring the nature and application of Labor's 'socialisation objective' in the 1980s. Each annual volume concentrates on a particular theme.

LLOYD, C.J. and REID, G.S. *Out of the wilderness: return of Labor*. Melbourne, Cassell, 1974. 447 p.

Account of the Whitlam ministry from 1972 to 1974, including a discussion of the transfer of power, the extraordinary 'two-man' government and of the 'technocratic' style of rule.

McKINLAY, B. *The ALP: a short history of the Australian Labor Party*. Melbourne, Drummond/Heinemann, 1981. 168 p.

Narrative of Labor's fortunes from 1890s to Hayden's election as leader of the opposition in 1978. Emphasises the periods of Labor government.

McKINLAY, B. *A documentary history of the Australian labor movement, 1850-1975*. Melbourne, Drummond, 1979. 778 p, illus.

Collection organised in three sections: a chronology of the ALP; the trade unions; Australian attitudes to communism, socialism and labourism. An indispensable source book.

METIN, A. *Socialism without doctrine*. Trans by R. Ward. Sydney, Alternative Publishing Co-operative, 1977. (22), 200 p.

A French scholar, visiting in 1901, analyses federated Australia, the economics of labour, management and state intervention, and argues that Australian workers were anti-intellectual pragmatists. First published as *Le socialisme sans doctrines* in 1901.

MURPHY, D.J. ed, *Labor in politics: the state Labor parties in Australia, 1880-1920*. UQP, 1975. 480 p, illus.

Traces the emergence and development of Labor politics in the six states and provides an analysis of the impact of trade unions and other social forces on Labor.

MURPHY, D.J. et al, *Labor in power: the Labor party and governments in Queensland, 1915-1957*. UQP, 1980. 583 p, illus.

Essays on Qld Labor party history, party policies and outstanding political issues of the day. Appendices list names of party officials and Labor candidates.



NAIRN, N.B. *Civilising capitalism: the labor movement in New South Wales, 1870–1900*. ANUP, 1973. 260 p, illus.

Traces the emergence of the NSW parliamentary Labor party, and argues that 'civilizing capitalism' was the necessary response to the triumph of capitalism in the 1890s.

OAKES, L. *Labor's 1979 conference, Adelaide*. Canberra, Objective Publications, 1979. 247 p, illus.

The text of 23 policy platforms and conference resolutions, with the author's analysis of major debates and decisions. Outlines the 'triumph of pragmatism' over radical ideology.

OAKES, L. and SOLOMON, D. *The making of an Australian prime minister*. Melbourne, Cheshire, 1973. 318 p, illus.

Labor's road back from 23 years of opposition to office in 1972 and the role of Whitlam in preparing the party for government.

RAWSON, D.W. *Labor in vain? A survey of the Australian Labor Party*. Melbourne, Longmans, 1966. 128 p, illus.

A survey of the ALP which looks at machine politics, the role of the trade unions, the influence of communism and the place of socialism in Labor doctrine.

REID, A.D. *The Whitlam venture*. Melbourne, Hill of Content, 1976. 465 p, illus.

Account of the troubled second Whitlam ministry, 1974–75, including comprehensive treatment of the 'loans affair' and the dismissal of the government.

SEXTON, M. *Illusions of power: the fate of a reform government*. Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1979. 305 p, illus.

A narrative of the Whitlam government's term of office with analysis of the exercise of political power, arguing that the internal weaknesses of the government as much as the external pressures caused its collapse.

TURNER, I.A.H. *Industrial labour and politics: the dynamics of the labour movement in eastern Australia, 1900–1921*. Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1979. 304 p.

A history to 1921, emphasising relationships with the Labor party and discussing working-class politics and socialist doctrine. Facsimile of first (1965) edition.

WELLER, P.M. ed, *Caucus minutes 1901–1949: minutes of the meetings of the federal parliamentary Labour party*. MUP, 1975. 3 vols. illus.

Includes extensive general introduction, short comments to each parliamentary session, detailed annotations and other caucus documents.

WELLER, P.M. AND LLOYD, B. eds, *Federal executive minutes 1915–1955: minutes of the meetings of the federal executive of the Australian Labor Party*. MUP, 1978. 662 p.

The editors have traced the minutes of all but four of the meetings held during the period and published them in full with an introductory essay.

