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The National Coal Board and The Fleck Report

By C. A. ROBERTS

The Secretary of the National Coal Board explains the changes that the Board have made in their organisation following the recommendations of the Fleck Report of 1955.

LATE in 1953, the National Coal Board decided that a complete review should be made of their organisation, and they decided to invite people with experience of large-scale undertakings to do the work. The Committee set up consisted of Dr. (now Sir) Alexander Fleck, Chairman of Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd.; H. A. Benson, a partner in the firm of accountants of Cooper Brothers; Sir William Lawther, formerly President of the National Union of Mineworkers; Sir Herbert Merrett, Chairman of Powell Duffryn Ltd.; and Sir Godfrey Mitchell, Chairman of Wimpey's Ltd., and formerly a part-time Member of the National Coal Board. The terms of reference given to the Committee were: "To consider the organisation of the National Coal Board and to make recommendations to the Board." They met for the first time in December, 1953, and appointed Dr. Fleck as their Chairman.

Early in 1954, the Chairman of the Board announced that any employee might speak or write to the Committee without reservation and with complete frankness, and that information and views put to the Committee would be treated in confidence by them. This undoubtedly helped the Committee in their task. They received written views from a large number of individuals and from organisations connected with the industry, including the National Union of Mineworkers, the British Association of Colliery Management and the two Unions representing clerical workers in the industry. They also paid many visits to the Board's Divisions, Areas and collieries.

The Report of the Committee was received by the Board in January, 1955, and published in the following month.* In this article it is impossible to summarise all of it, or to refer in detail to all the 61 recommendations. It is hoped, however, that those who are interested in management generally, and in the management of the coal industry in particular, will get hold of the Report and read it as a whole. As the *Manchester Guardian* put it, "their Report will become a classic of industrial management."

The Committee considered the main lines of the Board's organisation to be sound, with its eight main Divisions, and 48 Areas answering to the Divisions. They also agreed with the existing management structure whereby each Division is managed by a Board of six or more, and each Area is under the single control of an Area General Manager. They had, however, criticisms to propound and proposals to make in regard to:

- The constitution of the Board itself;
- General management policy;

*The Report may be obtained from the National Coal Board, Hobart House, Grosvenor Place, London, S.W.1. 2s. 10d. post free.

- (c) The Departmental organisation at Headquarters and below ;
- (d) The Area management ;
- (e) The level of management between Area and Colliery ;
- (f) Management at colliery level.

It is proposed to deal briefly with each of these subjects and with the Board's reactions to the criticisms and proposals.

The Board

The National Coal Board are appointed by the Minister of Fuel and Power and the Fleck Committee expressly directed their remarks about the constitution of the Board to him. Their most important proposal was that the Board should be "functional," that is to say, that each full-time Member other than the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, should have one or more Departments within his special field of responsibility. This proposal was accepted by the Minister and the Board was reconstituted in February, 1952. In effect, this meant a reversion to the practice applied when the Board was created in 1946 in the sense that each Board Member other than the Chairman and Deputy Chairman was then given responsibility for a particular Department. From 1951, however, there was a movement away from this and at the time of the Fleck Report most Board Members were "not functional" though each had a largely undefined supervisory rôle in relation to one or more Departments.

There has been a minor variation from the allocation of Departments suggested by the Committee, consequent on the creation, in July, 1952, of a Reconstruction Department. The allocation as it now exists is :

Production Member	Production and Reconstruction Departments.
Marketing Member	Marketing, and Purchasing and Stores Departments.
Finance Member	Finance Department.
Industrial Relations Member	Industrial Relations Department.
Staff Member	Staff Department.
Scientific Member	Scientific and Carbonisation Departments and the Medical Service.

The remaining Departments—the Secretary's Department and the Legal Department—do not owe "allegiance" to any individual Board Member.

The Fleck Committee were careful to describe the relations that should exist between the functional Board Members and the Heads of Departments. They said that :

"Each of the Departments should have an executive Head at Headquarters, who would be responsible for its day-to-day management. It would be the Board Member's duty to see that, over the whole field of the Department's work, a clear and comprehensive policy was established, and that the policy was reviewed from time to time in the light of changed needs and circumstances. And he would be responsible

for ensuring that the Department was properly organised and staffed for carrying out its functions, and would watch the Department's progress."

In practice, no great difficulty has been found in regulating the relationship on these lines. In some fields, the Board Members have by force of circumstances to exercise a greater degree of detailed control than in others ; for instance, in Industrial Relations, the Board Member often conducts negotiations with the Unions himself and therefore has to be informed in detail of the day-to-day matters that may give rise to negotiations. At the other extreme, the Finance Member has no need to concern himself with the day-to-day operations of the Finance Department nor has the Scientific Member with those of the Medical Service.

General Management Policy

The main emphasis of the Report was laid on general management policy. In the words of the Committee, "we are not satisfied that policies and decisions emanating from the Board's Headquarters are being properly carried out in the Divisions and Areas." Several reasons were advanced for this failing. One was that some of those who had entered the Board's service on nationalisation had found it difficult to adjust themselves to conditions within the new organisation. Another was that "inertia, habit, other preoccupations or lack of staff" had prevented Divisions and Areas from taking action on agreed policies.

But the Committee felt that the main reason for the failing was the unwillingness of the National Coal Board themselves to insist on their policies being carried out. "From the outset," said the Report, "the Board have tried to control their subordinate formations with a very light touch. Some Divisions have taken advantage of this. The National Board, having adopted a policy, have too often been half-hearted in holding to it when Divisions have not liked the policy or have been slow in carrying it out."

The report provided several illustrations for this criticism. It was pointed out, for example, that the Board had mentioned the possibilities of standard costing in their Annual Reports for 1947 and 1948, and had, in 1952, come out clearly in favour of the system. Yet by the beginning of 1955, standard costs were only being used at about 60 out of 900 collieries. The Committee appreciated that there might be many reasons for the long delay in implementing the Board's policy, but their view was that these were difficulties to be surmounted, not excuses for failing to make progress.

The criticism was, in fact, largely a criticism of the Board's interpretation of decentralisation, since the Committee felt that the Board were right in decentralising management as far as reasonably possible, but wrong in failing to enforce policy decisions for fear of interfering with day-to-day management. In the words of the Report :

"Decentralisation means that each level of management specifies clearly the powers which may be exercised by the level below it. Having done so, it leaves the lower formation free to exercise these powers. But each level of management must see that the policies which it lays down are punctually and effectively carried out by the level of manage-

ment below it. This should be done, not by interference in detailed day-to-day matters, but by modern management techniques or approved programmes followed by periodic reports and reviews of progress and by physical inspections. The Board appear to have assumed that decentralisation means that they should not, or need not, impose their will on Divisions and Areas. We do not agree with this policy."

This may not be thought to be a very startling pronouncement, but it must be viewed against the background of previous criticism from various quarters that the management of affairs was unduly centralised. It was an effective answer to those who maintained that the Board should "keep off the grass" as much as possible and leave most things to local managements.

The guidance given on management policy has had a marked effect on the Board's decisions and actions since the date of the Report. Great pains have been taken to see that policy generally and on particular issues is set down clearly and in sufficient detail. The technique of control by means of forecasts and budgets has been substantially developed. On 5th July, 1955, a new General Directive was issued in place of the one issued in 1953. A copy of the Directive is included as an Appendix to this article, but the paragraph relevant to policy control (para. 31) is as follows:

"Policy decisions of the Board must be properly and promptly carried out, and control must be firm: in this all levels of management must play their part. Policies must be expressed fully, specifically and, where necessary, in detail. Each level of management must avoid interfering in the day-to-day work of the level of management below it, but should exercise control by means of modern management techniques, including the use of approved programmes, followed by periodical reports and reviews of progress."

One of the questions that was much canvassed within the Board prior to the Fleck Report concerned the authority and status of the Heads of Departments at Headquarters in relation to their counterparts at Divisional level, most of whom are, of course, Members of the Divisional Boards and so part of the management at that level. One view was that the functional channel should be used for exercising direction and control. The other view was that, although there had to be functional specialists at each of the main levels of management, those specialists should only be advisory and should only be approached by the lower formation when the need for their advice was felt.

The Report expressed the firm view that the Heads of Departments should be, and be regarded as, the leaders in their respective fields. The Board have given effect to this view in their General Directive in the following words:

"At each level of management the functional Heads must give an effective lead in departmental matters to the functional Heads at the level of management below. The senior man's views in his departmental field will normally be accepted by the functional Head at the level next below him" (para. 9).

This decision has had the effect of reinforcing the control now exercised

by the Board and by their Heads of Departments and has, at the same time, resulted in firmer control by Divisions over their Areas.

The Departmental Organisation

The Fleck Committee's main criticisms on this score were directed to the organisation of the Departments dealing with personnel. There were three of these at Headquarters: Labour Relations, which dealt with the wages and conditions of service of industrial employees and their placing in the industry; Manpower and Welfare, which dealt with the recruitment, training, welfare and education of industrial (and the lower ranks of non-industrial) employees; and Establishments, which dealt with the recruitment, placing, and terms and conditions of service of non-industrial employees. Moreover, responsibility for staff and miners' pensions, workmen's compensation and other matters related to industrial injuries lay with the Establishments (Finance) Branch of the Secretary's Department.

At Division, there was a single Labour Department under the Divisional Labour Director. This Department was responsible for the functions which at Headquarters were carried out by the Labour Relations Department and the Manpower and Welfare Department. The work done at Headquarters by the Establishments Department and the Establishments (Finance) Branch came under the Divisional Secretary, who was not, of course, a member of the Divisional Board.

In the Areas the pattern varied. In some there was one Area Labour Officer discharging all labour functions. In others there was also an officer responsible for education, training and welfare. The Establishments work came under the Area Administrative Officer.

The Committee considered that responsibility at Headquarters for the personnel functions was too diffuse. At Division, they found less diffusion of responsibility, but considered that the arrangements were nevertheless much less satisfactory than at Headquarters. They were particularly concerned that at Division the responsibility for the training of most staff came under the Divisional Labour Director whose main preoccupation was inevitably with wages and conditions of employment. And, of course, the same problem existed at Area level if there was a single Labour Department.

The whole emphasis of this section of their Report is on the Board's need for better management:

"At every level of the Board's organisation, and in most Departments, there is a serious shortage of able people equipped with the right qualifications and experience,"

and they concluded that the Board's staff problem would not be solved unless there was a comprehensive policy for staff, including in particular a long-term programme of recruitment and training.

The Committee would fain have recommended the establishment of one Personnel Department, but they considered that to set up such a Department to deal with all the immense and pressing human problems of the industry would have created a series of posts with very wide and heavy duties. As they felt that the industry could not hope yet to fill such posts adequately, they recommended that the personnel functions should be split between

two new Departments, entitled Industrial Relations and Staff, and that they should respectively look after industrial and non-industrial employees.

The Board accepted these recommendations and the two new Departments have been set up. The only difficulty concerned the Overmen, Deputies and Shotfirers, the N.C.Os. of the industry, who are part of management and who the Fleck Committee recommended should be looked after by the Staff Department. However, for reasons of Union representation and because Deputies and Shotfirers are covered by single Agreements negotiated in the past, it would have been difficult at once to place Overmen and Deputies with the Staff Department and Shotfirers with Industrial Relations. Contrary to the advice of the Fleck Committee, these under-officials have, therefore, for the time being, been left with Industrial Relations, though their education is a matter for the Staff Department.

The Fleck Committee also advocated the creation of a new Department to look after Purchasing, which was formerly part of the Production Department's province. They pointed out that the Board spend more than £150 million a year on the purchase of plant and stores and that the efficiency with which the work is done has a great effect on the Board's finances. The new Department has been set up and although it had to be built up almost from scratch, it is already showing its usefulness in more orderly and economic purchasing, in the field of contracts, and in improving store-holding and stock control at Areas and collieries.

The Committee commented on the heavy responsibilities carried by the Production Department, but did not go so far as to recommend that a separate Department should be set up to deal with the major capital projects which form such an important part of the industry's current activities. Events have shown, however, that this is necessary, and a Reconstruction Department was set up a few months ago at Headquarters. It is not reproduced at Divisional level save in the Scottish Division where the amount of reconstruction to be done is exceptionally heavy. The Reconstruction Director in the Scottish Division is, of course, a member of the Divisional Board, like the Production Director.

The Committee were also critical of the organisation of the Board's carbonisation activities. Their view was that the Board were not staffed or organised to achieve their declared policy of fostering and developing their carbonisation interests. They recommended that the Carbonisation Department should be strengthened at Headquarters in order to give it the strength and influence to ensure that policy was effectively implemented, and that an expert in carbonisation should be appointed to the Board of each of the four main Carbonisation Divisions.

The Board decided to make appointments only to the Durham and North Eastern Divisional Boards, for the present, but the Department is being strengthened in all four Divisions and also at Headquarters, especially on the technical side.

Area Management

While the Committee agreed that it was right for each Area to be under the control of an Area General Manager, they said that in some Areas, at any rate, far too many Area officials were reporting directly to him; in a

few cases 12 or more did so. They therefore recommended that a new post should be created in all Areas, that of Assistant Area General Manager, to whom would report some of the Departmental heads and who would be in charge of the Area in the General Manager's absence. The Board have accepted this proposal, and Assistant General Managers have been appointed in well over half the Areas. The other Areas will have them as and when men of the right attainments and calibre become available. A standard pattern of Area organisation has been adopted: the Assistant General Manager supervises the Area Staff Manager, the Chief Scientist, the Medical Officer, the Estates Manager and the Purchasing and Stores Manager. This leaves the Production Manager, the Chief Accountant, the Industrial Relations Officer and the Marketing Manager (with the Assistant General Manager) reporting direct to the General Manager.

Another point made by the Committee was that, in all Areas where the planning problems are large or difficult, the Area Production Manager should have one Deputy dealing with day-to-day operations and one Deputy dealing with planning. This arrangement already existed in some Areas; it now exists in all but the smallest. It has the great advantage that proper attention is devoted to the forward planning of developments which is of crucial importance in an extractive industry. In some Areas it has been found necessary to appoint a third Deputy to deal specifically with Reconstruction schemes.

The Committee thought that, in the main, the powers delegated by Divisional Boards to Area General Managers were satisfactory, but they were critical in one respect in that they thought that some Area General Managers had excessive powers in regard to capital expenditure on colliery projects. (In the Areas in question, the General Managers had had authority to sanction expenditure of as much as £100,000 on a single colliery project without reference to Division.) They suggested that this delegated authority should be limited to £50,000. In the event, the Board decided that Area General Managers in two Divisions should be authorised to approve expenditure of up to £50,000 on a single project, but that in other Areas (with three exceptions, where the limit was fixed at £15,000) this authority should be £25,000.

The Level of Management between Area and Colliery

The Fleck Committee quite rightly considered that major reorganisation was needed at the level of management between the Area and the Colliery. Some Areas consist of 40 collieries, others of no more than 12 or so big ones. The Board had not laid down any pattern of organisation below Area, and although Sub-Areas existed in some Areas, in others there was no grouping of the units. The Committee recommended (and the Board have accepted the recommendation) that the collieries should be formed into Groups, each under a Group Manager who should be regarded as in the line of management for most purposes. In all, 212 Groups have been created, many of them the old Sub-Areas under a new name. The number of collieries in each Group, of course, varies, but none have less than two or, where the pits are small, more than 13. The Board's new General Directive defines the authority of Group Managers as follows:

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

"The Group Manager will be accountable to the Area General Manager in all matters which substantially affect the efficient operation of the Group" (para. 28).

Each Group Manager has a small staff, but it is not the Board's intention that there should be at any Group a comprehensive Departmental organisation such as there must be at Area Headquarters.

Management at Colliery Level

The Fleck Committee did not deal in detail with Colliery management; indeed, they regarded this as outside their terms of reference, but they did recommend the appointment of Colliery Personnel and Administrative Officers so as to leave Colliery Managers with more time to devote to the job of getting coal. The Board have not yet gone far to implement this recommendation, mainly because they had put in hand, before the Fleck Committee reported, a comprehensive examination of Colliery management, and it was felt to be desirable not to make changes of importance before the examination was completed. The Report of the team charged with this work has now been produced, and is being considered.

General

From what has been said above, it will be seen that the Board have not only accepted the recommendations of the Fleck Committee, but have taken action to implement them. The results are not yet to be seen in increased output of coal or in reduced costs. But it is fair to say that steps have been taken in consequence of the Report which will have their effect in greater efficiency. The whole tone of management has improved; questions that have agitated the minds of senior officials for years have been authoritatively answered; the General Directive of 1955 can serve as a charter for management for many years to come. The Board were indeed fortunate in finding men of the calibre of the members of the Fleck Committee to review their organisation. Their Report will long serve as a guiding light to the management of an industry whose problems are singularly complex and whose importance in the economic life of the nation is paramount.

APPENDIX

The following General Directive* was sent to all Divisional Chairmen and Heads of Departments at Headquarters on the 5th July, 1955. In his covering letter the late Sir Hubert Houldsworth, then Chairman of the Board, said:

"The National Coal Board have today issued a new general Directive, to be observed by all members of their staff. It is to be widely circulated within the Board's organisation, and all members of the staff with the rank of Under-manager or equivalent and above are to have a copy. The Directive is to be accompanied by this letter and any separate letter which Divisional Chairmen may wish to send.

"The Directive must be carried out with common sense, not legalistically.

*As printed on pages 9-14 the Directive incorporates amendments approved by the Board on 20th November, 1956, consequent upon the creation of Reconstruction Department.

Should any doubt of its interpretation arise, it should be referred to the Secretary to the National Coal Board through the usual channels.

"The provisions in the Directive are, for the most part, in terms of the Board's organisation for managing the collieries. But the principles of the Directive hold good also for Carbonisation and other ancillary activities and are to be applied to them."

1. This Directive is to be observed by all Members of the Board's staff.*

GENERAL

2. The levels of management through which the National Coal Board discharge their responsibility for the industry are—Headquarters, Division, Area, Group and Colliery.

3. The authorities in charge at the levels of management below Headquarters are—the Divisional Boards, the Area General Managers, the Group Managers and the Colliery Managers. The authorities are responsible for the general management, within the framework of the National Coal Board's policies, of their Division, Area, Group or Colliery as the case may be. Divisional Boards, Area General Managers and Group Managers must control and co-ordinate the work of subordinate authorities, must help, guide and stimulate them, and must hold them to account.

4. Policy decisions of the National Board will continue to be communicated to Divisions by the Chairman, Deputy Chairman or Secretary of the Board: detailed instructions about implementation may be issued at the same time through departmental channels (see paragraph 11 below). Policy decisions of the National Board and the Divisional Board will be communicated to Area General Managers by the Divisional Chairman, Deputy Chairman or Secretary: separate instructions about implementation may be issued through departmental channels or to the Area General Managers (see paragraph 22). Policy decisions of the National Board, Divisional Board or Area General Manager, when issued from Area Headquarters, should be signed by the Area General Manager, or on the Area General Manager's behalf by the Assistant Area General Manager or Area Secretary.

5. In discharging their responsibilities the authorities must make full use of the departmental staffs. The authorities are responsible for ensuring proper consultation and co-operation between the departments at their level of management.

6. The following are the departments:

Production.	Scientific.
Marketing.	The Medical Service.
Carbonisation.	Finance.
Purchasing and Stores.	Reconstruction.
Industrial Relations.	Secretary's.
Staff.	Legal.

*To staff engaged in the management of the Board's opencast activities this Directive is issued mainly for information. They are required, however, to observe the contents of paragraphs 31 to 33.

Not all of the twelve departments are represented at every level of management.

7. The responsibilities of each Head of department at the various levels of management are :

- (a) To advise on the framing of policy in his field.
- (b) To set in motion the execution of policies in his field.
- (c) To co-ordinate the specialist work of his department, not only at his own level, but also at the next level of management below him.
- (d) To advise, guide and stimulate the department at his own level and at all levels of management below him.
- (e) To keep himself informed about the work of his department, and to satisfy himself that the policy in his field is being carried out punctually and efficiently both at his own level and at all levels of management below him.

8. On matters of established policy each Head of department at Headquarters is empowered by the Board to issue to the functional Head at Division instructions on the implementation of such policies. Divisional Boards will delegate corresponding powers to their functional Heads. Area General Managers will delegate to functional Heads at Area powers to issue, on matters of established policy, instructions to Group Managers, or, if the particular matter is one for which Group Managers are not responsible (see paragraph 29 below), to Colliery Managers. If and when functional Heads at Area issue instructions direct to a Colliery Manager, they must inform the Group Manager.

9. At each level of management the functional Heads must give an effective lead in departmental matters to the functional Heads at the level of management below. The senior man's views in his departmental field will normally be accepted by the functional Head at the level next below him. The views of senior officials assisting each functional Head will normally be accepted by the corresponding officials at the next level below, in so far as the man at the higher level is acting in accordance with powers delegated to him by his functional Head.

10. On matters of policy, and on many purely departmental matters, there must be frequent and full consultation between levels, particularly when new policies not yet adopted are under discussion. Full use will be made of the National Advisory Committee and the Divisional Advisory Committees for purposes of consultation on policy.

11. Instructions issued by a functional Head should be addressed to the functional Head at the level of management next below, but a copy must go direct to the authority in the line of command at the next level below so that the authority may be kept informed. These copies should be sent to the Divisional Secretary or to the Area Secretary as the case may be. Divisional Boards will establish a system under which their functional Heads consult as necessary with them, or with their Divisional Chairman or Deputy

Chairman, before taking action on instructions issued departmentally. Area General Managers will establish a system under which functional Heads at Area consult as necessary with the Area General Manager or Assistant Area General Manager before taking action on instructions which are issued departmentally.*

12. Where a functional Head feels that the implementation of an established policy is falling short of what is required, he will, unless he can otherwise secure that matters are put right, bring his view to the notice of the authority at his level, viz., the National Board, the Divisional Board or the Area General Manager as the case may be.

13. Internal audit is organised as a national service, attached to Finance Department. The Chief Internal Auditor will issue instructions on audit work and programmes. Divisional Chief Internal Auditors will be responsible to the Chief Internal Auditor for the execution of their duties, but will be attached to and will normally report to Divisional Finance Directors. Area Internal Auditors will be responsible to Divisional Chief Internal Auditors, but will be attached to and will normally report to Area General Managers.

14. The responsibility for implementing the Board's marketing policies rests with the Director-General of Marketing. The selling of coal on the inland market, other than coal supplied from colliery landsales, is the function of the Regional Sales Organisation under the Director-General of Marketing. In addition to his other duties, each Divisional Marketing Director is responsible for maintaining liaison between his Divisional Board and the Regional Sales Organisation and for keeping his Divisional Board fully informed on marketing matters generally. The Area Marketing Manager (or, where there is no Area Marketing Manager, the staff carrying out the marketing functions for the Area) will work under the instructions of the Divisional Marketing Director and will be responsible for keeping the Area General Manager and other officials in the Area informed and advised on all marketing matters affecting the management of the Area. He will also be responsible for keeping the Divisional Marketing Director and the Regional Sales Organisation fully informed of the views of the Area management.

DIVISIONAL HEADQUARTERS

(a) Responsibilities of the Members of Divisional Boards

15. The Members of each Divisional Board are jointly responsible to the National Board for the general management of the National Board's business

*The provisions in paragraph 11 will not usually be appropriate in marketing matters. The National Board will inform Divisional Boards of all important policy decisions they take in the marketing field, and Divisional Boards should see that Area General Managers are also informed as necessary of such decisions. The responsibility for implementing the Board's marketing policies rests with the Director-General of Marketing (see paragraph 14) and it will be for him and for Divisional Marketing Directors and Area Marketing Managers to see that Divisional Boards and Area General Managers are informed of, and are consulted about, any instructions issued in marketing matters, which may affect the general management of the Division or Area.

within the boundaries of their Division. (Divisional Boards are not, however, responsible for such opencast activities or Headquarters-controlled activities as are carried on within their Division.) The powers and responsibilities of members of Divisional Boards, other than the Chairman, are also governed by the provisions in paragraphs 7 to 14 above.

(b) Organisation of Divisional Headquarters

16. All the functions which are represented at Divisional Headquarters must be organised departmentally, and no small groups of staff are to report direct to the Divisional Board.

17. Apart from the usual duties of presiding over meetings of the Divisional Board and over other important meetings in the Division, the Divisional Chairman will keep a general watch over the work of Divisional Headquarters and over the more important items of work being done in the Areas. He will initiate at Divisional Board meetings important items of business, or see that such items are properly initiated. The Divisional Chairman will have no departmental responsibilities. The Divisional Deputy Chairman's primary duty is to assist, and deputise for, the Divisional Chairman. He will also be responsible for supervising certain departments which initially will include Purchasing and Stores and Scientific Departments and the Medical Service. Each of the Divisional Directors is to be responsible for one of the following departments—Production, Marketing, Industrial Relations, Staff and Finance.* In the Durham, North Eastern, East Midlands and South Western Divisions there will be a Divisional Director responsible for Carbonisation Department.

18. Apart from his secretarial duties, the Divisional Secretary will initially be departmentally responsible for Public Relations, Patents and Common Services.

19. The Divisional Secretary and the Divisional Legal Adviser will report to the Divisional Board as a whole, through the Chairman or, as he may direct, the Deputy Chairman.

20. Divisional Boards must satisfy the National Board that, within the pattern laid down in paragraphs 16 to 19, their Divisional Headquarters is properly organised and staffed.

(c) Powers

21. Divisional Boards, in discharging their responsibility for the general management of their Division (see paragraph 3 above), have full authority to take decisions, save where the responsibility is specifically reserved by the National Board to themselves. The National Board will specify from time to time the powers which each Divisional Board is authorised or required to delegate to Area General Managers in particular matters. Divisional Boards and Area General Managers will ensure that the authorities subordinate to them are left in no doubt about the powers which they may, and the powers which they may not, exercise.

*In some Divisions a Reconstruction Director may be appointed and a Reconstruction Department created.

AREA HEADQUARTERS

(a) Responsibilities of the Area General Manager

22. Each Area General Manager is responsible for the general management of his Area to the Divisional Board as a whole and is at all times subordinate to the Divisional Chairman and Deputy Chairman. In addition, Divisional Boards may delegate powers to Divisional Board Members to issue instructions to Area General Managers in the Division. Area General Managers will act upon such instructions and will be held accountable to the Divisional Board.

(b) Organisation of Area Headquarters

23. All departments other than Reconstruction, Legal and Carbonisation Departments, are to be represented at Area Headquarters. The Production Manager, Industrial Relations Officer, Chief Accountant and Area Secretary are to be directly responsible to the Area General Manager. The Internal Auditor and Marketing Manager will have direct access to him. The responsibility for supervising the remaining departments and branches will be delegated by the Area General Manager to the Assistant Area General Manager. In the absence of the Area General Manager the Assistant Area General Manager is to be in charge of the Area.

24. The fact that some departments at Area are under the direct supervision of the Area General Manager does not in itself confer on those departments a higher status than belongs to those coming under the supervision of the Assistant Area General Manager. At Area, as at all other levels of management, there must be full consultation and close co-operation between all departments.

25. Area General Managers must see that the organisation of their Area Headquarters conforms to the pattern laid down in paragraph 23 above, and must ensure that, within each department at Area, the work is properly grouped so that no departmental Head has too many people directly responsible to him. The National Board will issue instructions on the way in which they require Area Headquarters to be organised. Variations from these arrangements in particular Areas will only be permissible when approved by the National Board on the recommendation of the Divisional Board.

26. The Area General Manager may not exercise his powers of appointing staff in such a way as to depart from the authorised pattern of organisation for his Area.

GROUP

27. The level of management between Area Headquarters and the collieries is the Group, and the authority in charge at this level is the Group Manager. Each Group must comprise not less than two collieries. Apart from this requirement, it is for Divisional Boards to determine in the light of local circumstances the size of the Groups in each Area and, if they see fit, to change the delimitation of the Groups from time to time.

28. The Group Manager will be accountable to the Area General Manager in all matters which substantially affect the efficient operation of

the Group. The Group Manager must be given such staff as are necessary to enable him to do his work. Since the Groups must vary in size and importance and in the management problems which they present, the number and kind of staff which Group Managers should have will also vary. But it is not the Board's intention that there should be at any Group a comprehensive departmental organisation such as there must be at the Area Headquarters.

29. The Area General Manager will delegate to functional Heads at Area powers to issue instructions to Group Managers (see paragraph 8 above) and he may specify matters in which Group Managers are to report to particular functional Heads at Area, though in these as in other matters the Group Managers will remain ultimately accountable to the Area General Manager. Area General Managers may, with the approval of the Divisional Board, exclude from a Group Manager's field of responsibility any matters which do not substantially affect the efficient operation of the collieries in his Group. All matters so excluded must be clearly specified, and the Group Manager must be kept informed of all instructions on such matters issued direct to Colliery Managers (see paragraph 8 above).

COLLIERY

30. The Colliery Manager is accountable to the Group Manager for the efficient management of his colliery, save in those matters which are excluded from the Group Manager's field of responsibility (see paragraph 29). In such matters the Colliery Manager will be accountable to the Area General Manager direct or through such member or members of the Area staff as the Area General Manager may designate.

SUPERVISION AND ACCOUNTABILITY

31. Policy decisions of the Board must be properly and promptly carried out, and control must be firm; in this all levels of management must play their part. Policies must be expressed fully, specifically, and where necessary, in detail. Each level of management must avoid interfering in the day-to-day work of the level of management below it, but should exercise control by means of modern management techniques, including the use of approved programmes followed by periodical reports and reviews of progress. The National Board intend that the use of standards and budgets shall be fully developed throughout their organisation.

32. The authorities and functional Heads at each level of management are responsible for ensuring that they obtain the information that is needed for supervising and guiding subordinate levels of management and for holding them to account. They must see that this information is not more than is necessary for efficient management at their own level and for the needs of the level of management above, and is not required to be supplied more often than is necessary.

CANCELLATION OF EARLIER GENERAL DIRECTIVE

33. This Directive cancels the General Directive issued by the National Coal Board on 22nd October, 1953.

The Treasury, 1956

By D. N. CHESTER

The Editor reviews Professor S. H. Beer's book "Treasury Control" (Oxford University Press, pp. 138, 15s. in U.K.) and discusses the significance of the recent changes in the top organisation of the British Treasury.

THE Treasury is not what it was—most are readily agreed upon that. Uncertainty creeps in only when one asks whether the "was" (usually meaning the Gladstonian interpretation) was better or worse than the "is." This raises a prior question: What is the Treasury, or, spelt out, what does the Treasury do and how does it do it? Professor Beer's little book explains the contemporary orthodoxy. This Harvard Professor has sat at the feet of senior members of the Treasury (though has not, one suspects, peeped into their files) with excellent results. If it is not possible for the Treasury itself to explain so sweetly and moderately its place in the scheme of things the Department could not have fallen into more fortunate hands. Giving just sufficient facts to explain the formal process and to show that someone at some stage must have to do a little boring and possibly dirty work, he rightly puts the main emphasis on the theory, the approach, the atmosphere and the informal. Those who wish to understand the Treasury doctrine in the year 1954 and thereabouts cannot find a better guide.

The wider interest of Professor Beer's book is in his attempt to show that the co-ordination of economic policy as at present practised in the Treasury is but another form of Treasury control. "The framing and co-ordination of economic policy and the processes of central economic planning have adapted themselves to the old model of Treasury control." After first sketching out the organisation of the Treasury he therefore proceeds to explain what Treasury control over expenditure means and how it is done.

"Treasury control in its classic form is exercised by the Supply Divisions. Its purpose is co-ordination." Such is the opening of Chapter II. This second sentence will no doubt come as a shock to those who had always imagined the primary purpose to be to secure economy in government expenditure. But let Professor Beer explain. If by economy we mean aiming to leave money to fructify in the pockets of the taxpayer, "then obviously this purpose has dwindled." If, however, we mean "to prevent extravagance in one sphere in order to have more funds available for pressing needs elsewhere," this is really financial co-ordination. Fortunately for the subsequent exposition, not to mention those hard-working Treasury and Departmental officials who labour to keep expenditure down in order to keep taxes down and not just for the fun of co-ordination, Professor Beer rather shifts his ground later. By page 56 he is saying: "To regard Treasury control as merely a means of cutting costs and saving money is to overlook some of its most important functions in British government. Economy, nevertheless, remains an important purpose of Treasury control." A little later he says: "That Treasury officials are very much aware of their responsibilities for prudent housekeeping we may be sure." True they are no longer interested in saving candle ends; we have already been told that

by Sir Edward (now Lord) Bridges. What we have not been told is what is the equivalent to candle ends in these inflationary days.

It is hardly profitable to pursue very far this question of the Treasury's attitude towards economy in expenditure. Obviously much depends on the current political attitude towards taxation and on the people at the top of the Treasury—Ministers and civil servants. Cutting expenditure is never popular with the would-be spenders and beneficiaries, and one's general impression, which Professor Beer rather confirms, is that in recent years the Treasury have wanted at least a bronze medal in the popularity race. What is more important from the viewpoint of the chapter on economic co-ordination is the position of the Treasury *vis-à-vis* the departments as a result of having to exercise financial control.

In the first place the Treasury is brought into close and continuous touch with every other department and branch of government. Second, and more important, the Treasury has, with long years of experience, developed a manner of dealing with the departments which fits in "with the spirit and structure of the whole frame of government." It has had to learn to influence and control departmental expenditure without undermining the sense of departmental responsibility; to distinguish between those matters of departmental policy which the Treasury's financial responsibilities give it the right to question and those for which the department concerned must be the sole judge. All this was well stated on several occasions by Sir Warren Fisher who, strangely enough, is not mentioned in his book. "Treasury control, old or new," says Professor Beer, "is not positive direction: that is to say, the Treasury does not itself commonly take the initiative, dictating to departments what they shall undertake in order to fulfil Government policy or plans. Rather it shapes the initiative already taken by departments, by a criticism which is mainly negative bringing that initiative into accord with policy. Furthermore, while the Treasury has in some respects powers of command—negative command—in the actual practice of administration, its officials, as well as its ministers, carry out their work mainly by persuasion and compromise, as well as by the exercise of authority."

Here is the clue to the form which the co-ordination of economic policy has taken since the crisis year of 1947. Professor Beer sees the departments in broadly the same relations with the Treasury in respect of economic policy as they are in respect of expenditure. They are not subordinate to an economic dictator nor, on the other hand, is the process purely a matter of inter-departmental bargaining. Whether it is the programming of national investment or of imports the relation between the departments and the Treasury follows the Supply relationship. The departments take the initiative—"they, not the planning staff, drawing up and proposing the various projected schemes of investment . . . the objective of investment programming was not merely to reduce investment . . . [though the] need to prevent the investment programme from being too inflationary often implied the need to reduce the projected total, and this involved applying the priorities of Government policy. . . ."

This analysis and the few quotations I have chosen from a very quotable book give only the barest impression of Professor Beer's very able exposition. The book must be read. If there are criticisms they are perhaps really

concerned with matters with which Professor Beer does not attempt to deal.

A first reading of the book gives the impression that the author is describing something which he thinks to be the best of all possible worlds. Undoubtedly there is a certain amount of starry-eyed wonder in having been allowed to peep into the inner mysteries of what a famous President of his University called "the most important of all the departments, and one that exhibits in the highest degree the merits of the English government. . . ." A closer reading, however, shows that Professor Beer sees himself primarily as a reporter and an expositor of the current theory and though he performs his job with great sympathy and apparent pleasure he nevertheless avoids taking sides. This is particularly clear when dealing with the Treasury's work of economic co-ordination. What he is in effect saying is that given the present kind of economic policy and planning the Treasury is the best home for it because it so resembles the traditional Treasury job or, alternatively, having placed economic co-ordination in the Treasury this is the kind of approach and arrangement that fits so readily the Treasury pattern. "It is," he says, "adequate to co-ordinate policy and to guide a limited degree of economic planning."

In one respect at least he leans over a little too far backward in trying to show that the Treasury is but one department among many ruled by a plural executive. What he does not bring out clearly enough is that in any Cabinet there are likely to be only three or four outstanding personalities and political leaders: men who will be powerful whatever office they hold. The great strength of the Treasury is that it is almost certain to have one of these outstanding politicians as its Minister. In contrast it is very chancy whether a Minister without Portfolio will be one of these powerful characters. Even if the calibre and political status of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and of the non-departmental Minister should happen to be equal, the traditional authority of the Treasury and the possession of such a high-grade staff will give the former the pull. No Lord President, for example, since Lord Waverley has quite had the position and ability to influence economic policy effectively and to dominate the Treasury, and there were special wartime circumstances that helped even in his case. It is just possible that Sir Stafford Cripps might have achieved this position had he not himself so quickly become Chancellor of the Exchequer. The only way the co-ordination of economic policy could be taken out of the hands of the Treasury, if that were thought desirable, would be if the "number two" or the "number three" to the Prime Minister were to be given the responsibility and the Chancellorship of the Exchequer were to be filled by a lower-powered politician. Even then the former would have to be given a staff comparable in ability to those in the Treasury and certain other senior economic departments. Such an appointment need not, as Professor Beer appears to imply, be to opt for an economic dictator or to relapse into inter-departmental committee procedure. The process of inter-departmental consultation and the respect for Ministerial responsibility are part of the current tradition of the Civil Service generally.

Professor Beer might also have asked a few more questions or on occasion shown a little more scepticism at some of the answers. For example, the criteria applied by the public to test the efficacy of the Chancellor's control

of expenditure are much clearer and more generally accepted than those applied to his actions on the economic side. Has taxation to be increased and is the budget balanced, or were until very recently, the questions asked of any Chancellor. In the words of the oft-quoted statement of the Haldane Committee, "If he is to be held responsible for filling the reservoir and maintaining a certain depth of water in it he must also be in a position to regulate the outflow." But what is the equivalent on the economic side? Is it full employment, or a favourable balance of payments, or stability of prices, or some combination of these? And is this not in effect a vast area of government action and policy for which collective rather than individual ministerial responsibility is more appropriate? Is the Treasury prepared to accept responsibility for the fact that the £ has fallen in value by 40 per cent. since 1945 in the same way that any pre-1939 Chancellor, and any present one for that matter, felt personally responsible for a rise in taxation?

Again the annual Estimates of expenditure in all their detail and the corresponding estimates of tax yields are very precise compared with the statistics with which the Treasury have to deal on the economic side. It is pretty to talk about Keynesian theory and of $Y = C + I$ and $S = I$. But the annual forecasts of national income and expenditure to which this theory has to be applied are inevitably so uncertain as to cover several atomic power stations in their margin of error, never mind a few candle-ends.

One would also have liked to know more about the effect on the Supply side of having economic policy as a partner. One has the impression, perhaps wrongly, that the economic chaps are rather more ebullient types than those who have to scrutinise demands for increased expenditure; are used to dealing with figures in the round (to the nearest million) rather than in the flesh; and are much more susceptible to current enthusiasms than those whose labours can be measured by the annual Estimates. If this is so it would be fascinating to know how the two sides live together and how the top Treasury avoids schizophrenia.

The Changes in 1956

Finally, there is nothing in Professor Beer's book that leads the reader to understand, let alone expect, the important changes in the top Treasury administration that were announced not many months after its publication. On the 20th July, 1956, the Prime Minister announced these changes in the following terms:

"The Right Hon. Sir Edward Bridges, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., M.C., the Permanent Secretary to the Treasury and official Head of the Civil Service, and Sir Bernard Gilbert, G.C.B., K.B.E., the Deputy to the Permanent Secretary, will retire from the public service in the autumn. The latter post will then lapse, and with the approval of the Queen it has been decided that two joint Permanent Secretaries will be appointed in the Treasury—the Right Hon. Sir Norman Brook, G.C.B., now Secretary of the Cabinet, and Sir Roger Makins, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., now H.M. Ambassador at Washington.

"Sir Roger Makins will have charge of the financial and economic

work of the Treasury and will be responsible wholly to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"Sir Norman Brook, in addition to his duties as Secretary of the Cabinet, will take charge of all other Treasury work, including that which falls within the responsibility of the Prime Minister in his capacity as First Lord of the Treasury. He will be the official Head of the Home Civil Service."

The retirement of Sir Edward Bridges had been pending for some time. He had reached the retiring age of 60 in August, 1952, and might well have left then but for a highly conscientious attitude towards the problems facing the Treasury and the Civil Service and the persuasion of senior Ministers.

There have been three other occasions when the Treasury had joint Permanent Secretaries. Two of these concerned Sir Edward Hamilton who was joint Secretary with Sir Francis Mowatt in 1902-03 and with Sir George Murray in 1903-07. Hamilton, though extremely able, had a long and painful illness and therefore could not carry the whole burden. During the period 1913-19 Sir Thomas Heath and Sir John (later Lord) Bradbury were joint Secretaries and in 1916 they were joined by Sir Robert (later Lord) Chalmers as a further joint Secretary. (Chalmers had already been the sole Permanent Secretary during 1911-13.) The significance of the current example lies in the link between the Cabinet Office and the Treasury and in the division of territory between the two Secretaries.

The primary reason for the change is undoubtedly overwhelming pressure of work on the top Treasury. The volume of expenditure has increased tremendously and the number of pressing issues on the Supply side must have correspondingly increased. Fiscal policy and administration are probably much more complicated than they were in the inter-war period. The traditional Treasury responsibilities for what may be called currency and credit are obviously heavier and more urgent. To all this has been added the co-ordination of economic policy with all that it implies. Though this latter work may be modelled on Treasury control it is quite a separate and additional job. On top of all this is the Establishment side, including Civil Service pay and conditions, Machinery of Government, Honours and a whole host of miscellaneous duties arising out of the central importance of the department. In 1914 the Treasury had a staff of not much more than 100, including messengers and cleaners. In 1956 it had a staff of some 1,100.

Obviously the Permanent Secretary in 1956 had to delegate much more than did his predecessors and be content to know less about what was happening in the department. The appointment of a Deputy to him in 1953, to whom he delegated wide responsibilities was, in fact, an attempt to meet the problem. But if the Permanent Secretary is to be an effective head and to see the work of the department as a whole there is a limit to what he can thrust entirely upon others, however senior they may be in the hierarchy. Anyhow, the burden involves all in the department. Since 1945 one Chancellor of the Exchequer has died after having to resign office on health grounds and another was not sorry, for the sake of his health, to move to a less exacting Ministerial post. Permanent Secretaries and their senior staff have an easier life but it cannot be all that easier and they hold office longer. It

would be rather surprising, therefore, if there had not been a feeling in some quarters that the Treasury had taken on more than it could manage and that it had not been working with the highest efficiency in recent years.

The retirement of Sir Edward Bridges was an opportunity to review the situation afresh. At least two possibilities were present. One was to transfer some functions from the Treasury. This, in part, is the case for a separate Minister for Economic Affairs. It is a solution which would, however, raise as many problems as it would solve and would perhaps be justified only if a much more thorough-going form of economic planning were to be adopted. If, therefore, financial and economic co-ordination were to remain together, only all or part of the Establishment side could be moved. But there is no existing department quite suitable for this kind of work. A remotely possible candidate is the Civil Service Commission, at present a minor body with very limited functions. A transfer of this kind would involve completely transforming the work and status of that body. Some of this work, moreover, is closely linked with the control of expenditure.

The other alternative—to add a second Permanent Secretary—still leaves the problems of the relations between the joint heads and the precise division of the total Treasury responsibilities. To place Supply (including presumably Establishment) under one Secretary and the Economic side (possibly including for this purpose Home and Overseas Finance) under another would give the Chancellor two senior advisers of equal status in closely related fields. There is something to be said for separating the expenditure viewpoint from the general economic one and letting the Chancellor settle the issue after hearing both sides where they differ, but one can see the difficulties. Establishment was probably more easily separable but though detailed and time-consuming would hardly be a fair share of the total Treasury work for one joint Secretary.

Combining one of the joint Secretaryships with the Secretaryship of the Cabinet opens up a possible solution to this last difficulty. It enables a rather time-consuming part of the Treasury's work to be taken off the shoulders of the Permanent Secretary responsible for the Supply and Economic sides and at the same time provides a logical basis for the division. For the Permanent Secretary to the Treasury advises two Ministers—the Prime Minister, arising originally from his also holding the office of First Lord, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. A possible division, therefore, was for one joint Secretary to advise the Prime Minister and the other to concentrate solely on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's responsibilities. The Secretary of the Cabinet is very well placed to undertake the former for increasingly in recent years he has tended to be the senior civil servant closest to the Prime Minister. He is, therefore, in a good position to add advice on senior appointments and similar Treasury matters falling within the purview of the First Lord to his other duties.

The division between the two joint Secretaries in the new arrangement, however, is not strictly along the lines of the responsibilities of the two Ministers. On such matters as Civil Service pay, conditions and numbers, Sir Norman Brook will advise the Chancellor. But that Minister will, in the words of the then Prime Minister, "have a distinguished civil servant whose whole time is to be devoted to advising him on the economic and financial

matters with which he has to deal" and "who will not have to carry some of the burdens which used to lie, I thought, sometimes, perhaps, a little unfairly on Sir Edward Bridges as Head of the Civil Service."*

In considering the genesis of the new arrangements, and to show that at this level of administration it is dangerous to seek for explanations which ignore persons, it should be recalled that as long ago as August, 1951, it was announced that Sir Norman Brook would shortly be leaving the Cabinet Office to become Chief Planning Officer at the Treasury, consequent upon the impending resignation of Sir Edwin Plowden, and would act as Deputy to the Permanent Secretary. But before the change could take place a Conservative victory brought Mr. Churchill into power again. He vetoed the changes for he wanted to keep Brook's advice in the Cabinet Office. Sir Edwin Plowden was persuaded to remain as Chief Planning Officer and Sir Edward Bridges not to retire. Had the change taken place Brook as Deputy would have been the obvious choice to succeed Bridges as the single head of the Treasury and, though it did not take place, Brook has since been an even stronger favourite for the succession, providing his health could stand up to it. When Bridges decided to retire there was apparently still no serious competition to Brook within the Treasury as his successor. Thus, the new arrangement brought Sir Norman Brook to the official Headship of the Home Civil Service for which, in a sense, he had been earlier destined, yet kept him in the key position of Secretary of the Cabinet and facilitated an apparently advantageous rearrangement of functions at the top of the Treasury.

The other point to notice is the growing evidence of the closeness of the link between the top Treasury and the Cabinet Office. Sir Edward Bridges himself came from the Treasury to be Secretary of the Cabinet and returned to it as Permanent Secretary. Actually during 1945-46 he was Permanent Secretary of both departments. The announcement in 1951 that Sir Norman Brook was to be Deputy at the Treasury also named a Third Secretary in the Treasury to succeed him as Secretary of the Cabinet. In the most recent change a former Under-Secretary from the Treasury has been made Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet.

These links are to be expected, for the Treasury and the Cabinet Office are both concerned with high-level policy co-ordination. Nevertheless, there is a danger in this link being too close and this is possibly one flaw in the new arrangement whereby the Permanent Secretary of the Cabinet is also joint Permanent Secretary of the Treasury. Though it is so intimately concerned with the process of policy formation at the highest levels the Cabinet Secretariat is not there to advise on policy. The Treasury is bound to have a departmental policy on a whole host of current issues: the Cabinet Office exists primarily to see that the arrangements for Cabinet and Cabinet Committee meetings work smoothly, that accurate minutes are kept and that all the departmental viewpoints and information are available for Ministers to reach an adequate decision. It is by reason of this difference of function, if for no other, that Sir Warren Fisher's rejected proposal in 1922, that the Cabinet Secretariat should become part of the Treasury, was bad.

*H.C. Deb. 26th July 1956. Col 641.

Any feeling in the departments that the Cabinet Secretariat, because of a close link with the Treasury, was closely related and sympathetic to the Treasury viewpoint, or indeed was inclined to have a view of its own for which it pressed, would soon undermine the confidence that all have at present in the impartial position of the Secretariat. The danger is not very great under the new joint arrangements, for the side of the Treasury's work now to be handled by the Secretary of the Cabinet is unlikely to bring him into conflict with departments on major matters. Moreover the confidence within Whitehall in the impartiality of the Cabinet Office is so thoroughly established that it will not easily be shaken. But now there is a formal link with a policy department the danger cannot be ignored.

One or two commentators have seen the change as indicating a possible trend in the direction of something in the nature of a Prime Minister's Department and not as being just an internal reorganisation of the Treasury. This is reading a lot into it, particularly having regard to the personal circumstances: nevertheless the point is worth noticing. Until fairly recently the Prime Minister has largely relied on the Treasury for any general official help and in particular for advice in respect of such of his duties as were derived from his also being First Lord of the Treasury. The Chief Whip, his right-hand man in the management of the House of Commons, holds the office of Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury, another traditional link with this department and with its long-standing interest in Government appointments and honours. During the past twenty or so years several things have happened. On the one hand the responsibilities of the Permanent Secretary to the Treasury have so increased as to render it less easy for him to serve both the First Lord and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. On the other a new centrally placed office has developed—that of Secretary of the Cabinet. Because he has to be in frequent touch with the Prime Minister about the arrangement of Cabinet business and because he has to deal with any Commonwealth and international meetings in London in which the Prime Minister has to take the lead, the Secretary of the Cabinet is likely to be consulted by the Prime Minister on other general governmental matters of a non-party character. The incentive to use this senior and well-placed civil servant must have been the greater by reason of the very high calibre so far of the three holders of the office—Hankey, Bridges and Brook. If what may be termed the Treasury functions of the Prime Minister are added to the other duties of the Secretary of the Cabinet, there emerges a civil servant who apart from the small high-powered secretariat at No. 10 is to all intents and purposes the Prime Minister's chief Civil Service adviser. For such work being also joint Permanent Secretary to the Treasury may be less important than being also Secretary of the Cabinet. Indeed a civil servant serving the Prime Minister in this full way could well be Head of the Home Civil Service without being head of the Treasury. At a later stage the desire or need of the Prime Minister for the whole-time services of such a senior official adviser might even lead to the separation of this person from both the Treasury and the Cabinet Office. Physical strain and possible incompatibility of the different sides of the duties would help in this direction. How easy it is to spin the future!

One additional point should be borne in mind about the present arrange-

ment of functions between the two joint Secretaries. Sir Norman Brook's functions in the Treasury are very much wider than those for which the Prime Minister has, or can be expected to have, responsibility. Much of them are part of the traditional Treasury system of control of expenditure. Whilst advice on senior appointments and on the general machinery of government might well form part of the work of any senior official responsible solely to the Prime Minister, the handling of the numbers, pay and conditions of the Civil Service could not. In these days no Prime Minister has the time and energy left to take on extra duties. Moreover, if he were to take on the Establishment side of the Treasury he would have to be in substantially the same relation with the Chancellor of the Exchequer as are the Ministers in charge of the spending departments. This would be an uncomfortable situation for both of them.

STUDIES OF ADMINISTRATIVE METHODS

The Royal Institute of Public Administration undertakes studies of administrative methods, which subject particular problems to intensive investigation, and seek to define the principles of efficient practice and to show how substantial economies can be achieved.

These studies are supplied without charge to the Institute's corporate members according to their requirements, but the first four studies mentioned below have been placed on general sale, the prices charged to authorities not in corporate membership of the Institute being 12s. 6d. for the first copy of each study, and 5s. for each extra copy. The price to individual members is 6s. per copy.

Mail Handling. 1955. Pp. 23.

A study of the processes involved in handling incoming and outgoing correspondence. It makes recommendations both on principles of organisation and on detailed methods of work. The appendices contain lists of appliances and machines available and deal with signing policy for outgoing letters.

Official Travelling : Cost of Transport. 1953. Pp. 20.

This report deals with the financial and economic aspects of all the available means of transport, and with the organisation and supervision of official travel. Appendices contain specimen costs, a specimen claim form, and a check list of practices leading to the economical operation of authority-owned cars.

Local Authorities' Letters of Appointment. 1952. Pp. 24.

A study of the problems involved in preparing and reproducing letters of appointment which will provide satisfactory contracts of service to both employer and employee, and will include the information that a new employee requires on taking up his appointment. Appendices contain a specimen letter to an office worker and one to a manual worker.

Local Authorities' Minutes and Reports. 1952. Pp. 28.

This detailed examination of local authorities' minutes and reports shows how economies can be achieved by reducing the length of published text and using the most economical methods of reproduction.

Information contained in the sections on printing with economy will be found useful on a wide range of printing work.

Advertisements for Staff. 1951. Pp. 15.

An analysis of published staff advertisements with illustrations of common extravagances and of ways of publishing the maximum information at the minimum cost. This study has enabled some of the larger public authorities to save hundreds of pounds a year.

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The Leeds Private Bill, 1956

By H. V. WISEMAN

Dr. Wiseman is a Lecturer in the University of Leeds and a Labour Councillor on the Leeds City Council. He gratefully acknowledges the valuable assistance he has received from the Town Clerk of Leeds and from the members of his staff who were most intimately and continuously concerned with the Bill. They, of course, have no responsibility for any of the opinions expressed herein.

EVEN experienced officials may deal with a Private Bill only once or twice in a lifetime. Elected representatives are fortunate to have an opportunity at all. Even if their Authority promotes a Bill while they are on the Council the odds against their being on the special committee to pilot the Bill through its various stages are great. The writer's own good fortune in being on the sub-committee of the Finance and Parliamentary Committee, one of five chosen from 112 Aldermen and Councillors, to watch over a Bill which contained originally 297 clauses and three schedules (covering 173 foolscap pages), is the excuse for this account, written primarily from the layman's point of view. This last explanation is necessary at the outset because the months of concentrated work by officials, piled upon their normally overburdensome duties and encroaching upon their all-too-little leisure, are passed over lightly—but should not pass unnoticed.

The Leeds Bill was the city's first for a quarter of a century; hence, its length and comprehensiveness. It affected 14 Leeds Local Acts and 19 Confirmation Acts and Orders; it applied 21 sections of the Health Act, 1936; it repealed 16 Acts in whole or in part, and referred in all to a further 82 Statutes. The bare summary presented to the City Council covered nearly three closely-printed pages. Summaries of parts as presented to the Town Meeting took the Lord Mayor almost two hours to read—hence, his appeal at one stage for someone to oppose something if only to rest his voice! Only the barest indication of the matters covered by the Preamble and the 17 distinct Parts can be given here. They touch on nearly every aspect of a County Borough's work.

The Contents of the Bill

The Preamble contained 14 sub-sections outlining in general terms the purposes of the Bill and the "local needs" which justified its clauses. Part I (Preliminary) covered four printed foolscap pages and among other things defined nearly 50 terms. The rest of the Bill may be summarised as follows:

Part II (clauses 5-48): extension of city boundaries over an area which it had for some years been hoped might be made available for housing development. (The Minister's approval for such development, covering some two-thirds of what was originally requested, was received, after a local enquiry, in time to remove objections from the West Riding County Council and the Tadcaster Rural District Council, though the Barwick Parish Council continued to oppose.) There were consequent extensions

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- of powers to cover everything from duties under the Children Act, 1948, to the Protection of Birds Act, 1954.
- Part III (clauses 48-65): empowered the Corporation to erect an Exhibition Hall and gave consequent powers of survey, valuation, and acquisition of land.
- Part IV (clauses 66-103): dealt with new streets, improvement, protection, and repair of streets and private streets.
- Part V (clauses 104-127): covered sanitation and building matters—sewers, drains, public conveniences, piped water supply, filthy or verminous premises, etc. It included one controversial clause, insisting upon a separate water closet for each dwelling house as an essential requirement of "fitness for human habitation."
- Part VI (clauses 128-144): covered a variety of nuisances and health matters.
- Part VII (clauses 145-155): dealt with matters concerning food—from meat to "ice lollies."
- Part VIII (clauses 156-162): sought to control "movable dwellings," and particularly camping in areas of high amenity and certain catchment areas which lie within the city.
- Part IX (clauses 163-170): dealt with Burial Grounds, Parks, and other municipal property. Among other things it authorised the spreading of the precepts from separate Burial Boards over the whole of the city, a desirable power as and when such Burial Boards were taken over by the Corporation. It aimed also to protect school playing fields from "unauthorised players of games"—hitherto undeterred by that "wooden lie," "Trespassers will be prosecuted."
- Part X (clauses 171-192): covered various matters of Public Order and Public Safety—including restrictions on the use of loud speakers in streets (naturally, with safeguards for the legitimate activities of political parties at election time).
- Part XI (clauses 193-209): sought to improve upon existing machinery to protect the public in regard to Weights and Measures.
- Part XII (clauses 210-227): provided for an interesting experiment in municipal enterprise—the provision of District Heating.
- Part XIII (clauses 228-233): dealt with certain Water matters.
- Part XIV (clauses 234-238): sought to control premises used for sales by auction, and was aimed particularly at the "mock auction."
- Part XV (clauses 239-253): covered various financial and rating matters and empowered the Corporation, among other things, to set up an Art Fund and an Insurance Fund, and to pay for public entertainment and ceremonies.
- Part XVI (clauses 254-287) was perhaps of greatest interest to the elected representatives, for some of the clauses were in fact proposed by them and were the most "political" in the Bill. (They were the worst treated at Westminster.) Notably, there were clauses providing for concessionary fares for various categories of persons, including Councillors when on Council business; to provide transport facilities for aged and handicapped persons

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when entertainment (such as Darby and Joan clubs) might otherwise be beyond their reach; to enable the Corporation to sell certain items of school clothing and to provide and manage a cold air store in connection with a new abattoir. Others ranged from the collection and delivery of washing to an Institute for Teachers; from research into matters concerning social conditions to the rehabilitation of "special families"; from the maintenance of buildings of architectural interest to the legalising of fines for the non-return of library books; from restrictions on the use of the city armorial bearings to the substitution of loose-leaf minute books for the statutory clumsy bound volumes. To return from some of these clauses to Part XVII (clauses 288-297), which covered formal matters, is to leave the hustings for the back room.

The Origin of the Bill

The paternity of these numerous offspring is often shrouded in mystery and their period of gestation elephantine. Clearly, in many respects the powers of the Corporation and their mode of exercise—even in the traditional fields of local government activity—were out of date. Leeds, which in 1930 had possessed as up-to-date a "code" as almost any Local Authority, had since lagged behind. But the gaps were not merely due to 25 years of local contemplation: some were revealed after experience of—incomplete—national legislation (and a few were filled by such legislation before the Bill became law). For some considerable time the Town Clerk's Department had been noting various deficiencies in the hope that eventually a Bill might be promoted. Other departments, notably the Health Department, were also aware of deficiencies. The matter was brought to a head by the proposed extension of the boundaries, which would necessitate a Bill, and by the problem of smoke abatement (though this was one example where, eventually, national legislation caught up with and passed local proposals). If a Bill were essential on these matters, why not include others? Some time in 1954-55 it was decided that the time was at last ripe. The officials, to whom the greater part of the Bill is clearly due, could go ahead.

A member of the Town Clerk's Department, instructed to bring the Leeds "code" up to date, spent two whole weeks of continuous work examining not only *Model Clauses: Revised Edition* 1953 (published by authority of Parliament as a guide to Local Authorities) but also every single local enactment passed during the preceding 25 years. From this mass of material he picked out everything which might conceivably be of use to the Corporation. Copies of these chosen clauses were then circulated to every department of the Corporation and they formed the real basis of the Bill—some three-quarters of it, in fact. Suggestions also came from the departments, notably the Engineer's, the City Architect's, the Medical Officer of Health's, the Treasurer's, and the Chief Education Officer's departments. Chairmen of Committees were made aware of the opportunity. In some cases officials sought their Chairman's support. In others, Chairmen themselves made suggestions. Committees as a whole were consulted and occasionally members had feasible suggestions. The Labour (majority) group on various committees, and then the Labour Council Group as a whole, held meetings at which existing and possible clauses were discussed at length—on the basis of verbal summaries and explanations provided by Labour members of the

sub-committee on the Bill. Presumably the Conservative group adopted similar procedures, although the result in public was not an attempt to add clauses but to delete wholly or partly some 14 existing ones. This is, however, an equally important aspect of public discussion.

It is useful at this point to say something of the already existing material from which the bulk of the Bill was drawn. Model clauses have been referred to above. These fall into two groups: (i) those which will almost automatically be granted to Local Authorities of appropriate status if included in a Private Bill; and (ii) those for which "local need" must be proved.¹ The Government Department concerned draws the attention of the Select Committee considering the Bill to those model clauses in the Bill which require special proof of local need. Then there are "precedented clauses," those which have previously been included in other Local Acts. Here, the fewer the previous Acts, the weaker the precedent. If the clause has been granted in only one previous Act, and particularly if it were granted only because of a proved local need, this does not necessarily constitute a precedent. The promoters of a Bill deposit with Mr. Speaker's Counsel and with the Lord Chairman's Counsel a marked copy showing which clauses are "model" or "precedented," and where "models" or "precedents" have been departed from. In the Leeds Bill 35 clauses were completely unprecedented (of which nine were eventually struck out) but there was not one single page of the Bill on which no alterations (either omissions or additions) were marked by the promoters. The alterations were sometimes made to suit local circumstances, sometimes because they were thought to be an improvement. In one or two instances Government Departments were pleased to acknowledge that Model Clauses had been improved when redrafted for the purposes of the Leeds Bill.

By September, 1955, the Bill was in sufficient shape for formal discussions in the Finance and Parliamentary Committee. Members received a summary of clauses, 277 at this point, covering 36 duplicated foolscap sheets, together with a further eight sheets of notes on clauses and proposed clauses. Information was provided in regard to "models" and "precedents" and also on 12 clauses which were contained in Bills already before Parliament. (We were able to watch the latter's progress. When we learned, for example, that a clause on School Agreements was being blocked on Second Reading we could ask the Leeds M.P.s. to support it. The clause eventually went through and constituted a very recent precedent for ours.) A little later a printed draft of the Bill was available for our use. By the end of October we were ready, after two long sessions, for the special meeting of "F. and P." For this, besides the above-mentioned material, we received additional comments, further explanatory notes, and possible new clauses—covering nine foolscap pages. There were also copies of letters from organisations protesting against certain clauses, notably that providing for the sale of School Uniforms. The special meeting began at 2.15 p.m. and lasted until well after 7 p.m.—when some of us proceeded immediately to a Group Meeting which was already discussing the Bill. Meanwhile, officials in Leeds and Parliamentary Agents in London were even busier.

¹The Joint Select Committee on Private Bill Procedure (1955) recommended (para. 70) that all model clauses should be regarded as "no more than guides for drafting" and "not acceptable without questioning."

Private Bill Procedure in Outline

It will be convenient to set out here the main stages in Private Bill procedure from the point of view of Parliament. Other aspects are referred to at appropriate places in the article. The first link between local action and action at Westminster is the deposit of the Bill in Parliament in the Private Bill Office. There it is considered, together with any petitions claiming that due legal procedure has not been complied with (in respect of notices, Council Meetings, etc.), by two Examiners, one from each House. If the Parliamentary Standing Orders governing Private Bills have been complied with—or if both Houses decide that they may be dispensed with—the Bill is allocated to one of the two Houses. First Reading is then formal. The Bill is then returned to the Private Bill Office to make doubly certain that Standing Orders have been complied with. It is then given a Second Reading in the House to which it was allocated. Assuming that—as is usual—the House does not reject the Bill at this stage, then one of two things will happen. If there are no petitions against the substance of the Bill it goes to the Committee on Unopposed Bills. There the Preamble will be proved, in other words the reason for and the expediency of the Bill must be explained to the satisfaction of the Committee. If the Bill is petitioned against, the Committee Stage is taken by a Select Committee consisting in the Commons of four, in the Lords of five, members. This stage is "quasi-judicial" and both promoters and petitioners may be, and usually are, represented by counsel. The precise nature of the procedure will appear from the following account of the Leeds Bill. The Select Committee then reports to the House and the Bill is given a Third Reading. The Bill has then to go through precisely the same stages in the other House. Assuming the absence of conflict between the Houses, normal in these matters, it then receives the Royal assent.

Council Meetings on the Bill

In addition to the procedure outlined above, two Statutory Meetings of the City Council must be held. Some account of the first, held on 16th November, 1955, will throw light on local attitudes. On this occasion there were actually two meetings, one formal to confirm the minutes of "F. and P.," the second, the statutory meeting itself. For 2½ hours the Bill was debated in detail. Leeds is fortunate in that a verbatim report of Council proceedings is kept. The report covered 33 pages of very small print, excluding the resolution containing a "summary of purposes." Its main importance here is the evidence provided of the extent of local agreement and disagreement.

Critics of the party system of local government are usually answered by the statement that more than 90 per cent. of committee work is conducted on a non-party basis and that few divisions are taken on party lines. The record of the Leeds Bill confirms this answer. Of 297 clauses the Conservative Party sought to delete only seven and to amend seven others. Of the first seven, four were mainly concerned with details of procedure for the acquisition of land, etc.—"lawyers' clauses"—which the Conservative leader, fired perhaps by the terms of reference of the Franks Committee, sought to delete in the name of "liberty." Three were "political," covering the sections to

abolish "shared lavatories," to establish an Institute for Teachers, and to empower the Corporation to sell school uniforms. "Rights of property-owners," "economy," and "opposition to municipal enterprise" were the three themes underlying the opposition. On the first four of these same seven clauses minor amendments were later accepted. On the last three no compromise was possible. The motion to delete was lost by 64 votes to 36. On the amendments to the seven other clauses, minor changes were again made at a later stage so far as six of them were concerned. On the seventh, to delete concessionary fares for councillors from the general clause, a party vote (62 to 33) refused to make the change. The normal and reasonable process of local legislation was thus well illustrated: local agreement on the greater part of the Bill, accommodation on some minor points, a firm stand by the majority on four matters held to involve principle.

This statutory meeting was the first occasion the Bill really came before the public, although there had been some previous press discussion as some of the likely clauses became known. The public, however, appeared little interested at this stage, for the galleries were never more than a quarter full. For those more intimately concerned the meeting was but an interlude in the long process of detailed work.

Negotiations

We may depart, temporarily, from the chronological sequence of events to deal a little with this detailed work. From the moment when the Bill was deposited in the House of Commons, officials were concerned with negotiations with interested parties and Government Departments. Some of these negotiations could be completed by the officials. Others, which involved compromises on matters of policy, had to be brought before the elected sub-committee. For example, a long meeting between this sub-committee and the Leeds and District Property Owners' and Ratepayers' Association resulted in a compromise whereby the Corporation agreed to meet by way of grant up to 100 per cent. of the cost of providing separate lavatory accommodation for each dwelling-house. Objection to the clause was withdrawn. A similar attempt to persuade the National Farmers' Union to accept seven days as the minimum age for the slaughter of calves was less successful and the clause was eventually defeated on Second Reading in the House of Commons. In all, more than 30 organisations, including local authorities, public corporations, industrial, commercial, professional and charitable bodies sought to obtain assurances, amendments or deletions. A large number were satisfied by negotiation, a great saving of time and money before the Committee Stage in the Commons was reached. Others considered it necessary to lodge petitions against the Bill, though even then, at a later date, it was possible to meet further objections so as to obtain the withdrawal of most of the fifteen which were deposited.

So far as Government Departments were concerned, they submitted their preliminary observations on the Bill after it had been deposited, to the promoters, in writing. Where necessary, discussions were held; as an indication of their importance it was largely as a result of consultations with the Minister concerned that the extension clauses went through successfully. Points outstanding after these discussions were included in the reports of

The various Ministries to the Select Committee—copies being sent, though often at the last moment, to the promoters. Before the Select Committee Civil servants drew attention to these points. Though they may not be cross-examined, queries may be addressed to them by counsel, through the Committee, and the Departments by no means always get their own way.

Town Meeting and Town Poll

Boroughs and Urban Districts, unlike Administrative Counties and Rural Districts, must, under Part XIII of the Local Government Act, 1933, hold a Town Meeting and, if necessary, a Town Poll. It is not proposed to discuss in detail the arguments for and against this requirement. The expense involved, the belief that there is adequate publicity without the addition of meeting and poll, the feeling that local councils are sufficiently responsible to the electors without these extra appeals to the latter's judgment, and above all the safeguards provided at the Committee Stage in the House of Commons—all these appear to justify the opinion expressed by the Association of Municipal Corporations in their Memorandum to the Joint Committee of Lords and Commons that Town Meetings and Polls should be abolished.² Experience with the Leeds Bill appears to the present writer to support the A.M.C.'s case.³

The Leeds Town Meeting was held on 28th December, 1955. Attendance was not as catastrophically low as in some Boroughs. But a maximum vote of just over 500 is not representative of a city of 500,000. Those present were, for the most part, "interested parties" at least in the general sense in which Professor Wheare uses the phrase in *Government by Committee*. In some cases they were "interested" in the more specific and usual sense. The Leeds Labour Party had conducted considerable propaganda to ensure the presence of as many supporters as possible—at least as legitimate a procedure as the usual efforts of organisations with a vested interest in opposing certain classes of Private Bills to ensure support for their point of view.

The meeting began at 7.30 p.m. and ended at midnight. By then 166 voters remained. The proceedings were conducted by the Lord Mayor. On the platform were the two party leaders, the other members of the sub-committee and a few Chairmen of Committees to speak on certain clauses if opposed. Officials were present to advise. The need not only to give but to appear to give members of the public every opportunity to express their opinion makes procedure very lengthy and cumbrous. The Lord Mayor had to read a lengthy explanation of each part of the Bill (one Part covering perhaps as many as 50 clauses). Any member of the public present had the right to move the deletion, though not the amendment, of any clause. On each such motion a Council representative stated the case for the clause, and the Leader of the Council moved that it should "stand part." However overwhelming the vote either way, tellers counted and recorded exact figures. By midnight the pleasant meeting over a glass of sherry between the Lord Mayor and the sub-committee which had taken place at 4.30 to discuss

²See *Municipal Review* Supplement, March, 1956, App. C, paras. 24-39.

³The Joint Committee on Private Bill Procedure recommended the abolition of Town Meetings and Polls (1955, H.L. 14, 58-1; H.C. 139-1, para. 79).

procedure seemed far away. But at least the Transport Department had laid on a night service—with no concessionary fares for Councillors!

That only 13 clauses were opposed again shows how wide the agreement was on a Bill of 297 clauses. The Exhibition Hall was supported by 353 votes to 135. The Conservative leader mustered 186 votes against a clause enabling the Corporation to acquire land for certain purposes, e.g., transport undertakings, parking places, markets, but 341 opposed him. The Liberal Party (unrepresented on the Council but constantly represented in the public gallery by one of its annual candidates) opposed four clauses. Proposals to charge some of the costs of street lighting installations in private streets to the owners concerned were carried 344 to 176. Power to enter premises in connection with the provision of district heating was confirmed 332 to 23. The Institute for Teachers (against which the solid ranks of Conservative Councillors on the front rows joined the Liberals) was supported 291 to 95. "Shared lavatories" were uncompromisingly condemned, 414 to 9. On the latter figure the Lord Mayor permitted himself the light relief of "no mention of lost deposits, please!" Business interests sought to defeat the compulsory registration of catering premises; they lost 369 to 23. The municipal cold-air store—voting fell with the fall of temperature—was supported 167 to 13. Rather surprisingly, the local secretary of the R.S.P.C.A. joined with the N.F.U. to oppose the clause forbidding the slaughter of calves below the age of seven days; they were defeated 297 to 93. Hygiene triumphed over the traditional weakness for animals when a clause to keep the latter out of food shops was upheld 418 to 21. An attempt to delete the provisions to legalise fines for the non-return of library books was defeated 211 to 12. Finally, on the two most "political" clauses of the night—concessionary fares for councillors and the sale of school uniforms (the latter opposed by the Leeds Chamber of Commerce but supported by at least one "small" tailor)—voting was 227 to 85 and 254 to 68. When, on the stroke of midnight, the Bill as a whole was put to the meeting, five stalwarts had remained to oppose, 161 supporters were present to give the impression of overwhelming approval.

The Council was thus happily relieved of the necessity to arrange a poll in order to try to restore the deleted clauses. Equally happily for the ratepayers, in no case did the necessary 100 electors demand a poll in a further attempt to achieve deletions, though it was touch and go up to the last minute. One general observation seems appropriate. Defeat of a clause at the Town Meeting, and where the clause is not restored by a poll—or defeat of a clause at a poll—is final. There is no way of restoring the clause. Parliament accepts this negative local decision. But positive local opinion as expressed in the Town Meeting, or even at a poll, is not so accepted. It may still be overruled by Parliament. The argument that too few voters record their opinions to be representative would appear to cut both ways. If it is considered large enough to negative a clause, it is large enough to sustain it. If it is considered too small to sustain it, it is too small to be final. At least the Corporation might be permitted to take the matter for decision by Parliament. This argument, however, supports the case for abolishing Town Meetings and Polls. So long as they are retained, there is much force in the contention that clauses supported by them ought not merely to go before Parliament, but

before the Select Committee without the possibility of being thrown out on Second Reading. If there is any point in Town Meetings and Polls at all, their positive as well as their negative decisions should carry weight. There is perhaps too much of the attitude of Mr. G. Hirst, M.P. (Shipley)—"I have not a lot of faith in Corporations" (550 H.C., Col. 1349).

Over to Westminster

The New Year brought a speeding-up of activity both in Leeds and London. By 6th January the sub-committee had to study a further three foolscap sheets of comments and three letters and memoranda from opposing organisations. Meanwhile, various proposed amendments were explained by the Town Clerk and accepted by the sub-committee—part of the process of removing opposition before the Committee Stage. A fortnight later a further report detailed various points still at issue. These illustrate the kind of obstacles which have to be overcome by promoters of a Private Bill. Of a large number of objections, many of which could be removed by the officials themselves, there remained to be discussed by the sub-committee six matters raised by the British Transport Commission; four by the Cinematograph Exhibitors' Association; two each by the Brewers' Society and the Federation of British Industries; and one each by the Passenger Vehicles Operators' Association, the Animal By-Products Parliamentary Committee and the Theatrical Managers' Association. Later again a further report dealt with five specific clauses which were being opposed by the North Eastern Gas Board and the National Coal Board. There were also various suggestions from the Home Office, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government and the Treasury Solicitors: these were points which came before the sub-committee; practically every Government Department had some observations which had to be dealt with by the officials. But by this time interest had shifted to Westminster.

Private Bills normally arouse little interest and less excitement in the House of Commons as a whole. But objection by only one M.P. when Second Reading is put down on the Order Paper, if persisted in on three occasions, makes necessary a full-dress Second Reading Debate. Inevitably there was some political and "business-interest" opposition to certain Leeds clauses. The Bill was opposed on the three stipulated occasions and set down for Second Reading on 8th March, 1956. Politics, however, in these days, like peace, are indivisible. The long queues outside the House on 8th March were interested not in Leeds but in Cyprus. Second Reading was postponed until 21st March.

Meanwhile, we kept in touch with our M.Ps. Contact between Local Authorities and M.Ps. is not always as close as might be. Questions have been asked in the House without that prior consultation with the Local Authority which their nature seemed to demand. On the other hand M.Ps. often have legitimate cause for complaint that local representatives do not seek their aid early enough, or do not draw attention to matters which might be usefully referred to in question or debate. It is obviously more difficult where the majority on the local council is of a different party from the M.P. Leeds experienced similar difficulty because two Leeds M.Ps. were opposed to certain clauses—though otherwise all were keen to do their best for their

city. In any case meetings with busy M.Ps. are not easy to arrange. For some time it was possible only to maintain liaison by correspondence; all the M.Ps. were sent notes on the clauses which it was known would be opposed on Second Reading—notes covering 15 foolscap sheets. A week before Second Reading the sub-committee visited London for consultations—separately with the Conservative and Labour M.Ps., though the politically-mixed sub-committee met each group in a body. The main object of the meeting with the two Conservative M.Ps. was to attempt to persuade them not to attempt to delete certain clauses; it was not achieved. The meeting with the Labour M.Ps.—given added dignity by being held in the private room of the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Gaitskell is, of course, the Member for South Leeds) who, indeed, stated the case for maintaining one particular clause on Second Reading—was to provide information on clauses which were to be opposed, to arrange which M.Ps. would take the lead on behalf of the Corporation, and generally to decide upon tactics. There were also some interesting matters of parliamentary procedure which arose almost at the last minute.

The original Order Paper for 8th March showed that one group of six M.Ps. had given notice of an "instruction" to delete four clauses. Another group of three M.Ps. sought to delete the boundary extension clauses. (This, however, did not arise. With the removal of objections from the West Riding County Council and the Tadcaster Rural District Council, and the fact that the M.P. for the Parliamentary Division affected had to leave for the Far East, the matter was not pressed.) One M.P. sought to delete one further clause. No procedural difficulty arose over this. It was not clear, however, whether there could be one general debate on four clauses (with separate votes on each "instruction" at the end) or whether each must be debated separately. The Chairman of Ways and Means held that the former was possible. The M.P. for West Leeds, whose researches into precedents took him some 200 years back in parliamentary history, claimed that each clause must be debated separately. He convinced the Chairman of Ways and Means. Thus, by talking at length on the first clause until 9 o'clock all discussion on subsequent clauses, and possibly even the vote on the first "instruction," might be prevented. The Bill would thus go to the Select Committee without instructions—a consummation devoutly to be wished by the Leeds Corporation and the Leeds Labour M.Ps., but not the two Leeds Conservative M.Ps. and some of their colleagues. They might, therefore, have decided to oppose the Second Reading itself rather than let the Bill go through without instructions to delete opposed clauses.

It should be explained that a Private Bill must be given a Second Reading *before* instructions are moved. Moreover, no new opposed business—and instructions to delete would be opposed—may be introduced in the House after 9 o'clock. If, therefore, the Second Reading itself is opposed and a general debate ensues, this might be carried on until 9 o'clock (the normal time for finishing debate on Private Bills) without discussion on any clauses, or even without a vote being taken. This, indeed, had happened on a previous Private Bill. To counter the possibility that, if the Second Reading were approved without debate, Labour M.Ps. might talk out time to prevent a vote on the first "instruction," the Conservative M.Ps. therefore hinted at

the possibility of preventing any Second Reading vote at all. To meet both sides the Chairman of Ways and Means decided therefore that Standing Orders should be suspended. On these conditions all could approve a Second Reading without debate and then proceed to debate the "instructions" to delete certain clauses, knowing that there was all the time required to consider all the instructions, none of which could be talked out. The proceedings, therefore, began at 7 p.m., but instead of terminating automatically at 9 p.m., continued until 11.20 p.m. It now appears that what was then virtually unprecedented—a suspension of Standing Orders for a Private Bill—has since become, at least temporarily, the normal rule for all Private Bills opposed on Second Reading. Whether Local Authorities will regard this as a tribute to the importance of their work or as a warning that there will normally be a parliamentary hurdle prior to the Committee Stage is not clear.

Experienced M.Ps. said afterwards that on the occasion of the Second Reading of the Leeds Bill there was something of the atmosphere of a big debate, extremely unusual for such a Bill. Certainly it was a large Bill; it contained some controversial clauses; it had aroused such conflicting opinions that Standing Orders had to be suspended; it was known that interested M.Ps. on both sides had done a good deal of unofficial "whipping"—for the Whips are not on for Private Bills. There were notable protagonists on both sides, for example Mr. Kaberry for the Conservatives, Mr. Gaitskell for the Labour Party. But no one can really explain with certainty what turns an ordinary occasion into an almost-big one. The simple facts are that the lowest number of M.Ps. taking part in a division was 218. The other figures were 268, 274 and 283. Members gathered in the library and smoke rooms, almost as for a great occasion. As the time for a division approached there were rustles of movement and excitement and that faint speculative susurration which suggests there might be a *faint* chance of a surprise result. Indeed, it was said that the first division might have gone otherwise had the last Labour M.P. not spoken for quite so long. A sufficient number of Conservatives returned from a dinner to defeat the clause providing for a cold ice store by 136 to 132.

The elected representatives from Leeds, of course, watched all this from the Strangers' Gallery. Leeds officials, temporary substitutes for Civil Service advisers, sat uncomfortably "under the stairs" where they were consulted by those M.Ps. (all on the Opposition Benches) who were piloting the Bill on behalf of the Corporation, and by some others who sought clarification or information about the possible withdrawals of certain sections—as the price of allowing others to go through. (This applied mainly to the concessionary fares clause on which some categories were objected to.) The four debates (in the end, only four clauses were opposed) covered 16, 24, 26 and 12 columns of *Hansard* respectively.

As already indicated, party differences entered very little into the Leeds Bill either at local or national level. True, on each of the four clauses debated on Second Reading members divided on party lines, and defeat of two proposals—for a municipally-run cold air store and for the sale of school uniforms—was probably inevitable with a Conservative majority in the House. (Curiously enough, the former was virtually covered by the Food

and Drugs Act!) Municipal enterprise is one of the few remaining fundamental differences on local government matters between the parties. The clause forbidding the slaughter of calves under seven days old was defeated partly on the orthodox ground that this should be covered by national legislation and partly because the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture considered that sufficient powers existed already. The N.F.U.'s opposition helped to decide the issue. But there was some party feeling on the clause concerning concessionary fares and this merits attention.

The clause provided in general terms for travel concessions on Corporation vehicles for six classes of persons: men over 65 and women over 60; persons not over 15; persons between 15 and 19 undergoing full-time education; blind persons; persons with such disability or injury as seriously impairs their ability to walk—and members of Council when travelling in the performance of approved duties. The clause was admittedly drafted in somewhat general terms and much would depend on the manner of its operation. On the first category, M.Ps. refused to accept assurances given on the Corporation's authority (e.g., that pensioners only would be assisted and only in off-peak traffic periods, etc.). But opposition was mainly directed against the sub-section concerning Councillors. In the City Council the Conservatives had moved only to delete this last category; there was no disagreement on the rest. Conservative M.Ps. also, to judge from their contributions to the debate, were also concerned mainly to delete Councillors from the list. But no agreement could be reached on how this might be done. The writer must "declare an interest" here and hope to do justice to both sides.

The Labour majority in Leeds felt that the whole clause should go to the Select Committee which, if it saw fit, could delete the offending sub-section. They were not prepared themselves to give up the battle before the Committee Stage. The Conservative M.Ps.—unfortunately for local unity, led by a Leeds M.P.—although they were aware (the Town Clerk specifically ascertained this from the Private Bill Office) that it would be in order to move the deletion just of the sub-section dealing with Councillors—insisted that if that sub-section were not withdrawn they would move the deletion of the whole clause. In the event the whole clause was deleted from the Bill.

One other Second Reading matter deserves mention. The appropriate Government Department usually offers advice to the House on disputed clauses, though no Government Whips are on. The Government spokesman is usually assumed to be expressing a departmental not a personal view. On this occasion the Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation ventured the "personal opinion" that there was probably no validity or substance in the distinction made in the Local Government Act, 1948, between County Councils and Boroughs so far as Councillors' travelling expenses are concerned. The point made by one Member—that the Minister cannot express sympathy when he stands at that Box because "he is presumed to be speaking for the Government"—was not fully taken up, though the Minister did seek to justify his apparent rôle of "Mr. Facing-both-ways." The moral of the incident is not clear, unless it be, quite simply, that Members do not expect a Government spokesman even on a Private

Bill to permit himself the luxury of a personal opinion and that there may be some danger in leaving the departmental brief.

The visit to London for the Commons' debate was in one sense light relief for the local representatives if not for the officials, though those who find sleep difficult to come by on a "sleeper" may have felt otherwise. In fact, the most intensive work—apart from the period immediately after deposit—probably begins with the approach of the Committee Stage. The negotiations referred to earlier are stepped up. Objections may thus be removed even at the last moment. Democratic practice demands that the elected sub-committee approve negotiations and compromises. At one meeting, for example, it was announced finally that all opposition to the boundary extension clauses had been removed save that of the Barwick-in-Elmet Parish Council. This, however, could not be taken lightly since Select Committees have a habit of looking after "the little man." Ten clauses were eventually withdrawn; they dealt mainly with hygiene and food matters and were covered by new Regulations which came into force after deposit. Various minor changes were discussed. More than 30 matters raised by the National Coal Board were reported as having been dealt with by the officials, of which some six required the general approval of the sub-committee. Other concessions were agreed upon in an attempt to accommodate the North-Eastern Gas Board, though, in the end, the latter petitioned against the District Heating clauses. As light reading before the next trip to London there was the further printed copy of the Bill as put before the Select Committee—now reduced to 293 clauses.

The Committee Stage

On Wednesday, 18th April, 1956, on arrival at the Parliamentary Agents direct from the "sleeper" and a station breakfast, it appeared that half the high-ranking Leeds officials as well as many Aldermen and Councillors were already in London. It is impossible to judge how long particular clauses will take or how many witnesses will be required. Promoters must be ready for every eventuality—and ratepayers to meet every expense. At 10 a.m. at the House of Commons conference began with eminent counsel briefed on the Corporation's behalf. Final arrangements were made as to tactics, witnesses, documents and evidence. The Corporation briefed two Q.Cs. and one Junior Counsel. Petitioners against the Bill briefed two Q.Cs. (one taking two separate petitions) and two Junior Counsel (one taking three separate petitions). In addition to the Leeds Parliamentary Agents there were seven other Agents. These, with representatives of government departments, witnesses, reporters, and a few members of the general public, foregathered at 11 a.m. to face the four members of the Select Committee—two Conservative and two Labour M.Ps. with one of the former as the Chairman, who possesses a casting as well as an original vote. Thus began six days' deliberations, the report of which covers 260 foolscap pages. From this it is possible to select only a few outstanding features as a basis for subsequent general criticism.

Of the 15 petitions originally deposited against the Bill, eight had been withdrawn as a result of negotiations. Seven remained to be heard by the Committee. They were from the British Transport Commission, the Central

Committee on Camping Legislation, the North-Eastern Gas Board, the Public Transport Association Ltd., the Salvation Army, the West Yorkshire Road Car Co. Ltd., and the Parish of Barwick-in-Elmet. Contrary to the statement which still appears in all standard text-books, the Preamble is *not* proved before consideration of clauses. It is read formally. Opposed clauses are then considered in whatever order suits the convenience of counsel (often briefed on several Bills) and witnesses, subject to the Committee's approval. The case for the Part or Clause in dispute is opened by counsel for the Promoters; evidence is called; counsel for the petitioners cross-examines and then states his case (possibly calling witnesses); counsel for the Promoters then winds up. The A.M.C. has suggested that time could be saved "if the practice of reading the petitions by Promoters' counsel could be dispensed with. Petitions are lodged prior to the sitting of the Committee and any person interested is able to obtain copies. Thus, all persons concerned not only have the opportunity of acquiring, but undoubtedly have full knowledge of, the contents of the petitions prior to the hearing before the Committee, and it seems an unnecessary waste of time to read the petitions merely to get them on the minutes." Although with petitioners' counsel's permission certain extracts only may be read, this suggestion is fully justified by experience on the Leeds Bill.