WHITLAM, E.G. *The Whitlam government, 1972–1975*. Ringwood, Vic, Viking, 1985. 786 p, illus.

This account was launched by Prime Minister Hawke on 11 November 1985: the 10th anniversary of the sacking of the Whitlam government.

## THE LIBERAL AND COUNTRY (NATIONAL) PARTIES

AIMER, P. *Politics, power and persuasion: the Liberals in Victoria*. Sydney, James Bennett for the Liberal Party of Australia (Vic Division), 1974. 248 p, illus.

The development of the Liberal party in Vic, its structure, organisation and the people involved, is given a sympathetic but critical examination.

AITCHISON, R. ed, *Looking at the Liberals*. Melbourne, Cheshire, 1984. 258 p.

A collection of articles on the fortunes, fair and otherwise, of the Liberal party up to the electoral defeat in 1972. Contributors include Malcolm Fraser and Phillip Lynch.

AITKIN, D.A. *The Country party in New South Wales: a study of organisation and survival*. ANUP, 1972. 343 p, maps.

The origins, policies and ideologies of the Country party in one state and the challenges confronting it in the 1970s. Includes tables of Country party members.

CAMPBELL, E. *The rallying point: my story of the New Guard*. MUP, 1965. 184 p, illus, maps.

History of the New Guard by one of its founders.

EGGLESTON, F.W. *Reflections of an Australian liberal*. Melbourne, Cheshire for the ANU, 1953. 301 p.

A broad overview of Australian politics and political parties before 1952 as seen through the eyes of a former politician and diplomat.

ELLIS, U.R. *The Country party: a political and social history of the party in New South Wales*. Melbourne, Cheshire, 1958. 257 p.

The platforms, policies, successes and failures of the Country party in NSW from its inception to 1958 are examined in detail.

ELLIS, U.R. *A history of the Australian Country Party*. MUP, 1963. 359 p, illus.

The state and federal Country parties were established in the early 1900s. The author traces their progress and examines the leaders of the parties from the beginnings to 1963.

GRAHAM, B.D. *The formation of the Australian Country parties*. ANUP, 1966. 320 p, illus, map.

In this examination of the origins and development of the Country parties, emphasis is placed on their political strategies and the effects of the existing party system.

JAENSCH, D. AND BULLOCK, J. *Liberals in limbo: non-Labor politics in South Australia, 1970–1978*. Melbourne, Drummond, 1978. 222 p, illus.

Analysis of the fragmentation and factional conflict that took place within the South Australian Liberal Party after the electoral victory of Premier Dunstan.

REID, A.D. *The Gorton experiment*. Sydney, Shakespeare Head Press, 1971. 455 p, illus.

REID, A.D. *The power struggle*. Sydney, Shakespeare Head Press, 1969. 200 p, illus.

Two books on the sudden rise of Senator John Grey Gorton to the controversial prime ministership after the disappearance of Harold Holt, with insights into relationships between the partners of the Liberal–Country party coalition.

ROWSE, T. *Australian liberalism and national character*. Melbourne, Kibble Books, 1978. 293 p.

Revisionary history of liberal doctrine in Australia, stressing its innate 'conservatism' and focusing on a critique of W.K. Hancock's influential *Australia* (1930; repr, Brisbane, Jacaranda, 1964). Discusses the ideological basis of the Labor party's reformism.

SIMMS, M. *A liberal nation: the Liberal party and Australian politics*. Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1982. 224 p, illus.

An analysis of the Liberal party's performance since its inception with a discussion of conservative ideology as professed and practised by the party.

STARR, G. *The Liberal Party of Australia: a documentary history*. Melbourne, Drummond/Heinemann, 1980. 371 p, illus.

Party documents and newspaper articles illustrating the roots of liberalism, the formation of the Liberal party, the Menzies and succeeding governments, and the years of opposition.



TIVER, P.G. *The Liberal party: principles and performance*. Brisbane, Jacaranda, 1978. 367 p.

Beyond outlining the history of liberalism, the author seeks to show that in its policy decisions the Liberal party has not lost sight of true liberal philosophies.

WELLS, D. *Power without theory: a critical analysis of the Liberal party philosophies*. Melbourne, Outback Press, 1977. 191 p, illus.

A critical but witty analysis of the conflicting philosophies and ideologies of the Liberal party and how they are reflected in the attitudes of Liberal politicians.