To form a definite opinion about the part played in the proceedings by Committee Members themselves is not easy—the less so because their deliberations after evidence has been heard are in private. The Committee is a "quasi-judicial" body, but it is permissible to speculate about their "inarticulate major premisses." Their devotion to an arduous and unpublicised task is unquestioned. Their knowledge of local government matters—to speak only of this particular Committee—is apparent. Their usually brief retirements to consider their decision suggest a capacity to absorb evidence readily and reach judgment in the process without much delay. An alternative explanation—that their minds are made up very early on—is not borne out by the *prima facie* evidence in these particular proceedings. Occasionally one seemed to discern a tendency to lean one way rather than another as much because of a general attitude as because of the weight of evidence. Such tendency usually appeared slightly more obvious in the Labour members. They gave the impression of a desire to help the Local Authority. (This is a personal interpretation and might not be confirmed by other observers.)

On a rough count, and excluding consideration of clauses not petitioned against, when members were slightly more active, during the six days the Chairman intervened with questions on about 40 occasions, the other three members on 11, 44, and 88 respectively. The longest consecutive run of questions was 14; the same Member also had other lengthy interventions amounting to 12, nine, and seven questions. On one occasion he indulged in what was virtually a cross-examination of petitioners' counsel to the extent of five somewhat lengthy questions. The writer is by no means convinced that the Committee could not perform its task equally well without the assistance of counsel, but this opinion is bound up with observations on procedure yet to be made.

Opposed clauses must clearly be examined in detail. But it does not

appear that any less justice is done to unopposed clauses when only Promoters' counsel are present; their contributions might, with respect, be as effectively made by the local officials in charge of the Bill. The Committee also has the assistance of government departments. It is difficult not to conclude that much time is wasted during examination and cross-examination of witnesses. This appears especially with questions aimed to establish admitted facts which, it seems, might as well be put in as written evidence. On the extension clauses, for example, the Leader of the Council was asked over 100 questions covering eight foolscap pages. More than 50 required only the simple answer "yes" or its equivalent. The evidence of an outside expert on local government finance, admirable—perhaps decisive—in itself, seemed to grow neither in stature nor clarity by reason of his examination. The City Architect was asked 29 questions, of which 19 sought confirmation of purely factual statements and required only the answer "yes" or its equivalent. Professor Wheare has said that most members of local government committees can read though many won't! The latter is surely not true of Select Committees, who might be trusted to ask their own questions of Local Authority witnesses or petitioners' representatives where clarification is required. At times counsel gave the impression of trying to score a point rather than establish the truth and it is clearly inappropriate to examine, e.g., a Medical Officer of Health on a matter of general law—a procedure rightly commented on tartly at one point by counsel for the Corporation. Procedure on provisional orders or special procedure orders⁴—or even on the Committee Stage of Public Bills, where counsel's assistance is not deemed necessary—might be considered as a basis for possible reform of procedure on Private Bills.

The results of the Committee's deliberations on the Bill itself must now be considered. On the five opposed clauses (some of the seven petitions overlapped), which took very nearly four days to consider and the report of which covers some 200 foolscap pages, the Corporation fared very well. The Extension Clauses went through unchanged, a rare achievement since 1945. The Exhibition Hall site was reduced by that portion occupied by the Salvation Army Hostel. (In the Lords a further site was excluded on a new petition.) On the Welfare of Aged and Handicapped Persons the full force of the British Transport Commission and the Public Service Vehicles Operators obtained the exclusion of that section which would have empowered the Corporation to assist such persons in travelling for recreational purposes. The Corporation, in the face of strong opposition by the Campers' Associations (which was repeated before the House of Lords), were successful in upholding the clauses dealing with movable dwellings. These provisions in their accepted form were largely unprecedented. The provisions as to district heating were modified by the Committee so that the Corporation's powers were restricted to their own estates—all that Leeds actually wanted. But the mass of restrictive clauses which the North-Eastern Gas Board (which petitioned in both Houses) and the Electricity Authorities (who tried to negotiate amendments) wanted were rejected. Leeds Corporation were the first Local Authority to fight these restrictive clauses and it appears that

⁴Compare some suggestions of the Joint Committee on Private Bill Procedure, 1955, para. 75.

some 25 Local Authorities had previously agreed to accept the restrictive clauses rather than fight them.

The Committee took just over a day to consider unopposed clauses in the light of observations made by various Government departments, including the Home Office, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Agriculture, etc., the Ministry of Education, and the Attorney-General. Seven clauses were "struck out" by the Committee. They covered such divergent powers as the letting of land without ministerial consent; the destruction of verminous timber; the deposit of refuse in streets; the driving of vehicles on footpaths; the control of "ice lollies" on the analogy of ice cream (a clause which led to much amusing legalistic and dietetic argument, but which would have provided what many regard as a very desirable safeguard of children's health); the notification of premises to be used for the sale of food; the closure of streets for repairs, etc. The Committee also formally approved the withdrawal of certain clauses on the initiative of the Corporation. The clause dealing with "unauthorised games on school playing fields" was notable for a difference of opinion between the Home Office and the Ministry of Education. The latter, backing the Corporation, won and trespass became a criminal offence in the circumstances outlined in the clause—an exceptional thing in English law.

In the final stages a number of amendments covering points discussed earlier before the Committee were agreed to with little further argument. Finally—and this is again worthy of note in view of inaccurate statements about proving the Preamble—there came the following dialogue:

"Are you the Town Clerk of Leeds?"—"I am."

"Have you read the Preamble?"—"I have."

"Is it true?"—"It is."

"The Chairman was directed to report the Bill, as amended, to the House."

Leeds Again—and the Lords

The Leeds Bill, at this stage, contained 282 clauses. Of the original 297, four had been deleted by instruction from the House of Commons on Second Reading, seven had been lost before the Select Committee and ten had been withdrawn by the Corporation (due mainly to supervening legislation). This left 276, but the addition of six clauses agreed to by the Corporation after negotiations with certain Ministries and other bodies brought the number up to 282. Meetings of the sub-committee of elected representatives were held, mainly to discuss the implications of the news that the Central Committee for Camping Legislation intended to pursue opposition in the House of Lords; that though the North-Eastern Gas Board was inclined to accept the decision of the Select Committee, The Gas Council intended to oppose the district heating clauses (in the event, The Gas Council withdrew, but the North-Eastern Gas Board renewed its opposition before the House of Lords); that the Central Electricity Authority intended to pursue the same course (though, at the last, it did not do so). Students of government will be interested to learn that the

Ministry of Fuel and Power, which had nothing to say in the Commons, wrote in support of the precisely similar petition of the Gas Board in the Lords. Action suggested on these various matters, as well as on some minor amendments proposed to overcome a number of technical objections, had to be generally approved by the sub-committee. Finally, tactics and witnesses had again to be arranged for the Lords' stage.

It is not necessary to review proceedings in the Lords in detail. Second Reading produced no surprises. The Chairman (Lord Latham, some-time Chairman of the London County Council) and his four colleagues dealt with opposed clauses on Committee Stage. Five petitions had been deposited, but two were withdrawn after negotiations. The three remaining occupied two-and-a-half days and the report covered well over 100 foolscap pages. As in the Commons, the Preamble was taken at the end, and with equal formality. It has already been stated that the site of the Exhibition Hall was again reduced on a new petition for the exclusion from compulsory purchase. The "camping clauses" were left unchanged. The Gas Board obtained only one very minor amendment. The Lord Chairman (who occupies the same position in regard to Private Bills in the House of Lords as the Chairman of Ways and Means in the Commons), with the aid of his counsel as advisers, considered the unopposed clauses. A few minor amendments were made, mostly in response to government departments which pursued various objections to the bitter end. On this, one observation may be permitted. Government Departments, on the whole, do not appear to adopt a very tolerant or trusting attitude to Local Authorities seeking to extend their powers. The spirit of the Local Government Manpower Committee does not altogether appear to have entered into their soul.

In due course, proceedings on the Leeds Bill—which, as is most frequently the case, involved no disagreement between the two Houses—closed with the traditional and formal royal assent on 2nd August, 1956.

The Final Stages in Leeds

The Finance and Parliamentary Committee met on 26th October, 1956, to receive a final report from the Town Clerk, and to deal with local matters consequent upon the passing of the Bill. Although the Act came into force when the royal assent was given, with the exception of the boundary extension for which the appointed day was 1st April, 1957, some sections did not become operative until the Council had appointed a date. It was the function of the Finance and Parliamentary Committee to nominate the various Committees of the Council, to carry into effect, subject to confirmation by the Council, various sections of the Act, or to retain control itself over certain sections. Provision was also necessary for co-ordination and consultation between two or more Committees where the subject matter of sections overlapped their terms of reference under the Council's Standing Orders. Two Schedules, covering between them nine foolscap pages, were presented for the Committee's consideration. Details need not be given here, but as an indication of the scope of powers involved it may be mentioned that two complete Parts and 12 sections were allocated to the Finance and Parliamentary Committee; 29 sections and one whole Part to the Town Planning and Improvement Committee (four sections jointly with other Committees);

13 sections to the Highways Committee (three jointly with other Committees); 7 sections to the Parks Committee (two jointly with other Committees); 19 sections to the Health Committee (three jointly with other Committees); 3 sections to the Welfare Services Committee (in two cases jointly with another Committee); 6 sections to the Housing Committee (four jointly with other Committees); 2 sections to the Street Lighting Committee (in one case jointly with another Committee); 1 section to the Cleansing Committee (jointly); 4 sections to the Education Committee (one jointly); 2 sections to the Baths and Property Committee (one jointly); 5 sections to the Libraries and Arts Committee; 6 sections to the Watch Committee; 5 sections to the Fire Brigades Committee; 1 each to the Markets and Waterworks Committees. Some general sections were not allocated to specific Committees. Another way of emphasising the scope of the Act as passed is to state that of the 26 Committees through which the Leeds Corporation performs its functions, 16 were affected by the new powers.

As a final comment upon the Bill so far as Leeds is concerned, we may quote a passage—its restrained pride well justified—from the Town Clerk's final report: "Apart from the matters mentioned above" (the lost clauses) "it can be said that the Corporation lost very little of the Bill and although many amendments were made most of them were improvements and the principle of the clauses remained intact. There are a number of clauses in the Bill which are unprecedented. It can now be said that the Corporation have an up-to-date and comprehensive scheme of local act provisions. . . . This General Powers Bill was one of the largest, in some respects the most controversial, and one of the most successful for many years."

Conclusion

Without disagreeing with the foregoing comments, it is necessary, however to mention certain proposals of the A.M.C. which have a bearing on criticisms of Private Bill procedure made in the course of this article. The Association is opposed to a hearing before a Joint Committee (the procedure in Scottish Private Bills). They stress the advantage of the present procedure to those opposing a Bill. Petitions which fail in the First House may be re-presented in the Second House. But any clause which is disallowed in the First House is struck out of the Bill and does not come before the Second House. The present writer's view is that opponents have ample opportunity if their petition is heard before *one* Select Committee only. The Leeds Bill shows that neither the Central Committee on Camping Legislation nor the North-Eastern Gas Board gained anything from their second attempt before the Lords. Conversely, if opponents retain their two chances, it seems at least unbalanced that Promoters cannot attempt to reinsert a clause struck out in the First House. Is it really a fact that in these days Local Authorities constitute a serious threat to private and corporate interests and that the latter need double protection against them? The plea for what appears to some to be more than adequate opportunity for opposition derives from an era when small and not-too-wealthy interests might legitimately feel that the dice were loaded against them and when doctrines of *laissez-faire* assumed that all government activity, central or local, was likely to be bad. Today there is not merely an entirely different

attitude to state intervention. The main objectors to Private Bills appear to be powerful and wealthy public and private corporations or other Local Authorities themselves. Should they be encouraged to incur expenses (often at the expense of consumers) and to compel Local Authorities to spend more (at the expense of the ratepayers)? If negotiations with Local Authorities fail, surely an appeal to one Select Committee should be sufficient?

Whether this should be before a Joint Committee⁵ or before one only of the two Select Committees which according to present procedure consider Private Bills is perhaps immaterial except in so far as the question is bound up with the wider problem of the power of the House of Lords over Private Bills. The question may be posed, if not answered here, whether in these days the Lords should be able to exercise more power over private than over public legislation. Without overlooking the arduous and thankless task performed by noble Lords—a task always cited as an argument against the abolition of the Second Chamber—it may appear to some a little incongruous that proposals, e.g., for an extension of municipal trading or for further encroachments on the right to do what one likes with one's property should be at the mercy of the House of Lords as at present constituted. This argument is perhaps more valid as applied to the Second Chamber as a whole than to the Select Committee on Private Bills. The Leeds Bill, it is true, shows that the House of Commons can be equally as insuperable an obstacle. At least, however, the House reflects the last-expressed opinions of the electorate and although it is inevitable that some Private Bills are promoted by Local Authorities whose party majority is different from that of the House (and that therefore some controversial clauses may be lost on a party vote in the House), yet the majority can be changed—albeit too late for the Leeds lost clauses! These arguments are, of course, strongest where "political" clauses are involved. Yet the fact that Leeds kept 276 of the original 297 clauses should not disguise the fact that politics, like cheerfulness, will keep breaking in—sometimes on the most unexpected occasions.

Much of the delay and expense involved in Private Bill procedure might be avoided if a further suggestion of the A.M.C. were adopted. The relevant paragraphs from the Association's memorandum are quoted:

21. Over the years many local authorities have obtained powers which have been previously granted to other local authorities by local act. . . . There are a substantial number of clauses . . . approved by Parliament on a number of occasions and which might well be of value to other local authorities.

22. . . every two or three years these clauses might be included in a Local Government Clauses Bill . . . they could be made operative in the area of other authorities by Ministerial Order. A local authority . . . would have to prove the need for powers . . . and a limited amount of advertisement in the local newspapers would be required. It would not, however, be necessary . . . to promote a Bill . . .

⁵But compare the Joint Select Committee on Private Bill Procedure, 1955, para. 65.

23. (not) . . . all the clauses in local acts would necessarily be included in the suggested clauses Bill . . . (nor) would it necessarily follow that an Order would be made (on the request of a local authority). . . . But enquiry would be made by the appropriate Minister to satisfy himself that it was necessary and appropriate for the power to be conferred on the particular local authority.⁶

The present writer is in full agreement with these suggestions—as a step towards the more liberal Local Authorities Enabling Bill such as the late Arthur Greenwood proposed—then refused to accept when he had become Minister of Health—and which has not since been resurrected by the Labour Party, still less considered by the Conservatives.

For the rest—the whole experience described in outline above has been most valuable to one who sometimes feels the need to contradict the jibe that “those who teach can’t do.” Though not an experience for which one could afford the time and energy too frequently.

⁶Compare the Joint Select Committee on Private Bill Procedure, 1955, paras. 69-73. The Committee recommended that “the Government should at least once every ten years introduce a Bill containing clauses conferring powers applicable either to Local Authorities generally or to particular classes of local authorities” (para. 80).

The Health of Executives

By V. C. MEDVEI, M.D., M.R.C.P.

Dr. Medvei discusses a matter of supreme importance to all those in positions of command and responsibility in private or public undertakings.

THE health of executives has been much discussed recently. This is perhaps due to the fact that life is much more complex nowadays and that large organisations, whether they be governmental, industrial or military, call for an increasing number of responsible administrators. Indeed, the term “managerial revolution” has been coined to imply that Capitalism is being replaced not by Socialism but by the rule of the administrators in business and government. This enlargement of the field of responsibility, together with the complicated matter of integrating multiple interests, is said to account for the increased cause of stress to which people with responsibility are especially exposed.

What is Health?

Before proceeding any further, however, I should perhaps say what I mean by “health.” I do not use the term “positive health,” nor the definition contained in the constitution of The World Health Organisation, viz.: “Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.” I prefer to say that health is satisfactory when the signs of health are present and, like J. C. Raven,¹ I regard the chief signs as “the qualities of resilience, stamina, equanimity and self-reliance.”

Resilience means the ability to adapt oneself quickly and easily to fatigue and ailments. “Like other people, the healthy man gets tired, contracts infectious disease or may get injured, but he quickly responds and becomes himself again.” When tired he is able to rest, to sleep and wake again refreshed.

Stamina means the capacity for sustained effort, together with the ability to draw on and to rebuild reserves of energy.

Equanimity (of temper) means that a healthy person is not put out by things going on around him, or which may even interfere with what he has to do.

Self-reliance, one of the most important signs, implies assurance, confidence and personal freedom of action. The healthy person not only knows what he wants to do and has the courage to do it, but he also “shows resourcefulness in adapting his actions to the needs and wishes of other people with a ‘lightness of touch and a sense of humour.’” “He can mix with other people as equals and friends and he has the confidence of others sufficiently to do whatever he wishes generously and wholeheartedly.”

High Resistance to Strain in Leading Personalities

There is, theoretically, no reason to assume that senior executives should show less resistance to stress than other members of their society. One of the reasons for achieving and successfully maintaining leadership and

responsible positions is normal or even increased resistance to stress (in its widest sense).

It is well known that the sickness absence rates of people in responsible positions are—on the average—very much lower than those of other ranks and this fact is by no means due merely to better standards of living and working conditions.

As Lord Horder² pointed out, it may be of greater importance to assess the resistance and stamina of the second stratum of executives, of the younger men who aspire to senior positions, and among whom the future leaders will have to be found by search and selection; those who have already succeeded in being in the top line have usually proved their special toughness for achievement and have to undergo further tests only in case of exceptional stress.

One of the ablest of modern British leaders, the late Field Marshal Earl Wavell, in his Lees Knowles Lecture, "Generals and Generalship," delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1939, referred to the question of strain. It is well worth reading or re-reading this lecture, illustrated, as it is, by many amusing stories which are all to the point. To me the most important lessons contained in Wavell's lecture are, first, the above average resistance to stress in leaders of men which one expects and usually finds; second, that age is by no means a necessary handicap to successful leadership. Of modern examples we may think of Sir Winston Churchill and the late Field Marshal Smuts.

Lord Wavell gives a good illustration of what he terms the robustness and adaptability needed in the make-up of a general. As a very young officer, he was told that, whenever in the old days a new design of a mountain gun was submitted to the Artillery Committee, they had it hauled up to the top of a tower, some hundred feet high, and then dropped on to the ground below. If it was still capable of functioning it was given a further trial; if not, it was rejected as "flimsy." The Committee reasoned that mules and guns might easily fall down a hillside, and must be made capable of surviving so trivial a misadventure. "On similar grounds, rifles and automatic weapons submitted to the Small Arms Committee are, I believe, buried in mud for 48 hours or so, before being tested for their rapid firing qualities. . . . Now the mind of the General in war is buried, not merely for 48 hours, but for days and weeks, in the mud and sand of unreliable information and uncertain factors and may at any time receive, from an unsuspected move of the enemy, an unforeseen accident or a treacherous turn in the weather, a bump equivalent to a drop of at least 100 feet on to something hard. Delicate mechanism is of little use in war; and this applies to the mind of the commander as well as to his body; to the spirit of an army as well as to the weapons and instruments with which it is equipped. All materials of war, including the General, must have a certain solidity, a high margin over the normal breaking strain. It is often said that British war material is unnecessarily solid; and the same possibly is apt to be true of their generals. But we are certainly right to leave a good margin."

It should not be forgotten that the human body functions normally with a large margin of reserve. So does the human mind. It is my firm conviction that no one is fit to hold any position, high or low, difficult or

simple, for any length of time, if he has to use more than 50-60 per cent. of his mental capacity for carrying out the routine work of his post. This does not apply, of course, to exceptionally heavy demands during a major crisis.

Fatigue in Ill-Health

If, as I strongly feel, we can have confidence in the present and future health of our leaders notwithstanding the apparent increase in conditions likely to produce stress, it still remains necessary to consider how the wear and tear of responsibility may be avoided or minimised in those whose stamina and resilience might otherwise be unequal to the strain of high executive positions; for it is the case, unfortunately, that some fall by the wayside, and some do not achieve, or cannot maintain, their high potential. It would be true to say that two of the chief enemies to health are fatigue and stress, and an understanding of their nature will help to defeat them.

Fatigue is a much more complex condition than is generally supposed and this is why it is so difficult to define satisfactorily. Obviously, it does not apply to what we may term normal healthy tiredness at the end of a normal working day which is completely restored by rest or sleep; scientifically this would be mainly "impairment."

The increased knowledge of fatigue which is now available as the result of scientific investigation is of the greatest importance in the assessment of resilience and stamina. It reveals that there are many kinds of fatigue states, some of which are physiological and can be measured; others which are states of so-called mental fatigue not identical with, but partially overlapping, the physiological. As an example of physiological fatigue there is a well-defined type of exhaustion due simply to lack of the necessary amount of sugar circulating in the blood. This can be measured and rectified, being usually due to a harassed and irregular dietary.

For the purposes of this paper, I am more concerned with the fatigue state which arises out of unresolved conflicts and in frustration. It is one form of attempt to retreat or escape from a situation which has become too difficult to cope with. If the situation is prolonged, fatigue nearly always follows. It is clearly an over-all state and must always be attributed to and considered in terms of the person as a whole.

Stress

We know now that much physical illness arises from some nervous or emotional cause for which the term "stress" is an alternative expression. The concept of stress is borrowed from the physicists, because it provides useful analogies between strain undergone by physical objects from environmental stress, which within certain limits of elasticity may be only temporary but beyond those limits may result in permanent distortion; similarly the effects of environmental stimuli on the living organism may, beyond certain limits of adjustment, cause distortion and disorganisation. Such adjustive processes break down in two conditions: when the organism is faced with stress which it cannot surmount (frustration) and when two or more incompatible tensions compete with one another, preventing suitable adjustment (conflict). In man, conflict is the rule rather than the exception when

decisions have to be made. In the case of conflict, according to R. W. Russell,³ disorder may be produced in three ways. In the first, the subject or the person feels bound to approach and at the same time to avoid the same goal—the so-called “approach-avoidance” situation, as, for example, when a henpecked husband experiences unquenchable thirst for a visit to the “local,” but is afraid of his wife’s reprisals. The second—the “avoidance-avoidance” situation—occurs in the case of a patriotic soldier who is afraid to advance because of the danger from the enemy and also afraid to retreat because of being called a coward. The third—the “double-approach avoidance” situation—is the dilemma of Buridan’s ass, which starved to death between two bales of hay, unable to make up its mind to move further away from either.

Are executives more exposed than other people to “stress diseases?” Sir Heneage Ogilvie,⁴ in a lecture “In Praise of Idleness,” picked out three which affect the inhabitants of the older and more civilised communities. They are toxic goitre, duodenal ulcer and essentially raised high blood pressure. We may add two others: *diabetes mellitus* and coronary heart disease.

The point must be made, however, that all those diseases are not really caused by “stress” alone. Everybody has in his bodily or mental make-up weak spots or weaker systems. There are whole families with history of digestive disorders, or in which the occurrence of high blood pressure and cerebral haemorrhage is not infrequent; obesity and sugar diabetes are also often familial; but exposure to physical or mental strain brings about the conditions which may mark the beginning or the recurrence of such diseases. Stress has thus a “trigger effect,” which is readily understood, if considering the research into the effects of stress which have been carried out in the past ten years especially by Hans Selye⁵ and his co-workers. They summed up their findings in three momentous sentences:

“(1) Any systemic stress (viz., one affecting large portions of the body) elicits an essentially similar syndrome with general manifestations.

“(2) This syndrome helps adaptation.

“(3) Adaptation can cause disease.”

Among the stresses which affect large portions of the body are cold, fatigue, worry, infections and intoxications (including alcohol). The key position in the defence mechanism of the individual is occupied by a small part of a very small organ, the cortex (rind) of the adrenal glands (two small glands which are adjacent to the kidneys, and which are glands with internal secretion like the thyroid, the pituitary and the sex glands). One of the most important hormones of that adrenal cortex is cortisone, which thus brings even rheumatic disorders into the circle of stress and adaptation disorders. The adrenal glands have a direct influence on sugar metabolism, blood pressure, obesity, mental anxiety and fear, and an indirect effect on many other organs and functions.

Now executives have to live with more than the usual amount of anxiety, fear, worry and often a sense of guilt. This occurs, in addition to harassed and irregular time schedules of work and eating arrangements, not to mention the physical fatigue caused by travel, large (or too small) meals, alcohol

and nicotine. The reason for excessive worry and fear is the fact that in big business or politics, or anywhere where great responsibility is involved, the number of problems which appear insoluble—at least at first glance—becomes an almost daily occurrence. The strong will learn to live with their worries; the weaker brethren will fall by the wayside; but there remain a fair number of people who appear to be able to cope with worry for a long time, but have to pay a price: the price of premature hardening of the arteries, of indigestion and peptic ulcer, of increased blood pressure, of sleeplessness and irritability, all signs of an incomplete adaptation. Admittedly, there are some who can stand the strain of responsible work over a long period and show a special resistance to fatigue and worry. I agree with Sir W. Russell Brain, who told me once, in a personal communication, that—in his opinion—this capacity depends on some unknown constitutional factor. “Such people can work for ten, twelve or more hours at a stretch if necessary, and at the end of it are no more fatigued than the ordinary person after an eight-hour day, or perhaps less so. With this perhaps goes a capacity to sleep quickly and with good relaxation, great power of concentration which enables them to work in almost any circumstances without distraction, and an ability to switch the mind quickly from one subject to another. Churchill, of course, exhibits all these features in a high degree. But I am inclined to think that either a man has them or he has not, and that if he has not there is not much can be done about it though his path may be made easier in various ways.”

The Method of General Motors

Some large organisations have drawn the obvious conclusions from what has been said above. For example, General Motors Ltd., to whom I am indebted for the information, insist on treating their executives like expensive machinery, making certain they have adequate leisure, holidays, secretarial help, comfort on journeys and at work, etc. The hours of work will depend on a person's constitutional capacity, as mentioned above, but also on emotional influences on working capacity: there are the quick, concentrated type of people who may go through the same amount of work in an hour as others do in four hours: they may still have reserves at the end of that time, or they may feel as exhausted as the other group of “slow plodders” after a spell of four hours' work. If so, they should not be spurred to further efforts, but given time to relax. The same applies to the question of sleep. There are people who sleep readily and well, and wake refreshed after six hours sleep a day. Others may need eight or even nine hours. The time of sleep plays an important rôle: there are some who sleep best before midnight, and work best very early in the morning. Another group (which includes Sir Winston Churchill) can work well during the night, but dislikes early morning rising and work. These trends are not merely idiosyncracies or habits caused by training in childhood and youth (after all Churchill was trained as a regular officer), but also constitutional in nature, perhaps influenced by such factors as sugar metabolism and liver function, and accumulation and excretion of waste products from the body.

It is obviously useful from time to time to have a specialist medical overhaul of anybody over the age of 45 and there are certain large organisations

in the United States and in this country who have introduced a periodic system of annual medical examination for their senior staff. General Motors Ltd. have now also introduced it in England and have very kindly permitted me to mention their method. The scheme is entirely voluntary and encourages every executive with an income of over a thousand pounds per annum to have a complete medical examination by a nominated physician once a year. If considered necessary, radiological and other laboratory examinations can be made. The results are strictly confidential between the examining physician and the executive or the executive's private doctor, should it be considered desirable to inform the latter. The firm itself merely arranges for the examination and pays the necessary fees from a central office. A report on the result of the examination is sent to the person concerned, but no report whatever is given to the Company. If the report contains advice regarding treatment or action to be taken, it is entirely for the executive to decide whether or not he is going to accept the advice. In the United States a similar scheme has been in operation for some time, but on a far more elaborate scale. There, apparently, the people participating in the scheme enter a Clinical Centre for a whole day and X-ray and other examinations are carried out as a matter of routine.

Dangers of Automatic Periodic Medical Overhaul

Valuable as such a scheme may be, there are a few remarks which have to be made. In the first place, it may give people examined in such a manner a sense of false security. It is known that in some cases of impending disaster of the coronary blood vessels of the heart, no clinical symptoms may be present and even examination by means of an electrocardiograph may not show any changes up to 24 hours before a severe attack occurs. I remember in particular a senior company director who had an expert overhaul before going to Switzerland for a sports holiday. Everything was found to be normal, yet he was laid up with a coronary thrombosis on the night after his arrival.

In another type of person a regular examination may cause anxiety. I am combining my own personal experience of this point with that of many of my colleagues in my profession who all confirm that examinations of people over a certain age are often dreaded by the patient concerned. He may be highly strung and is afraid he may be told that something is wrong with him. The voluntary nature of the examination does not always help; some people are afraid to go, but develop a guilt complex if they do not volunteer to undergo the periodic re-examination. Obviously, a great deal will depend on the examining physician who may be able to reassure his patient sufficiently. In one particular series of a group examination of senior executives by a good and understanding physician, it actually happened that the majority of them found their way back to him with all sorts of fears and alleged complaints, whereas they had not seen a doctor for many years and had felt perfectly fit previously. It must also be remembered that an annual examination will not give the medical expert any true picture of the patient's background and the possible stresses to which he may be subjected at home or at work.

This fact has been fully recognised by great personalities in history and by Royalty in general who have their doctors as personal friends. The influence of medical advisers who are at the same time personal friends has been very marked on national leaders in recent years.

The practical application of these remarks is that it is better to have good medical advice from a man who is not only an efficient physician but also knows the work executives have to carry out and is familiar with the background and the possible stresses at home. He will readily suggest the right line of medical examination should this become necessary and, above all, he will generally be able to detect when something is amiss long before it is apparent. If a system of regular medical overhaul is introduced it should certainly be done in a manner which prevents both the creation of a sense of false security and that of a *malade imaginaire*.

The Heavy Burden of Social Activities

I have always regarded with admiration the number of people in middle or later age who have been able to carry out their numerous social and public activities which appear to be part of the heavy burden of their work. The head of one of the medical professional organisations remarked that for two solid years he and his wife had to attend dinners and luncheons and make speeches six times a week and that he nearly broke down under the strain of it.

I feel that much of the social burden should be shared between the senior and the younger group, and, similarly, that board and committee memberships and meetings should be pruned to a rational total. The arrangement on the big liners like the *Queen Mary* and *Queen Elizabeth* seems to me ideal, where, I understand, there is a Staff Captain of full rank supporting the Captain in Charge who has to play the host as well as command the ship. The social burden can influence the physical and mental stamina of a man much more than is usually recognised; laborious days cannot be safely overloaded with constant nights out and with innumerable public dinners.

Labour and Relaxation

There is no book of rules how a senior executive should spend his leisure hours and his holiday; but here are a few suggestions of what he should not do. Physical fitness will not be found by over-exercise, i.e., exercise beyond the capacity of age, training and skill. A vigorous game of tennis or golf may add to the tiredness caused by intensive business activities and may lead to exhaustion instead of restoration of energy. The ability to relax varies with the individual, time and opportunity; but it is still an art. Some people possess a natural gift for relaxing and others do not; but a great deal can be achieved by training. A good night's rest after a strenuous time is very important. Sound sleep often expresses the ability for complete relaxation and is also a measure of one's mastery of the situation. Napoleon was famed for being able to sleep during battle, and Lord Montgomery has a reputation of being a sound sleeper on the eve of great events. In order to achieve sleep in difficult times it may be worthwhile using occasionally a sedative before going to bed.

Change in surroundings is useful, more from the point of view of

"getting away from it all" than as an indication of "having a good time" which may require a considerable expenditure of energy. Here again the advice of the "friendly physician" may prove of great value. Hobbies can be strongly recommended if they are purposeful, carried on regularly and do not become an obsession. They are usually enjoyed and therefore suited to the personality of the individual. They are also a good investment against the fear and boredom of retirement and they discourage the postponement of the retiring date because there is something to look forward to after giving up the work of a lifetime.

The Need for a Good Deputy

As a concluding point, I would like to emphasise again the necessity of an able and reliable deputy or junior partner for leading executives. Those deputies should be preferably eligible for succession, but young enough to take a fair share of the burden without any undue jealousy, and experienced enough to support their seniors in the work inside and outside office hours.

Conclusion

It is not sufficient to understand the problems connected with the health of senior executives; the head of an organisation must be personally responsible for carrying out the policy of actively guarding the precious health of his most senior team-mates, and tackling these problems. Only occasionally will a director of personnel be able to cover this special field and then only if he has the understanding and active support of his commanding officer. Unless full responsibility is taken at the very highest level, little will be achieved in this urgent question.

Physical or mental breakdowns cannot be prevented by routine medical examinations alone nor by any set of rules and each case will present different features.

The main pillar of my new approach is that there must be continuing partnership between physician and executive—in other words that they must work together throughout to obtain results.

¹*Human Nature*. London, 1952.

²Lord Horder, Lecture to Association of Industrial Medical Officers, 1951.

³Ernest Jones Lecture, British Psychoanalytical Society (1st December, 1952). *British Medical Journal*, 1949. I, 645.

⁴Hans Selye, "Stress," *Acta. Inc.*, Montreal, 1950.

For other reading see:

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Employer-Employee Relationships in the Federal Public Service of Australia

By LEO BLAIR

The Lecturer in Comparative Government and Public Administration in the University of Adelaide follows up his recent article on Arbitration in the Spring, 1956, issue. He wishes to acknowledge the generous assistance given by the Public Service Board and many Departments in the collection of the material on which the article is based.

IT is now hardly necessary to mention that Governments, like other employers, have come to appreciate the value of good employer-employee relations and the Federal Government of Australia is no exception. If proof were needed of the change in attitude in the Commonwealth Public Service since the beginning of this century towards employees it is to be found in two very contrasting statements. In 1904 the Report of the Public Service Commissioners (page 54) contained the following paragraph:

"Since taking office I have gladly granted recognition to three Associations whose avowed objects, if strictly adhered to, will, I feel, greatly contribute to the social, intellectual and ethical advancement of their members; but the caution cannot be too early given that as soon as any attempt is manifested by an Association of stepping beyond the limits of its legitimate and acknowledged functions, so soon will difficulties arise. . . ."

In 1951 the Public Service Board issued a Training Handbook which (at page 38) stated:

"Representative organisations are afforded every facility from the administration and you are advised to join your service association. It is now widely recognised that organised staff associations are a help not only to individual public servants but also to the departments and the Service as a whole. The worth and method of participation by the staff in management are among the more recent discoveries in administration."

The purpose of this article is to outline the machinery at present existing in the Commonwealth Public Service for employer-employee consultation and discussion and for staff participation in the processes of administration and management. Very broadly, these relationships can be divided into two groups:

- (a) Those which have as their object the improvement and protection of standards of general conditions of service:
 - (i) Wage and salary arbitration;
 - (ii) Staff associations and the Joint Council;
 - (iii) Welfare committees and similar bodies.
- (b) Those which seek to increase staff participation and co-operation in the tasks of management and administration:
 - (i) Promotion appeal committees;

- (ii) Disciplinary appeal boards ;
- (iii) Classification committees ;
- (iv) Advisory committees, including training and suggestions committees.

Obviously, these divisions are not exclusive and there is considerable room for argument as to whether disciplinary appeal boards, for example, should be classified under the first group¹ since they might be regarded as a means of ensuring that excessive punishments are not meted out to public servants. I have chosen to classify them as a means of enabling staff representatives to co-operate in administering one particular aspect of management, i.e., the maintenance of discipline. But this is very much a question of emphasis and, in any case, the classification suggested is not intended to be a rigid one.

Before examining the activities of the bodies mentioned above it might be useful to make some brief comment on the control of the Federal Public Service in Australia. The main legislation governing the service is the Commonwealth Public Service Act, 1922-54, together with the regulations promulgated under that Act. The authority charged with the administration of the Act and regulations is the Public Service Board, which consists of a Chairman and two Commissioners. Members of the Board are appointed for a period of five years and may be reappointed ; in order to provide a measure of political independence members of the Board can be dismissed only by the Governor-General acting with the concurrence of both the House of Representatives and the Senate.

The duties of the Public Service Board are defined in the Public Service Act :

"In addition to such duties as are elsewhere in this Act imposed on it, the Board shall have the following duties :

- (a) To devise means for effecting economies and promoting efficiency in the management and working of Departments . . . ;
- (b) To examine the business of each Department and ascertain whether any inefficiency or lack of economy exists ;
- (c) To exercise a critical oversight of the activities and the methods of conducting the business of each Department ;
- (d) To maintain a comprehensive and continuous system of measuring and checking the economical and efficient working of each Department, and to institute standard practices and uniform instructions for carrying out recurring work ; and
- (e) Such other duties in relation to the Public Service as are prescribed" (Section 17 (1)) ;

and to enable the Board to carry out these duties it is given statutory powers to :

- "(a) Enter any Department for the purpose of carrying out its duties ;
- (b) Summon any person whose evidence appears to be material to the determining of any subject of inspection, inquiry or investigation being conducted by the Board ;

- (c) Take evidence on oath ; and
- (d) Require the production of documents" (Section 19 (1)).

As well as these tasks pertaining to the efficiency and economy of the Departments, the Public Service Board is the employing authority and is thus concerned with the examination and appointment of candidates to the Public Service and with the creation and abolition of offices.

Having thus briefly outlined the nature of Public Service Board control, we can now proceed to consider the various means by which the Board and the Departments on the one hand and public servants on the other seek to secure maximum harmony in their relationships.

The Public Service Arbitration System¹

A statute which, for the public servant, is of almost equal importance with the Public Service Act is the Public Service Arbitration Act, 1920-55, which establishes the machinery employed in resolving disputes between Federal public servants and the Public Service Board or the employing Department concerned. The Act governs in detail the procedures to be followed in arriving at the settlement of such disputes and provides for the appointment of a Public Service Arbitrator who, like the Board, enjoys the privilege of being removable only by the Governor-General with the consent of both Houses of Parliament.

Section 12 (1) empowers the Arbitrator to "determine all matters submitted to him relating to salaries, wages, rates of pay, terms or conditions of service or employment of officers and employees of the Public Service," and his determinations are binding on all parties to disputes arising therefrom.

The whole emphasis of the Act is on conciliation rather than arbitration and, where possible, agreement is reached between the Public Service Board and staff organisations without the necessity of obtaining a formal hearing before the Arbitrator, and even when a formal claim has been lodged with the Arbitrator by a staff association and corresponding objections have been made by the Board, the Arbitrator must call a conference at which the points in dispute can be freely discussed by both parties and at which the Arbitrator can give guidance on points at issue. Only after this negotiating conference has broken down are matters dealt with by a formal "public hearing" at which evidence is taken and arguments presented by both sides, the procedure followed being not much different from that of an ordinary court of law.

Formerly, there was no appeal from the determinations of the Arbitrator, but since 1953 an appeal lies to the Full Court of Conciliation and Arbitration, a tribunal of judges established in 1905 for the purpose of settling industrial disputes beyond the limits of any one State. One effect of the system of appeals has been that the Arbitrator has been forced to delay deciding certain claims because similar ones have been *sub judice* by the Conciliation and Arbitration Court and the Arbitrator has "hung fire" pending the Court's decision. This has caused a "backlog" of claims which has had a result quite unforeseen by the Public Service Act itself. Many staff associations now see fit to approach the Public Service Board with a view to getting agreement on as many issues as possible at the same time ; the informal discussions which take place on these occasions do save the time of the

Arbitrator and appear to work to the satisfaction of both staff and Board.

The principle of Public Service Arbitration means in effect that there is a large measure of dual control over the public servant's conditions of employment; these are governed generally by the Public Service Act and Regulations administered by the Public Service Board, but the Public Service Arbitrator is an authority to whom public servants, through their staff associations, can apply for improvements in their salaries and general conditions of service. This dual control has been severely criticised, not only for the way in which it works but for the principle which it admits—namely that any form of arbitration is desirable in the Public Service. One critic writes thus :

“The public servant is an employee of the Crown not merely of the Government of the day, although it is that Government that acts on behalf of the Crown. That Government created a Public Service Board to discharge personnel functions on behalf of the Crown, and the Board has gradually developed skills and techniques for effectively carrying out these functions. That it sometimes acts in opposition to the Government of the day in protecting or advancing the interests of officials under its control is clear. . . . Is there therefore any need for an Industrial Court to duplicate that protection? . . . There is substance in the contention that as the public servant is *sui generis* his standards and conditions are adequately met by the original idea of a Public Service Board. The Board can be so organised as to deal with each and every official; the Court can only deal with groups in the mass and tends to legislate for the average. The procedure of the Board is calculated to evoke a desire for co-operation, that of the Court tends to foment a spirit of litigiousness which can be destructive of *esprit de corps* . . . cases before the Court are formal, protracted, costly and calculated to disrupt public business by withdrawing from their duties clouds of witnesses for the contending parties.”²

It is worth noting that successive Arbitrators have embraced the view that matters of administration, many of which have been aired during arbitration proceedings, should be left to the Public Service Board and that an Arbitrator should not interfere in these matters. But the very existence of an authority possessing powers to some extent in conflict with those of the Board must make the latter's task of administration more difficult.³

Nevertheless, the idea of arbitration is very firmly implanted in the minds of public servants and no government would attempt at present to abolish the existing system.

Staff Associations and the Joint Council

As in most modern public services the staff of the Federal Public Service enjoy the right of association for the purpose of negotiating with the Public Service Board in respect of general conditions of service and employment. But apart from endeavouring to further the interests of their members in the usual ways, e.g., by seeking higher wages, staff associations in recent years have sought a measure of participation in the general management of the Service. Not untypical of the staff association approach to this question is

the following :

“Officers who have served for any length of time in employee organisations have acquired a wide knowledge of the Public Service and have a definite contribution to make to the administration. It will be found that they have not lost their capacity for forming sound decisions or of judging a case on its merits . . . the appointment to the Board of a representative of the employees would ensure that questions bearing on the welfare of officers and employees would be fully considered when matters affecting their employment are under consideration.”⁴

While it is not intended to discuss the merits and demerits of this highly controversial field of staff relations, it might be observed that, although, as will be seen later in this article, a large measure of employee participation in administration is possible in the Public Service, it has very definite limits so long as staff associations have as their primary rôle the advancement of their members. The Public Service Board is, after all, an employer charged with the duty of administering the Service in the most efficient manner—that administrative efficiency may often conflict with the interests of personnel cannot be denied. What then is the position of the staff association representative on the Public Service Board? His divided loyalty may impose severe strains on his attitude to, for example, matters involving the pecuniary advancement of members of the Public Service.

However, although the value of an employee representative on the Public Service Board may be doubted, there is a great area short of this in which staff associations can do much. And it was mainly in recognition of this fact that in 1945 a Joint Council was established, the purpose of which was to further the co-operation of Public Service staff associations in the solution of administrative problems. The creation of this Joint Council was largely the result of representations made to the Prime Minister of Australia by the Chairman of the Public Service Board. It was felt that the inauguration of an officially constituted body, meeting regularly, would assist free interchange of ideas between staff representatives and the “official” side on matters of general concern to the Public Service. In 1945, therefore, the Public Service Act was amended to provide for the establishment of a “Joint Council . . . representative of the Board, the Departments and the staff organisations.”⁵

The Joint Council is not an executive but an advisory body enabling the Public Service Board to obtain the views of senior public servants and staff representatives on topics of importance in the service. But, although advisory, it has considerable influence and many of its recommendations are accepted by the Board; and apart from its direct effect on administrative problems it is a means of allowing staff association officials and senior administrators to become familiar with each other's problems.

There are fourteen members of the Joint Council: six departmental representatives, who will normally be senior administrators of some experience; seven representatives of the organisations, five of whom will be nominated by the High Council⁶ and two by the Australian Postal Workers' Union; the Chairman, who must be a member of the Public Service Board. The Australian Postal Workers' Union is given separate representation because

of the fact that it is the only large Public Service Association not affiliated to the High Council of Public Service Unions.

Regulations made under the Public Service Act make provision for Departments or staff organisations to submit to the Public Service Board any matter which they consider to be of general interest in relation to the Service; it then lies with the Board to refer these matters to the Joint Council. In practice, any topic referred to the Board is passed on to the Council, which is then left to decide whether or not any item should come within its purview.

After having investigated any particular matter, the Council must report back to the Board, but need not make any recommendations or proposals should this be considered undesirable or unnecessary. Where, for example, a particular aspect of some topic under consideration by the Council is *sub judice* by the Public Service Arbitrator, the Council will usually content itself by suggesting that the matter in question be left to the Arbitrator to decide.

The phrase "of general interest in relation to the Public Service" has given rise to some difficulty. The Council should consider matters of broad general principle—it was never meant to take notice of individual cases; but if the Council is to be a really useful body it is essential that its field of discussion should be as little restricted as possible. A liberal interpretation of the phrase has been adopted and although there have been occasions when the Council has had to reject items as not coming within its scope, generally speaking the good sense of the Departments and the staff associations is the main guiding factor in the submission of matters for the Council's consideration. Among recent topics which the Joint Council have discussed have been recreation leave, long-service furlough, sick leave and travelling allowances.

As the Council meets for only two days at a time (these meetings take place about every four months) it is customary for committees to be appointed which can conduct continuous investigations into matters referred to them by the Council. A committee normally consists of two departmental representatives and two representatives of the staff associations, with the Chairman of the Joint Council acting as committee chairman. It is possible for persons with "specialist" knowledge to be co-opted to these committees where this is thought desirable.

"Welfare" Committees

Another important example of the machinery used to improve the general conditions of the Federal public servant is that which relates to the field of "welfare and social amenities." As might be expected there is no uniformity of practice here, each Department making its own arrangements, sometimes formal, sometimes informal according to the particular working conditions—although all work on the broad principle, laid down by the Public Service Board, that staff welfare is an important part of departmental management, and that certain minimum standards of accommodation and amenities must be maintained.

One or two examples of how departments tackle this area of staff relations will serve to indicate the variety of means employed. In the Department

of Shipping and Transport, for example, there is a Welfare Committee composed of employees elected by their fellows and which works in very close co-operation with the Assistant Secretary (Administration) who, of course, presents the official standpoint. As well as ensuring that certain standards laid down by the Public Service Board (e.g., regarding the type of office furniture to be used) are observed, this Committee promotes the introduction of other amenities conducive to improved staff welfare.

In the Department of Civil Aviation there is a slightly different type of body. Unlike the one just mentioned it does not deal with the official aspects of staff welfare which are the responsibility of the Personnel Branch. It is termed the Civil Aviation Institute and, although originally formed on the initiative of members of the staff, it is controlled by a Council representative of both the employee and employer sides of the Department. The Department gives all possible assistance to the Institute and has provided, furnished and equipped a theatre in which are shown, mainly at lunch-times, 16 mm. sound films. The Institute also controls a staff library and canteen, space and fittings for both of which have been provided by the Department. The Council of the Institute works through various committees to promote sporting, social and educational amenities.

Finally, as an example of a Department which has no welfare body in the sense discussed above, there is the Department of External Affairs. There is a "Social Club" which, however, is in no way an "official" group and has no formal liaison with the "official" side of the Department. But even in cases of this nature it should be borne in mind that the staff associations are active in pressing for better staff amenities and therefore it does not follow that because there is no formally constituted staff committee to supervise welfare matters, these are left entirely to the whim of the Departmental Chief. And the Public Service Board has a staff of Welfare Officers who are responsible for supervising Departmental welfare arrangements to ensure that the Board's policy is being observed.

Promotion Appeal Committees

The bodies so far examined have as their primary object the improvement of general conditions of service in the widest possible sense; the remainder of this article will deal with the means by which the Federal Public Servant actually participates in departmental management, and one of the most important aspects of this is the machinery employed in the hearing of appeals against promotions.

Prior to the present Public Service Act promotions in the Australian Federal Public Service were made by the Public Service Commissioner⁷ on the recommendation of the Permanent Head of the Department to which the officer to be promoted belonged. No right of appeal against these promotions lay at the instance of any public servant who felt he had a grievance except that, if he had information about the intended promotion before it was made, he could make some protest to the Public Service Commissioner.

When the present Public Service Act was introduced in 1922, the Permanent Head of a Department was empowered to make a promotion which, however, would be provisional only and which would be subject to an appeal to the Public Service Board; the Board delegated such appeals

to one of its Inspectors⁸ who thereupon held an enquiry, the results of which were submitted to the Board on which lay the ultimate responsibility for any decision taken. The staff associations did not favour this system, which they regarded as an appeal "from Caesar to Caesar," and during the period 1923-43 there was considerable agitation to have the promotion appeal machinery altered.

In 1943 a Committee was appointed to investigate, *inter alia*, the system of promotion appeals and the report of this Committee recommended far-reaching changes, the main one being that in each State a Promotion Appeal Committee should be established. In 1945 the Public Service Act was duly amended and it is now provided that a Promotion Appeal Committee will be constituted in each State and that such Committees will comprise:

- (a) A Chairman, to be nominated by the Public Service Board, but thereafter not to be subject to the Board or any other person acting under the Public Service Act.
- (b) An officer nominated by the Permanent Head of the Department in which the provisional promotion has been made.
- (c) An officer nominated by the staff organisation covering the class of office concerned.

In some cases a full-time Chairman has been appointed (in States where the number of Federal Public Servants is large); in other cases the Public Service Inspector for the State has been made Chairman *ex officio*. And for the purposes of promotion appeals work he operates quite independently of Public Service Board instructions. Practice with regard to the departmental representative varies and it is not unusual for the department's nominee to be actively interested in the promotion under appeal. Indeed, the writer has been told by at least one departmental head that the departmental representative is expected to uphold the provisional promotion made by his department unless some new facts are revealed by the Committee's proceedings which substantially alter the situation. The nominee of the staff organisation is appointed for a period of twelve months and is elected by the members of the organisation concerned.

An appellant may base his appeal on grounds of either superior efficiency or equal efficiency and seniority. The most obvious difficulty here arises in estimating "efficiency" and the statutory definition in Section 50 (4) gives little assistance: "Special qualifications and aptitude for the discharge of the duties of the office to be filled, together with merit, diligence and good conduct. . . ." It is difficult to deny that this removes no real problems and adds a few others. With regard to this thorny topic of "efficiency" it is interesting—and perhaps a little alarming—to find that under the Public Service Regulations (para. 109G) 28 types of appointment are listed in respect of which it is not necessary to promote the most efficient officer, but only the most senior efficient officer. It is true that almost all the positions specified are in the Fourth Division of the Service and are mainly manual jobs, but there is one, at least, which is in the Third Division, namely, Senior Postal Clerk, and it is difficult to view this regulation as anything but a sop to the staff associations which appear to be traditionally hostile to the subjective test of efficiency.

The Promotion Appeal Committees exercise summary jurisdiction over posts in the lower salary scales and where the appeal is one in which officers in the same State only are concerned; in other cases the Committee sends a detailed report to the Board setting out the Committee's opinion as to the relative merits of the officers involved in the appeal. No information is given about this report or about the Committee proceedings on which it was based. In any system of "promotion appeals" there are so many intangible factors, interpretation of which depends upon the subjectivity of reporting officers, that one is tempted to suggest that although perhaps it may be good for staff morale in that it presents some show of impartiality, nevertheless its value in terms of administrative efficiency is difficult to estimate.

Disciplinary Appeal Boards

The Public Service Act provides by Section 55 (1) that:

"An officer (other than an officer of the First or Second Division) who:

- (a) Wilfully disobeys or disregards any lawful order made or given by any person having authority to make or give the order; or
- (b) Is negligent or careless in the discharge of his duties; or
- (c) Is inefficient or incompetent through causes which appear to be within his own control; or
- (d) Uses intoxicating liquors or drugs to excess; or
- (e) Is guilty of any disgraceful or improper conduct either in his official capacity or otherwise; or
- (f) Commits any breach of the provisions of this Act or any regulations thereunder; or
- (g) Having made or subscribed an oath or affirmation in the form in the Fourth Schedule to this Act does or says anything in violation of that oath or affirmation; or
- (h) Has wilfully supplied to any officer or other person acting on behalf of the Commonwealth incorrect or misleading information in connection with his appointment to the Commonwealth Service,

shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable to such punishment as is determined upon under the provisions of this section."

The Act permits the Heads of Departments to punish these offences in certain prescribed ways, for example, by a fine or by a reduction in salary.

It is in respect of these punishments that the system of Disciplinary Appeal Boards operates and in the working of the system staff representatives play a large part.

The public servant may appeal against his punishment "on the ground of innocence . . . or excessive severity of punishment," and his appeal will lie to a Disciplinary Appeal Board, membership of which (by the Public Service Act) must consist of:

- (a) An independent Chairman who must have the qualifications of a Magistrate.

- (b) An officer of the department to which the appellant belongs, who must not in any way be connected with the charge made against the appellant.
- (c) An officer representing the Public Service Division¹⁰ in the State to which the appellant belongs.

The last mentioned is elected in each State every three years at an election in which all permanent public servants are entitled to vote for a State representative of the Division to which they belong.

An Appeal Board may confirm, annul or vary the punishment given in the first instance, but it may not dismiss the appellant from the Service, although it may recommend to the Public Service Board that this be done—the latter having the power to act as it thinks fit. The Appeal Boards may summon before them any person whether or not in the Public Service whose evidence they think will assist in the determination of the appeal; they may take evidence on oath and either the appellant or the authority making the accusation may be represented by legal counsel or other agent.

Classification Committees

Mention has been made of the system of arbitration. It should be observed, however, that the Public Service Arbitrator does not consider the salary classification of individual offices or positions. Before 1945 the Arbitrator was employed to deal with isolated cases of salary-fixing, the means adopted being known in the Service as the key position technique. This consisted of using certain selected important posts, already classified by the Arbitrator, as a yardstick in the negotiation (between the Public Service Board and the staff associations) of the individual offices it was desired to classify without reference to the Arbitrator.

In 1945 the Public Service Act was amended and provision was made for the setting-up of a Central Classification Committee, not only to alleviate the burden of the Arbitrator, but as a deliberate attempt to give staff association representatives a direct part in the classification of individual posts.

When first established, the Committee was made up of a Chairman, appointed by the Public Service Board, an officer nominated by the permanent head of the department in which the post existed, and an officer nominated by the organisation covering the class of office to be considered. During the period 1945-50 the Committee sat almost continuously and issued a vast number of determinations; since 1950 the Committee has ceased to be a permanent one and is now established on an *ad hoc* basis as the need arises.

Departmental Advisory Committees

Finally, brief mention should be made of some other ways by means of which staff participation in management is achieved in the Federal Public Service. These have been termed generically advisory, but they include the suggestions committee used in some departments to consider suggestions made by the staff on any aspect of office routine; the training committee established in some departments to plan a coherent system of in-service training and in which staff representatives play an important part; and—of more recent date and as yet rare—the management advisory committee set up with a view to giving the staff a measure of genuine participation in

the administration of departmental matters generally. Of the last-mentioned type of body it is proposed to say a little more.

In the Department of Trade and Customs there has been established an Advisory Committee on Management, composed of five elected members of the staff with a senior member of the Personnel Branch acting as Liaison Officer between the Committee and the official side of the Department. The avowed intentions of this experiment are to give the Administration ready access to staff views on management problems and to give the staff a wider interest in the conditions under which they work. Examples of the type of topic discussed are the method of allocating annual recreation leave periods and the methods by which selections for promotion are made.

From papers shown to the writer it would appear that this Committee (which has been in operation for some two years) is functioning well and is making a definite contribution to the management of the Department. The difficult problem of staff reporting is at present being discussed by the Committee and the Administration with a view to introducing a scheme of reporting which will find favour with the staff as well as being the most satisfactory from the viewpoint of the official side.

¹For a fuller discussion of this topic see my article on "Arbitration in the Federal Public Service of Australia," *Public Administration* (London), Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, Spring, 1956.

²Professor F. A. Bland, *Government in Australia*, Government Printer (Sydney), 1944, page xxvii.

³For example, the Arbitrator gave an interpretation of a Public Service regulation which was contrary to the way in which it had been interpreted, in one Department, for many years. It was necessary to apply this decision of the Arbitrator's retrospectively and as the statistics on the basis of which this could be accomplished were destroyed every year, the Public Service Board had no alternative but to reach a compromise with the staff association concerned as to the most reasonable means of making the retrospective adjustment.

⁴F. L. Hedges, "Role of Public Service Staff Associations in Public Administration," *Public Administration* (Sydney), Vol. V, No. 8, December, 1945, page 358.

⁵Public Service Act, Section 19A (2).

⁶Viz., the High Council of Public Service Unions. Not to be confused with the Joint Council, this is the central executive for a number of organisations representative of Public Service employees. It is purely a staff body formed for the purpose of co-ordinating union policy.

⁷Prior to the introduction of a Public Service Board of three, control of the Service was in the hands of a single Commissioner.

⁸There is, in each State, a Public Service Inspector who is the representative of the Public Service Board in that State. He has many of the powers of the Board and has a large measure of discretion.

⁹This is a declaration swearing allegiance to the Crown and vowing support for the Constitution of Australia.

¹⁰The Federal Public Service is divided into four Divisions: very broadly, the First Division comprises all the departmental heads; the Second Division consists of the other senior officers such as Assistant Secretaries and the like; the Third Division is made up of mainly middle range executives, professional and clerical officers; and the Fourth Division is the basic grade containing, among others, clerical assistants and manipulative workers.

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Employer-Employee Relationships in the Civil Services of the Canadian Provinces

By HOWARD A. SCARROW

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THE machinery governing employer-employee relationships in the Canadian civil services has increasingly become the subject of official scrutiny and interest. On the municipal, provincial, and federal level of government the growth in the number of public employees, together with the augmented strength of their associations, has focussed closer attention upon joint consultation and the solution of employee grievances. The example of Whitleyism at Whitehall, moreover, has tended to serve as a continuing reminder to Canadian governments and employees that staff relationships can be regulated with mutual benefits to both. It has been on the provincial level that many of the experiments in labour-management relations in the civil service have been tested, and where some of the most instructive developments have occurred. A survey of provincial experience, therefore, may serve to identify some of the possibilities and problems in this area of public personnel management.

PROVINCIAL EMPLOYEE ASSOCIATIONS

Because of their limited numbers, provincial government employees have organised their respective associations on an "industrial" basis. In contrast to the multiplicity of associations in Ottawa or London, in most provinces there is only the single association whose membership is drawn from all occupational groups and departmental divisions, and which embraces both employees hired under the Civil Service Acts and those who are not, strictly speaking, civil servants. The history of several of the associations can be traced back to the 1920s or earlier, when they functioned primarily as social clubs or co-operative societies. Only in relatively recent years, and particularly since 1945, have serious attempts been made to convert the organisations into active instruments of staff representation.

Quebec and the Eastern Provinces

Conditions favourable to this development have been confined largely to Ontario and the provinces to the west. In Quebec, Canada's second most wealthy and populous province, an unsympathetic government has effectively discouraged the two staff associations (organised in Montreal and Quebec City) from uniting, or expanding their activities beyond recreational and cultural pursuits; and statutory provision for employee representation on the Civil Service Commission has remained a dead letter. The basic outlook of Premier Duplessis is reflected in the Public Service Employee Disputes Act of 1944, which outlaws strikes in any phase of public service activity and prohibits affiliation of provincial government employees and certain other groups with organised labour.

Partly because of the very small size of the administrations, the formation of employee associations in the Maritime Provinces has lagged far behind

condemned the denial to government employees of rights guaranteed to other workers, and have urged that civil servants be granted at least a modified form of collective bargaining based on compulsory arbitration and prohibition against strike action. Other indications of the currency of this question are to be seen in the creation by the national Trades and Labour Council in 1952 of a standing committee on public employees; in the public forums of Canadian public administrators and political scientists;² and in provincial legislation establishing compulsory arbitration for municipal police and firemen.³

Saskatchewan

Much of the present interest in collective bargaining for civil servants stems from the experiment which has been launched in Saskatchewan under the aegis of the C.C.F. Government. The Saskatchewan Trade Union Act, passed in 1944, specifically named the provincial government as an "employer" within the meaning of the Act, and hence one required to recognise and bargain collectively with any union of its employees certified as a legitimate bargaining unit. There are two unions of civil servants certified for bargaining purposes, the Civil Service Association (T.L.C.) and three locals of the United Civil Servants of Canada (C.C.L.). The latter groups, formed in 1944 as a result of factional strife within the Association, are confined largely to mental hospital employees; while the Civil Service Association includes nearly all other government employees save those in the Crown corporations. The only legal exclusion from Association ranks is the relatively small number of senior and professional officials (about 275 positions, or 7 per cent. of the service) whose membership would expose the Association to the charge of a company-dominated union, or over whose positions the Government wishes to retain complete control. These positions excepted, a clause in the annual agreement ensures that all new employees will join the association and all current members retain membership.

Each year a series of agreements is negotiated between the Association and the Government. The first settlement covers employees under the Civil Service Act and usually sets the pattern for subsequent agreements covering the Liquor Control Board, Workmen's Compensation Board, and (since 1949) the hourly and daily paid workers. The agreements embrace not only all matters relating to salaries and conditions, but also extend to Civil Service procedures. For example, written examinations are limited to those specifically enumerated, and the right of the Association to appoint an observer on promotion or selection panels is guaranteed. The only limitation to the scope of the agreements is Section 59 of the Civil Service Act, which guarantees that the Civil Service Commission shall have complete authority over the classification plan and job specifications; and a refusal by the Government to bargain on superannuation, which is controlled by statute.

Annual negotiations leading to the major Civil Service agreement usually extend over a period of three weeks. The Association side is composed of six or seven representative members of the Executive Board, who are accountable to the whole Board, and whose bargaining brief is based on submissions presented by the various Association branches throughout the province. On the official side, the Government is represented by the Chairman

of the Civil Service Commission, together with appropriate assistants from the Commission and other government departments. The Commission Chairman, too, is only a bargaining representative, and any concession or agreement is subject to Cabinet approval. On one occasion, when agreement could not be reached, an open dispute was avoided when the Cabinet agreed to meet with the Association representatives to iron out remaining differences. It is, of course, this final stage of the bargaining process which brings to the surface the unique position of Saskatchewan civil servants. The Association or the Government can turn to the provisions of the Trade Union Act which call for the creation of a board of conciliation or, if the parties agree, a board of arbitration. This failing, the Association has as its ultimate weapon strike action.

In addition to the bargaining process, employees are allowed recourse to formal grievance machinery. Each annual agreement contains provision for a joint council which hears classification appeals from individual employees (i.e., an appeal against an alleged improper salary classification of the officer's position). The council, made up of representatives of the Association, the Government, and a chairman mutually acceptable to both parties, has power to recommend, and in some cases issue final directives. Usually, however, appeals are resolved by the Civil Service Commission, and only a small portion ever reach the council. Of greater importance is the procedure for settling grievances affecting groups of employees. If satisfaction cannot be obtained through the department or the Civil Service Commission, the Association may request the formation of a three-member joint council which can recommend action to the Cabinet; or as a final resort can ask for a special board of arbitration.⁴

There is little doubt that the experiment in Saskatchewan has been eminently successful in providing a sound basis for a generally harmonious employer-employee relationship. The Government, though like most employers reluctant to grant salary increases and other concessions, has shown no disposition to abandon the scheme, and statements of opposition parties have suggested that a new Government would continue it. On its part, the Association is keenly aware that it enjoys a status seldom granted to civil servants, and that largely in consequence its members possess benefits which compare favourably with those of other provinces. Yet the most instructive result of the Saskatchewan experience is the manner in which the bargaining process has operated. Although civil servants are legally free to strike in support of their demands, they are realistically aware that public opinion would not tolerate such action; and while machinery for conciliation and arbitration is available, both sides have recognised that it should be used only as an unfortunate last resort. Thus on only two occasions has the signing of the annual agreement been preceded by the appointment of a conciliation board; all other matters have been settled through persistent negotiation.

What distinguishes the Saskatchewan experiment, then, is not a compulsion upon the Government to yield to Association demands—a fact which is evident in the list of outstanding grievances—but rather the legal necessity for the Government to negotiate in good faith with its employees. The right of collective bargaining is the right of the Association to present argu-

ments to the Government in the knowledge that they cannot be dismissed with impunity; or to quote a favourite phrase of Association officials, it is the right to approach the Government without carrying "cap in hand." What is involved is as much a question of dignity and pride as of economics.

Finally, it is apparent that the successful functioning of the bargaining process depends upon much more than the provisions of the Trade Union Act. Both sides, aware that they are charting new ground, have an interest in making the experiment work. They know that the eyes of public servants and officials across Canada are focussed on the results of their experience. The Association has been careful to avoid actions which would brand it as a militant union, or to insist upon demands which would embarrass the Government. Officials on both sides, moreover, are eminently qualified, regard each other with mutual respect, and participate in continual joint discussions throughout the year. Finally, the collective bargaining process is conducted against a background of Civil Service administration which, for its conscious adoption of modern methods of personnel management, is perhaps the most advanced in Canada.

Other Provinces

In the other Canadian provinces Governments of more conservative leanings than the C.C.F. have consistently refused to grant bargaining rights to their employees. The legal prohibition rests either on the Statute Interpretation Act, which exempts the Government from the provisions of its own legislation (i.e., the Labour Relations Act), or in some provinces upon a specific clause in the Labour Relations Act which in effect excludes the Government from the meaning of the term employer.

These provisions notwithstanding, the legal status of civil servants is by no means clearly defined; for the provincial Governments, like the Federal Government, do in fact recognise for bargaining purposes the unions in the Crown corporations, e.g., the Electric Power Commissions. New Brunswick, which has amended its Labour Relations Act to reflect this current practice, is the exception to this legal uncertainty. Following a threatened strike by the New Brunswick electric power workers, and in the wake of an election campaign in which the question of the recognition of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (I.B.E.W.) was one of the major issues, a newly-elected Conservative Government in 1953 amended the Labour Relations Act to include within the meaning of "employer" any public "corporation, board, or commission" so designated by the Government.⁵ In other provinces recognition of electrical unions appears to result more from practical than legal necessity.

The blurred legal position is further illustrated by the example of employees in another type of provincial commercial enterprise, the Liquor Control Boards. In 1951 a certified union attempted to organise the truck drivers of the Ontario Liquor Control Board, only to be told by the Premier that these employees were civil servants. On what legal grounds the Premier based his decision was never clearly defined. In British Columbia, too, the question of collective bargaining for employees of the Liquor Control Board remains an open question, and is being subjected to careful scrutiny.

With the legal prohibition undermined and the negative argument of

the Governments shattered by precedent, the employee associations from Ontario westward have come to view collective bargaining as an increasingly attractive goal. Rather than striving for complete equality with other unions, the associations are ready to forfeit the right to strike in return for compulsory arbitration. Nowhere has the campaign for arbitration been more consistently waged than in British Columbia, where the position of the Association is supported not only by the precedent of arbitration rights for school teachers, policemen, and firemen, but also has been strengthened by the report of a special legislative committee which recommended in 1952 that these rights be extended to civil servants.⁶ In reply, however, the Government has adopted the familiar position that it cannot surrender sovereignty to an independent arbitration board.

JOINT CONSULTATION

The quest for collective bargaining rights has usually taken on intensive proportions only when the results of existing machinery of employer-employee consultation have, in the eyes of the associations, proved disappointing. The most prominent feature of this machinery has been the joint councils, modelled after the Whitley Councils in Great Britain, which since 1944 have been established in Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta, and British Columbia.

The Joint Council in Ontario was established by Order-in-Council in May, 1944, to "study and consider" matters pertaining to the civil service and to make appropriate recommendations to the Cabinet.⁷ The Council consists of seven members, three appointed by the Government, three appointed by the Civil Service Association, and a chairman, who is the Civil Service Commissioner. In practice the official side has been composed of civil servants of Deputy Minister rank (i.e., Permanent Secretaries in British terminology), and the staff side made up of officers of the Association. In addition to the central Joint Council, provision was made for departmental and branch councils to deal with problems confined to a single department and also to make recommendations to the Joint Council in matters affecting the entire service. These sub-councils have generally been composed of three senior officials and three representatives elected by the departmental staff. The Association is assigned no official rôle in their operations.

The Joint Council in Alberta was clearly defined in an amendment to the Civil Service Act in 1954. The amendment outlines a constitution which is the most explicit of any province, and reflects the pressure by the Association to remedy shortcomings of the council which had been meeting since 1947. The Council is composed of three Cabinet Ministers and three nominees of the Association, while the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission and the Executive Secretary of the Association are invited to attend each meeting. The Council is required to meet once a month to consider all grievances and requests submitted by the Association, to make recommendations to the Cabinet or departmental heads, and to act as a board of appeal for all cases of alleged improper classification or unjust dismissal. Since 1947 the Association in Alberta has also appointed one of its members as part-time Civil Service Commissioner.

Unlike the councils already described, those in British Columbia and

Manitoba rest on no clear authority. The British Columbia Civil Service Act (1945) simply requires that the Government recognise a committee of Association representatives to discuss matters affecting "general welfare and conditions of employment." Until 1949 this provision was satisfied by periodic meetings with the full Cabinet; then, on the request of the Association, a committee was formed composed of three Association representatives and three Cabinet Ministers. Another provision of the Act allows the Association to present grievances to the Civil Service Commission, with final appeal to the Cabinet or a board of reference appointed by the Cabinet.

Manitoba was the last of the western provinces to establish a joint council. In response to Association requests the Government agreed in 1951 to form a committee composed of three Ministers, three Association nominees, and the full-time Civil Service Commissioner. However, this concession was confirmed neither by statute nor by Order-in-Council.

Ontario

A decade of experience with joint councils in Ontario has not justified the initial hopes for their success. It might be argued that the councils have precipitated more problems than they have solved; and that because suggestions for their improvement have been rejected by the Government, employer-employee relationships have actually deteriorated.

The basic complaint voiced by the Association is that the Joint Council lacks authority. Not only is the intended function of the Council limited to the submission of recommendations to Cabinet, but, the Association complains, its authority to discuss and to recommend has been curtailed by a reluctance of the official side—composed of loyal civil servants—to entertain grievances which might reflect upon Government policy. If necessary, the majority of official side representatives can ensure that this prohibition is enforced. Once a recommendation has been submitted, moreover, there is no guarantee that action will be forthcoming. Finally, the Association has objected to the infrequent meetings (separated by periods as long as a year) and to the lack of time and interest devoted to the Council by the Government members.

Not unrelated to the disappointing results of the central Joint Council has been the acknowledged failure of the departmental and branch councils. Indeed, according to the Association, the major factor which has hampered the staff side of the Joint Advisory Council has been the failure of departmental councils to submit problems of a service-wide nature; for the official side tends towards the attitude that grievances are real only if they are referred initially to a departmental council. After a brief period of hopeful interest, these sub-councils have become rusty from disuse, and a continual point of contention has been the question of responsibility for their operation. On the one hand, the official side of the Joint Council has taken the view that responsibility rests with the Association; that if the councils are not functioning properly it is no fault of the Government or its representatives. The Association, on the other hand, has argued that since it is given no authority to appoint members of the staff side of the sub-councils or to call for regular meetings, responsibility rests ultimately with the Government. The Association, therefore, has urged that authoritative instructions be

issued to the departments directing that regular meetings of the councils be called and that competent, interested, and senior official representatives be appointed. Meanwhile, the Association has begun to experiment with special committees made up of interested Association members within a department, in hope that these might be used to present grievances before the Deputy Minister or, where they exist, personnel officers or the departmental councils.

In an effort to clarify responsibility for the sub-councils, the Joint Advisory Council early in 1955 resolved that the Association "be encouraged to actively assist" in their "development and operation" and that regular meetings be held. The resolution did not, however, grant the Association additional authority; and after a trial period of two months in which little progress was noted the Executive of the Association countered with a resolution withdrawing its offer of co-operation and expressing "no confidence in the Joint Advisory Council or any of the bodies under its jurisdiction."⁸

While the demise of the system of joint councils in Ontario can be attributed in part to the mechanical defects in its structure, the basic difficulty would appear to lie much deeper. For its part, the Association has been unable to present a united front. It has been sharply divided on many questions, and was recently plagued by a financial crisis and the consequent disillusionment of many of its members. The latest example of internal strife was a message sent to the Government by a local branch of the Association condemning the Executive for its resolution on the Joint Advisory Council. It is apparent, moreover, that despite its substantial membership the Association does not enjoy the support of all civil servants, and that many middle-range employees and most senior officers are reluctant to join in common cause with the lower-paid workers.

Perhaps the most formidable obstacle impeding the operation of the Joint Council is the wide decentralisation of personnel administration. The Civil Service Commission is in a position of only limited authority; it makes suggestions but is unable to enforce their acceptance by departments. The Council therefore lacks the necessary machinery to issue authoritative directives and many employee grievances can be settled only at the department level. Seen in this light the importance of the departmental councils and the significance of their failure is clear. Recently the Association has come to recognise the roots of its discontent. Its first major brief presented to the Government in 1953 was devoted almost in its entirety to arguments for an independent survey of the Civil Service, the creation of an authoritative Civil Service Commission, and the institution of standardised procedures of recruitment, promotion, and classification. A similar memorandum was submitted in early 1956. Meanwhile, the Association is reassessing its policy of non-affiliation with organised labour and is cautiously exploring tactics to win public support for its objectives.

British Columbia

Until 1952 the Association in British Columbia made use of the provisions of the Civil Service Act to present its briefs and discuss its grievances with the Cabinet, the Cabinet-Association Committee, or the Civil Service Commission. Partly as a result, civil servants enjoyed the benefits of modern

personnel administration and conditions which were among the best in Canada. Within recent years, however, employer-employee relationships have been the most rancorous of any province, and all semblance of organised machinery for joint consultation has virtually disappeared.

The fires of controversy have centred around the Association's demand for arbitration rights and, equally important, the use by the Association of the recognised techniques of group political action. Prior to the 1952 election the Association canvassed the candidates of all political parties to learn their views on arbitration. Subsequently, following the refusal of the newly-elected Social Credit Government to endorse the pre-election sentiments expressed by a majority of its Cabinet members,⁹ Association tactics were expanded to include a \$10,000 radio and press campaign, active solicitation of trade union support, and the drafting of an arbitration bill for introduction by a private member. Under any circumstance these vigorous tactics would probably have been interpreted as acts hostile to the Government; coinciding with a new election in 1953, they were viewed by the re-elected Social Credit Government as part of an organised campaign for its defeat at the polls. Further incidents and inflammatory public statements on both sides added to the ill-feeling.

Amidst this hostile setting the machinery of joint consultation has proved ineffective. The Government has refused to re-establish the Association-Cabinet Committee which the Association regards as the first step toward effective negotiating procedure. Association representatives continue to meet with officials of the Civil Service Commission, but the resulting recommendations have suffered a high rate of rejection, and a board of reference has yet to be appointed. Finally, it was only after 18 months of inactivity and the intervention by the Vice-President of the British Columbia Trades and Labour Congress that the Cabinet agreed to meet with the Association; and though subsequent meetings have been held, their nature is reflected in the Government's statement that the Association may present, but not argue, its case, and that the unacknowledgment of written submissions is tantamount to their rejection.

Recent evidence would indicate that the period of extreme bitterness is yielding to more sober reflection. The Association has de-emphasised its insistence on arbitration and instead is looking toward the solution of immediate grievances; while the Government's decision to grant general salary increases for 1956, the first since 1952, is likely to contribute to more amicable relationships.

Manitoba and Alberta

In contrast to Ontario and British Columbia, the Government and Association in both Manitoba and Alberta have progressed toward more co-operative harmonious relationships. Basic to this accomplishment has been the more inclusive representation in Association membership, together with more cautious leadership. In Manitoba, for example, progress can be measured only since 1949 when the Association disaffiliated from the T.I.C., a new set of officers was elected, and a respected civil servant was granted leave of absence to replace a strong labour advocate as Executive Secretary.

On this foundation the machinery of joint consultation has proved valuable within a limited sphere. Unlike the Joint Council in Ontario, the councils in the two Prairie Provinces allow the Association representatives to meet with Cabinet Ministers for frank and informal discussions. No votes are taken or minutes recorded. The presence at the meetings of the Association Executive Secretary further adds to their effectiveness. To supplement the councils, moreover, periodic meetings are held with the full Cabinet or the Provincial Secretary,¹⁰ and cordial relationships with the Civil Service Commission provide an additional outlet for staff grievances. In Alberta, not only does the Association nominate one of its members as part-time Civil Service Commissioner, but the full-time Commissioner is a former officer of the Association. Finally, Association representation on classification appeal boards offers a solution to many individual complaints.¹¹

Despite encouraging trends, however, the councils have been the object of strong criticism. The most common complaint has been the infrequency of council meetings, which until recently averaged only three or four a year. Association pressure resulted in the 1954 amendment to the Alberta Civil Service Act which requires monthly council meetings, and in Manitoba led to the Government pledge for a minimum of eight meetings a year beginning in 1955. A more serious grievance has been that in important matters affecting employees, particularly salary scales, the Government has taken unilateral action, without first presenting the decision to the council for discussion. This practice has especially affected the Association in Alberta, and in 1952 precipitated a strong resolution calling for arbitration rights. Because the authority of the Alberta Civil Service Commission is severely limited, the Association representative on the Commission has yet to prove his worth in influencing policy on these questions.

CONCLUSION

Provincial experience has suggested some of the difficulties of transplanting Whitleyism outside its native environment. The organisation of civil servants into one big union has tended to discourage active support by professional and higher-ranking employees, with the result that the joint councils have been viewed primarily as forums for the middle-range and lower-paid staff. Concurrently, the respective Governments are inclined to tolerate the associations—to ignore them would be politically unwise—but to leave to them the initiative of joint consultation. Thus the councils have largely become outlets for staff grievances, and their potentiality as a means for co-operative discussion of mutual problems has yet to be explored.

In these circumstances it has been found impossible to duplicate the spirit which underlies British Whitleyism, and without it the councils by themselves are poor vehicles for negotiation. The failure to transplant the system of arbitration, which complements the British Whitley Councils, has forced the Associations to rely solely on their powers of persuasion, and ultimately questions are settled by unilateral decision. On certain matters, such as retirement age, calculation of pensions, and other fringe benefits, the Governments have in time responded favourably to association requests; but the more basic grievances, especially those concerning remuneration, have usually gone unanswered.

Against this background joint councils are necessarily delicate mechanisms which rest precariously on the willingness of the official side to listen sympathetically to association grievances, and the corresponding ability of the Association to swallow its disappointments. These conditions fulfilled, the councils appear to function most successfully when the official side is of Cabinet rank¹²; meetings are complemented by periodic representation before full Cabinet or the Provincial Secretary; and there exists a foundation of sound personnel administration.

The future of official-staff relationships in Canada seems likely to revolve around the question of collective bargaining or compulsory arbitration. The examples of Great Britain, Saskatchewan, federal and provincial Crown corporations, and Canadian municipalities are now too numerous to be overlooked, and the old arguments of surrender of sovereignty have come to ring hollow. There is some evidence that the Federal Government, in response to increasing pressure by organised labour and associations of its own employees, is reassessing its position on arbitration. Should it reverse its stand, civil servants in the provinces are not likely to allow their Governments to forget the example.

¹Until their amalgamation in 1956, the two major labour organisations in Canada were the Trades and Labour Congress and the Canadian Congress of Labour (C.C.L.). They were the Canadian equivalents to the American A.F. of L. and C.I.O., respectively. Future references in this article to the T.L.C. or C.C.L. are intended to reflect existing conditions prior to the recent amalgamation.

²See, for example, *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Conference, the Institute of Public Administration of Canada* (1953), pages 53-89; and Victor Johnston, "The Effectiveness of Staff Associations in Employer-Employee Relations in the Public Service of Canada," *The Civil Service Review* (June, 1955), pages 156 ff.

³See S. J. Frankel and R. C. Pratt, *Municipal Labour Relations in Canada* (Montreal, n.d., 1954?).

⁴The agreement signed in 1955 was the first to provide for arbitration of grievances. Previous agreements had allowed only the appointment of a conciliation board.

⁵The Federal Government similarly amended its labour legislation in 1948.

⁶*Report of Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Inquiry Board* (Victoria, 1952).

⁷It was also in May, 1944, that the National Joint Council was established in Ottawa.

⁸*The Trillium*, official publication of the Ontario Civil Service Association (October, 1955), pages 8-9.

⁹According to the Association, 11 of the 28 Social Credit candidates elected had expressed themselves in favour of arbitration. Six of the 11 constituted a majority of the Cabinet.

¹⁰In the Canadian provinces the Civil Service Commission usually reports to the Provincial Secretary.

¹¹The appeal procedure in Manitoba has been operating only since 1955. In Alberta the Joint Council now serves as the appeal board, although from 1947 to 1954 the three-member Civil Service Commission acted in this capacity.

¹²In July, 1956, Premier Frost of Ontario finally agreed to appoint a six-member Cabinet Committee to meet regularly with the Joint Advisory Council. Perhaps this concession was not unrelated to the forthcoming vote by Association members on the question of affiliation with organised labour.

Delegation in Local Government

By JOHN A. CHATTERTON

The Clerk of Leicestershire County Council reviews a recent study of delegation by Dr. Richards of the University of Southampton.

As the sub-title of his book* indicates, Dr. Richards is concerned with delegation by County Councils to County District Councils, a subject which is somewhat restricted but nevertheless important. He has handled his subject well and produced a readable and useful book.

Delegation in the past has, on the whole, played a limited rôle in local government. It has to be considered against the wider background of the complete range of local government functions exercised by particular authorities and the form of local government itself. The topic has excited considerable controversy, and is one on which few of those directly concerned with local government administration will not already have their own views. Even if the present work does not change those views, this survey of delegation by one looking in on local government from outside will be of general interest.

Dr. Richards sees the delegation provisions of certain modern statutes as a result of the tendency to concentrate local government administration in the hands of County Councils, which concentration he regards as largely the result of past failure to reform the structure of local government. He traces the history of post-war steps towards reform as far as the announcement by the Minister of Housing and Local Government in the Commons in March, 1955, that certain proposals had been agreed between the Local Authority Associations. More recently the Government has issued its White Paper on the Areas and Status of Local Authorities, on which two comments can usefully be made at this point. First, the Government concludes that there is no convincing case for radical alteration in the existing form of local government, and second, whilst Dr. Richards justifiably concludes from the Minister's announcement that form and functions of local government were to be considered together, the White Paper in fact is concerned only with form. It is nevertheless to be hoped that any resulting legislation will deal with both at the same time.

About one half of the book is a review of delegation in four services, one chapter to each. The four services are highways, where the machinery of delegation is contained in the Local Government Act, 1929, and is therefore of comparatively long standing, education, town and country planning, and civil defence, where the relevant statutes date only from the end of the last war or even later. It should be noted that certain highway and civil defence functions are conferred direct on District Councils, whereas education and planning are vested solely in the County Council.

According to its nature and population, a District Council may carry out highway functions in three ways: by direct conferment by statute; as a claiming authority; and by delegation. Dr. Richards sets out the advantages claimed for delegation: consultation with local interests;

**Delegation in Local Government* by Peter G. Richards. George Allen and Unwin, 1956. Pp. 184. 20s.

avoidance of duplication ; benefits to District Councils in obtaining qualified staff and better equipment ; and quicker availability of staff in an emergency. He comments that delegation may make a real contribution to the capacity of a district to provide other services in a more efficient and economical manner, but finds an overwhelming case against delegation of highway powers because of the need for a large organisation to obtain the full advantages of mechanisation, bulk purchase and employment of specialist staff. "Nowhere can [delegation] be shown to be more efficient or economical than direct county administration."

The survey of delegation in education deals with the Divisional Executive and the "excepted district," the latter a special edition of the former with the distinction that it can draft its own scheme of delegation after consultation with the County and that it is a single County District, the staff of whose Council is able to do much of the work. Difficulties which have arisen in the working of schemes of divisional administration are considered. It is questionable how details of the budget, except possibly for isolated items, could remain unsettled until well into the financial year when the county budget must be determined by about February. As for the complaint that Divisional Executives have to begin preparation of their estimates early in the autumn, this must be regarded as an incident of local government in general rather than of divisional administration, since the committees of the County Council are in the same position. Dr. Richards stresses that the difficulties which have arisen in divisional administration do not typify the normal working of delegation agreements which is carried out in an atmosphere of goodwill, give-and-take and general co-operation. One comment which he makes in this chapter is worthy of quotation for in it lies the key to any system of delegation : "The success or failure, value or futility, of any delegation scheme depends not merely upon the content of the legal phraseology, but upon the quality and attitudes of those who have to work it."

It should perhaps be said that the case of *Lamb v. Jeffries* (mentioned on page 73) did not establish any general principle that teachers employed by the County Council cannot be members of the Council of the "excepted district" in which they work. It is clear from the decision in the Queen's Bench Division on the appeal by case stated that the point in issue was whether Mr. Lamb's appointment was in the disposal of the District Council. It was so held because under the scheme of divisional administration and the relative articles of government his appointment was subject to confirmation by the Divisional Executive.

Turning next to town and country planning, Dr. Richards says that the transfer of planning responsibilities to the Counties was supported by a mass of evidence notably directed to the need for larger areas for planning purposes. He remarks that though the continued responsibility of the County Council for the preparation of development plans is unquestionable, by sharing the control of development with District Councils the County is able to utilise local knowledge, opinion and experience, to decentralise and to employ its own staff on major questions of policy. He reviews the organisation in individual counties, showing that the system employed ranges between centralisation, decentralisation and delegation (which he regards as more satisfactory than decentralisation) or a combination of them and that

delegation plays a part in the majority of Counties. The information given is of less value because of its lack of detail ; it is important, for example, to know the precise extent of delegation. Dr. Richards concludes that the cause of planning is greatly assisted by the technique of delegation for no system of local government in rural areas can produce a type of authority which is suitable both to frame an overall development plan and to apply it to every minor case.