WEST, K. *Power in the Liberal party: a study in Australian politics*. Melbourne, Cheshire, 1965. 289 p, illus.

A history of power relations within the Liberal party. Analysis includes parliamentary and extraparliamentary wings, state and federal sectors, and the question of leadership.

WHITE, D.M. *The philosophy of the Australian Liberal Party*. Melbourne, Hutchinson, 1978. 179 p.

The philosophy and ideology of the Liberal party examined through an analysis of the party's federal platforms from 1946 to 1974.

### MINOR POLITICAL PARTIES

DAVIDSON, A. *The Communist Party of Australia: a short history*. Stanford, California, Hoover Institution Press, 1969. 214 p. (Hoover Institution studies, 26).

The Communist Party of Australia has operated on the periphery of Australian politics, but at times has attracted much attention. This scholarly account represents one of the few substantial works on the history of the party.

GOLLAN, R. *Revolutionaries and reformists: communism and the Australian labour movement, 1920-1955*. ANUP, 1975. 330 p, illus.

The ideology and activity of the CPA and its influence on the labour movement with considerable attention to cold war politics and the Labor split.

HALLS, R.S. ed, *A liberal awakening: the LM story*. Adelaide, Investigator, 1973. 160 p, illus.

The liberal movement surfaced in SA as a breakaway Liberal group in 1972 and disappeared as quickly a few years later. This collection of articles sketches some of the highlights.

MURRAY, R. *The split: Australian Labor in the fifties*. Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1984. 392 p.

One of the greatest crises in Labor party history, the split away from Labor by the anti-communist and Catholic-based industrial groups from the Democratic Labor Party, is explained and analysed. First published in 1970.

REYNOLDS, P.L. *The Democratic Labor Party*. Brisbane, Jacaranda, 1974. 100 p.

For twenty years, the Democratic Labor Party played a more significant role in Australian politics than its numbers in parliament would suggest. An account of the party that kept Labor out of office through the 1950s and 1960s.

TOWARDS a socialist Australia: how the labor movement can fight back: documents of the Socialist Workers Party, Sydney, Pathfinder, 1977. 170 p, illus.

A socialist analysis of Australian political society concentrating on the Fraser 'offensive', Australian capitalism, the ALP and trade unionism. Includes the Socialist Workers Party program.

### FEDERATION

COWEN, Z. *Federal jurisdiction in Australia*. OUP, 1959. 212 p.

Still useful for an understanding of the legal aspects of Australian federalism and the relations between state and federal courts.

DAVIS, S.R. *The federal principle: a journey through time in quest of a meaning*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978. 237 p.

Though mainly concerned with the development of the theory of federalism this book also discusses recent developments in Australia and other federal countries.

HOLMES, M.J. AND SHARMAN, C. *The Australian federal system*. Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1977. 219 p, illus, maps. Looks at the working of Australian federalism. Emphasis is placed on differences among the states.

HOWARD, C. *Australia's constitution*. Ringwood, Vic, Penguin, 1978. 216 p.

A useful and very readable discussion.

LIVINGSTON, W.S. *Federalism and constitutional change*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1956. 380 p.

An important book when first published containing an analysis of the earlier attempts to amend the commonwealth constitution and comparisons with other federations.

LUMB, R.D. *The constitutions of the Australian states* (4th edn). UQP, 1977. 136 p.

First issued in 1963, this is a very useful reference on the constitutions of the states and the differences between them.

MAYER, H. AND NELSON, H. *Australian politics: a fifth reader*. Melbourne, Longman Cheshire, 1980. 593 p, illus.

Since 1966 five 'readers' have been published. Each volume includes a wide variety of articles on the constitution, federalism and current political issues.

SAWER, G. *The Australian constitution*. AGPS, 1975. 73 p, illus.

A brief illustrated summary of the origins and development of the constitution.

SAWER, G. *Australian government today*. MUP, 1948. x, 48 p.

A summary of the structures of Australian government for background reading and reference. Twelfth edition published in 1977.

SAWER, G. *Modern federalism*. London, Watts, 1969. 204 p. (New thinker's library, 27).

A short account of the development of federalism in Australia and other countries.

WHEARE, K.C. *Federal government*. London, OUP, 1946. 278 p.

A classic by an Australian expatriate who draws much of his discussion on federalism from Australia. Fourth edition published in 1963.