The chapter on civil defence notes the general principle applied in the distribution of functions : each public authority shall undertake the range of civil defence functions that is analogous to its normal peace-time activities. This means that County District Councils are directly responsible for certain of these functions. In addition the County Districts may have delegated to them part of the civil defence functions of the County Councils. After reviewing the present arrangements, Dr. Richards feels that the argument for decentralisation may have been pushed too far and that, with the current trend in an age of nuclear weapons to emphasise the need for the organisation of civil defence on a national basis, the extent of delegation is more likely to diminish than to grow.

The only comment which appears necessary on his treatment of the miscellaneous delegation provisions is in relation to the tendency in recent years for counties to cease delegating to the Justices the powers to license theatres and cinemas. Dr. Richards notes that it is the Justices and not the Districts that have lost these delegated powers and goes on to say that the Justices, not being an elected body, are less able to make effective protest. Surely the real reason for this change is quite different, outside the delegation controversy, and lies in a growing realisation of the difficulties of a purely judicial body in dealing with matters of this kind on which the advice of technical staff is required ? Justices are not likely to regret the loss of powers which date from a time when conditions were very different.

In his final chapter, Dr. Richards deals with the administrative problems of delegation, noting the two basic conditions which always apply : that the County Council retains the right to decide major questions of policy, and to control expenditure. He also sets out the principles of delegation as stated by the Local Government Manpower Committee. He recognises the importance to an assessment of the value of delegation, of knowing its financial implications and accepts that delegation must increase expense, but he suggests that although it makes local administration more complicated and more expensive it may be thought worth while if it increases the limited public interest and participation in local government. Dr. Richards sees disadvantages in the centralisation of local government in the hands of the County Councils, in the conferment of major services on District Councils and in the use of delegation, and acknowledges that there is no fully satisfactory solution to the problem. He regards the case for delegation as strongest where the human element in the service is important, e.g., education, and as weakest in highways, where technical considerations are paramount. The aim of delegation arrangements is said to be the combination of local opinion and local knowledge with the resources which only a large area can provide. The author suggests that the difficulties which must occasionally arise attract more attention than normal routine working and are not necessarily

due to any defect in the arrangements themselves. His final comment is that the great merit of the British system of local government is that the elected representative has detailed control over executive action: delegation serves to stimulate public discussion and thereby to strengthen the democratic content of local administration.

The controversial nature of the subject makes it difficult to embark on comment without inviting accusations of partiality. Yet some comment seems to be called for purely by way of placing certain aspects of delegation in their proper perspective.

It is necessary to reiterate that delegation as a whole has to be considered against the wider background of the general pattern of local government. It cannot be treated in isolation and for that reason this book will be far more easily understood by the reader who knows the working of our local government system.

Although both District Councils and County Councils are elected bodies, there is a tendency in some quarters to regard County Councils as remote bodies out of touch with local conditions. As a consequence the advantage frequently claimed for delegation is greater consultation with local opinion and use of local knowledge. In judging the weight to be attached to that claim, it is necessary to remember that quite apart from the local knowledge and opinion which comes to the County Council through members co-opted from District Councils and, in rural districts, through those small but useful bodies the Parish Councils, the elected members of the County Councils themselves come from all parts of the County and in addition in many cases are also members of their local District Council. Furthermore the area staff frequently employed by County Councils make a substantial contribution to knowledge of local conditions. Moreover, though it is clearly important that the public should have some place within reach where they can go to discuss their individual problems, it is perhaps of little importance to the individual wanting, say, a home help whether he has to seek information at the office of his District Council or at the area office of the County Council. In the very personal problems which arise in the case of certain services, too much local knowledge may be a disadvantage; for the public may prefer to have their problems considered by the more remote and impersonal County Council rather than by their local Council. This is perhaps a field where the elected representatives should concentrate on matters of policy, leaving their officers to handle the application of that policy to individual cases.

There is no doubt that in recent years the transfer of functions to County Councils, coupled in some cases with the effects of nationalisation, has seriously weakened the District Councils whose wish for delegation is therefore quite understandable. Bearing in mind the endorsement by the White Paper of the broad objective that the aim of all alterations in the status and boundaries of Local Authorities should be to ensure effective and convenient units of local government administration, it is to be expected that the reviews which will take place on the implementation of the Government's proposals will help to remove that weakness. It is equally to be expected from the proposals agreed between the representatives of the five Local Authority Associations that in appropriate cases delegation will help to increase the range of functions exercised by District Councils. The degree of delegation

may vary widely according to the widely differing circumstances of particular areas, but in so far as local government at all levels exists for the benefit of the public it is to be hoped that the aim in each area will be to develop those arrangements which are most suitable for that area. Whilst there may be agreement on the aim, however, there may be less unanimity on what the most suitable arrangements are.

Dr. Richards has tackled a difficult subject which seems bound to present even more difficulty to one not actively engaged in local government administration. In his very thorough treatment of the subject, however, he has done much to overcome that difficulty and has always endeavoured to present a balanced picture. Some will agree and some disagree with his conclusions. In local government itself, where decided views on the subject are frequently held, it is probable that the majority will agree with him in part, though not always the same part. He is to be congratulated on the very considerable research which he has undertaken and on the mass of information which he has sifted. The few minor inaccuracies do not detract from the essential purpose of his work, which will provide a useful source of information and should serve to stimulate discussion at a time when, with reform in the air, delegation is very much in the forefront of attention.

CONTENTS LIST

A contents list for *Public Administration*, Vol. XXXIV (1956), is available on request to the Royal Institute of Public Administration, Haldane House, 76A New Cavendish Street, London, W.1 (LANgham 8881).

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCES

The quarterly journal of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, which has been published since 1928, has now been merged with *Progress in Public Administration*, a bi-monthly review of technical co-operation issued by the International Institute since 1953. The new quarterly, which bears the title *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, appears separately in English, French and Spanish editions. Its authoritative articles, news items and book reviews provide a valuable source of information on administrative activities and ideas throughout the world. The annual subscription is £2 17s. 6d. Payment from the United Kingdom should be made to the Royal Institute of Public Administration.

INSTITUTE NEWS

About Members

SEVERAL members of the Institute were honoured in the New Year's List. Among them were Sir Edward Bridges, a Vice-President of the Institute since 1946, on whom a Barony was conferred; it was subsequently gazetted in the name, style and title of Baron Bridges of Headley in the County of Surrey, and of St. Nicholas Wade in the County of Kent. Mr. J. R. Simpson, one of the Institute's Trustees, was created a Knight Bachelor. Mr. F. G. Brewer, Secretary of The Gas Council and since 1951 a member of the Institute's Executive Council, was awarded the O.B.E.

Mr. S. E. Raymond, a member of the Executive Council, has been appointed Commercial Manager of British Railways, Scottish Region.

Conference on Hospital Authorities and Staff Management

A conference under this title will be held from 20th-22nd May at the Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.2, and will be presided over by Mr. Henry Lesser, C.B.E. The subjects and principal speakers will be as follows:

The Staff Functions of Minister, Boards and Management Committees by A. J. Bennett.

Staff Management in the Hospital by G. A. Phalp, T.D.

Staff Turnover—Its Causes and Remedies by Professor R. W. Revans.

Training and Career Opportunity by R. Moore.

Relations between Staff and Management—An Industrial Approach by G. P. E. Howard.

New Books

THE lectures delivered in London in the Spring of last year by Herbert Morrison, Basil Smallpeice, Sir Alexander Fleck, Sir Wilfred Neden, A. D. Bonham-Carter and Major-General G. M. Russell have now been published under the title *Vitality in Administration* at the price of 8s. 6d. (6s. post free to members ordering from the Institute). The symposium describes the methods by which public authorities and business concerns ensure that vitality is achieved and maintained in their organisation. The wide range of experience of the contributors lends particular interest to the book.

Interviewing for the Selection of Staff, which was published in April of last year, has met with such a demand that a reprint has already been called for. The book forms a guide for the laymen in preparing interviews and drawing the proper conclusions from the information which they provide. It also contains advice for candidates being interviewed. The price of the book is 10s. 6d. (7s. 6d. post free to members ordering from the Institute).

I.I.A.S. Round Table in Yugoslavia

THE next Round Table of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences will be held in June at Opatja in Yugoslavia. The main subjects for discussion will be "Present Trends in Connection with the Transfer of Power from Greater Authorities to Lesser Authorities separate from them, and *vice versa*," "Automation and the Relevant Problems in Public Administration Agencies," and "The Merit System as applied to the Promotion of Civil Servants, with Special Emphasis on Rating." Further details will be sent on application, from Haldane House.

Earlier Publications Required

ALTHOUGH the publications listed below have been out of print for some time, the Institute still receives orders for them. It would therefore be glad to purchase unwanted copies from members at the prices shown in brackets.

Local Authorities : Internal Financial Control by A. H. Marshall (10s. 6d.)

The Public Corporation in British Experience by Sir Arthur Street (2s. 6d.)

Back Numbers of Journals Required

THE Institute has recently received a large number of orders for back numbers, and stocks of certain issues are now very low. For the numbers shown below the Institute will pay the following prices:

1923-1929	..	all issues	..	..	10s. issue
1930	..	April, July	..	..	} 10s. issue
1931	..	July	..	..	
1932	..	January, October	..	..	
1934	..	July	..	..	
1935	..	April	..	..	
1938	..	January	..	..	} 5s. issue
1940	..	April, October	..	..	
1942	..	January, April	..	..	
1943	..	January	..	..	
1944	..	Summer, Winter	..	..	
1945	..	Spring, Winter	..	..	} 3s. issue
1946	..	Spring	..	..	
1952	..	Summer	..	..	
1955	..	Summer, Winter	..	..	} 1s.
1955	..	Index	..	..	

New Research Projects

THE Nuffield Foundation has generously agreed to make a grant of up to £4,500 for a research project on "The Organisation of Building Construction and Maintenance in Local Authorities," and work will soon start. Plans are now in hand for a study of "Committee Systems in the Hospital Service."

BOOK REVIEWS

New Sources of Local Revenue

Report of a Study Group of the Royal Institute of Public Administration (*Chairman*: Mr. F. A. Cockfield). Published for the Institute by George Allen and Unwin, 1956. Pp. 249. 25s.

So there is hope for the Town Hall yet. Over the last forty years the proportion of Local Authorities' expenditure in England and Wales covered from their own revenue has slipped from 78 per cent. to 58 per cent. Rents and fees (especially rents) have gone up handsomely. But rates have fallen into disrepute as regressive and unworthy to be a pillar of the Welfare State. It has been a case of giving the dog a bad name and hanging him, for rates are not in fact as regressive as some of the Central Government taxes which have been expanding merrily in these years, and could presumably be cut if grants to Local Authorities could be brought down. But hanged he has well and truly been. In 1953-54, at constant prices, only 85-90 per cent. as much was spent from the rates as in 1938. And with this decline in local taxation has gone, though not for that reason alone, a fall in the reputation and authority of local government itself.

Now along comes an authoritative Study Group of the Institute with welcome proposals to put this right. Entertainments tax, motor vehicle duties, and driving licence fees should be transferred from the central to local government, subject to certain limits on the rates of tax to be imposed. This would add upwards of £120,000,000 a year to local resources. Counties and county boroughs should be allowed to raise a local income tax, which at, say, 3d. in the £ would contribute £150,000,000. There might also be a local tax on petrol, assuming that national policy leaves us any petrol to tax; but on this the Study Group prefer to leave the decision open. Industry and agriculture should be re-rated; the last is specially important, as helping a number of counties to which the other proposals would give rather little.

Let us assume for the moment that there is to be no major change in the combined spending of central and local government, nor in the sources from which it is raised. On that basis, the Group have done a

workmanlike job. They face the difficulties frankly, with a wealth of comparative material from other countries. The poorer counties will feel that they are once again left out. Entertainers will probably like the local scorpions even less than the more predictable whips of Whitehall. (I wonder, by the way, if the Study Group thought of the devilish temptation they are putting in the way of Councils in my part of the world who lack rateable value but also disapprove of Sunday opening?) Company profits and some of the other new sources of revenue will be hard to distribute fairly between authorities. And the income tax scheme contains, and I think is bound to contain, a number of anomalies and irritations.

Wages and salaries, for instance, are to be taxed by a simple, flat-rate deduction from pay-rolls, without gradation or allowance for size of family. That is sensible, seeing the low rate of tax proposed. But I happened to spend last spring in the State of Indiana, which has just such a tax. What drew my attention to it was the loud and heart-felt complaints of my married and low-salary colleagues, round coffee in the Faculty Club, of its unfairness as compared to the more carefully graded Federal tax. In matters of taxation we are like the princess with the pea under her mattress; it does not take a big pea to keep us awake. Nor will people like having to make special individual returns for local tax as well as to the Inland Revenue, as professional men, business owners, companies, and receivers of investment and miscellaneous income of over £100 a year will have to do. The Inland Revenue remind me of my duties, like the Catholic Church, at Easter or thereabouts, and return to be the skeleton at the Christmas feast. What they take off me in this way is only a fraction of what goes in P.A.Y.E., but how much more it hurts!

But I hope that discussion will not bog down in these or other, more specifically

administrative, details, for the Study Group have (if I may mix the metaphors a bit) the root of the matter by the tail. They have shown how, with reasonable fairness and not too great administrative cost, enough new money can be brought into local government to replace half or more of the present Government grants. And it will come from sources, especially the local income tax, which are likely to expand in step with the national income. Here is a really great and worth-while step towards local autonomy.

Discretion is the better part of valour, and the Study Group have not let their imagination run away with them. As is only right in a committee which wants immediate action, they give no handle to those who think that nothing should ever be done for the first time. But an irresponsible reviewer need have no such inhibitions. Let me take away the assumption that the general character of the fiscal system must remain as before. And let me draw together two ideas which have been poking above the ground in recent years, and may count a good deal more in future. First, there are two very different conceptions of the Welfare State. It may be an Executive State, whose test is its success in providing tax-financed services of its own. Or it may be an Educational State, which aims to help the people to provide and use services for themselves. Every State is partly one and partly the other. But the weight in this country ten or twenty years ago was very much on the first conception, whereas now it is shifting towards the second.

Secondly, a financial point. Inspired by some suggestions of Colin Clark's, I got out two or three years ago the following estimate. A man earning at that time £7 a week, having three children at school, an average health record, and living in a typical Council house, might have been getting about £5 to £6 a week in subsidies from the various social services, the great bulk of it in kind. At that time also, the scales of family allowance in operation in France were such that, if applied here, they would have given my £7 a week man an extra £6 a week in cash instead of, as the British family allowance then was, 16s. The whole of the subsidies he was receiving in kind could thus have been replaced with cash. A revised scheme of family allowances on that scale, financed with, say, a pay-roll tax, would have made it possible to demolish all but a fraction of the

BOOK REVIEWS

fantastic scaffolding of purchase taxes, excise duties, subsidies and grants which now props up the structure of the social services and unreasonably interferes with the choice of cars, washing machines, schools and drinks.

In the industrial relations business, where I now am, concepts of training, responsibility, team work and co-operative group relations are gaining ground all the time at the expense of older ideas of hierarchy and authority. I may therefore have a professional bias. But I suspect that we shall all presently come round again to thinking it right, and profitable, to let people go to hell or heaven in their own way, as they or their own voluntary, co-operative groups may prefer. It is the Welfare State's business to see that transport in the chosen direction is available, that everyone can pay the fare, and that people know where the trains go, how to get on them, and the advantages of co-operative travel. In these respects the Educational State is very different from the *laissez-faire* State of the past. But it is also different from the Executive State in that the Educational State does not regard it as its business, except in an emergency, actually to load the people into the trucks and dispatch them to a State-chosen destination with a free Government warrant in their pockets.

Suppose we went to town on ideas like these, what would be the effect on local finance? Pretty dramatic, I suspect. Looking at the back of my last rate demand note, I see that 5s. 7d. of a rate of 14s. 4d. is accounted for by education, that is by the part of the cost of education not covered by specific grants. It would make quite a dent in the Cardiff City Council's financial problems if parents, while still under a statutory obligation to have their children educated, were put in a position to pay the fees themselves. There is also housing to consider, and some other less expensive services. "Fees, rents, recoupments, etc.," represented 19 per cent. of local revenue in 1953-54 where they were only 10 per cent. in 1913-14. Given the right national policy, a very great deal more could be made of them in the long run.

A final, solemn thought is that if the Study Group's proposals on income tax are adopted, and the chance is taken to reduce indirect taxation, the cost of living—or at least the cost of living index—will come down. The convention that

indirect taxes enter into the cost of living, but direct taxes do not, has had a long and useful history. But I doubt if even the most innocent is deceived today by an apparent fall in the cost of living achieved by removing a sum of money from prices in the shops and entering an exactly equal sum as a deduction on the payslip. To most of us, as we watch our standard of

living seep, nay flood, away down the Chancellor's drain, an operation of this sort is just plain irritating. The fact that the Study Group's proposals will be an operation of this very kind is one more proof that the current convention is now futile and out of touch with the facts of life. Like other veterans, it ought to be retired. MICHAEL P. FOGARTY

Civil Service or Bureaucracy?

By E. N. GLADDEN. Staples Press, 1956. Pp. 224. 21s.

The Civil Service in Britain and France

Edited by WILLIAM A. ROBSON. Hogarth Press, 1956. Pp. vii + 191. 21s.

DR. GLADDEN'S blunt and single-minded assessment of the Civil Service from within and Professor Robson's interesting collection of essays each illustrates the difficulty of dealing satisfactorily with so large, complex and ever-changing a subject as modern bureaucracy. Dr. Gladden, who is a Senior Executive Officer in a regional office of one of the larger social service departments, writes with the authority of a civil servant of long standing on the growth of the Service, its methods of recruitment and staff management and on what he considers to be its inadequate arrangements for training and for selection for promotion. The picture he provides in his first 160 pages is objective and as up-to-date as one could reasonably wish, though it concentrates on what Dr. Gladden calls the office grades and places most of its emphasis on the Executive or middle grades of the Service. This part of the book should prove particularly useful to anyone who wishes to understand how the Whitley system has evolved or to grasp the relative importance of the rôles played in this peculiar apparatus of joint consultation by the Treasury, the departments and the staff associations.

The rest of the book is devoted to discussion and to a brief recapitulation, which the author has tried to bring up to date by including a summary of the recommendations of the Priestley Commission. His main conclusions are that the Service is faced with a more difficult task than ever before and that if it is to cope with it successfully it will have to look to its methods of recruitment, training and selection for promotion. He points out, correctly, that the talents of many

middle grade civil servants are running to waste and is inclined to blame the existence of a separate Administrative Class for this state of affairs, not only because its members stand in the way of the advancement of members of the Executive and other classes, but because the ideal of oligarchic leadership which they represent is inadequate to the present confused and complex situation. He asks, as everyone who looks carefully at our Civil Service appears to, for more and better training and for improved personnel management, and he also suggests that the Administrative and Executive classes should be run together, graduates being brought in, in future, at or about what is now the Higher Executive Officer level. Finally, he suggests that it is high time that another Royal Commission, with suitably wide terms of reference, and so equipped as to do a little research on its own account, was appointed to look at the structure of the Service. These suggestions are interesting, and what is also significant is the weariness, if not frustration, that peeps through the pages. One is conscious that Dr. Gladden has been for a long time a member of an organisation which—to reverse Lord Beveridge's dictum quoted at the front of the book—contrives all too often to make uncommon men do common things.

If the voice of Dr. Gladden is sometimes that of a drowned sailor, those of some of Professor Robson's contributors seem to one engaged in the hurly-burly of Whitehall almost incredibly distant and serene. Lord Attlee's quietly entertaining picture of a senior civil servant's relations with his Minister is drawn as if seen through

the wrong end of a telescope, and his treatment of the subject of Ministerial responsibility is simple in the extreme. Everything the civil servant does, states Lord Attlee, "is the act of the Minister and it is the duty of the Minister to defend his servants and to take full responsibility." Sir Edward Bridges, who contributes a polished essay on the reforms of 1854 as seen in retrospect, is more forthcoming. "Nor would it have escaped the notice of the acute observer of public affairs," he says, discussing the snares which beset the civil servant of today, "that, where a civil servant fails to give a good account of himself in some matter which attracts public attention, the doctrine of ministerial responsibility does not shield him from a measure of public blame."

Nine of the 14 essays collected in this volume were originally printed in the special number which *The Political Quarterly* devoted to the Civil Service in the autumn of 1954 to mark the centenary of the Trevelyan-Northcote reforms, and one or two of them have already been to some extent overtaken by events, but Professor Robson's essays on "Bureaucracy and Democracy" and on "Recent Trends in Public Administration" are well worth re-reading, as are Sir Edward Bridges's brief but illuminating reflections on the present and future tasks of the Service with which he ends the essay

already mentioned. His conclusions, that "the task of civil servants today is not only changing somewhat in character, but is, on the whole, becoming more difficult," and that it is more than ever necessary "for the Civil Service to recruit the right type of men and women for the tasks which they have to carry out," echo those of Dr. Gladden, and, not only Professor Robson's essays, but a new one provided by Sir Thomas Padmore on Civil Service Establishments and the Treasury, also touch on the interesting question of how the Service selects and uses its manpower. Sir Thomas's careful picture of the relations between the Treasury and the departmental establishment officers is perhaps the most valuable of the new essays in Professor Robson's collection. But Mr. Creech Jones's warning of the strains that political advance in the colonial territories is throwing on the colonial service is most timely, and Professor André Bertrand's description of the new methods of recruiting and training higher civil servants in France neatly rounds off a volume which—if the quality of the contributions is a little uneven—does succeed in throwing a great deal of new light on certain aspects of our Civil Service, and, what is perhaps more important, in stimulating any tendency the reader may have to ask relevant and constructive questions about its future.

FRANK DUNNILL

The Administration of Health Insurance in Canada

By MALCOLM G. TAYLOR. Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. xiv + 270. 40s.

NOW that we have had a few years' experience of the National Health Services in the United Kingdom, it is interesting to see how they manage these things abroad. Most European countries have schemes of social insurance, covering people who work for employers, and providing cash benefits when the insured person is unfit for work, and medical treatment when he or any member of his family needs it. These schemes are financed by contributions from employers and workers. Norway and Sweden have extended this compulsory health insurance to cover almost the whole population. Canada, like the United States, has no social insurance of this kind. Instead, it has a great variety of schemes of health insurance organised or sponsored by

Provincial Governments, municipalities, doctors, hospitals, the American Blue Cross Hospital Association, large employers, commercial insurance companies, etc. Saskatchewan and British Columbia have Government schemes covering the whole population of those provinces compulsorily. All the other schemes are voluntary. Some of them provide only treatment by doctors in their surgeries or at the patients' homes. Others, including the two compulsory Government schemes, provide only hospital treatment. Very few cover both kinds of treatment. Only the commercial insurance companies provide sickness benefit in cash for loss of working time.

Mr. Taylor's book gives a useful account of these schemes. There are chapters on

legislation, enrolment, the choice of benefits to be provided, the fixing of premiums, the reimbursement of hospitals and doctors, the control of abuse, and all the other problems of administration. Mr. Taylor analyses each problem very thoroughly and supplies tabular statements and statistics. Some parts of the book, such as those dealing with the costing of hospital treatment and the pattern of organisation, will be difficult for the ordinary reader. But the rest of the book is quite readable, even for people who know nothing about health insurance. Some of the chapters will be valuable for those who are seriously interested in the administration of the National Health Services of this country or in the corresponding schemes of other countries.

European readers of Mr. Taylor's book will be interested to learn that Canadian health insurance is most successful where large groups of workers in the service of the same employer are insured together in the same scheme, and the employer pays part of the premium and collects the worker's share by making deductions from his wages, i.e., where it follows most closely the pattern of the classical European schemes of social insurance. Indeed, many of the Canadian schemes which began by selling insurance contracts to individuals now concentrate on group insurance. Even with group insurance, there is the problem of maintaining insurance cover when a worker becomes unemployed, or changes his job, or dies leaving a widow and children.

The Blue Cross performs a valuable social service by charging the same premiums to all groups of workers, regardless of their illness experience. But this gives the commercial insurance companies an opportunity to offer cheaper contracts to particularly healthy groups, e.g., an office group composed mainly of young unmarried women.

Many of the insurance organisations compete with one another in promising more and more generous benefits, and spend large sums of money on advertisements and circular letters. But, for the unmarried man who is not interested in his health and is not covered by a group scheme, health insurance has little attraction. If some energetic agent persuades him to join, he will probably not keep up his premiums, particularly when he hears stories of people who go into hospital, not because they really need any treatment,

but because they are determined to get value for their money. When he marries and wants protection for his wife and children, he will probably have to join at least two schemes. For certain kinds of treatment there is a waiting period, perhaps as long as two years, during which he cannot claim. If he needs such treatment, he must postpone it till the end of the waiting period or else pay for it himself. His premiums will generally total more than 100 dollars a year. If he or a member of his family becomes seriously ill with a chronic ailment, he may have his insurance cancelled on the ground that his claims have become too expensive. He may have substantial claims disallowed on the ground that they concern an ailment which was latent when he became insured. One man who thought he was fully covered against all risks had to pay a hospital bill for 600 dollars when his wife gave birth to triplets and each of them was under weight at birth.

But more than half the population of Canada are covered by one or more of these schemes, and they must be convinced that this protection is worth while.

Where the health insurance organisation is not sponsored by doctors or hospitals, it has to provide benefits through the agency of people over whom it has no control. Instead of trying to negotiate a scale of charges, it accepts whatever scale is fixed by the doctors or hospitals. Probably this is wiser than the practice of those European social insurance institutes which persuade doctors' associations to agree scales of charges and then leave their members to bear the loss when a doctor overcharges. The Canadians have noticed that the fee for a visit to the doctor's surgery, which used to cover examination, diagnosis, prescription and advice, has now become like a cover charge at a night club. It pays for the visit, but there is an extra charge for each service. Generally, the doctors seem to have resisted the temptation to give too many services, and to have co-operated loyally with the insurance organisations.

Mr. Taylor is a native of Alberta, a Ph.D. of the University of California, and a lecturer at the University of Toronto. He does not tell us why Canada, which took full account of United Kingdom experience before formulating its schemes of unemployment insurance and old age pensions, has shown so little interest in our National Health Services, or whether

there is any likelihood that the Federal Government or the Provincial Governments may establish more comprehensive schemes of health insurance. No doubt these questions are outside the scope of his book. He is more interested in administration than in policy. But, incidentally, he does tell us a great deal which throws light on questions of policy,

and will be valuable to those who are responsible for formulating policies in countries which have not yet established any kind of health insurance or health service. His book is bound to have an important influence on all future developments of health insurance in Canada.

A. PATTERSON

British Government Inspection

By J. S. HARRIS. Stevens, 1956. Pp. 196. 25s.

CONSIDERING the potentialities of the subject and how little has been written about it, this is a disappointing book. There is a useful collection of material about the H.M.Is. for education, police, etc., not readily available elsewhere and a small amount of history. But the treatment is flat and uninspired and this American author is never at home with his subject. In part this is because he approaches the H.M.I. with the starry-eyed wonder usually reserved for the London policeman. In the main, however, it is because he has preferred to attempt to cover a lot of ground superficially rather than to enquire into any one part thoroughly. He also seems to labour

under the delusion that Local Authorities made no contribution to the progress of the public services (they occupy but a shadowy place in his thoughts). Because there has been great progress most of it must be due to H.M.Is. of various kinds with perhaps a sop of credit for those who sit in Whitehall. It is all harmless enough, but it is hardly the way to conduct research into the administrative process, particularly by a Professor from a country which is doing pioneer work in the behavioural sciences, in Case Studies, and in other ways of discovering and describing how the wheels go round.

D. N. CHESTER

The Industrial Structure of American Cities

By GUNNAR ALEXANDERSSON. George Allen and Unwin, 1956. Pp. 134. 40s.

"THE scientific contribution of the study," says the author, "lies in the methods of arranging and presenting the statistics." It is fair comment. Using the figures of industrial employment in the 1950 census, he has produced a map for each of its 36 industrial categories: the maps are accompanied by text presenting the author's interpretations, filled out by commentary culled from existing literature.

These maps are more precise, complete, and recent than those in the economic geography text-books: but, naturally, they add little to the ordinary reader's general impressions. The usefulness is in having them in accessible and comparable form. The more important contribution is the analysis of the industrial structure of individual cities: using William-Olsson's method, Alexandersson

distinguishes on a quantitative basis between industries which in a particular town are "city-forming," and those which are "city-serving" (i.e., care and maintenance) industries. For each industry he calculates a constant called k , which is roughly the percentage of people needed in a town just to serve it with those goods or services. An industry employing k plus 5-10 per cent. of the gainfully occupied in a town is thus a city-forming industry: towns with k plus 20 or more per cent. in a single industry are very one-sided. Detroit is a one-sided car-making town: Washington, D.C., has k plus 29.7 per cent. in the public administration "industry." The chief city-forming industries for all towns over 10,000 population are given in an appendix.

This is a useful tool, and one more successful than other attempts to make

the distinction. It allows statistical proof of circumstantial observations, such as that there is an inverse correlation between importance in manufacturing and importance in retail trade. Alexandersson has pumped his figures dry: thus he shows that cross-roads towns in farm areas have disproportionately large numbers of repairmen, and that southern cities usually have five to ten times as many people employed in private households as cities of the same size in New England.

The book is certainly an antidote to the "configuration of the land surface" approach which is the usual interest of economic geographers; the author means it to be a new approach to industrial location. But in fact he attempts only the easier explanations of location. Thus there is much on Detroit and the car industry, but nothing to explain the predominance of Hartford, Conn., in insurance. Why women's fashions should be made in New York and Los Angeles is easy to explain; but he notes without comment the surprising importance of Dallas, Tex., in this field—result of the enterprise of a single store, Neiman-Marcus.

The book is well produced, and blemishes are few (p. 71, for fig. 14 read fig. 13; p. 117, for fig. 39 read fig. 40). But in a compilation whose main use must be for reference, the absence of an index is a serious fault. Much of the text, moreover, is written in gobbledygook. Untangle the metaphors in this: "The advantages of concentration are, however, counterbalanced by the resistance offered the raw materials and the final product by the distance factor." Alexandersson has not been well served by his advisers on English. The following is unintelligible even in context: "The case of

retail trade raises the question if it would not have been motivated with different k -values for different regions." Frequently the expected is presented as a result of research: "Wine production is rather unimportant in the United States. It is highly localised in regions adjacent to the vineyards."

Nevertheless, this is a highly useful thing to have done, monumental in its way. A similar compilation for Great Britain (better still, for Western Europe) might be fruitful. The coming Common Market ought, if the logic is correct, to see some industries disappear from the British map, and others in growing bigger concentrate into Alexandersson's k plus 20 per cent. towns. Now one-industry towns have taken hard knocks in the past in Britain, and planners who follow Eva Taylor will presumably view such a development with concern. Yet it is true that Europe has one or two such centres of each industry in each country, compared with the United States' one or two for a market of comparable size.

A study like this has other uses. If "the problem is to attract new industries to a city," Alexandersson points out, "it should be valuable to know how the industries in question are associated with other industries in cities of different sizes, functions, and geographic locations." "When a population prognosis is made for a city, attention should be concentrated on the city-forming industries"; easy in a one-sided town, but less easy in the normal town. Planning officers here would benefit from having a study like this to work from. Perhaps the Ministry, who produced the urban hinterlands map, might turn their attention to this.

A. DUNSIRE

Health in Industry: Sickness Absence Statistics

Butterworth Medical Publications for London Transport Executive, 1956. Pp. 177. 35s.

MANY personnel officers have felt for some time the absence of detailed statistical information that would enable them to compare the incidence of sickness in their organisation with that occurring in other establishments. If for no other reason, therefore, the work done by the London Transport Executive to make this volume possible will be welcomed, especially so since the information is based on the sick-

ness absence incurred by employees engaged in a wide range of occupations. Furthermore, these statistics, a by-product of office mechanisation, are based on figures analysed over three-year periods. Actuaries and statisticians will express, elsewhere, their technical views on this work; the administrator will be seeking figures or trends to help him to say whether the incidence of sickness is high in his

particular organisation or department and, if it is, perhaps to provide a clue to poor working conditions or low morale.

The statistical information and charts are preceded by a useful background chapter written by F. H. Spratling, the Staff Administration Officer of London Transport Executive, who gives definitions where necessary and describes the method of compilation and the diagnosis codes used.

Brief descriptive notes also introduce the detailed charts prepared for each main category of employees and give essential information about the working conditions and sick pay regulations applying respectively to the omnibus operational staff, to London Transport railway staff, to workshop personnel and also to the clerical and technical staff. This fourth and final category were at the time of publication the only employees to receive sick pay from the Executive and separate figures have been compiled for men, married women and single women.

By main diseases, age groups and length of absence the various figures are charted and so can be compared with figures prepared on similar bases by other

organisations. Comparisons will not be easy for those personnel departments less adequately served with statistics and but few organisations will have prepared similar charts or have analysed their figures on this subject in such detail. Certain general tendencies can be seen, e.g., the higher number of single-day absences of clerical staff who receive pay for such absences. With some dismay one notes the mountainous rise in the graph that illustrates the incidence of bronchitis in men employed on outside work who are over the age of 45. The absence from work of married women is high when compared with that of single women and the statistics suggest an improvement in health after women officers pass their middle twenties. No conclusions are drawn—they would be misleading without more information compiled on a similar basis by other organisations. Nevertheless, the book is a useful contribution to a relatively unexplored phase of personnel management which has recently gained in importance. It is to be hoped that more public authorities will now follow the example of London Transport.

JOHN SARGENT

BOOK NOTES

Governments of Greater European Powers

By PROFESSOR HERMAN FINER. Henry Holt (New York), 1956. Pp. 931.

THIS text book, designed primarily for the American university student, deals in turn with the constitutions, politics and government of Great Britain, France, Germany and the Soviet Union. It is better than most attempts of this kind for Professor Finer has great knowledge and long teaching experience. The student is given a favourable picture of British government and Civil Service, though the Oxford and Cambridge "bias" of the Administrative Class is given considerable space. Inevitably in a book overflowing with facts there are many errors of detail and subtleties disappear under the broad brush.

Administrative Science Quarterly

Published by the Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. \$7.50 per annum.

THE September and December, 1956, issues of this recently launched American quarterly are now available. They continue the strong emphasis on the sociological approach to the study of administrative situations. Good examples are the article in the September issue on "Small Groups and Administrative Organisations" by Professors Demerutis and Thibaut, and in the December issue on "Social Factors Related to Performance in a Research Organisation" by Mr. D. C. Pelz. The latter issue (the third) is the best yet, probably because it deals more with actual problems than with words about them.

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The National Coal Board and The Fleck Report

By C. A. ROBERTS

The Secretary of the National Coal Board explains the changes that the Board have made in their organisation following the recommendations of the Fleck Report of 1955.

LATE in 1953, the National Coal Board decided that a complete review should be made of their organisation, and they decided to invite people with experience of large-scale undertakings to do the work. The Committee set up consisted of Dr. (now Sir) Alexander Fleck, Chairman of Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd.; H. A. Benson, a partner in the firm of accountants of Cooper Brothers; Sir William Lawther, formerly President of the National Union of Mineworkers; Sir Herbert Merrett, Chairman of Powell Duffryn Ltd.; and Sir Godfrey Mitchell, Chairman of Wimpey's Ltd., and formerly a part-time Member of the National Coal Board. The terms of reference given to the Committee were: "To consider the organisation of the National Coal Board and to make recommendations to the Board." They met for the first time in December, 1953, and appointed Dr. Fleck as their Chairman.

Early in 1954, the Chairman of the Board announced that any employee might speak or write to the Committee without reservation and with complete frankness, and that information and views put to the Committee would be treated in confidence by them. This undoubtedly helped the Committee in their task. They received written views from a large number of individuals and from organisations connected with the industry, including the National Union of Mineworkers, the British Association of Colliery Management and the two Unions representing clerical workers in the industry. They also paid many visits to the Board's Divisions, Areas and collieries.

The Report of the Committee was received by the Board in January, 1955, and published in the following month.* In this article it is impossible to summarise all of it, or to refer in detail to all the 61 recommendations. It is hoped, however, that those who are interested in management generally, and in the management of the coal industry in particular, will get hold of the Report and read it as a whole. As the *Manchester Guardian* put it, "their Report will become a classic of industrial management."

The Committee considered the main lines of the Board's organisation to be sound, with its eight main Divisions, and 48 Areas answering to the Divisions. They also agreed with the existing management structure whereby each Division is managed by a Board of six or more, and each Area is under the single control of an Area General Manager. They had, however, criticisms to propound and proposals to make in regard to:

- The constitution of the Board itself;
- General management policy;

*The Report may be obtained from the National Coal Board, Hobart House, Grosvenor Place, London, S.W.1. 2s. 10d. post free.

- (c) The Departmental organisation at Headquarters and below ;
- (d) The Area management ;
- (e) The level of management between Area and Colliery ;
- (f) Management at colliery level.

It is proposed to deal briefly with each of these subjects and with the Board's reactions to the criticisms and proposals.

The Board

The National Coal Board are appointed by the Minister of Fuel and Power, and the Fleck Committee expressly directed their remarks about the constitution of the Board to him. Their most important proposal was that the Board should be "functional," that is to say, that each full-time Member, other than the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, should have one or more Departments within his special field of responsibility. This proposal was accepted by the Minister and the Board was reconstituted in February, 1955. In effect, this meant a reversion to the practice applied when the Board was created in 1946 in the sense that each Board Member other than the Chairman and Deputy Chairman was then given responsibility for a particular Department. From 1951, however, there was a movement away from this and at the time of the Fleck Report most Board Members were "non-functional" though each had a largely undefined supervisory rôle in relation to one or more Departments.

There has been a minor variation from the allocation of Departments suggested by the Committee, consequent on the creation, in July, 1956, of a Reconstruction Department. The allocation as it now exists is :

Production Member	Production and Reconstruction Departments.
Marketing Member	Marketing, and Purchasing and Stores Departments.
Finance Member	Finance Department.
Industrial Relations Member	Industrial Relations Department.
Staff Member	Staff Department.
Scientific Member	Scientific and Carbonisation Departments and the Medical Service.

The remaining Departments—the Secretary's Department and the Legal Department—do not owe "allegiance" to any individual Board Member.

The Fleck Committee were careful to describe the relations that should exist between the functional Board Members and the Heads of Departments ; they said that :

"Each of the Departments should have an executive Head at Headquarters, who would be responsible for its day-to-day management. It would be the Board Member's duty to see that, over the whole field of the Department's work, a clear and comprehensive policy was established, and that the policy was reviewed from time to time in the light of changed needs and circumstances. And he would be responsible

for ensuring that the Department was properly organised and staffed for carrying out its functions, and would watch the Department's progress."

In practice, no great difficulty has been found in regulating the relationship on these lines. In some fields, the Board Members have by force of circumstances to exercise a greater degree of detailed control than in others ; for instance, in Industrial Relations, the Board Member often conducts negotiations with the Unions himself and therefore has to be informed in detail of the day-to-day matters that may give rise to negotiations. At the other extreme, the Finance Member has no need to concern himself with the day-to-day operations of the Finance Department nor has the Scientific Member with those of the Medical Service.

General Management Policy

The main emphasis of the Report was laid on general management policy. In the words of the Committee, "we are not satisfied that policies and decisions emanating from the Board's Headquarters are being properly carried out in the Divisions and Areas." Several reasons were advanced for this failing. One was that some of those who had entered the Board's service on nationalisation had found it difficult to adjust themselves to conditions within the new organisation. Another was that "inertia, habit, other preoccupations or lack of staff" had prevented Divisions and Areas from taking action on agreed policies.

But the Committee felt that the main reason for the failing was the unwillingness of the National Coal Board themselves to insist on their policies being carried out. "From the outset," said the Report, "the Board have tried to control their subordinate formations with a very light touch. Some Divisions have taken advantage of this. The National Board, having adopted a policy, have too often been half-hearted in holding to it when Divisions have not liked the policy or have been slow in carrying it out."

The report provided several illustrations for this criticism. It was pointed out, for example, that the Board had mentioned the possibilities of standard costing in their Annual Reports for 1947 and 1948, and had, in 1952, come out clearly in favour of the system. Yet by the beginning of 1955, standard costs were only being used at about 60 out of 900 collieries. The Committee appreciated that there might be many reasons for the long delay in implementing the Board's policy, but their view was that these were difficulties to be surmounted, not excuses for failing to make progress.

The criticism was, in fact, largely a criticism of the Board's interpretation of decentralisation, since the Committee felt that the Board were right in decentralising management as far as reasonably possible, but wrong in failing to enforce policy decisions for fear of interfering with day-to-day management. In the words of the Report :

"Decentralisation means that each level of management specifies clearly the powers which may be exercised by the level below it. Having done so, it leaves the lower formation free to exercise these powers. But each level of management must see that the policies which it lays down are punctually and effectively carried out by the level of manage-

ment below it. This should be done, not by interference in detailed day-to-day matters, but by modern management techniques or approved programmes followed by periodic reports and reviews of progress and by physical inspections. The Board appear to have assumed that decentralisation means that they should not, or need not, impose their will on Divisions and Areas. We do not agree with this policy."

This may not be thought to be a very startling pronouncement, but it must be viewed against the background of previous criticism from various quarters that the management of affairs was unduly centralised. It was an effective answer to those who maintained that the Board should "keep off the grass" as much as possible and leave most things to local managements.

The guidance given on management policy has had a marked effect on the Board's decisions and actions since the date of the Report. Great pains have been taken to see that policy generally and on particular issues is set down clearly and in sufficient detail. The technique of control by means of forecasts and budgets has been substantially developed. On 5th July, 1955, a new General Directive was issued in place of the one issued in 1953. A copy of the Directive is included as an Appendix to this article, but the paragraph relevant to policy control (para. 31) is as follows:

"Policy decisions of the Board must be properly and promptly carried out, and control must be firm: in this all levels of management must play their part. Policies must be expressed fully, specifically and, where necessary, in detail. Each level of management must avoid interfering in the day-to-day work of the level of management below it, but should exercise control by means of modern management techniques, including the use of approved programmes, followed by periodical reports and reviews of progress."

One of the questions that was much canvassed within the Board prior to the Fleck Report concerned the authority and status of the Heads of Departments at Headquarters in relation to their counterparts at Divisional level, most of whom are, of course, Members of the Divisional Boards and so part of the management at that level. One view was that the functional channel should be used for exercising direction and control. The other view was that, although there had to be functional specialists at each of the main levels of management, those specialists should only be advisory and should only be approached by the lower formation when the need for their advice was felt.

The Report expressed the firm view that the Heads of Departments should be, and be regarded as, the leaders in their respective fields. The Board have given effect to this view in their General Directive in the following words:

"At each level of management the functional Heads must give an effective lead in departmental matters to the functional Heads at the level of management below. The senior man's views in his departmental field will normally be accepted by the functional Head at the level next below him" (para. 9).

This decision has had the effect of reinforcing the control now exercised

by the Board and by their Heads of Departments and has, at the same time, resulted in firmer control by Divisions over their Areas.

The Departmental Organisation

The Fleck Committee's main criticisms on this score were directed to the organisation of the Departments dealing with personnel. There were three of these at Headquarters: Labour Relations, which dealt with the wages and conditions of service of industrial employees and their placing in the industry; Manpower and Welfare, which dealt with the recruitment, training, welfare and education of industrial (and the lower ranks of non-industrial) employees; and Establishments, which dealt with the recruitment, placing, and terms and conditions of service of non-industrial employees. Moreover, responsibility for staff and miners' pensions, workmen's compensation and other matters related to industrial injuries lay with the Establishments (Finance) Branch of the Secretary's Department.

At Division, there was a single Labour Department under the Divisional Labour Director. This Department was responsible for the functions which at Headquarters were carried out by the Labour Relations Department and the Manpower and Welfare Department. The work done at Headquarters by the Establishments Department and the Establishments (Finance) Branch came under the Divisional Secretary, who was not, of course, a member of the Divisional Board.

In the Areas the pattern varied. In some there was one Area Labour Officer discharging all labour functions. In others there was also an officer responsible for education, training and welfare. The Establishments work came under the Area Administrative Officer.

The Committee considered that responsibility at Headquarters for the personnel functions was too diffuse. At Division, they found less diffusion of responsibility, but considered that the arrangements were nevertheless much less satisfactory than at Headquarters. They were particularly concerned that at Division the responsibility for the training of most staff came under the Divisional Labour Director whose main preoccupation was inevitably with wages and conditions of employment. And, of course, the same problem existed at Area level if there was a single Labour Department.

The whole emphasis of this section of their Report is on the Board's need for better management:

"At every level of the Board's organisation, and in most Departments, there is a serious shortage of able people equipped with the right qualifications and experience,"

and they concluded that the Board's staff problem would not be solved unless there was a comprehensive policy for staff, including in particular a long-term programme of recruitment and training.

The Committee would fain have recommended the establishment of one Personnel Department, but they considered that to set up such a Department to deal with all the immense and pressing human problems of the industry would have created a series of posts with very wide and heavy duties. As they felt that the industry could not hope yet to fill such posts adequately, they recommended that the personnel functions should be split between

two new Departments, entitled Industrial Relations and Staff, and that they should respectively look after industrial and non-industrial employees.

The Board accepted these recommendations and the two new Departments have been set up. The only difficulty concerned the Overmen, Deputies and Shotfirers, the N.C.Os. of the industry, who are part of management and who the Fleck Committee recommended should be looked after by the Staff Department. However, for reasons of Union representation and because Deputies and Shotfirers are covered by single Agreements negotiated in the past, it would have been difficult at once to place Overmen and Deputies with the Staff Department and Shotfirers with Industrial Relations. Contrary to the advice of the Fleck Committee, these under-officials have, therefore, for the time being, been left with Industrial Relations, though their education is a matter for the Staff Department.

The Fleck Committee also advocated the creation of a new Department to look after Purchasing, which was formerly part of the Production Department's province. They pointed out that the Board spend more than £150 million a year on the purchase of plant and stores and that the efficiency with which the work is done has a great effect on the Board's finances. The new Department has been set up and although it had to be built up almost from scratch, it is already showing its usefulness in more orderly and economic purchasing, in the field of contracts, and in improving store-holding and stock control at Areas and collieries.

The Committee commented on the heavy responsibilities carried by the Production Department, but did not go so far as to recommend that a separate Department should be set up to deal with the major capital projects which form such an important part of the industry's current activities. Events have shown, however, that this is necessary, and a Reconstruction Department was set up a few months ago at Headquarters. It is not reproduced at Divisional level save in the Scottish Division where the amount of reconstruction to be done is exceptionally heavy. The Reconstruction Director in the Scottish Division is, of course, a member of the Divisional Board, like the Production Director.

The Committee were also critical of the organisation of the Board's carbonisation activities. Their view was that the Board were not staffed or organised to achieve their declared policy of fostering and developing their carbonisation interests. They recommended that the Carbonisation Department should be strengthened at Headquarters in order to give it the strength and influence to ensure that policy was effectively implemented, and that an expert in carbonisation should be appointed to the Board of each of the four main Carbonisation Divisions.

The Board decided to make appointments only to the Durham and North Eastern Divisional Boards, for the present, but the Department is being strengthened in all four Divisions and also at Headquarters, especially on the technical side.

Area Management

While the Committee agreed that it was right for each Area to be under the control of an Area General Manager, they said that in some Areas, at any rate, far too many Area officials were reporting directly to him; in a

few cases 12 or more did so. They therefore recommended that a new post should be created in all Areas, that of Assistant Area General Manager, to whom would report some of the Departmental heads and who would be in charge of the Area in the General Manager's absence. The Board have accepted this proposal, and Assistant General Managers have been appointed in well over half the Areas. The other Areas will have them as and when men of the right attainments and calibre become available. A standard pattern of Area organisation has been adopted: the Assistant General Manager supervises the Area Staff Manager, the Chief Scientist, the Medical Officer, the Estates Manager and the Purchasing and Stores Manager. This leaves the Production Manager, the Chief Accountant, the Industrial Relations Officer and the Marketing Manager (with the Assistant General Manager) reporting direct to the General Manager.

Another point made by the Committee was that, in all Areas where the planning problems are large or difficult, the Area Production Manager should have one Deputy dealing with day-to-day operations and one Deputy dealing with planning. This arrangement already existed in some Areas; it now exists in all but the smallest. It has the great advantage that proper attention is devoted to the forward planning of developments which is of crucial importance in an extractive industry. In some Areas it has been found necessary to appoint a third Deputy to deal specifically with Reconstruction schemes.

The Committee thought that, in the main, the powers delegated by Divisional Boards to Area General Managers were satisfactory, but they were critical in one respect in that they thought that some Area General Managers had excessive powers in regard to capital expenditure on colliery projects. (In the Areas in question, the General Managers had had authority to sanction expenditure of as much as £100,000 on a single colliery project without reference to Division.) They suggested that this delegated authority should be limited to £50,000. In the event, the Board decided that Area General Managers in two Divisions should be authorised to approve expenditure of up to £50,000 on a single project, but that in other Areas (with three exceptions, where the limit was fixed at £15,000) this authority should be £25,000.

The Level of Management between Area and Colliery

The Fleck Committee quite rightly considered that major reorganisation was needed at the level of management between the Area and the Colliery. Some Areas consist of 40 collieries, others of no more than 12 or so big ones. The Board had not laid down any pattern of organisation below Area, and although Sub-Areas existed in some Areas, in others there was no grouping of the units. The Committee recommended (and the Board have accepted the recommendation) that the collieries should be formed into Groups, each under a Group Manager who should be regarded as in the line of management for most purposes. In all, 212 Groups have been created, many of them the old Sub-Areas under a new name. The number of collieries in each Group, of course, varies, but none have less than two or, where the pits are small, more than 13. The Board's new General Directive defines the authority of Group Managers as follows:

"The Group Manager will be accountable to the Area General Manager in all matters which substantially affect the efficient operation of the Group" (para. 28).

Each Group Manager has a small staff, but it is not the Board's intention that there should be at any Group a comprehensive Departmental organisation such as there must be at Area Headquarters.

Management at Colliery Level

The Fleck Committee did not deal in detail with Colliery management; indeed, they regarded this as outside their terms of reference, but they did recommend the appointment of Colliery Personnel and Administrative Officers so as to leave Colliery Managers with more time to devote to the job of getting coal. The Board have not yet gone far to implement this recommendation, mainly because they had put in hand, before the Fleck Committee reported, a comprehensive examination of Colliery management, and it was felt to be desirable not to make changes of importance before the examination was completed. The Report of the team charged with this work has now been produced, and is being considered.

General

From what has been said above, it will be seen that the Board have not only accepted the recommendations of the Fleck Committee, but have taken action to implement them. The results are not yet to be seen in increased output of coal or in reduced costs. But it is fair to say that steps have been taken in consequence of the Report which will have their effect in greater efficiency. The whole tone of management has improved; questions that have agitated the minds of senior officials for years have been authoritatively answered; the General Directive of 1955 can serve as a charter for management for many years to come. The Board were indeed fortunate in finding men of the calibre of the members of the Fleck Committee to review their organisation. Their Report will long serve as a guiding light to the management of an industry whose problems are singularly complex and whose importance in the economic life of the nation is paramount.

APPENDIX

The following General Directive was sent to all Divisional Chairmen and Heads of Departments at Headquarters on the 5th July, 1955. In his covering letter the late Sir Hubert Houldsworth, then Chairman of the Board, said:*

"The National Coal Board have today issued a new general Directive, to be observed by all members of their staff. It is to be widely circulated within the Board's organisation, and all members of the staff with the rank of Under-manager or equivalent and above are to have a copy. The Directive is to be accompanied by this letter and any separate letter which Divisional Chairmen may wish to send.

"The Directive must be carried out with common sense, not legalistically.

*As printed on pages 9-14 the Directive incorporates amendments approved by the Board on 20th November, 1956, consequent upon the creation of Reconstruction Department.

Should any doubt of its interpretation arise, it should be referred to the Secretary to the National Coal Board through the usual channels.

"The provisions in the Directive are, for the most part, in terms of the Board's organisation for managing the collieries. But the principles of the Directive hold good also for Carbonisation and other ancillary activities and are to be applied to them."

1. This Directive is to be observed by all Members of the Board's staff.*

GENERAL

2. The levels of management through which the National Coal Board discharge their responsibility for the industry are—Headquarters, Division, Area, Group and Colliery.

3. The authorities in charge at the levels of management below Headquarters are—the Divisional Boards, the Area General Managers, the Group Managers and the Colliery Managers. The authorities are responsible for the general management, within the framework of the National Coal Board's policies, of their Division, Area, Group or Colliery as the case may be. Divisional Boards, Area General Managers and Group Managers must control and co-ordinate the work of subordinate authorities, must help, guide and stimulate them, and must hold them to account.

4. Policy decisions of the National Board will continue to be communicated to Divisions by the Chairman, Deputy Chairman or Secretary of the Board: detailed instructions about implementation may be issued at the same time through departmental channels (see paragraph 11 below). Policy decisions of the National Board and the Divisional Board will be communicated to Area General Managers by the Divisional Chairman, Deputy Chairman or Secretary: separate instructions about implementation may be issued through departmental channels or to the Area General Managers (see paragraph 22). Policy decisions of the National Board, Divisional Board or Area General Manager, when issued from Area Headquarters, should be signed by the Area General Manager, or on the Area General Manager's behalf by the Assistant Area General Manager or Area Secretary.

5. In discharging their responsibilities the authorities must make full use of the departmental staffs. The authorities are responsible for ensuring proper consultation and co-operation between the departments at their level of management.

6. The following are the departments:

Production.	Scientific.
Marketing.	The Medical Service.
Carbonisation.	Finance.
Purchasing and Stores.	Reconstruction.
Industrial Relations.	Secretary's.
Staff.	Legal.

*To staff engaged in the management of the Board's opencast activities this Directive is issued mainly for information. They are required, however, to observe the contents of paragraphs 31 to 33.

Not all of the twelve departments are represented at every level of management.

7. The responsibilities of each Head of department at the various levels of management are :

- (a) To advise on the framing of policy in his field.
- (b) To set in motion the execution of policies in his field.
- (c) To co-ordinate the specialist work of his department, not only at his own level, but also at the next level of management below him.
- (d) To advise, guide and stimulate the department at his own level and at all levels of management below him.
- (e) To keep himself informed about the work of his department, and to satisfy himself that the policy in his field is being carried out punctually and efficiently both at his own level and at all levels of management below him.

8. On matters of established policy each Head of department at Headquarters is empowered by the Board to issue to the functional Head at Division instructions on the implementation of such policies. Divisional Boards will delegate corresponding powers to their functional Heads. Area General Managers will delegate to functional Heads at Area powers to issue, on matters of established policy, instructions to Group Managers, or, if the particular matter is one for which Group Managers are not responsible (see paragraph 29 below), to Colliery Managers. If and when functional Heads at Area issue instructions direct to a Colliery Manager, they must inform the Group Manager.

9. At each level of management the functional Heads must give an effective lead in departmental matters to the functional Heads at the level of management below. The senior man's views in his departmental field will normally be accepted by the functional Head at the level next below him. The views of senior officials assisting each functional Head will normally be accepted by the corresponding officials at the next level below, in so far as the man at the higher level is acting in accordance with powers delegated to him by his functional Head.

10. On matters of policy, and on many purely departmental matters, there must be frequent and full consultation between levels, particularly when new policies not yet adopted are under discussion. Full use will be made of the National Advisory Committee and the Divisional Advisory Committees for purposes of consultation on policy.

11. Instructions issued by a functional Head should be addressed to the functional Head at the level of management next below, but a copy must go direct to the authority in the line of command at the next level below so that the authority may be kept informed. These copies should be sent to the Divisional Secretary or to the Area Secretary as the case may be. Divisional Boards will establish a system under which their functional Heads consult as necessary with them, or with their Divisional Chairman or Deputy

Chairman, before taking action on instructions issued departmentally. Area General Managers will establish a system under which functional Heads at Area consult as necessary with the Area General Manager or Assistant Area General Manager before taking action on instructions which are issued departmentally.*

12. Where a functional Head feels that the implementation of an established policy is falling short of what is required, he will, unless he can otherwise secure that matters are put right, bring his view to the notice of the authority at his level, viz., the National Board, the Divisional Board or the Area General Manager as the case may be.

13. Internal audit is organised as a national service, attached to Finance Department. The Chief Internal Auditor will issue instructions on audit work and programmes. Divisional Chief Internal Auditors will be responsible to the Chief Internal Auditor for the execution of their duties, but will be attached to and will normally report to Divisional Finance Directors. Area Internal Auditors will be responsible to Divisional Chief Internal Auditors, but will be attached to and will normally report to Area General Managers.

14. The responsibility for implementing the Board's marketing policies rests with the Director-General of Marketing. The selling of coal on the inland market, other than coal supplied from colliery landsales, is the function of the Regional Sales Organisation under the Director-General of Marketing. In addition to his other duties, each Divisional Marketing Director is responsible for maintaining liaison between his Divisional Board and the Regional Sales Organisation and for keeping his Divisional Board fully informed on marketing matters generally. The Area Marketing Manager (or, where there is no Area Marketing Manager, the staff carrying out the marketing functions for the Area) will work under the instructions of the Divisional Marketing Director and will be responsible for keeping the Area General Manager and other officials in the Area informed and advised on all marketing matters affecting the management of the Area. He will also be responsible for keeping the Divisional Marketing Director and the Regional Sales Organisation fully informed of the views of the Area management.

DIVISIONAL HEADQUARTERS

(a) Responsibilities of the Members of Divisional Boards

15. The Members of each Divisional Board are jointly responsible to the National Board for the general management of the National Board's business

*The provisions in paragraph 11 will not usually be appropriate in marketing matters. The National Board will inform Divisional Boards of all important policy decisions they take in the marketing field, and Divisional Boards should see that Area General Managers are also informed as necessary of such decisions. The responsibility for implementing the Board's marketing policies rests with the Director-General of Marketing (see paragraph 14) and it will be for him and for Divisional Marketing Directors and Area Marketing Managers to see that Divisional Boards and Area General Managers are informed of, and are consulted about, any instructions issued in marketing matters, which may affect the general management of the Division or Area.

within the boundaries of their Division. (Divisional Boards are not, however, responsible for such opencast activities or Headquarters-controlled activities as are carried on within their Division.) The powers and responsibilities of members of Divisional Boards, other than the Chairman, are also governed by the provisions in paragraphs 7 to 14 above.

(b) Organisation of Divisional Headquarters

16. All the functions which are represented at Divisional Headquarters must be organised departmentally, and no small groups of staff are to report direct to the Divisional Board.

17. Apart from the usual duties of presiding over meetings of the Divisional Board and over other important meetings in the Division, the Divisional Chairman will keep a general watch over the work of Divisional Headquarters and over the more important items of work being done in the Areas. He will initiate at Divisional Board meetings important items of business, or see that such items are properly initiated. The Divisional Chairman will have no departmental responsibilities. The Divisional Deputy Chairman's primary duty is to assist, and deputise for, the Divisional Chairman. He will also be responsible for supervising certain departments which initially will include Purchasing and Stores and Scientific Departments and the Medical Service. Each of the Divisional Directors is to be responsible for one of the following departments—Production, Marketing, Industrial Relations, Staff and Finance.* In the Durham, North Eastern, East Midlands and South Western Divisions there will be a Divisional Director responsible for Carbonisation Department.

18. Apart from his secretarial duties, the Divisional Secretary will initially be departmentally responsible for Public Relations, Patents and Common Services.

19. The Divisional Secretary and the Divisional Legal Adviser will report to the Divisional Board as a whole, through the Chairman or, as he may direct, the Deputy Chairman.

20. Divisional Boards must satisfy the National Board that, within the pattern laid down in paragraphs 16 to 19, their Divisional Headquarters is properly organised and staffed.

(c) Powers

21. Divisional Boards, in discharging their responsibility for the general management of their Division (see paragraph 3 above), have full authority to take decisions, save where the responsibility is specifically reserved by the National Board to themselves. The National Board will specify from time to time the powers which each Divisional Board is authorised or required to delegate to Area General Managers in particular matters. Divisional Boards and Area General Managers will ensure that the authorities subordinate to them are left in no doubt about the powers which they may, and the powers which they may not, exercise.

*In some Divisions a Reconstruction Director may be appointed and a Reconstruction Department created.

AREA HEADQUARTERS

(a) Responsibilities of the Area General Manager

22. Each Area General Manager is responsible for the general management of his Area to the Divisional Board as a whole and is at all times subordinate to the Divisional Chairman and Deputy Chairman. In addition, Divisional Boards may delegate powers to Divisional Board Members to issue instructions to Area General Managers in the Division. Area General Managers will act upon such instructions and will be held accountable to the Divisional Board.

(b) Organisation of Area Headquarters

23. All departments other than Reconstruction, Legal and Carbonisation Departments, are to be represented at Area Headquarters. The Production Manager, Industrial Relations Officer, Chief Accountant and Area Secretary are to be directly responsible to the Area General Manager. The Internal Auditor and Marketing Manager will have direct access to him. The responsibility for supervising the remaining departments and branches will be delegated by the Area General Manager to the Assistant Area General Manager. In the absence of the Area General Manager the Assistant Area General Manager is to be in charge of the Area.

24. The fact that some departments at Area are under the direct supervision of the Area General Manager does not in itself confer on those departments a higher status than belongs to those coming under the supervision of the Assistant Area General Manager. At Area, as at all other levels of management, there must be full consultation and close co-operation between all departments.

25. Area General Managers must see that the organisation of their Area Headquarters conforms to the pattern laid down in paragraph 23 above, and must ensure that, within each department at Area, the work is properly grouped so that no departmental Head has too many people directly responsible to him. The National Board will issue instructions on the way in which they require Area Headquarters to be organised. Variations from these arrangements in particular Areas will only be permissible when approved by the National Board on the recommendation of the Divisional Board.

26. The Area General Manager may not exercise his powers of appointing staff in such a way as to depart from the authorised pattern of organisation for his Area.

GROUP

27. The level of management between Area Headquarters and the collieries is the Group, and the authority in charge at this level is the Group Manager. Each Group must comprise not less than two collieries. Apart from this requirement, it is for Divisional Boards to determine in the light of local circumstances the size of the Groups in each Area and, if they see fit, to change the delimitation of the Groups from time to time.

28. The Group Manager will be accountable to the Area General Manager in all matters which substantially affect the efficient operation of

the Group. The Group Manager must be given such staff as are necessary to enable him to do his work. Since the Groups must vary in size and importance and in the management problems which they present, the number and kind of staff which Group Managers should have will also vary. But it is not the Board's intention that there should be at any Group a comprehensive departmental organisation such as there must be at the Area Headquarters.

29. The Area General Manager will delegate to functional Heads at Area powers to issue instructions to Group Managers (see paragraph 8 above) and he may specify matters in which Group Managers are to report to particular functional Heads at Area, though in these as in other matters the Group Managers will remain ultimately accountable to the Area General Manager. Area General Managers may, with the approval of the Divisional Board, exclude from a Group Manager's field of responsibility any matters which do not substantially affect the efficient operation of the collieries in his Group. All matters so excluded must be clearly specified, and the Group Manager must be kept informed of all instructions on such matters issued direct to Colliery Managers (see paragraph 8 above).

COLLIERY

30. The Colliery Manager is accountable to the Group Manager for the efficient management of his colliery, save in those matters which are excluded from the Group Manager's field of responsibility (see paragraph 29). In such matters the Colliery Manager will be accountable to the Area General Manager direct or through such member or members of the Area staff as the Area General Manager may designate.

SUPERVISION AND ACCOUNTABILITY

31. Policy decisions of the Board must be properly and promptly carried out, and control must be firm; in this all levels of management must play their part. Policies must be expressed fully, specifically, and where necessary, in detail. Each level of management must avoid interfering in the day-to-day work of the level of management below it, but should exercise control by means of modern management techniques, including the use of approved programmes followed by periodical reports and reviews of progress. The National Board intend that the use of standards and budgets shall be fully developed throughout their organisation.

32. The authorities and functional Heads at each level of management are responsible for ensuring that they obtain the information that is needed for supervising and guiding subordinate levels of management and for holding them to account. They must see that this information is not more than is necessary for efficient management at their own level and for the needs of the level of management above, and is not required to be supplied more often than is necessary.

CANCELLATION OF EARLIER GENERAL DIRECTIVE

33. This Directive cancels the General Directive issued by the National Coal Board on 22nd October, 1953.

The Treasury, 1956

By D. N. CHESTER

The Editor reviews Professor S. H. Beer's book "Treasury Control" (Oxford University Press, pp. 138, 15s. in U.K.) and discusses the significance of the recent changes in the top organisation of the British Treasury.

THE Treasury is not what it was—most are readily agreed upon that. Uncertainty creeps in only when one asks whether the "was" (usually meaning the Gladstonian interpretation) was better or worse than the "is." This raises a prior question: What is the Treasury, or, spelt out, what does the Treasury do and how does it do it? Professor Beer's little book explains the contemporary orthodoxy. This Harvard Professor has sat at the feet of senior members of the Treasury (though has not, one suspects, peeped into their files) with excellent results. If it is not possible for the Treasury itself to explain so sweetly and moderately its place in the scheme of things the Department could not have fallen into more fortunate hands. Giving just sufficient facts to explain the formal process and to show that someone at some stage must have to do a little boring and possibly dirty work, he rightly puts the main emphasis on the theory, the approach, the atmosphere and the informal. Those who wish to understand the Treasury doctrine in the year 1954 and thereabouts cannot find a better guide.

The wider interest of Professor Beer's book is in his attempt to show that the co-ordination of economic policy as at present practised in the Treasury is but another form of Treasury control. "The framing and co-ordination of economic policy and the processes of central economic planning have adapted themselves to the old model of Treasury control." After first sketching out the organisation of the Treasury he therefore proceeds to explain what Treasury control over expenditure means and how it is done.

"Treasury control in its classic form is exercised by the Supply Divisions. Its purpose is co-ordination." Such is the opening of Chapter II. This second sentence will no doubt come as a shock to those who had always imagined the primary purpose to be to secure economy in government expenditure. But let Professor Beer explain. If by economy we mean aiming to leave money to fructify in the pockets of the taxpayer, "then obviously this purpose has dwindled." If, however, we mean "to prevent extravagance in one sphere in order to have more funds available for pressing needs elsewhere," this is really financial co-ordination. Fortunately for the subsequent exposition, not to mention those hard-working Treasury and Departmental officials who labour to keep expenditure down in order to keep taxes down and not just for the fun of co-ordination, Professor Beer rather shifts his ground later. By page 56 he is saying: "To regard Treasury control as merely a means of cutting costs and saving money is to overlook some of its most important functions in British government. Economy, nevertheless, remains an important purpose of Treasury control." A little later he says: "That Treasury officials are very much aware of their responsibilities for prudent housekeeping we may be sure." True they are no longer interested in saving candle ends; we have already been told that

by Sir Edward (now Lord) Bridges. What we have not been told is what is the equivalent to candle ends in these inflationary days.

It is hardly profitable to pursue very far this question of the Treasury's attitude towards economy in expenditure. Obviously much depends on the current political attitude towards taxation and on the people at the top of the Treasury—Ministers and civil servants. Cutting expenditure is never popular with the would-be spenders and beneficiaries, and one's general impression, which Professor Beer rather confirms, is that in recent years the Treasury have wanted at least a bronze medal in the popularity race. What is more important from the viewpoint of the chapter on economic co-ordination is the position of the Treasury *vis-à-vis* the departments as a result of having to exercise financial control.

In the first place the Treasury is brought into close and continuous touch with every other department and branch of government. Second, and more important, the Treasury has, with long years of experience, developed a manner of dealing with the departments which fits in "with the spirit and structure of the whole frame of government." It has had to learn to influence and control departmental expenditure without undermining the sense of departmental responsibility; to distinguish between those matters of departmental policy which the Treasury's financial responsibilities give it the right to question and those for which the department concerned must be the sole judge. All this was well stated on several occasions by Sir Warren Fisher who, strangely enough, is not mentioned in his book. "Treasury control, old or new," says Professor Beer, "is not positive direction: that is to say, the Treasury does not itself commonly take the initiative, dictating to departments what they shall undertake in order to fulfil Government policy or plans. Rather it shapes the initiative already taken by departments, by a criticism which is mainly negative bringing that initiative into accord with policy. Furthermore, while the Treasury has in some respects powers of command—negative command—in the actual practice of administration, its officials, as well as its ministers, carry out their work mainly by persuasion and compromise, as well as by the exercise of authority."

Here is the clue to the form which the co-ordination of economic policy has taken since the crisis year of 1947. Professor Beer sees the departments in broadly the same relations with the Treasury in respect of economic policy as they are in respect of expenditure. They are not subordinate to an economic dictator nor, on the other hand, is the process purely a matter of inter-departmental bargaining. Whether it is the programming of national investment or of imports the relation between the departments and the Treasury follows the Supply relationship. The departments take the initiative—"they, not the planning staff, drawing up and proposing the various projected schemes of investment . . . the objective of investment programming was not merely to reduce investment . . . [though the] need to prevent the investment programme from being too inflationary often implied the need to reduce the projected total, and this involved applying the priorities of Government policy. . . ."

This analysis and the few quotations I have chosen from a very quotable book give only the barest impression of Professor Beer's very able exposition. The book must be read. If there are criticisms they are perhaps really

concerned with matters with which Professor Beer does not attempt to deal.

A first reading of the book gives the impression that the author is describing something which he thinks to be the best of all possible worlds. Undoubtedly there is a certain amount of starry-eyed wonder in having been allowed to peep into the inner mysteries of what a famous President of his University called "the most important of all the departments, and one that exhibits in the highest degree the merits of the English government. . . ." A closer reading, however, shows that Professor Beer sees himself primarily as a reporter and an expositor of the current theory and though he performs his job with great sympathy and apparent pleasure he nevertheless avoids taking sides. This is particularly clear when dealing with the Treasury's work of economic co-ordination. What he is in effect saying is that given the present kind of economic policy and planning the Treasury is the best home for it because it so resembles the traditional Treasury job or, alternatively, having placed economic co-ordination in the Treasury this is the kind of approach and arrangement that fits so readily the Treasury pattern. "It is," he says, "adequate to co-ordinate policy and to guide a limited degree of economic planning."

In one respect at least he leans over a little too far backward in trying to show that the Treasury is but one department among many ruled by a plural executive. What he does not bring out clearly enough is that in any Cabinet there are likely to be only three or four outstanding personalities and political leaders: men who will be powerful whatever office they hold. The great strength of the Treasury is that it is almost certain to have one of these outstanding politicians as its Minister. In contrast it is very chancy whether a Minister without Portfolio will be one of these powerful characters. Even if the calibre and political status of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and of the non-departmental Minister should happen to be equal, the traditional authority of the Treasury and the possession of such a high-grade staff will give the former the pull. No Lord President, for example, since Lord Waverley has quite had the position and ability to influence economic policy effectively and to dominate the Treasury, and there were special wartime circumstances that helped even in his case. It is just possible that Sir Stafford Cripps might have achieved this position had he not himself so quickly become Chancellor of the Exchequer. The only way the co-ordination of economic policy could be taken out of the hands of the Treasury, if that were thought desirable, would be if the "number two" or the "number three" to the Prime Minister were to be given the responsibility and the Chancellorship of the Exchequer were to be filled by a lower-powered politician. Even then the former would have to be given a staff comparable in ability to those in the Treasury and certain other senior economic departments. Such an appointment need not, as Professor Beer appears to imply, be to opt for an economic dictator or to relapse into inter-departmental committee procedure. The process of inter-departmental consultation and the respect for Ministerial responsibility are part of the current tradition of the Civil Service generally.

Professor Beer might also have asked a few more questions or on occasion shown a little more scepticism at some of the answers. For example, the criteria applied by the public to test the efficacy of the Chancellor's control

of expenditure are much clearer and more generally accepted than those applied to his actions on the economic side. Has taxation to be increased and is the budget balanced, or were until very recently, the questions asked of any Chancellor. In the words of the oft-quoted statement of the Haldane Committee, "If he is to be held responsible for filling the reservoir and maintaining a certain depth of water in it he must also be in a position to regulate the outflow." But what is the equivalent on the economic side? Is it full employment, or a favourable balance of payments, or stability of prices, or some combination of these? And is this not in effect a vast area of government action and policy for which collective rather than individual ministerial responsibility is more appropriate? Is the Treasury prepared to accept responsibility for the fact that the £ has fallen in value by 40 per cent. since 1945 in the same way that any pre-1939 Chancellor, and any present one for that matter, felt personally responsible for a rise in taxation?

Again the annual Estimates of expenditure in all their detail and the corresponding estimates of tax yields are very precise compared with the statistics with which the Treasury have to deal on the economic side. It is pretty to talk about Keynesian theory and of $Y = C + I$ and $S = I$. But the annual forecasts of national income and expenditure to which this theory has to be applied are inevitably so uncertain as to cover several atomic power stations in their margin of error, never mind a few candle-ends.

One would also have liked to know more about the effect on the Supply side of having economic policy as a partner. One has the impression, perhaps wrongly, that the economic chaps are rather more ebullient types than those who have to scrutinise demands for increased expenditure; are used to dealing with figures in the round (to the nearest million) rather than in the flesh; and are much more susceptible to current enthusiasms than those whose labours can be measured by the annual Estimates. If this is so it would be fascinating to know how the two sides live together and how the top Treasury avoids schizophrenia.

The Changes in 1956

Finally, there is nothing in Professor Beer's book that leads the reader to understand, let alone expect, the important changes in the top Treasury administration that were announced not many months after its publication. On the 20th July, 1956, the Prime Minister announced these changes in the following terms:

"The Right Hon. Sir Edward Bridges, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., M.C., the Permanent Secretary to the Treasury and official Head of the Civil Service, and Sir Bernard Gilbert, G.C.B., K.B.E., the Deputy to the Permanent Secretary, will retire from the public service in the autumn. The latter post will then lapse, and with the approval of the Queen it has been decided that two joint Permanent Secretaries will be appointed in the Treasury—the Right Hon. Sir Norman Brook, G.C.B., now Secretary of the Cabinet, and Sir Roger Makins, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., now H.M. Ambassador at Washington.

"Sir Roger Makins will have charge of the financial and economic

work of the Treasury and will be responsible wholly to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"Sir Norman Brook, in addition to his duties as Secretary of the Cabinet, will take charge of all other Treasury work, including that which falls within the responsibility of the Prime Minister in his capacity as First Lord of the Treasury. He will be the official Head of the Home Civil Service."

The retirement of Sir Edward Bridges had been pending for some time. He had reached the retiring age of 60 in August, 1952, and might well have left then but for a highly conscientious attitude towards the problems facing the Treasury and the Civil Service and the persuasion of senior Ministers.

There have been three other occasions when the Treasury had joint Permanent Secretaries. Two of these concerned Sir Edward Hamilton who was joint Secretary with Sir Francis Mowatt in 1902-03 and with Sir George Murray in 1903-07. Hamilton, though extremely able, had a long and painful illness and therefore could not carry the whole burden. During the period 1913-19 Sir Thomas Heath and Sir John (later Lord) Bradbury were joint Secretaries and in 1916 they were joined by Sir Robert (later Lord) Chalmers as a further joint Secretary. (Chalmers had already been the sole Permanent Secretary during 1911-13.) The significance of the current example lies in the link between the Cabinet Office and the Treasury and in the division of territory between the two Secretaries.

The primary reason for the change is undoubtedly overwhelming pressure of work on the top Treasury. The volume of expenditure has increased tremendously and the number of pressing issues on the Supply side must have correspondingly increased. Fiscal policy and administration are probably much more complicated than they were in the inter-war period. The traditional Treasury responsibilities for what may be called currency and credit are obviously heavier and more urgent. To all this has been added the co-ordination of economic policy with all that it implies. Though this latter work may be modelled on Treasury control it is quite a separate and additional job. On top of all this is the Establishment side, including Civil Service pay and conditions, Machinery of Government, Honours and a whole host of miscellaneous duties arising out of the central importance of the department. In 1914 the Treasury had a staff of not much more than 100, including messengers and cleaners. In 1956 it had a staff of some 1,100.

Obviously the Permanent Secretary in 1956 had to delegate much more than did his predecessors and be content to know less about what was happening in the department. The appointment of a Deputy to him in 1953, to whom he delegated wide responsibilities was, in fact, an attempt to meet the problem. But if the Permanent Secretary is to be an effective head and to see the work of the department as a whole there is a limit to what he can thrust entirely upon others, however senior they may be in the hierarchy. Anyhow, the burden involves all in the department. Since 1945 one Chancellor of the Exchequer has died after having to resign office on health grounds and another was not sorry, for the sake of his health, to move to a less exacting Ministerial post. Permanent Secretaries and their senior staff have an easier life but it cannot be all that easier and they hold office longer. It

would be rather surprising, therefore, if there had not been a feeling in some quarters that the Treasury had taken on more than it could manage and that it had not been working with the highest efficiency in recent years.

The retirement of Sir Edward Bridges was an opportunity to review the situation afresh. At least two possibilities were present. One was to transfer some functions from the Treasury. This, in part, is the case for a separate Minister for Economic Affairs. It is a solution which would, however, raise as many problems as it would solve and would perhaps be justified only if a much more thorough-going form of economic planning were to be adopted. If, therefore, financial and economic co-ordination were to remain together, only all or part of the Establishment side could be moved. But there is no existing department quite suitable for this kind of work. A remotely possible candidate is the Civil Service Commission, at present a minor body with very limited functions. A transfer of this kind would involve completely transforming the work and status of that body. Some of this work, moreover, is closely linked with the control of expenditure.

The other alternative—to add a second Permanent Secretary—still leaves the problems of the relations between the joint heads and the precise division of the total Treasury responsibilities. To place Supply (including presumably Establishment) under one Secretary and the Economic side (possibly including for this purpose Home and Overseas Finance) under another would give the Chancellor two senior advisers of equal status in closely related fields. There is something to be said for separating the expenditure viewpoint from the general economic one and letting the Chancellor settle the issue after hearing both sides where they differ, but one can see the difficulties. Establishment was probably more easily separable but though detailed and time-consuming would hardly be a fair share of the total Treasury work for one joint Secretary.

Combining one of the joint Secretaryships with the Secretaryship of the Cabinet opens up a possible solution to this last difficulty. It enables a rather time-consuming part of the Treasury's work to be taken off the shoulders of the Permanent Secretary responsible for the Supply and Economic sides and at the same time provides a logical basis for the division. For the Permanent Secretary to the Treasury advises two Ministers—the Prime Minister, arising originally from his also holding the office of First Lord, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. A possible division, therefore, was for one joint Secretary to advise the Prime Minister and the other to concentrate solely on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's responsibilities. The Secretary of the Cabinet is very well placed to undertake the former for increasingly in recent years he has tended to be the senior civil servant closest to the Prime Minister. He is, therefore, in a good position to add advice on senior appointments and similar Treasury matters falling within the purview of the First Lord to his other duties.

The division between the two joint Secretaries in the new arrangement, however, is not strictly along the lines of the responsibilities of the two Ministers. On such matters as Civil Service pay, conditions and numbers, Sir Norman Brook will advise the Chancellor. But that Minister will, in the words of the then Prime Minister, "have a distinguished civil servant whose whole time is to be devoted to advising him on the economic and financial

matters with which he has to deal" and "who will not have to carry some of the burdens which used to lie, I thought, sometimes, perhaps, a little unfairly on Sir Edward Bridges as Head of the Civil Service."*

In considering the genesis of the new arrangements, and to show that at this level of administration it is dangerous to seek for explanations which ignore persons, it should be recalled that as long ago as August, 1951, it was announced that Sir Norman Brook would shortly be leaving the Cabinet Office to become Chief Planning Officer at the Treasury, consequent upon the impending resignation of Sir Edwin Plowden, and would act as Deputy to the Permanent Secretary. But before the change could take place a Conservative victory brought Mr. Churchill into power again. He vetoed the changes for he wanted to keep Brook's advice in the Cabinet Office. Sir Edwin Plowden was persuaded to remain as Chief Planning Officer and Sir Edward Bridges not to retire. Had the change taken place Brook as Deputy would have been the obvious choice to succeed Bridges as the single head of the Treasury and, though it did not take place, Brook has since been an even stronger favourite for the succession, providing his health could stand up to it. When Bridges decided to retire there was apparently still no serious competition to Brook within the Treasury as his successor. Thus, the new arrangement brought Sir Norman Brook to the official Headship of the Home Civil Service for which, in a sense, he had been earlier destined, yet kept him in the key position of Secretary of the Cabinet and facilitated an apparently advantageous rearrangement of functions at the top of the Treasury.

The other point to notice is the growing evidence of the closeness of the link between the top Treasury and the Cabinet Office. Sir Edward Bridges himself came from the Treasury to be Secretary of the Cabinet and returned to it as Permanent Secretary. Actually during 1945-46 he was Permanent Secretary of both departments. The announcement in 1951 that Sir Norman Brook was to be Deputy at the Treasury also named a Third Secretary in the Treasury to succeed him as Secretary of the Cabinet. In the most recent change a former Under-Secretary from the Treasury has been made Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet.

These links are to be expected, for the Treasury and the Cabinet Office are both concerned with high-level policy co-ordination. Nevertheless, there is a danger in this link being too close and this is possibly one flaw in the new arrangement whereby the Permanent Secretary of the Cabinet is also joint Permanent Secretary of the Treasury. Though it is so intimately concerned with the process of policy formation at the highest levels the Cabinet Secretariat is not there to advise on policy. The Treasury is bound to have a departmental policy on a whole host of current issues: the Cabinet Office exists primarily to see that the arrangements for Cabinet and Cabinet Committee meetings work smoothly, that accurate minutes are kept and that all the departmental viewpoints and information are available for Ministers to reach an adequate decision. It is by reason of this difference of function, if for no other, that Sir Warren Fisher's rejected proposal in 1922, that the Cabinet Secretariat should become part of the Treasury, was bad.

*H.C. Deb. 26th July 1956. Col 641.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Any feeling in the departments that the Cabinet Secretariat, because of a close link with the Treasury, was closely related and sympathetic to the Treasury viewpoint, or indeed was inclined to have a view of its own for which it pressed, would soon undermine the confidence that all have at present in the impartial position of the Secretariat. The danger is not very great under the new joint arrangements, for the side of the Treasury's work now to be handled by the Secretary of the Cabinet is unlikely to bring him into conflict with departments on major matters. Moreover the confidence within Whitehall in the impartiality of the Cabinet Office is so thoroughly established that it will not easily be shaken. But now there is a formal link with a policy department the danger cannot be ignored.

One or two commentators have seen the change as indicating a possible trend in the direction of something in the nature of a Prime Minister's Department and not as being just an internal reorganisation of the Treasury. This is reading a lot into it, particularly having regard to the personal circumstances: nevertheless the point is worth noticing. Until fairly recently the Prime Minister has largely relied on the Treasury for any general official help and in particular for advice in respect of such of his duties as were derived from his also being First Lord of the Treasury. The Chief Whip, his right-hand man in the management of the House of Commons, holds the office of Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury, another traditional link with this department and with its long-standing interest in Government appointments and honours. During the past twenty or so years several things have happened. On the one hand the responsibilities of the Permanent Secretary to the Treasury have so increased as to render it less easy for him to serve both the First Lord and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. On the other a new centrally placed office has developed—that of Secretary of the Cabinet. Because he has to be in frequent touch with the Prime Minister about the arrangement of Cabinet business and because he has to deal with any Commonwealth and international meetings in London in which the Prime Minister has to take the lead, the Secretary of the Cabinet is likely to be consulted by the Prime Minister on other general governmental matters of a non-party character. The incentive to use this senior and well-placed civil servant must have been the greater by reason of the very high calibre so far of the three holders of the office—Hankey, Bridges and Brook. If what may be termed the Treasury functions of the Prime Minister are added to the other duties of the Secretary of the Cabinet, there emerges a civil servant who apart from the small high-powered secretariat at No. 10 is to all intents and purposes the Prime Minister's chief Civil Service adviser. For such work being also joint Permanent Secretary to the Treasury may be less important than being also Secretary of the Cabinet. Indeed a civil servant serving the Prime Minister in this full way could well be Head of the Home Civil Service without being head of the Treasury. At a later stage the desire or need of the Prime Minister for the whole-time services of such a senior official adviser might even lead to the separation of this person from both the Treasury and the Cabinet Office. Physical strain and possible incompatibility of the different sides of the duties would help in this direction. How easy it is to spin the future!

One additional point should be borne in mind about the present arrange-

ment of functions between the two joint Secretaries. Sir Norman Brook's functions in the Treasury are very much wider than those for which the Prime Minister has, or can be expected to have, responsibility. Much of them are part of the traditional Treasury system of control of expenditure. Whilst advice on senior appointments and on the general machinery of government might well form part of the work of any senior official responsible solely to the Prime Minister, the handling of the numbers, pay and conditions of the Civil Service could not. In these days no Prime Minister has the time and energy left to take on extra duties. Moreover, if he were to take on the Establishment side of the Treasury he would have to be in substantially the same relation with the Chancellor of the Exchequer as are the Ministers in charge of the spending departments. This would be an uncomfortable situation for both of them.

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The Leeds Private Bill, 1956

By H. V. WISEMAN

Dr. Wiseman is a Lecturer in the University of Leeds and a Labour Councillor on the Leeds City Council. He gratefully acknowledges the valuable assistance he has received from the Town Clerk of Leeds and from the members of his staff who were most intimately and continuously concerned with the Bill. They, of course, have no responsibility for any of the opinions expressed herein.

EVEN experienced officials may deal with a Private Bill only once or twice in a lifetime. Elected representatives are fortunate to have an opportunity at all. Even if their Authority promotes a Bill while they are on the Council the odds against their being on the special committee to pilot the Bill through its various stages are great. The writer's own good fortune in being on the sub-committee of the Finance and Parliamentary Committee, one of five chosen from 112 Aldermen and Councillors, to watch over a Bill which contained originally 297 clauses and three schedules (covering 173 foolscap pages), is the excuse for this account, written primarily from the layman's point of view. This last explanation is necessary at the outset because the months of concentrated work by officials, piled upon their normally over-burdensome duties and encroaching upon their all-too-little leisure, are passed over lightly—but should not pass unnoticed.