### THE CONSTITUTION

AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE. *Federalism in Australia... papers read at the fifteenth Summer School of the Australian Institute of Political Science*. Melbourne, Cheshire, 1949. 189 p.

A collection of essays now of historical interest. Some of the contributions have been influential in later thought and the development of research in Australian politics.

CRISP, L.F. *The later Australian federation movement, 1883-1901: outline and bibliography*. Canberra, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1979. 130 p.

Includes a chronology, a list of delegates to the various conventions and a useful bibliography.

DEAKIN, A. *The federal story: the inner history of the federal cause*. MUP, 1963. 182 p, illus.

The story, composed between 1880 and 1900, was first published in 1944, edited by H. Brookes. This edition has been



re-edited by John La Nauze. An important background document.

ELSE-MITCHELL, R. ed, *Essays on the Australian constitution* (2nd edn). Sydney, Law Book Co, 1961. 380 p.

Essays, first published in 1952, written for the jubilee of the Australian commonwealth to record the progress of Australian federalism in the first fifty years.

GREENWOOD, G. *The future of Australian federalism* (2nd edn). UQP, 1946. 361 p.

This book argues for greater commonwealth powers on the basis of the history of Australian federalism to 1946. Second edition published in 1976.

HODGINS, B.W. et al, *Federalism in Canada and Australia: the early years*. ANUP, 1978. 318 p, illus, maps.

Essays by Canadian and Australian writers covering the period before 1914. Of uneven quality but contains two useful chapters by Don Wright on commonwealth-state relations.

LA NAUZE, J.A. *The making of the Australian constitution*. MUP, 1972. 369 p, illus.

Essential reading.

MARTIN, A.W. ed, *Essays in Australian federation*. MUP, 1969. 206 p, map.

A collection of essays in the series 'Studies in Australian federation' on specific aspects of the movement for federation and arguments about the constitution.

MELBOURNE, A.C.V. *Early constitutional development in Australia: New South Wales, 1788-1856. Queensland, 1859-1922* (2nd edn). UQP, 1963. 522 p.

A classic work, well edited, introduced and extended by R.B. Joyce. Deals only with NSW and Qld, but relevant to the constitutional development of the commonwealth. First published in 1934 without reference to Qld.

MENZIES, R.G. *Central power in the Australian commonwealth: an examination of the growth of commonwealth power in the Australian federation*. London, Cassell, 1967. 198 p.

An interesting survey of Menzies' attitude to increasing commonwealth powers.

MOORE, W. 'The constitution and its working', in *Cambridge history of the British Empire*. CUP, 1933, 7, 1, 454-90. Discussion of constitutional developments to the 1930s.

NORRIS, R. *The emergent commonwealth: Australian federation, expectations and fulfilment 1889-1910*. MUP, 1975. 273 p, illus.

An account of the establishment of the commonwealth and its early policies in both external and internal affairs.

PORTUS, G.V. ed, *Studies in the Australian constitution*. A & R in conjunction with Australian Institute of Political Science, 1933. 233 p, illus.

Essays now of historical value.

SAWER, G. *Australian federal politics and law, 1901-1929, [and] 1929-1949*. MUP, 1956-63. 2 vols.

A chronological study useful as a reference book.

SAWER, G. ed, *Federalism: an Australian jubilee study*. Melbourne, Cheshire, 1952. 284 p.

This book resulted from one of the early seminars conducted by the Australian National University. An important collection when first published and still worth reading.

WRIGHT, D.I. *Shadow of dispute: aspects of commonwealth-state relations, 1901-1910*. ANUP, 1970. 120 p.

Study of the first ten years of Australian federalism. Highlights the rivalry between Vic and NSW, but also describes the emergence of intergovernmental relations.

ZINES, L. *The high court and the constitution*. Sydney, Butterworths, 1981. 358 p.

An up-to-date account of the high court's interpretation of the commonwealth constitution. A useful reference book.

ZINES, L. ed, *Commentaries on the Australian constitution: a tribute to Geoffrey Sawer*. Sydney, Butterworths, 1977. 275 p.

Articles mainly on aspects of the commonwealth constitution. Written by lawyers for lawyers but some are within the comprehension of the general reader, particularly the articles on parliament and the executive, and the constitutional convention.

## CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

ALDRED, J. AND WILKES, J. *A fractured federation? Australia in the 1980s*. Sydney, Allen & Unwin in association with the Australian Institute of Political Affairs, 1983. 106 p.