The Leeds Bill was the city's first for a quarter of a century ; hence, its length and comprehensiveness. It affected 14 Leeds Local Acts and 19 Confirmation Acts and Orders ; it applied 21 sections of the Health Act, 1936 ; it repealed 16 Acts in whole or in part, and referred in all to a further 82 Statutes. The bare summary presented to the City Council covered nearly three closely-printed pages. Summaries of parts as presented to the Town Meeting took the Lord Mayor almost two hours to read—hence, his appeal at one stage for someone to oppose something if only to rest his voice ! Only the barest indication of the matters covered by the Preamble and the 17 distinct Parts can be given here. They touch on nearly every aspect of a County Borough's work.

The Contents of the Bill

The Preamble contained 14 sub-sections outlining in general terms the purposes of the Bill and the "local needs" which justified its clauses. Part I (Preliminary) covered four printed foolscap pages and among other things defined nearly 50 terms. The rest of the Bill may be summarised as follows :

Part II (clauses 5-48) : extension of city boundaries over an area which it had for some years been hoped might be made available for housing development. (The Minister's approval for such development, covering some two-thirds of what was originally requested, was received, after a local enquiry, in time to remove objections from the West Riding County Council and the Tadcaster Rural District Council, though the Barwick Parish Council continued to oppose.) There were consequent extensions

of powers to cover everything from duties under the Children Act, 1948, to the Protection of Birds Act, 1954.

Part III (clauses 48-65): empowered the Corporation to erect an Exhibition Hall and gave consequent powers of survey, valuation, and acquisition of land.

Part IV (clauses 66-103): dealt with new streets, improvement, protection, and repair of streets and private streets.

Part V (clauses 104-127): covered sanitation and building matters—sewers, drains, public conveniences, piped water supply, filthy or verminous premises, etc. It included one controversial clause, insisting upon a separate water closet for each dwelling house as an essential requirement of "fitness for human habitation."

Part VI (clauses 128-144): covered a variety of nuisances and health matters.

Part VII (clauses 145-155): dealt with matters concerning food—from meat to "ice lollies."

Part VIII (clauses 156-162): sought to control "movable dwellings," and particularly camping in areas of high amenity and certain catchment areas which lie within the city.

Part IX (clauses 163-170): dealt with Burial Grounds, Parks, and other municipal property. Among other things it authorised the spreading of the precepts from separate Burial Boards over the whole of the city, a desirable power as and when such Burial Boards were taken over by the Corporation. It aimed also to protect school playing fields from "unauthorised players of games"—hitherto undeterred by that "wooden lie," "Trespassers will be prosecuted."

Part X (clauses 171-192): covered various matters of Public Order and Public Safety—including restrictions on the use of loud speakers in streets (naturally, with safeguards for the legitimate activities of political parties at election time).

Part XI (clauses 193-209): sought to improve upon existing machinery to protect the public in regard to Weights and Measures.

Part XII (clauses 210-227): provided for an interesting experiment in municipal enterprise—the provision of District Heating.

Part XIII (clauses 228-233): dealt with certain Water matters.

Part XIV (clauses 234-238): sought to control premises used for sales by auction, and was aimed particularly at the "mock auction."

Part XV (clauses 239-253): covered various financial and rating matters and empowered the Corporation, among other things, to set up an Art Fund and an Insurance Fund, and to pay for public entertainment and ceremonies.

Part XVI (clauses 254-287) was perhaps of greatest interest to the elected representatives, for some of the clauses were in fact proposed by them and were the most "political" in the Bill. (They were the worst treated at Westminster.) Notably, there were clauses providing for concessionary fares for various categories of persons, including Councillors when on Council business; to provide transport facilities for aged and handicapped persons

when entertainment (such as Darby and Joan clubs) might otherwise be beyond their reach; to enable the Corporation to sell certain items of school clothing and to provide and manage a cold air store in connection with a new abattoir. Others ranged from the collection and delivery of washing to an Institute for Teachers; from research into matters concerning social conditions to the rehabilitation of "special families"; from the maintenance of buildings of architectural interest to the legalising of fines for the non-return of library books; from restrictions on the use of the city armorial bearings to the substitution of loose-leaf minute books for the statutory clumsy bound volumes. To return from some of these clauses to Part XVII (clauses 288-297), which covered formal matters, is to leave the hustings for the back room.

The Origin of the Bill

The paternity of these numerous offspring is often shrouded in mystery and their period of gestation elephantine. Clearly, in many respects the powers of the Corporation and their mode of exercise—even in the traditional fields of local government activity—were out of date. Leeds, which in 1930 had possessed as up-to-date a "code" as almost any Local Authority, had since lagged behind. But the gaps were not merely due to 25 years of local contemplation: some were revealed after experience of—incomplete—national legislation (and a few were filled by such legislation before the Bill became law). For some considerable time the Town Clerk's Department had been noting various deficiencies in the hope that eventually a Bill might be promoted. Other departments, notably the Health Department, were also aware of deficiencies. The matter was brought to a head by the proposed extension of the boundaries, which would necessitate a Bill, and by the problem of smoke abatement (though this was one example where, eventually, national legislation caught up with and passed local proposals). If a Bill were essential on these matters, why not include others? Some time in 1954-55 it was decided that the time was at last ripe. The officials, to whom the greater part of the Bill is clearly due, could go ahead.

A member of the Town Clerk's Department, instructed to bring the Leeds "code" up to date, spent two whole weeks of continuous work examining not only *Model Clauses: Revised Edition* 1953 (published by authority of Parliament as a guide to Local Authorities) but also every single local enactment passed during the preceding 25 years. From this mass of material he picked out everything which might conceivably be of use to the Corporation. Copies of these chosen clauses were then circulated to every department of the Corporation and they formed the real basis of the Bill—some three-quarters of it, in fact. Suggestions also came from the departments, notably the Engineer's, the City Architect's, the Medical Officer of Health's, the Treasurer's, and the Chief Education Officer's departments. Chairmen of Committees were made aware of the opportunity. In some cases officials sought their Chairman's support. In others, Chairmen themselves made suggestions. Committees as a whole were consulted and occasionally members had feasible suggestions. The Labour (majority) group on various committees, and then the Labour Council Group as a whole, held meetings at which existing and possible clauses were discussed at length—on the basis of verbal summaries and explanations provided by Labour members of the

sub-committee on the Bill. Presumably the Conservative group adopted similar procedures, although the result in public was not an attempt to add clauses but to delete wholly or partly some 14 existing ones. This is, however, an equally important aspect of public discussion.

It is useful at this point to say something of the already existing material from which the bulk of the Bill was drawn. Model clauses have been referred to above. These fall into two groups: (i) those which will almost automatically be granted to Local Authorities of appropriate status if included in a Private Bill; and (ii) those for which "local need" must be proved.¹ The Government Department concerned draws the attention of the Select Committee considering the Bill to those model clauses in the Bill which require special proof of local need. Then there are "precedented clauses," those which have previously been included in other Local Acts. Here, the fewer the previous Acts, the weaker the precedent. If the clause has been granted in only one previous Act, and particularly if it were granted only because of a proved local need, this does not necessarily constitute a precedent. The promoters of a Bill deposit with Mr. Speaker's Counsel and with the Lord Chairman's Counsel a marked copy showing which clauses are "model" or "precedented," and where "models" or "precedents" have been departed from. In the Leeds Bill 35 clauses were completely unprecedented (of which nine were eventually struck out) but there was not one single page of the Bill on which no alterations (either omissions or additions) were marked by the promoters. The alterations were sometimes made to suit local circumstances, sometimes because they were thought to be an improvement. In one or two instances Government Departments were pleased to acknowledge that Model Clauses had been improved when redrafted for the purposes of the Leeds Bill.

By September, 1955, the Bill was in sufficient shape for formal discussions in the Finance and Parliamentary Committee. Members received a summary of clauses, 277 at this point, covering 36 duplicated foolscap sheets, together with a further eight sheets of notes on clauses and proposed clauses. Information was provided in regard to "models" and "precedents" and also on 12 clauses which were contained in Bills already before Parliament. (We were able to watch the latter's progress. When we learned, for example, that a clause on School Agreements was being blocked on Second Reading we could ask the Leeds M.Ps. to support it. The clause eventually went through and constituted a very recent precedent for ours.) A little later a printed draft of the Bill was available for our use. By the end of October we were ready, after two long sessions, for the special meeting of "F. and P." For this, besides the above-mentioned material, we received additional comments, further explanatory notes, and possible new clauses—covering nine foolscap pages. There were also copies of letters from organisations protesting against certain clauses, notably that providing for the sale of School Uniforms. The special meeting began at 2.15 p.m. and lasted until well after 7 p.m.—when some of us proceeded immediately to a Group Meeting which was already discussing the Bill. Meanwhile, officials in Leeds and Parliamentary Agents in London were even busier.

¹The Joint Select Committee on Private Bill Procedure (1955) recommended (para. 70) that all model clauses should be regarded as "no more than guides for drafting" and "not acceptable without questioning."

Private Bill Procedure in Outline

It will be convenient to set out here the main stages in Private Bill procedure from the point of view of Parliament. Other aspects are referred to at appropriate places in the article. The first link between local action and action at Westminster is the deposit of the Bill in Parliament in the Private Bill Office. There it is considered, together with any petitions claiming that due legal procedure has not been complied with (in respect of notices, Council Meetings, etc.), by two Examiners, one from each House. If the Parliamentary Standing Orders governing Private Bills have been complied with—or if both Houses decide that they may be dispensed with—the Bill is allocated to one of the two Houses. First Reading is then formal. The Bill is then returned to the Private Bill Office to make doubly certain that Standing Orders have been complied with. It is then given a Second Reading in the House to which it was allocated. Assuming that—as is usual—the House does not reject the Bill at this stage, then one of two things will happen. If there are no petitions against the substance of the Bill it goes to the Committee on Unopposed Bills. There the Preamble will be proved, in other words the reason for and the expediency of the Bill must be explained to the satisfaction of the Committee. If the Bill is petitioned against, the Committee Stage is taken by a Select Committee consisting in the Commons of four, in the Lords of five, members. This stage is "quasi-judicial" and both promoters and petitioners may be, and usually are, represented by counsel. The precise nature of the procedure will appear from the following account of the Leeds Bill. The Select Committee then reports to the House and the Bill is given a Third Reading. The Bill has then to go through precisely the same stages in the other House. Assuming the absence of conflict between the Houses, normal in these matters, it then receives the Royal assent.

Council Meetings on the Bill

In addition to the procedure outlined above, two Statutory Meetings of the City Council must be held. Some account of the first, held on 16th November, 1955, will throw light on local attitudes. On this occasion there were actually two meetings, one formal to confirm the minutes of "F. and P.," the second, the statutory meeting itself. For 2½ hours the Bill was debated in detail. Leeds is fortunate in that a verbatim report of Council proceedings is kept. The report covered 33 pages of very small print, excluding the resolution containing a "summary of purposes." Its main importance here is the evidence provided of the extent of local agreement and disagreement.

Critics of the party system of local government are usually answered by the statement that more than 90 per cent. of committee work is conducted on a non-party basis and that few divisions are taken on party lines. The record of the Leeds Bill confirms this answer. Of 297 clauses the Conservative Party sought to delete only seven and to amend seven others. Of the first seven, four were mainly concerned with details of procedure for the acquisition of land, etc.—"lawyers' clauses"—which the Conservative leader, fired perhaps by the terms of reference of the Franks Committee, sought to delete in the name of "liberty." Three were "political," covering the sections to

abolish "shared lavatories," to establish an Institute for Teachers, and to empower the Corporation to sell school uniforms. "Rights of property-owners," "economy," and "opposition to municipal enterprise" were the three themes underlying the opposition. On the first four of these same seven clauses minor amendments were later accepted. On the last three no compromise was possible. The motion to delete was lost by 64 votes to 36. On the amendments to the seven other clauses, minor changes were again made at a later stage so far as six of them were concerned. On the seventh, to delete concessionary fares for councillors from the general clause, a party vote (62 to 33) refused to make the change. The normal and reasonable process of local legislation was thus well illustrated: local agreement on the greater part of the Bill, accommodation on some minor points, a firm stand by the majority on four matters held to involve principle.

This statutory meeting was the first occasion the Bill really came before the public, although there had been some previous press discussion as some of the likely clauses became known. The public, however, appeared little interested at this stage, for the galleries were never more than a quarter full. For those more intimately concerned the meeting was but an interlude in the long process of detailed work.

Negotiations

We may depart, temporarily, from the chronological sequence of events to deal a little with this detailed work. From the moment when the Bill was deposited in the House of Commons, officials were concerned with negotiations with interested parties and Government Departments. Some of these negotiations could be completed by the officials. Others, which involved compromises on matters of policy, had to be brought before the elected sub-committee. For example, a long meeting between this sub-committee and the Leeds and District Property Owners' and Ratepayers' Association resulted in a compromise whereby the Corporation agreed to meet by way of grant up to 100 per cent. of the cost of providing separate lavatory accommodation for each dwelling-house. Objection to the clause was withdrawn. A similar attempt to persuade the National Farmers' Union to accept seven days as the minimum age for the slaughter of calves was less successful and the clause was eventually defeated on Second Reading in the House of Commons. In all, more than 30 organisations, including local authorities, public corporations, industrial, commercial, professional and charitable bodies sought to obtain assurances, amendments or deletions. A large number were satisfied by negotiation, a great saving of time and money before the Committee Stage in the Commons was reached. Others considered it necessary to lodge petitions against the Bill, though even then, at a later date, it was possible to meet further objections so as to obtain the withdrawal of most of the fifteen which were deposited.

So far as Government Departments were concerned, they submitted their preliminary observations on the Bill after it had been deposited, to the promoters, in writing. Where necessary, discussions were held; as an indication of their importance it was largely as a result of consultations with the Minister concerned that the extension clauses went through successfully. Points outstanding after these discussions were included in the reports of

the various Ministries to the Select Committee—copies being sent, though often at the last moment, to the promoters. Before the Select Committee civil servants drew attention to these points. Though they may not be cross-examined, queries may be addressed to them by counsel, through the Committee, and the Departments by no means always get their own way.

Town Meeting and Town Poll

Boroughs and Urban Districts, unlike Administrative Counties and Rural Districts, must, under Part XIII of the Local Government Act, 1933, hold a Town Meeting and, if necessary, a Town Poll. It is not proposed to discuss in detail the arguments for and against this requirement. The expense involved, the belief that there is adequate publicity without the addition of meeting and poll, the feeling that local councils are sufficiently responsible to the electors without these extra appeals to the latter's judgment, and above all the safeguards provided at the Committee Stage in the House of Commons—all these appear to justify the opinion expressed by the Association of Municipal Corporations in their Memorandum to the Joint Committee of Lords and Commons that Town Meetings and Polls should be abolished.² Experience with the Leeds Bill appears to the present writer to support the A.M.C.'s case.³

The Leeds Town Meeting was held on 28th December, 1955. Attendance was not as catastrophically low as in some Boroughs. But a maximum vote of just over 500 is not representative of a city of 500,000. Those present were, for the most part, "interested parties" at least in the general sense in which Professor Wheare uses the phrase in *Government by Committee*. In some cases they were "interested" in the more specific and usual sense. The Leeds Labour Party had conducted considerable propaganda to ensure the presence of as many supporters as possible—at least as legitimate a procedure as the usual efforts of organisations with a vested interest in opposing certain classes of Private Bills to ensure support for their point of view.

The meeting began at 7.30 p.m. and ended at midnight. By then 166 voters remained. The proceedings were conducted by the Lord Mayor. On the platform were the two party leaders, the other members of the sub-committee and a few Chairmen of Committees to speak on certain clauses if opposed. Officials were present to advise. The need not only to give but to appear to give members of the public every opportunity to express their opinion makes procedure very lengthy and cumbersome. The Lord Mayor had to read a lengthy explanation of each part of the Bill (one Part covering perhaps as many as 50 clauses). Any member of the public present had the right to move the deletion, though not the amendment, of any clause. On each such motion a Council representative stated the case for the clause, and the Leader of the Council moved that it should "stand part." However overwhelming the vote either way, tellers counted and recorded exact figures. By midnight the pleasant meeting over a glass of sherry between the Lord Mayor and the sub-committee which had taken place at 4.30 to discuss

² See *Municipal Review* Supplement, March, 1956, App. C, paras. 24-39.

³ The Joint Committee on Private Bill Procedure recommended the abolition of Town Meetings and Polls (1955, H.L. 14, 58-I; H.C. 139-I, para. 79).

procedure seemed far away. But at least the Transport Department had laid on a night service—with no concessionary fares for Councillors!

That only 13 clauses were opposed again shows how wide the agreement was on a Bill of 297 clauses. The Exhibition Hall was supported by 353 votes to 135. The Conservative leader mustered 186 votes against a clause enabling the Corporation to acquire land for certain purposes, e.g., transport undertakings, parking places, markets, but 341 opposed him. The Liberal Party (unrepresented on the Council but constantly represented in the public gallery by one of its annual candidates) opposed four clauses. Proposals to charge some of the costs of street lighting installations in private streets to the owners concerned were carried 344 to 176. Power to enter premises in connection with the provision of district heating was confirmed 332 to 23. The Institute for Teachers (against which the solid ranks of Conservative Councillors on the front rows joined the Liberals) was supported 291 to 95. "Shared lavatories" were uncompromisingly condemned, 414 to 9. On the latter figure the Lord Mayor permitted himself the light relief of "no mention of lost deposits, please!" Business interests sought to defeat the compulsory registration of catering premises; they lost 369 to 23. The municipal cold-air store—voting fell with the fall of temperature—was supported 167 to 13. Rather surprisingly, the local secretary of the R.S.P.C.A. joined with the N.F.U. to oppose the clause forbidding the slaughter of calves below the age of seven days; they were defeated 297 to 93. Hygiene triumphed over the traditional weakness for animals when a clause to keep the latter out of food shops was upheld 418 to 21. An attempt to delete the provisions to legalise fines for the non-return of library books was defeated 211 to 12. Finally, on the two most "political" clauses of the night—concessionary fares for councillors and the sale of school uniforms (the latter opposed by the Leeds Chamber of Commerce but supported by at least one "small" tailor)—voting was 227 to 85 and 254 to 68. When, on the stroke of midnight, the Bill as a whole was put to the meeting, five stalwarts had remained to oppose, 161 supporters were present to give the impression of overwhelming approval.

The Council was thus happily relieved of the necessity to arrange a poll in order to try to restore the deleted clauses. Equally happily for the ratepayers, in no case did the necessary 100 electors demand a poll in a further attempt to achieve deletions, though it was touch and go up to the last minute. One general observation seems appropriate. Defeat of a clause at the Town Meeting, and where the clause is not restored by a poll—or defeat of a clause at a poll—is final. There is no way of restoring the clause. Parliament accepts this negative local decision. But positive local opinion as expressed in the Town Meeting, or even at a poll, is not so accepted. It may still be overruled by Parliament. The argument that too few voters record their opinions to be representative would appear to cut both ways. If it is considered large enough to negative a clause, it is large enough to sustain it. If it is considered too small to sustain it, it is too small to be final. At least the Corporation might be permitted to take the matter for decision by Parliament. This argument, however, supports the case for abolishing Town Meetings and Polls. So long as they are retained, there is much force in the contention that clauses supported by them ought not merely to go before Parliament, but

before the Select Committee without the possibility of being thrown out on Second Reading. If there is any point in Town Meetings and Polls at all, their positive as well as their negative decisions should carry weight. There is perhaps too much of the attitude of Mr. G. Hirst, M.P. (Shipley)—"I have not a lot of faith in Corporations" (550 H.C., Col. 1349).

Over to Westminster

The New Year brought a speeding-up of activity both in Leeds and London. By 6th January the sub-committee had to study a further three foolscap sheets of comments and three letters and memoranda from opposing organisations. Meanwhile, various proposed amendments were explained by the Town Clerk and accepted by the sub-committee—part of the process of removing opposition before the Committee Stage. A fortnight later a further report detailed various points still at issue. These illustrate the kind of obstacles which have to be overcome by promoters of a Private Bill. Of a large number of objections, many of which could be removed by the officials themselves, there remained to be discussed by the sub-committee six matters raised by the British Transport Commission; four by the Cinematograph Exhibitors' Association; two each by the Brewers' Society and the Federation of British Industries; and one each by the Passenger Vehicles Operators' Association, the Animal By-Products Parliamentary Committee and the Theatrical Managers' Association. Later again a further report dealt with five specific clauses which were being opposed by the North Eastern Gas Board and the National Coal Board. There were also various suggestions from the Home Office, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government and the Treasury Solicitors: these were points which came before the sub-committee; practically every Government Department had some observations which had to be dealt with by the officials. But by this time interest had shifted to Westminster.

Private Bills normally arouse little interest and less excitement in the House of Commons as a whole. But objection by only one M.P. when Second Reading is put down on the Order Paper, if persisted in on three occasions, makes necessary a full-dress Second Reading Debate. Inevitably there was some political and "business-interest" opposition to certain Leeds clauses. The Bill was opposed on the three stipulated occasions and set down for Second Reading on 8th March, 1956. Politics, however, in these days, like peace, are indivisible. The long queues outside the House on 8th March were interested not in Leeds but in Cyprus. Second Reading was postponed until 21st March.

Meanwhile, we kept in touch with our M.Ps. Contact between Local Authorities and M.Ps. is not always as close as might be. Questions have been asked in the House without that prior consultation with the Local Authority which their nature seemed to demand. On the other hand M.Ps. often have legitimate cause for complaint that local representatives do not seek their aid early enough, or do not draw attention to matters which might be usefully referred to in question or debate. It is obviously more difficult where the majority on the local council is of a different party from the M.P. Leeds experienced similar difficulty because two Leeds M.Ps. were opposed to certain clauses—though otherwise all were keen to do their best for their

and Drugs Act!) Municipal enterprise is one of the few remaining fundamental differences on local government matters between the parties. The clause forbidding the slaughter of calves under seven days old was defeated partly on the orthodox ground that this should be covered by national legislation and partly because the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture considered that sufficient powers existed already. The N.F.U.'s opposition helped to decide the issue. But there was some party feeling on the clause concerning concessionary fares and this merits attention.

The clause provided in general terms for travel concessions on Corporation vehicles for six classes of persons: men over 65 and women over 60; persons not over 15; persons between 15 and 19 undergoing full-time education; blind persons; persons with such disability or injury as seriously impairs their ability to walk—and members of Council when travelling in the performance of approved duties. The clause was admittedly drafted in somewhat general terms and much would depend on the manner of its operation. On the first category, M.P.s. refused to accept assurances given on the Corporation's authority (e.g., that pensioners only would be assisted and only in off-peak traffic periods, etc.). But opposition was mainly directed against the sub-section concerning Councillors. In the City Council the Conservatives had moved only to delete this last category; there was no disagreement on the rest. Conservative M.P.s. also, to judge from their contributions to the debate, were also concerned mainly to delete Councillors from the list. But no agreement could be reached on how this might be done. The writer must "declare an interest" here and hope to do justice to both sides.

The Labour majority in Leeds felt that the whole clause should go to the Select Committee which, if it saw fit, could delete the offending sub-section. They were not prepared themselves to give up the battle before the Committee Stage. The Conservative M.P.s.—unfortunately for local unity, led by a Leeds M.P.—although they were aware (the Town Clerk specifically ascertained this from the Private Bill Office) that it would be in order to move the deletion just of the sub-section dealing with Councillors—insisted that if that sub-section were not withdrawn they would move the deletion of the whole clause. In the event the whole clause was deleted from the Bill.

One other Second Reading matter deserves mention. The appropriate Government Department usually offers advice to the House on disputed clauses, though no Government Whips are on. The Government spokesman is usually assumed to be expressing a departmental not a personal view. On this occasion the Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation ventured the "personal opinion" that there was probably no validity or substance in the distinction made in the Local Government Act, 1948, between County Councils and Boroughs so far as Councillors' travelling expenses are concerned. The point made by one Member—that the Minister cannot express sympathy when he stands at that Box because "he is presumed to be speaking for the Government"—was not fully taken up, though the Minister did seek to justify his apparent rôle of "Mr. Facing-both-ways." The moral of the incident is not clear, unless it be, quite simply, that Members do not expect a Government spokesman even on a Private

Bill to permit himself the luxury of a personal opinion and that there may be some danger in leaving the departmental brief.

The visit to London for the Commons' debate was in one sense light relief for the local representatives if not for the officials, though those who find sleep difficult to come by on a "sleeper" may have felt otherwise. In fact, the most intensive work—apart from the period immediately after deposit—probably begins with the approach of the Committee Stage. The negotiations referred to earlier are stepped up. Objections may thus be removed even at the last moment. Democratic practice demands that the elected sub-committee approve negotiations and compromises. At one meeting, for example, it was announced finally that all opposition to the boundary extension clauses had been removed save that of the Barwick-in-Elmet Parish Council. This, however, could not be taken lightly since Select Committees have a habit of looking after "the little man." Ten clauses were eventually withdrawn; they dealt mainly with hygiene and food matters and were covered by new Regulations which came into force after deposit. Various minor changes were discussed. More than 30 matters raised by the National Coal Board were reported as having been dealt with by the officials, of which some six required the general approval of the sub-committee. Other concessions were agreed upon in an attempt to accommodate the North-Eastern Gas Board, though, in the end, the latter petitioned against the District Heating clauses. As light reading before the next trip to London there was the further printed copy of the Bill as put before the Select Committee—now reduced to 293 clauses.

The Committee Stage

On Wednesday, 18th April, 1956, on arrival at the Parliamentary Agents direct from the "sleeper" and a station breakfast, it appeared that half the high-ranking Leeds officials as well as many Aldermen and Councillors were already in London. It is impossible to judge how long particular clauses will take or how many witnesses will be required. Promoters must be ready for every eventuality—and ratepayers to meet every expense. At 10 a.m. at the House of Commons conference began with eminent counsel briefed on the Corporation's behalf. Final arrangements were made as to tactics, witnesses, documents and evidence. The Corporation briefed two Q.C.s. and one Junior Counsel. Petitioners against the Bill briefed two Q.C.s. (one taking two separate petitions) and two Junior Counsel (one taking three separate petitions). In addition to the Leeds Parliamentary Agents there were seven other Agents. These, with representatives of government departments, witnesses, reporters, and a few members of the general public, foregathered at 11 a.m. to face the four members of the Select Committee—two Conservative and two Labour M.P.s. with one of the former as the Chairman, who possesses a casting as well as an original vote. Thus began six days' deliberations, the report of which covers 260 foolscap pages. From this it is possible to select only a few outstanding features as a basis for subsequent general criticism.

Of the 15 petitions originally deposited against the Bill, eight had been withdrawn as a result of negotiations. Seven remained to be heard by the Committee. They were from the British Transport Commission, the Central

Committee on Camping Legislation, the North-Eastern Gas Board, the Public Transport Association Ltd., the Salvation Army, the West Yorkshire Road Car Co. Ltd., and the Parish of Barwick-in-Elmet. Contrary to the statement which still appears in all standard text-books, the Preamble is *not* proved before consideration of clauses. It is read formally. Opposed clauses are then considered in whatever order suits the convenience of counsel (often briefed on several Bills) and witnesses, subject to the Committee's approval. The case for the Part or Clause in dispute is opened by counsel for the Promoters; evidence is called; counsel for the petitioners cross-examines and then states his case (possibly calling witnesses); counsel for the Promoters then winds up. The A.M.C. has suggested that time could be saved "if the practice of reading the petitions by Promoters' counsel could be dispensed with. Petitions are lodged prior to the sitting of the Committee and any person interested is able to obtain copies. Thus, all persons concerned not only have the opportunity of acquiring, but undoubtedly have full knowledge of, the contents of the petitions prior to the hearing before the Committee, and it seems an unnecessary waste of time to read the petitions merely to get them on the minutes." Although with petitioners' counsel's permission certain extracts only may be read, this suggestion is fully justified by experience on the Leeds Bill.

To form a definite opinion about the part played in the proceedings by Committee Members themselves is not easy—the less so because their deliberations after evidence has been heard are in private. The Committee is a "quasi-judicial" body, but it is permissible to speculate about their "inarticulate major premisses." Their devotion to an arduous and unpublicised task is unquestioned. Their knowledge of local government matters—to speak only of this particular Committee—is apparent. Their usually brief retirements to consider their decision suggest a capacity to absorb evidence readily and reach judgment in the process without much delay. An alternative explanation—that their minds are made up very early on—is not borne out by the *prima facie* evidence in these particular proceedings. Occasionally one seemed to discern a tendency to lean one way rather than another as much because of a general attitude as because of the weight of evidence. Such tendency usually appeared slightly more obvious in the Labour members. They gave the impression of a desire to help the Local Authority. (This is a personal interpretation and might not be confirmed by other observers.)

On a rough count, and excluding consideration of clauses not petitioned against, when members were slightly more active, during the six days the Chairman intervened with questions on about 40 occasions, the other three members on 11, 44, and 88 respectively. The longest consecutive run of questions was 14; the same Member also had other lengthy interventions amounting to 12, nine, and seven questions. On one occasion he indulged in what was virtually a cross-examination of petitioners' counsel to the extent of five somewhat lengthy questions. The writer is by no means convinced that the Committee could not perform its task equally well without the assistance of counsel, but this opinion is bound up with observations on procedure yet to be made.

Opposed clauses must clearly be examined in detail. But it does not

appear that any less justice is done to unopposed clauses when only Promoters' counsel are present; their contributions might, with respect, be as effectively made by the local officials in charge of the Bill. The Committee also has the assistance of government departments. It is difficult not to conclude that much time is wasted during examination and cross-examination of witnesses. This appears especially with questions aimed to establish admitted facts which, it seems, might as well be put in as written evidence. On the extension clauses, for example, the Leader of the Council was asked over 100 questions covering eight foolscap pages. More than 50 required only the simple answer "yes" or its equivalent. The evidence of an outside expert on local government finance, admirable—perhaps decisive—in itself, seemed to grow neither in stature nor clarity by reason of his examination. The City Architect was asked 29 questions, of which 19 sought confirmation of purely factual statements and required only the answer "yes" or its equivalent. Professor Wheare has said that most members of local government committees can read though many won't! The latter is surely not true of Select Committees, who might be trusted to ask their own questions of Local Authority witnesses or petitioners' representatives where clarification is required. At times counsel gave the impression of trying to score a point rather than establish the truth and it is clearly inappropriate to examine, e.g., a Medical Officer of Health on a matter of general law—a procedure rightly commented on tartly at one point by counsel for the Corporation. Procedure on provisional orders or special procedure orders⁴—or even on the Committee Stage of Public Bills, where counsel's assistance is not deemed necessary—might be considered as a basis for possible reform of procedure on Private Bills.

The results of the Committee's deliberations on the Bill itself must now be considered. On the five opposed clauses (some of the seven petitions overlapped), which took very nearly four days to consider and the report of which covers some 200 foolscap pages, the Corporation fared very well. The Extension Clauses went through unchanged, a rare achievement since 1945. The Exhibition Hall site was reduced by that portion occupied by the Salvation Army Hostel. (In the Lords a further site was excluded on a new petition.) On the Welfare of Aged and Handicapped Persons the full force of the British Transport Commission and the Public Service Vehicles Operators obtained the exclusion of that section which would have empowered the Corporation to assist such persons in travelling for recreational purposes. The Corporation, in the face of strong opposition by the Campers' Associations (which was repeated before the House of Lords), were successful in upholding the clauses dealing with movable dwellings. These provisions in their accepted form were largely unprecedented. The provisions as to district heating were modified by the Committee so that the Corporation's powers were restricted to their own estates—all that Leeds actually wanted. But the mass of restrictive clauses which the North-Eastern Gas Board (which petitioned in both Houses) and the Electricity Authorities (who tried to negotiate amendments) wanted were rejected. Leeds Corporation were the first Local Authority to fight these restrictive clauses and it appears that

⁴Compare some suggestions of the Joint Committee on Private Bill Procedure, 1955, para. 75.

some 25 Local Authorities had previously agreed to accept the restrictive clauses rather than fight them.

The Committee took just over a day to consider unopposed clauses in the light of observations made by various Government departments, including the Home Office, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Agriculture, etc., the Ministry of Education, and the Attorney-General. Seven clauses were "struck out" by the Committee. They covered such divergent powers as the letting of land without ministerial consent; the destruction of verminous timber; the deposit of refuse in streets; the driving of vehicles on footpaths; the control of "ice lollies" on the analogy of ice cream (a clause which led to much amusing legalistic and dietetic argument, but which would have provided what many regard as a very desirable safeguard of children's health); the notification of premises to be used for the sale of food; the closure of streets for repairs, etc. The Committee also formally approved the withdrawal of certain clauses on the initiative of the Corporation. The clause dealing with "unauthorised games on school playing fields" was notable for a difference of opinion between the Home Office and the Ministry of Education. The latter, backing the Corporation, won and trespass became a criminal offence in the circumstances outlined in the clause—an exceptional thing in English law.

In the final stages a number of amendments covering points discussed earlier before the Committee were agreed to with little further argument. Finally—and this is again worthy of note in view of inaccurate statements about proving the Preamble—there came the following dialogue:

"Are you the Town Clerk of Leeds?"—"I am."

"Have you read the Preamble?"—"I have."

"Is it true?"—"It is."

"The Chairman was directed to report the Bill, as amended, to the House."

Leeds Again—and the Lords

The Leeds Bill, at this stage, contained 282 clauses. Of the original 297, four had been deleted by instruction from the House of Commons on Second Reading, seven had been lost before the Select Committee and ten had been withdrawn by the Corporation (due mainly to supervening legislation). This left 276, but the addition of six clauses agreed to by the Corporation after negotiations with certain Ministries and other bodies brought the number up to 282. Meetings of the sub-committee of elected representatives were held, mainly to discuss the implications of the news that the Central Committee for Camping Legislation intended to pursue opposition in the House of Lords; that though the North-Eastern Gas Board was inclined to accept the decision of the Select Committee, The Gas Council intended to oppose the district heating clauses (in the event, The Gas Council withdrew, but the North-Eastern Gas Board renewed its opposition before the House of Lords); that the Central Electricity Authority intended to pursue the same course (though, at the last, it did not do so). Students of government will be interested to learn that the

Ministry of Fuel and Power, which had nothing to say in the Commons, wrote in support of the precisely similar petition of the Gas Board in the Lords. Action suggested on these various matters, as well as on some minor amendments proposed to overcome a number of technical objections, had to be generally approved by the sub-committee. Finally, tactics and witnesses had again to be arranged for the Lords' stage.

It is not necessary to review proceedings in the Lords in detail. Second Reading produced no surprises. The Chairman (Lord Latham, some-time Chairman of the London County Council) and his four colleagues dealt with opposed clauses on Committee Stage. Five petitions had been deposited, but two were withdrawn after negotiations. The three remaining occupied two-and-a-half days and the report covered well over 100 foolscap pages. As in the Commons, the Preamble was taken at the end, and with equal formality. It has already been stated that the site of the Exhibition Hall was again reduced on a new petition for the exclusion from compulsory purchase. The "camping clauses" were left unchanged. The Gas Board obtained only one very minor amendment. The Lord Chairman (who occupies the same position in regard to Private Bills in the House of Lords as the Chairman of Ways and Means in the Commons), with the aid of his counsel as advisers, considered the unopposed clauses. A few minor amendments were made, mostly in response to government departments which pursued various objections to the bitter end. On this, one observation may be permitted. Government Departments, on the whole, do not appear to adopt a very tolerant or trusting attitude to Local Authorities seeking to extend their powers. The spirit of the Local Government Manpower Committee does not altogether appear to have entered into their soul.

In due course, proceedings on the Leeds Bill—which, as is most frequently the case, involved no disagreement between the two Houses—closed with the traditional and formal royal assent on 2nd August, 1956.

The Final Stages in Leeds

The Finance and Parliamentary Committee met on 26th October, 1956, to receive a final report from the Town Clerk, and to deal with local matters consequent upon the passing of the Bill. Although the Act came into force when the royal assent was given, with the exception of the boundary extension for which the appointed day was 1st April, 1957, some sections did not become operative until the Council had appointed a date. It was the function of the Finance and Parliamentary Committee to nominate the various Committees of the Council, to carry into effect, subject to confirmation by the Council, various sections of the Act, or to retain control itself over certain sections. Provision was also necessary for co-ordination and consultation between two or more Committees where the subject matter of sections overlapped their terms of reference under the Council's Standing Orders. Two Schedules, covering between them nine foolscap pages, were presented for the Committee's consideration. Details need not be given here, but as an indication of the scope of powers involved it may be mentioned that two complete Parts and 12 sections were allocated to the Finance and Parliamentary Committee; 29 sections and one whole Part to the Town Planning and Improvement Committee (four sections jointly with other Committees);

13 sections to the Highways Committee (three jointly with other Committees); 7 sections to the Parks Committee (two jointly with other Committees); 19 sections to the Health Committee (three jointly with other Committees); 3 sections to the Welfare Services Committee (in two cases jointly with another Committee); 6 sections to the Housing Committee (four jointly with other Committees); 2 sections to the Street Lighting Committee (in one case jointly with another Committee); 1 section to the Cleansing Committee (jointly); 4 sections to the Education Committee (one jointly); 2 sections to the Baths and Property Committee (one jointly); 5 sections to the Libraries and Arts Committee; 6 sections to the Watch Committee; 5 sections to the Fire Brigades Committee; 1 each to the Markets and Waterworks Committees. Some general sections were not allocated to specific Committees. Another way of emphasising the scope of the Act as passed is to state that of the 26 Committees through which the Leeds Corporation performs its functions, 16 were affected by the new powers.

As a final comment upon the Bill so far as Leeds is concerned, we may quote a passage—its restrained pride well justified—from the Town Clerk's final report: "Apart from the matters mentioned above" (the lost clauses) "it can be said that the Corporation lost very little of the Bill and although many amendments were made most of them were improvements and the principle of the clauses remained intact. There are a number of clauses in the Bill which are unprecedented. It can now be said that the Corporation have an up-to-date and comprehensive scheme of local act provisions. . . . This General Powers Bill was one of the largest, in some respects the most controversial, and one of the most successful for many years."

Conclusion

Without disagreeing with the foregoing comments, it is necessary, however to mention certain proposals of the A.M.C. which have a bearing on criticisms of Private Bill procedure made in the course of this article. The Association is opposed to a hearing before a Joint Committee (the procedure in Scottish Private Bills). They stress the advantage of the present procedure to those opposing a Bill. Petitions which fail in the First House may be re-presented in the Second House. But any clause which is disallowed in the First House is struck out of the Bill and does not come before the Second House. The present writer's view is that opponents have ample opportunity if their petition is heard before *one* Select Committee only. The Leeds Bill shows that neither the Central Committee on Camping Legislation nor the North-Eastern Gas Board gained anything from their second attempt before the Lords. Conversely, if opponents retain their two chances, it seems at least unbalanced that Promoters cannot attempt to reinsert a clause struck out in the First House. Is it really a fact that in these days Local Authorities constitute a serious threat to private and corporate interests and that the latter need double protection against them? The plea for what appears to some to be more than adequate opportunity for opposition derives from an era when small and not-too-wealthy interests might legitimately feel that the dice were loaded against them and when doctrines of *laissez-faire* assumed that all government activity, central or local, was likely to be bad. Today there is not merely an entirely different

attitude to state intervention. The main objectors to Private Bills appear to be powerful and wealthy public and private corporations or other Local Authorities themselves. Should they be encouraged to incur expenses (often at the expense of consumers) and to compel Local Authorities to spend more (at the expense of the ratepayers)? If negotiations with Local Authorities fail, surely an appeal to one Select Committee should be sufficient?

Whether this should be before a Joint Committee⁵ or before one only of the two Select Committees which according to present procedure consider Private Bills is perhaps immaterial except in so far as the question is bound up with the wider problem of the power of the House of Lords over Private Bills. The question may be posed, if not answered here, whether in these days the Lords should be able to exercise more power over private than over public legislation. Without overlooking the arduous and thankless task performed by noble Lords—a task always cited as an argument against the abolition of the Second Chamber—it may appear to some a little incongruous that proposals, e.g., for an extension of municipal trading or for further encroachments on the right to do what one likes with one's property should be at the mercy of the House of Lords as at present constituted. This argument is perhaps more valid as applied to the Second Chamber as a whole than to the Select Committee on Private Bills. The Leeds Bill, it is true, shows that the House of Commons can be equally as insuperable an obstacle. At least, however, the House reflects the last-expressed opinions of the electorate and although it is inevitable that some Private Bills are promoted by Local Authorities whose party majority is different from that of the House (and that therefore some controversial clauses may be lost on a party vote in the House), yet the majority can be changed—albeit too late for the Leeds lost clauses! These arguments are, of course, strongest where "political" clauses are involved. Yet the fact that Leeds kept 276 of the original 297 clauses should not disguise the fact that politics, like cheerfulness, will keep breaking in—sometimes on the most unexpected occasions.

Much of the delay and expense involved in Private Bill procedure might be avoided if a further suggestion of the A.M.C. were adopted. The relevant paragraphs from the Association's memorandum are quoted:

21. Over the years many local authorities have obtained powers which have been previously granted to other local authorities by local act. . . . There are a substantial number of clauses . . . approved by Parliament on a number of occasions and which might well be of value to other local authorities.

22. . . every two or three years these clauses might be included in a Local Government Clauses Bill . . . they could be made operative in the area of other authorities by Ministerial Order. A local authority . . . would have to prove the need for powers . . . and a limited amount of advertisement in the local newspapers would be required. It would not, however, be necessary . . . to promote a Bill . . .

⁵But compare the Joint Select Committee on Private Bill Procedure, 1955, para. 65.

23. (not) . . . all the clauses in local acts would necessarily be included in the suggested clauses Bill . . . (nor) would it necessarily follow that an Order would be made (on the request of a local authority). . . . But enquiry would be made by the appropriate Minister to satisfy himself that it was necessary and appropriate for the power to be conferred on the particular local authority.⁶

The present writer is in full agreement with these suggestions—as a step towards the more liberal Local Authorities Enabling Bill such as the late Arthur Greenwood proposed—then refused to accept when he had become Minister of Health—and which has not since been resurrected by the Labour Party, still less considered by the Conservatives.

For the rest—the whole experience described in outline above has been most valuable to one who sometimes feels the need to contradict the jibe that “those who teach can’t do.” Though not an experience for which one could afford the time and energy too frequently.

⁶Compare the Joint Select Committee on Private Bill Procedure, 1955, paras. 69-73. The Committee recommended that “the Government should at least once every ten years introduce a Bill containing clauses conferring powers applicable either to Local Authorities generally or to particular classes of local authorities” (para. 80).

The Health of Executives

By V. C. MEDVEI, M.D., M.R.C.P.

Dr. Medvei discusses a matter of supreme importance to all those in positions of command and responsibility in private or public undertakings.

THE health of executives has been much discussed recently. This is perhaps due to the fact that life is much more complex nowadays and that large organisations, whether they be governmental, industrial or military, call for an increasing number of responsible administrators. Indeed, the term “managerial revolution” has been coined to imply that Capitalism is being replaced not by Socialism but by the rule of the administrators in business and government. This enlargement of the field of responsibility, together with the complicated matter of integrating multiple interests, is said to account for the increased cause of stress to which people with responsibility are especially exposed.