Papers on various aspects of federalism and its reform.

ENCEL, S. et al, *Change the rules! Towards a democratic constitution*. Ringwood, Vic, Penguin, 1977. 269 p.

Suggestions for constitutional change inspired by the events of 1975; while all the writers are committed to change, the objectivity and practicality of their proposals vary.

EVANS, G.J. ed, *Labor and the constitution, 1972-1975: essays and commentaries on the constitutional controversies of the Whitlam years*. Ringwood, Vic, Heinemann, 1977. 383 p. Collection of essays covering most of the activities of the Whitlam government, historical background and constitutional significance.

HOWARD, C. *The constitution, power and politics*. Sydney, Fontana/Collins, 1980. 241 p.

The opinions of an academic lawyer on how the constitution works and how it should be reformed.

McMILLAN, J. et al, *Australia's constitution: a time for change?* Sydney, Law Foundation of NSW and Allen & Unwin, 1983. 422 p, illus.

Presents a bipartisan discussion on the desirability and possibility of updating the Australian constitution.

PATIENCE, A. AND SCOTT, J. eds, *Australian federalism: future tense*. OUP, 1983. 217 p.

Essays contributed by both politicians and academics. Constitutes an assortment with some useful pieces, but lacks a coherent theme.

SAWER, G. *Federation under strain: Australia 1972-1975*. MUP, 1977. 237 p.

A study of the Whitlam government and its dismissal, useful for an understanding of constitutional conventions and the role of the executive council.

WHITLAM, E.G. *On Australia's constitution*. Melbourne, Widescope, 1977. 374 p.

A collection of speeches and lectures delivered between 1957 and 1976 expressing the author's attitude to the limits of commonwealth powers and to constitutional reform.

## FEDERAL-STATE FINANCIAL RELATIONS

BIRCH, A.H. *Federalism, finance and social legislation in Canada, Australia and the United States*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955. 314 p.

An interesting study now of historical interest.

MATHEWS, R.L. ed, *Intergovernmental relations in Australia*. A & R, 1974. 310 p.

Papers dealing with financial questions, administration, decentralisation and responsible government under federalism.

MATHEWS, R.L. AND JAY, W.R.C. *Federal finance: intergovern-*



*mental financial relations in Australia since federation.* Melbourne, Nelson, 1972. 370 p.

Standard work on financial relations between the commonwealth and states. It explains the growth of the financial domination of the commonwealth.

MAY, R.J. *Financing the small states in Australian federalism.* OUP, 1971. 235 p.

A study of the Australian Grants Commission and the problems of financial inequality among the states.

#### OTHER ASPECTS OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

BIRCH, I.K.F. *et al*, *Intergovernmental relations and Australian education.* Canberra, Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations, Australian National University, 1979. 107 p.

Aspects of state and commonwealth activity in education written very much from a standpoint of economists.

HARMAN, G.S. AND SMART, D. eds, *Federal intervention in Australian education.* Melbourne, Georgian House, 1982. 197 p, illus.

A study of the involvement of the commonwealth in education.

University of Kentucky Press, 1965. 183 p.

A rather neglected study by a Canadian writer.

LIBOIRON, A.A. comp, *Federalism and intergovernmental relations in Australia, Canada, the United States and other countries; a bibliography.* Kingston, Ontario, Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University, 1967. 231 p.

A bibliography to the date of its publication, though much has been written since.

SHARMAN, C. *The premier's conference: an essay in federal-state interaction.* Canberra, Dept of Political Science, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1977. 75 p.

A monograph on one of the most important extraconstitutional features of Australian federalism.

SMART, D. *Federal aid to Australian schools, 1901-75.* UQP, 1979. 152 p.

An account of commonwealth involvement in education.

TROY, P.N. ed, *Federal power in Australian cities: essays in honour of Peter Till.* Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1978. 177 p.

Essays of varying quality on intergovernmental relations and co-operation in one particular area.



*Trade union banner of the New South Wales Locomotive Engine Drivers, Firemen and Cleaners, created to mark the federation of the state unions in 1900. A. Stephen and A. Reeves, Badges of labour, banners of pride, Sydney 1984. The nationalist and internationalist imagery of a band of steel federating the world had a particular irony in Australia where adjoining states had different railway gauges.*