What is Health?

Before proceeding any further, however, I should perhaps say what I mean by “health.” I do not use the term “positive health,” nor the definition contained in the constitution of The World Health Organisation, viz.: “Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.” I prefer to say that health is satisfactory when the signs of health are present and, like J. C. Raven,¹ I regard the chief signs as “the qualities of resilience, stamina, equanimity and self-reliance.”

Resilience means the ability to adapt oneself quickly and easily to fatigue and ailments. “Like other people, the healthy man gets tired, contracts infectious disease or may get injured, but he quickly responds and becomes himself again.” When tired he is able to rest, to sleep and wake again refreshed.

Stamina means the capacity for sustained effort, together with the ability to draw on and to rebuild reserves of energy.

Equanimity (of temper) means that a healthy person is not put out by things going on around him, or which may even interfere with what he has to do.

Self-reliance, one of the most important signs, implies assurance, confidence and personal freedom of action. The healthy person not only knows what he wants to do and has the courage to do it, but he also “shows resourcefulness in adapting his actions to the needs and wishes of other people with a ‘lightness of touch and a sense of humour.’” “He can mix with other people as equals and friends and he has the confidence of others sufficiently to do whatever he wishes generously and wholeheartedly.”

High Resistance to Strain in Leading Personalities

There is, theoretically, no reason to assume that senior executives should show less resistance to stress than other members of their society. One of the reasons for achieving and successfully maintaining leadership and

responsible positions is normal or even increased resistance to stress (in its widest sense).

It is well known that the sickness absence rates of people in responsible positions are—on the average—very much lower than those of other ranks and this fact is by no means due merely to better standards of living and working conditions.

As Lord Horder² pointed out, it may be of greater importance to assess the resistance and stamina of the second stratum of executives, of the younger men who aspire to senior positions, and among whom the future leaders will have to be found by search and selection; those who have already succeeded in being in the top line have usually proved their special toughness for achievement and have to undergo further tests only in case of exceptional stress.

One of the ablest of modern British leaders, the late Field Marshal Earl Wavell, in his Lees Knowles Lecture, "Generals and Generalship," delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1939, referred to the question of strain. It is well worth reading or re-reading this lecture, illustrated, as it is, by many amusing stories which are all to the point. To me the most important lessons contained in Wavell's lecture are, first, the above average resistance to stress in leaders of men which one expects and usually finds; second, that age is by no means a necessary handicap to successful leadership. Of modern examples we may think of Sir Winston Churchill and the late Field Marshal Smuts.

Lord Wavell gives a good illustration of what he terms the robustness and adaptability needed in the make-up of a general. As a very young officer, he was told that, whenever in the old days a new design of a mountain gun was submitted to the Artillery Committee, they had it hauled up to the top of a tower, some hundred feet high, and then dropped on to the ground below. If it was still capable of functioning it was given a further trial; if not, it was rejected as "flimsy." The Committee reasoned that mules and guns might easily fall down a hillside, and must be made capable of surviving so trivial a misadventure. "On similar grounds, rifles and automatic weapons submitted to the Small Arms Committee are, I believe, buried in mud for 48 hours or so, before being tested for their rapid firing qualities. . . . Now the mind of the General in war is buried, not merely for 48 hours, but for days and weeks, in the mud and sand of unreliable information and uncertain factors and may at any time receive, from an unsuspected move of the enemy, an unforeseen accident or a treacherous turn in the weather, a bump equivalent to a drop of at least 100 feet on to something hard. Delicate mechanism is of little use in war; and this applies to the mind of the commander as well as to his body; to the spirit of an army as well as to the weapons and instruments with which it is equipped. All materials of war, including the General, must have a certain solidity, a high margin over the normal breaking strain. It is often said that British war material is unnecessarily solid; and the same possibly is apt to be true of their generals. But we are certainly right to leave a good margin."

It should not be forgotten that the human body functions normally with a large margin of reserve. So does the human mind. It is my firm conviction that no one is fit to hold any position, high or low, difficult or

simple, for any length of time, if he has to use more than 50-60 per cent. of his mental capacity for carrying out the routine work of his post. This does not apply, of course, to exceptionally heavy demands during a major crisis.

Fatigue in Ill-Health

If, as I strongly feel, we can have confidence in the present and future health of our leaders notwithstanding the apparent increase in conditions likely to produce stress, it still remains necessary to consider how the wear and tear of responsibility may be avoided or minimised in those whose stamina and resilience might otherwise be unequal to the strain of high executive positions; for it is the case, unfortunately, that some fall by the wayside, and some do not achieve, or cannot maintain, their high potential. It would be true to say that two of the chief enemies to health are fatigue and stress, and an understanding of their nature will help to defeat them.

Fatigue is a much more complex condition than is generally supposed and this is why it is so difficult to define satisfactorily. Obviously, it does not apply to what we may term normal healthy tiredness at the end of a normal working day which is completely restored by rest or sleep; scientifically this would be mainly "impairment."

The increased knowledge of fatigue which is now available as the result of scientific investigation is of the greatest importance in the assessment of resilience and stamina. It reveals that there are many kinds of fatigue states, some of which are physiological and can be measured; others which are states of so-called mental fatigue not identical with, but partially overlapping, the physiological. As an example of physiological fatigue there is a well-defined type of exhaustion due simply to lack of the necessary amount of sugar circulating in the blood. This can be measured and rectified, being usually due to a harassed and irregular dietary.

For the purposes of this paper, I am more concerned with the fatigue state which arises out of unresolved conflicts and in frustration. It is one form of attempt to retreat or escape from a situation which has become too difficult to cope with. If the situation is prolonged, fatigue nearly always follows. It is clearly an over-all state and must always be attributed to and considered in terms of the person as a whole.

Stress

We know now that much physical illness arises from some nervous or emotional cause for which the term "stress" is an alternative expression. The concept of stress is borrowed from the physicists, because it provides useful analogies between strain undergone by physical objects from environmental stress, which within certain limits of elasticity may be only temporary but beyond those limits may result in permanent distortion; similarly the effects of environmental stimuli on the living organism may, beyond certain limits of adjustment, cause distortion and disorganisation. Such adjustive processes break down in two conditions: when the organism is faced with stress which it cannot surmount (frustration) and when two or more incompatible tensions compete with one another, preventing suitable adjustment (conflict). In man, conflict is the rule rather than the exception when

decisions have to be made. In the case of conflict, according to R. W. Russell,³ disorder may be produced in three ways. In the first, the subject or the person feels bound to approach and at the same time to avoid the same goal—the so-called “approach-avoidance” situation, as, for example, when a henpecked husband experiences unquenchable thirst for a visit to the “local,” but is afraid of his wife’s reprisals. The second—the “avoidance-avoidance” situation—occurs in the case of a patriotic soldier who is afraid to advance because of the danger from the enemy and also afraid to retreat because of being called a coward. The third—the “double-approach avoidance” situation—is the dilemma of Buridan’s ass, which starved to death between two bales of hay, unable to make up its mind to move further away from either.

Are executives more exposed than other people to “stress diseases?” Sir Heneage Ogilvie,⁴ in a lecture “In Praise of Idleness,” picked out three which affect the inhabitants of the older and more civilised communities. They are toxic goitre, duodenal ulcer and essentially raised high blood pressure. We may add two others: *diabetes mellitus* and coronary heart disease.

The point must be made, however, that all those diseases are not really caused by “stress” alone. Everybody has in his bodily or mental make-up weak spots or weaker systems. There are whole families with history of digestive disorders, or in which the occurrence of high blood pressure and cerebral haemorrhage is not infrequent; obesity and sugar diabetes are also often familial; but exposure to physical or mental strain brings about the conditions which may mark the beginning or the recurrence of such diseases. Stress has thus a “trigger effect,” which is readily understood, if considering the research into the effects of stress which have been carried out in the past ten years especially by Hans Selye⁵ and his co-workers. They summed up their findings in three momentous sentences:

“(1) Any systemic stress (viz., one affecting large portions of the body) elicits an essentially similar syndrome with general manifestations.

“(2) This syndrome helps adaptation.

“(3) Adaptation can cause disease.”

Among the stresses which affect large portions of the body are cold, fatigue, worry, infections and intoxications (including alcohol). The key position in the defence mechanism of the individual is occupied by a small part of a very small organ, the cortex (rind) of the adrenal glands (two small glands which are adjacent to the kidneys, and which are glands with internal secretion like the thyroid, the pituitary and the sex glands). One of the most important hormones of that adrenal cortex is cortisone, which thus brings even rheumatic disorders into the circle of stress and adaptation disorders. The adrenal glands have a direct influence on sugar metabolism, blood pressure, obesity, mental anxiety and fear, and an indirect effect on many other organs and functions.

Now executives have to live with more than the usual amount of anxiety, fear, worry and often a sense of guilt. This occurs, in addition to harassed and irregular time schedules of work and eating arrangements, not to mention the physical fatigue caused by travel, large (or too small) meals, alcohol

and nicotine. The reason for excessive worry and fear is the fact that in big business or politics, or anywhere where great responsibility is involved, the number of problems which appear insoluble—at least at first glance—becomes an almost daily occurrence. The strong will learn to live with their worries; the weaker brethren will fall by the wayside; but there remain a fair number of people who appear to be able to cope with worry for a long time, but have to pay a price: the price of premature hardening of the arteries, of indigestion and peptic ulcer, of increased blood pressure, of sleeplessness and irritability, all signs of an incomplete adaptation. Admittedly, there are some who can stand the strain of responsible work over a long period and show a special resistance to fatigue and worry. I agree with Sir W. Russell Brain, who told me once, in a personal communication, that—in his opinion—this capacity depends on some unknown constitutional factor. “Such people can work for ten, twelve or more hours at a stretch if necessary, and at the end of it are no more fatigued than the ordinary person after an eight-hour day, or perhaps less so. With this perhaps goes a capacity to sleep quickly and with good relaxation, great power of concentration which enables them to work in almost any circumstances without distraction, and an ability to switch the mind quickly from one subject to another. Churchill, of course, exhibits all these features in a high degree. But I am inclined to think that either a man has them or he has not, and that if he has not there is not much can be done about it though his path may be made easier in various ways.”

The Method of General Motors

Some large organisations have drawn the obvious conclusions from what has been said above. For example, General Motors Ltd., to whom I am indebted for the information, insist on treating their executives like expensive machinery, making certain they have adequate leisure, holidays, secretarial help, comfort on journeys and at work, etc. The hours of work will depend on a person’s constitutional capacity, as mentioned above, but also on emotional influences on working capacity: there are the quick, concentrated type of people who may go through the same amount of work in an hour as others do in four hours: they may still have reserves at the end of that time, or they may feel as exhausted as the other group of “slow plodders” after a spell of four hours’ work. If so, they should not be spurred to further efforts, but given time to relax. The same applies to the question of sleep. There are people who sleep readily and well, and wake refreshed after six hours sleep a day. Others may need eight or even nine hours. The time of sleep plays an important rôle: there are some who sleep best before midnight, and work best very early in the morning. Another group (which includes Sir Winston Churchill) can work well during the night, but dislikes early morning rising and work. These trends are not merely idiosyncracies or habits caused by training in childhood and youth (after all Churchill was trained as a regular officer), but also constitutional in nature, perhaps influenced by such factors as sugar metabolism and liver function, and accumulation and excretion of waste products from the body.

It is obviously useful from time to time to have a specialist medical overhaul of anybody over the age of 45 and there are certain large organisations

in the United States and in this country who have introduced a periodic system of annual medical examination for their senior staff. General Motors Ltd. have now also introduced it in England and have very kindly permitted me to mention their method. The scheme is entirely voluntary and encourages every executive with an income of over a thousand pounds per annum to have a complete medical examination by a nominated physician once a year. If considered necessary, radiological and other laboratory examinations can the results are strictly confidential between the examining physician and the executive or the executive's private doctor, should it be considered desirable to inform the latter. The firm itself merely arranges for the examination and pays the necessary fees from a central office. A report on the result of the examination is sent to the person concerned, but no report whatever is given to the Company. If the report contains advice in regard to treatment or action to be taken, it is entirely for the executive to decide whether or not he is going to accept the advice. In the United States a similar scheme has been in operation for some time, but on a far more elaborate scale. There, apparently, the people participating in the scheme enter a Clinical Centre for a whole day and X-ray and other examinations are carried out as a matter of routine.

Dangers of Automatic Periodic Medical Overhaul

Valuable as such a scheme may be, there are a few remarks which have to be made. In the first place, it may give people examined in such a manner a sense of false security. It is known that in some cases of impending disaster of the coronary blood vessels of the heart, no clinical symptoms may be present and even examination by means of an electrocardiograph may not show any changes up to 24 hours before a severe attack occurs. I remember in particular a senior company director who had an expert overhaul before going to Switzerland for a sports holiday. Everything was found to be normal, yet he was laid up with a coronary thrombosis on the night after his arrival.

In another type of person a regular examination may cause anxiety. I am combining my own personal experience of this point with that of many of my colleagues in my profession who all confirm that examinations of people over a certain age are often dreaded by the patient concerned. He may be highly strung and is afraid he may be told that something is wrong with him. The voluntary nature of the examination does not always help; some people are afraid to go, but develop a guilt complex if they do not volunteer to undergo the periodic re-examination. Obviously, a great deal will depend on the examining physician who may be able to reassure his patient sufficiently. In one particular series of a group examination of senior executives by a good and understanding physician, it actually happened that the majority of them found their way back to him with all sorts of fears and alleged complaints, whereas they had not seen a doctor for many years and had felt perfectly fit previously. It must also be remembered that an annual examination will not give the medical expert any true picture of the patient's background and the possible stresses to which he may be subjected at home or at work.

This fact has been fully recognised by great personalities in history and by Royalty in general who have their doctors as personal friends. The influence of medical advisers who are at the same time personal friends has been very marked on national leaders in recent years.

The practical application of these remarks is that it is better to have good medical advice from a man who is not only an efficient physician but also knows the work executives have to carry out and is familiar with the background and the possible stresses at home. He will readily suggest the right line of medical examination should this become necessary and, above all, he will generally be able to detect when something is amiss long before it is apparent. If a system of regular medical overhaul is introduced it should certainly be done in a manner which prevents both the creation of a sense of false security and that of a *malade imaginaire*.

The Heavy Burden of Social Activities

I have always regarded with admiration the number of people in middle or later age who have been able to carry out their numerous social and public activities which appear to be part of the heavy burden of their work. The head of one of the medical professional organisations remarked that for two solid years he and his wife had to attend dinners and luncheons and make speeches six times a week and that he nearly broke down under the strain of it.

I feel that much of the social burden should be shared between the senior and the younger group, and, similarly, that board and committee memberships and meetings should be pruned to a rational total. The arrangement on the big liners like the *Queen Mary* and *Queen Elizabeth* seems to me ideal, where, I understand, there is a Staff Captain of full rank supporting the Captain in Charge who has to play the host as well as command the ship. The social burden can influence the physical and mental stamina of a man much more than is usually recognised; laborious days cannot be safely overloaded with constant nights out and with innumerable public dinners.

Labour and Relaxation

There is no book of rules how a senior executive should spend his leisure hours and his holiday; but here are a few suggestions of what he should not do. Physical fitness will not be found by over-exercise, i.e., exercise beyond the capacity of age, training and skill. A vigorous game of tennis or golf may add to the tiredness caused by intensive business activities and may lead to exhaustion instead of restoration of energy. The ability to relax varies with the individual, time and opportunity; but it is still an art. Some people possess a natural gift for relaxing and others do not; but a great deal can be achieved by training. A good night's rest after a strenuous time is very important. Sound sleep often expresses the ability for complete relaxation and is also a measure of one's mastery of the situation. Napoleon was famed for being able to sleep during battle, and Lord Montgomery has a reputation of being a sound sleeper on the eve of great events. In order to achieve sleep in difficult times it may be worthwhile using occasionally a sedative before going to bed.

Change in surroundings is useful, more from the point of view of

"getting away from it all" than as an indication of "having a good time" which may require a considerable expenditure of energy. Here again the advice of the "friendly physician" may prove of great value. Hobbies can be strongly recommended if they are purposeful, carried on regularly and do not become an obsession. They are usually enjoyed and therefore suited to the personality of the individual. They are also a good investment against the fear and boredom of retirement and they discourage the postponement of the retiring date because there is something to look forward to after giving up the work of a lifetime.

The Need for a Good Deputy

As a concluding point, I would like to emphasise again the necessity of an able and reliable deputy or junior partner for leading executives. Those deputies should be preferably eligible for succession, but young enough to take a fair share of the burden without any undue jealousy, and experienced enough to support their seniors in the work inside and outside office hours.

Conclusion

It is not sufficient to understand the problems connected with the health of senior executives; the head of an organisation must be personally responsible for carrying out the policy of actively guarding the precious health of his most senior team-mates, and tackling these problems. Only occasionally will a director of personnel be able to cover this special field and then only if he has the understanding and active support of his commanding officer. Unless full responsibility is taken at the very highest level, little will be achieved in this urgent question.

Physical or mental breakdowns cannot be prevented by routine medical examinations alone nor by any set of rules and each case will present different features.

The main pillar of my new approach is that there must be continuing partnership between physician and executive—in other words that they must work together throughout to obtain results.

¹*Human Nature*. London, 1952.

²Lord Horder, Lecture to Association of Industrial Medical Officers, 1951.

³Ernest Jones Lecture, British Psychoanalytical Society (1st December, 1952). *British Medical Journal*, 1949. I, 645.

⁴Hans Selye, "Stress," *Acta. Inc.*, Montreal, 1950.

For other reading see:

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Employer-Employee Relationships in the Federal Public Service of Australia

By LEO BLAIR

The Lecturer in Comparative Government and Public Administration in the University of Adelaide follows up his recent article on Arbitration in the Spring, 1956, issue. He wishes to acknowledge the generous assistance given by the Public Service Board and many Departments in the collection of the material on which the article is based.

IT is now hardly necessary to mention that Governments, like other employers, have come to appreciate the value of good employer-employee relations and the Federal Government of Australia is no exception. If proof were needed of the change in attitude in the Commonwealth Public Service since the beginning of this century towards employees it is to be found in two very contrasting statements. In 1904 the Report of the Public Service Commissioners (page 54) contained the following paragraph:

"Since taking office I have gladly granted recognition to three Associations whose avowed objects, if strictly adhered to, will, I feel, greatly contribute to the social, intellectual and ethical advancement of their members; but the caution cannot be too early given that as soon as any attempt is manifested by an Association of stepping beyond the limits of its legitimate and acknowledged functions, so soon will difficulties arise. . . ."

In 1951 the Public Service Board issued a Training Handbook which (at page 38) stated:

"Representative organisations are afforded every facility from the administration and you are advised to join your service association. It is now widely recognised that organised staff associations are a help not only to individual public servants but also to the departments and the Service as a whole. The worth and method of participation by the staff in management are among the more recent discoveries in administration."

The purpose of this article is to outline the machinery at present existing in the Commonwealth Public Service for employer-employee consultation and discussion and for staff participation in the processes of administration and management. Very broadly, these relationships can be divided into two groups:

- (a) Those which have as their object the improvement and protection of standards of general conditions of service:
 - (i) Wage and salary arbitration;
 - (ii) Staff associations and the Joint Council;
 - (iii) Welfare committees and similar bodies.
- (b) Those which seek to increase staff participation and co-operation in the tasks of management and administration:
 - (i) Promotion appeal committees;

- (ii) Disciplinary appeal boards ;
- (iii) Classification committees ;
- (iv) Advisory committees, including training and suggestions committees.

Obviously, these divisions are not exclusive and there is considerable room for argument as to whether disciplinary appeal boards, for example, should be classified under the first group¹ since they might be regarded as a means of ensuring that excessive punishments are not meted out to public servants. I have chosen to classify them as a means of enabling staff representatives to co-operate in administering one particular aspect of management, i.e., the maintenance of discipline. But this is very much a question of emphasis and, in any case, the classification suggested is not intended to be a rigid one.

Before examining the activities of the bodies mentioned above it might be useful to make some brief comment on the control of the Federal Public Service in Australia. The main legislation governing the service is the Commonwealth Public Service Act, 1922-54, together with the regulations promulgated under that Act. The authority charged with the administration of the Act and regulations is the Public Service Board, which consists of a Chairman and two Commissioners. Members of the Board are appointed for a period of five years and may be reappointed ; in order to provide a measure of political independence members of the Board can be dismissed only by the Governor-General acting with the concurrence of both the House of Representatives and the Senate.

The duties of the Public Service Board are defined in the Public Service Act :

“ In addition to such duties as are elsewhere in this Act imposed on it, the Board shall have the following duties :

- (a) To devise means for effecting economies and promoting efficiency in the management and working of Departments . . . ;
- (b) To examine the business of each Department and ascertain whether any inefficiency or lack of economy exists ;
- (c) To exercise a critical oversight of the activities and the methods of conducting the business of each Department ;
- (d) To maintain a comprehensive and continuous system of measuring and checking the economical and efficient working of each Department, and to institute standard practices and uniform instructions for carrying out recurring work ; and
- (e) Such other duties in relation to the Public Service as are prescribed ” (Section 17 (1)) ;

and to enable the Board to carry out these duties it is given statutory powers to :

- “ (a) Enter any Department for the purpose of carrying out its duties ;
- (b) Summon any person whose evidence appears to be material to the determining of any subject of inspection, inquiry or investigation being conducted by the Board ;

- (c) Take evidence on oath ; and
- (d) Require the production of documents ” (Section 19 (1)).

As well as these tasks pertaining to the efficiency and economy of the Departments, the Public Service Board is the employing authority and is thus concerned with the examination and appointment of candidates to the Public Service and with the creation and abolition of offices.

Having thus briefly outlined the nature of Public Service Board control, we can now proceed to consider the various means by which the Board and the Departments on the one hand and public servants on the other seek to secure maximum harmony in their relationships.

The Public Service Arbitration System¹

A statute which, for the public servant, is of almost equal importance with the Public Service Act is the Public Service Arbitration Act, 1920-55, which establishes the machinery employed in resolving disputes between Federal public servants and the Public Service Board or the employing Department concerned. The Act governs in detail the procedures to be followed in arriving at the settlement of such disputes and provides for the appointment of a Public Service Arbitrator who, like the Board, enjoys the privilege of being removable only by the Governor-General with the consent of both Houses of Parliament.

Section 12 (1) empowers the Arbitrator to “ determine all matters submitted to him relating to salaries, wages, rates of pay, terms or conditions of service or employment of officers and employees of the Public Service,” and his determinations are binding on all parties to disputes arising therefrom.

The whole emphasis of the Act is on conciliation rather than arbitration and, where possible, agreement is reached between the Public Service Board and staff organisations without the necessity of obtaining a formal hearing before the Arbitrator, and even when a formal claim has been lodged with the Arbitrator by a staff association and corresponding objections have been made by the Board, the Arbitrator must call a conference at which the points in dispute can be freely discussed by both parties and at which the Arbitrator can give guidance on points at issue. Only after this negotiating conference has broken down are matters dealt with by a formal “ public hearing ” at which evidence is taken and arguments presented by both sides, the procedure followed being not much different from that of an ordinary court of law.

Formerly, there was no appeal from the determinations of the Arbitrator, but since 1953 an appeal lies to the Full Court of Conciliation and Arbitration, a tribunal of judges established in 1905 for the purpose of settling industrial disputes beyond the limits of any one State. One effect of the system of appeals has been that the Arbitrator has been forced to delay deciding certain claims because similar ones have been *sub judice* by the Conciliation and Arbitration Court and the Arbitrator has “ hung fire ” pending the Court’s decision. This has caused a “ backlog ” of claims which has had a result quite unforeseen by the Public Service Act itself. Many staff associations now see fit to approach the Public Service Board with a view to getting agreement on as many issues as possible at the same time ; the informal discussions which take place on these occasions do save the time of the

Arbitrator and appear to work to the satisfaction of both staff and Board.

The principle of Public Service Arbitration means in effect that there is a large measure of dual control over the public servant's conditions of employment; these are governed generally by the Public Service Act and Regulations administered by the Public Service Board, but the Public Service Arbitrator is an authority to whom public servants, through their staff associations, can apply for improvements in their salaries and general conditions of service. This dual control has been severely criticised, not only for the way in which it works but for the principle which it admits—namely that any form of arbitration is desirable in the Public Service. One critic writes thus:

“The public servant is an employee of the Crown not merely of the Government of the day, although it is that Government that acts on behalf of the Crown. That Government created a Public Service Board to discharge personnel functions on behalf of the Crown, and the Board has gradually developed skills and techniques for effectively carrying out these functions. That it sometimes acts in opposition to the Government of the day in protecting or advancing the interests of officials under its control is clear. . . . Is there therefore any need for an Industrial Court to duplicate that protection? . . . There is substance in the contention that as the public servant is *sui generis* his standards and conditions are adequately met by the original idea of a Public Service Board. The Board can be so organised as to deal with each and every official; the Court can only deal with groups in the mass and tends to legislate for the average. The procedure of the Board is calculated to evoke a desire for co-operation, that of the Court tends to foment a spirit of litigiousness which can be destructive of *esprit de corps* . . . cases before the Court are formal, protracted, costly and calculated to disrupt public business by withdrawing from their duties clouds of witnesses for the contending parties.”²

It is worth noting that successive Arbitrators have embraced the view that matters of administration, many of which have been aired during arbitration proceedings, should be left to the Public Service Board and that an Arbitrator should not interfere in these matters. But the very existence of an authority possessing powers to some extent in conflict with those of the Board must make the latter's task of administration more difficult.³

Nevertheless, the idea of arbitration is very firmly implanted in the minds of public servants and no government would attempt at present to abolish the existing system.

Staff Associations and the Joint Council

As in most modern public services the staff of the Federal Public Service enjoy the right of association for the purpose of negotiating with the Public Service Board in respect of general conditions of service and employment. But apart from endeavouring to further the interests of their members in the usual ways, e.g., by seeking higher wages, staff associations in recent years have sought a measure of participation in the general management of the Service. Not untypical of the staff association approach to this question is

the following:

“Officers who have served for any length of time in employee organisations have acquired a wide knowledge of the Public Service and have a definite contribution to make to the administration. It will be found that they have not lost their capacity for forming sound decisions or of judging a case on its merits . . . the appointment to the Board of a representative of the employees would ensure that questions bearing on the welfare of officers and employees would be fully considered when matters affecting their employment are under consideration.”⁴

While it is not intended to discuss the merits and demerits of this highly controversial field of staff relations, it might be observed that, although, as will be seen later in this article, a large measure of employee participation in administration is possible in the Public Service, it has very definite limits so long as staff associations have as their primary rôle the advancement of their members. The Public Service Board is, after all, an employer charged with the duty of administering the Service in the most efficient manner—that administrative efficiency may often conflict with the interests of personnel cannot be denied. What then is the position of the staff association representative on the Public Service Board? His divided loyalty may impose severe strains on his attitude to, for example, matters involving the pecuniary advancement of members of the Public Service.

However, although the value of an employee representative on the Public Service Board may be doubted, there is a great area short of this in which staff associations can do much. And it was mainly in recognition of this fact that in 1945 a Joint Council was established, the purpose of which was to further the co-operation of Public Service staff associations in the solution of administrative problems. The creation of this Joint Council was largely the result of representations made to the Prime Minister of Australia by the Chairman of the Public Service Board. It was felt that the inauguration of an officially constituted body, meeting regularly, would assist free interchange of ideas between staff representatives and the “official” side on matters of general concern to the Public Service. In 1945, therefore, the Public Service Act was amended to provide for the establishment of a “Joint Council . . . representative of the Board, the Departments and the staff organisations.”⁵

The Joint Council is not an executive but an advisory body enabling the Public Service Board to obtain the views of senior public servants and staff representatives on topics of importance in the service. But, although advisory, it has considerable influence and many of its recommendations are accepted by the Board; and apart from its direct effect on administrative problems it is a means of allowing staff association officials and senior administrators to become familiar with each other's problems.

There are fourteen members of the Joint Council: six departmental representatives, who will normally be senior administrators of some experience; seven representatives of the organisations, five of whom will be nominated by the High Council⁶ and two by the Australian Postal Workers' Union; the Chairman, who must be a member of the Public Service Board. The Australian Postal Workers' Union is given separate representation because

of the fact that it is the only large Public Service Association not affiliated to the High Council of Public Service Unions.

Regulations made under the Public Service Act make provision for Departments or staff organisations to submit to the Public Service Board any matter which they consider to be of general interest in relation to the Service; it then lies with the Board to refer these matters to the Joint Council. In practice, any topic referred to the Board is passed on to the Council, which is then left to decide whether or not any item should come within its purview.

After having investigated any particular matter, the Council must report back to the Board, but need not make any recommendations or proposals should this be considered undesirable or unnecessary. Where, for example, a particular aspect of some topic under consideration by the Council is *sub judice* by the Public Service Arbitrator, the Council will usually content itself by suggesting that the matter in question be left to the Arbitrator to decide.

The phrase "of general interest in relation to the Public Service" has given rise to some difficulty. The Council should consider matters of broad general principle—it was never meant to take notice of individual cases; but if the Council is to be a really useful body it is essential that its field of discussion should be as little restricted as possible. A liberal interpretation of the phrase has been adopted and although there have been occasions when the Council has had to reject items as not coming within its scope, generally speaking the good sense of the Departments and the staff associations is the main guiding factor in the submission of matters for the Council's consideration. Among recent topics which the Joint Council have discussed have been recreation leave, long-service furlough, sick leave and travelling allowances.

As the Council meets for only two days at a time (these meetings take place about every four months) it is customary for committees to be appointed which can conduct continuous investigations into matters referred to them by the Council. A committee normally consists of two departmental representatives and two representatives of the staff associations, with the Chairman of the Joint Council acting as committee chairman. It is possible for persons with "specialist" knowledge to be co-opted to these committees where this is thought desirable.

"Welfare" Committees

Another important example of the machinery used to improve the general conditions of the Federal public servant is that which relates to the field of "welfare and social amenities." As might be expected there is no uniformity of practice here, each Department making its own arrangements, sometimes formal, sometimes informal according to the particular working conditions—although all work on the broad principle, laid down by the Public Service Board, that staff welfare is an important part of departmental management, and that certain minimum standards of accommodation and amenities must be maintained.

One or two examples of how departments tackle this area of staff relations will serve to indicate the variety of means employed. In the Department

of Shipping and Transport, for example, there is a Welfare Committee composed of employees elected by their fellows and which works in very close co-operation with the Assistant Secretary (Administration) who, of course, presents the official standpoint. As well as ensuring that certain standards laid down by the Public Service Board (e.g., regarding the type of office furniture to be used) are observed, this Committee promotes the introduction of other amenities conducive to improved staff welfare.

In the Department of Civil Aviation there is a slightly different type of body. Unlike the one just mentioned it does not deal with the official aspects of staff welfare which are the responsibility of the Personnel Branch. It is termed the Civil Aviation Institute and, although originally formed on the initiative of members of the staff, it is controlled by a Council representative of both the employee and employer sides of the Department. The Department gives all possible assistance to the Institute and has provided, furnished and equipped a theatre in which are shown, mainly at lunch-times, 16 mm. sound films. The Institute also controls a staff library and canteen, space and fittings for both of which have been provided by the Department. The Council of the Institute works through various committees to promote sporting, social and educational amenities.

Finally, as an example of a Department which has no welfare body in the sense discussed above, there is the Department of External Affairs. There is a "Social Club" which, however, is in no way an "official" group and has no formal liaison with the "official" side of the Department. But even in cases of this nature it should be borne in mind that the staff associations are active in pressing for better staff amenities and therefore it does not follow that because there is no formally constituted staff committee to supervise welfare matters, these are left entirely to the whim of the Departmental Chief. And the Public Service Board has a staff of Welfare Officers who are responsible for supervising Departmental welfare arrangements to ensure that the Board's policy is being observed.

Promotion Appeal Committees

The bodies so far examined have as their primary object the improvement of general conditions of service in the widest possible sense; the remainder of this article will deal with the means by which the Federal Public Servant actually participates in departmental management, and one of the most important aspects of this is the machinery employed in the hearing of appeals against promotions.

Prior to the present Public Service Act promotions in the Australian Federal Public Service were made by the Public Service Commissioner⁷ on the recommendation of the Permanent Head of the Department to which the officer to be promoted belonged. No right of appeal against these promotions lay at the instance of any public servant who felt he had a grievance except that, if he had information about the intended promotion before it was made, he could make some protest to the Public Service Commissioner.

When the present Public Service Act was introduced in 1922, the Permanent Head of a Department was empowered to make a promotion which, however, would be provisional only and which would be subject to an appeal to the Public Service Board; the Board delegated such appeals

to one of its Inspectors⁸ who thereupon held an enquiry, the results of which were submitted to the Board on which lay the ultimate responsibility for any decision taken. The staff associations did not favour this system, which they regarded as an appeal "from Caesar to Caesar," and during the period 1923-43 there was considerable agitation to have the promotion appeal machinery altered.

In 1943 a Committee was appointed to investigate, *inter alia*, the system of promotion appeals and the report of this Committee recommended far-reaching changes, the main one being that in each State a Promotion Appeal Committee should be established. In 1945 the Public Service Act was duly amended and it is now provided that a Promotion Appeal Committee will be constituted in each State and that such Committees will comprise:

- (a) A Chairman, to be nominated by the Public Service Board, but thereafter not to be subject to the Board or any other person acting under the Public Service Act.
- (b) An officer nominated by the Permanent Head of the Department in which the provisional promotion has been made.
- (c) An officer nominated by the staff organisation covering the class of office concerned.

In some cases a full-time Chairman has been appointed (in States where the number of Federal Public Servants is large); in other cases the Public Service Inspector for the State has been made Chairman *ex officio*. And for the purposes of promotion appeals work he operates quite independently of Public Service Board instructions. Practice with regard to the departmental representative varies and it is not unusual for the department's nominee to be actively interested in the promotion under appeal. Indeed, the writer has been told by at least one departmental head that the departmental representative is expected to uphold the provisional promotion made by his department unless some new facts are revealed by the Committee's proceedings which substantially alter the situation. The nominee of the staff organisation is appointed for a period of twelve months and is elected by the members of the organisation concerned.

An appellant may base his appeal on grounds of either superior efficiency or equal efficiency and seniority. The most obvious difficulty here arises in estimating "efficiency" and the statutory definition in Section 50 (4) gives little assistance: "Special qualifications and aptitude for the discharge of the duties of the office to be filled, together with merit, diligence and good conduct. . . ." It is difficult to deny that this removes no real problems and adds a few others. With regard to this thorny topic of "efficiency" it is interesting—and perhaps a little alarming—to find that under the Public Service Regulations (para. 109G) 28 types of appointment are listed in respect of which it is not necessary to promote the most efficient officer, but only the most senior efficient officer. It is true that almost all the positions specified are in the Fourth Division of the Service and are mainly manual jobs, but there is one, at least, which is in the Third Division, namely, Senior Postal Clerk, and it is difficult to view this regulation as anything but a sop to the staff associations which appear to be traditionally hostile to the subjective test of efficiency.

The Promotion Appeal Committees exercise summary jurisdiction over posts in the lower salary scales and where the appeal is one in which officers in the same State only are concerned; in other cases the Committee sends a detailed report to the Board setting out the Committee's opinion as to the relative merits of the officers involved in the appeal. No information is given about this report or about the Committee proceedings on which it was based. In any system of "promotion appeals" there are so many intangible factors, interpretation of which depends upon the subjectivity of reporting officers, that one is tempted to suggest that although perhaps it may be good for staff morale in that it presents some show of impartiality, nevertheless its value in terms of administrative efficiency is difficult to estimate.

Disciplinary Appeal Boards

The Public Service Act provides by Section 55 (1) that:

"An officer (other than an officer of the First or Second Division) who:

- (a) Wilfully disobeys or disregards any lawful order made or given by any person having authority to make or give the order; or
- (b) Is negligent or careless in the discharge of his duties; or
- (c) Is inefficient or incompetent through causes which appear to be within his own control; or
- (d) Uses intoxicating liquors or drugs to excess; or
- (e) Is guilty of any disgraceful or improper conduct either in his official capacity or otherwise; or
- (f) Commits any breach of the provisions of this Act or any regulations thereunder; or
- (g) Having made or subscribed an oath or affirmation in the form in the Fourth Schedule to this Act does or says anything in violation of that oath or affirmation; or
- (h) Has wilfully supplied to any officer or other person acting on behalf of the Commonwealth incorrect or misleading information in connection with his appointment to the Commonwealth Service,

shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable to such punishment as is determined upon under the provisions of this section."

The Act permits the Heads of Departments to punish these offences in certain prescribed ways, for example, by a fine or by a reduction in salary.

It is in respect of these punishments that the system of Disciplinary Appeal Boards operates and in the working of the system staff representatives play a large part.

The public servant may appeal against his punishment "on the ground of innocence . . . or excessive severity of punishment," and his appeal will lie to a Disciplinary Appeal Board, membership of which (by the Public Service Act) must consist of:

- (a) An independent Chairman who must have the qualifications of a Magistrate.

- (b) An officer of the department to which the appellant belongs, who must not in any way be connected with the charge made against the appellant.
- (c) An officer representing the Public Service Division¹⁰ in the State to which the appellant belongs.

The last mentioned is elected in each State every three years at an election in which all permanent public servants are entitled to vote for a State representative of the Division to which they belong.

An Appeal Board may confirm, annul or vary the punishment given in the first instance, but it may not dismiss the appellant from the Service, although it may recommend to the Public Service Board that this be done—the latter having the power to act as it thinks fit. The Appeal Boards may summon before them any person whether or not in the Public Service whose evidence they think will assist in the determination of the appeal; they may take evidence on oath and either the appellant or the authority making the accusation may be represented by legal counsel or other agent.

Classification Committees

Mention has been made of the system of arbitration. It should be observed, however, that the Public Service Arbitrator does not consider the salary classification of individual offices or positions. Before 1945 the Arbitrator was employed to deal with isolated cases of salary-fixing, the means adopted being known in the Service as the key position technique. This consisted of using certain selected important posts, already classified by the Arbitrator, as a yardstick in the negotiation (between the Public Service Board and the staff associations) of the individual offices it was desired to classify without reference to the Arbitrator.

In 1945 the Public Service Act was amended and provision was made for the setting-up of a Central Classification Committee, not only to alleviate the burden of the Arbitrator, but as a deliberate attempt to give staff association representatives a direct part in the classification of individual posts.

When first established, the Committee was made up of a Chairman, appointed by the Public Service Board, an officer nominated by the permanent head of the department in which the post existed, and an officer nominated by the organisation covering the class of office to be considered. During the period 1945-50 the Committee sat almost continuously and issued a vast number of determinations; since 1950 the Committee has ceased to be a permanent one and is now established on an *ad hoc* basis as the need arises.

Departmental Advisory Committees

Finally, brief mention should be made of some other ways by means of which staff participation in management is achieved in the Federal Public Service. These have been termed generically advisory, but they include the suggestions committee used in some departments to consider suggestions made by the staff on any aspect of office routine; the training committee established in some departments to plan a coherent system of in-service training and in which staff representatives play an important part; and—of more recent date and as yet rare—the management advisory committee set up with a view to giving the staff a measure of genuine participation in

the administration of departmental matters generally. Of the last-mentioned type of body it is proposed to say a little more.

In the Department of Trade and Customs there has been established an Advisory Committee on Management, composed of five elected members of the staff with a senior member of the Personnel Branch acting as Liaison Officer between the Committee and the official side of the Department. The avowed intentions of this experiment are to give the Administration ready access to staff views on management problems and to give the staff a wider interest in the conditions under which they work. Examples of the type of topic discussed are the method of allocating annual recreation leave periods and the methods by which selections for promotion are made.

From papers shown to the writer it would appear that this Committee (which has been in operation for some two years) is functioning well and is making a definite contribution to the management of the Department. The difficult problem of staff reporting is at present being discussed by the Committee and the Administration with a view to introducing a scheme of reporting which will find favour with the staff as well as being the most satisfactory from the viewpoint of the official side.

¹⁰For a fuller discussion of this topic see my article on "Arbitration in the Federal Public Service of Australia," *Public Administration* (London), Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, Spring, 1956.

¹¹Professor F. A. Bland, *Government in Australia*, Government Printer (Sydney), 1944, page xxvii.

¹²For example, the Arbitrator gave an interpretation of a Public Service regulation which was contrary to the way in which it had been interpreted, in one Department, for many years. It was necessary to apply this decision of the Arbitrator's retrospectively and as the statistics on the basis of which this could be accomplished were destroyed every year, the Public Service Board had no alternative but to reach a compromise with the staff association concerned as to the most reasonable means of making the retrospective adjustment.

¹³F. L. Hedges, "Rôle of Public Service Staff Associations in Public Administration," *Public Administration* (Sydney), Vol. V, No. 8, December, 1945, page 358.

¹⁴Public Service Act, Section 19A (2).

¹⁵Viz., the High Council of Public Service Unions. Not to be confused with the Joint Council, this is the central executive for a number of organisations representative of Public Service employees. It is purely a staff body formed for the purpose of co-ordinating union policy.

¹⁶Prior to the introduction of a Public Service Board of three, control of the Service was in the hands of a single Commissioner.

¹⁷There is, in each State, a Public Service Inspector who is the representative of the Public Service Board in that State. He has many of the powers of the Board and has a large measure of discretion.

¹⁸This is a declaration swearing allegiance to the Crown and vowing support for the Constitution of Australia.

¹⁹The Federal Public Service is divided into four Divisions: very broadly, the First Division comprises all the departmental heads; the Second Division consists of the other senior officers such as Assistant Secretaries and the like; the Third Division is made up of mainly middle range executives, professional and clerical officers; and the Fourth Division is the basic grade containing, among others, clerical assistants and manipulative workers.

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Employer-Employee Relationships in the Civil Services of the Canadian Provinces

By HOWARD A. SCARROW

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THE machinery governing employer-employee relationships in the Canadian civil services has increasingly become the subject of official scrutiny and interest. On the municipal, provincial, and federal level of government the growth in the number of public employees, together with the augmented strength of their associations, has focussed closer attention upon joint consultation and the solution of employee grievances. The example of Whitleyism at Whitehall, moreover, has tended to serve as a continuing reminder to Canadian governments and employees that staff relationships can be regulated with mutual benefits to both. It has been on the provincial level that many of the experiments in labour-management relations in the civil service have been tested, and where some of the most instructive developments have occurred. A survey of provincial experience, therefore, may serve to identify some of the possibilities and problems in this area of public personnel management.

PROVINCIAL EMPLOYEE ASSOCIATIONS

Because of their limited numbers, provincial government employees have organised their respective associations on an "industrial" basis. In contrast to the multiplicity of associations in Ottawa or London, in most provinces there is only the single association whose membership is drawn from all occupational groups and departmental divisions, and which embraces both employees hired under the Civil Service Acts and those who are not, strictly speaking, civil servants. The history of several of the associations can be traced back to the 1920s or earlier, when they functioned primarily as social clubs or co-operative societies. Only in relatively recent years, and particularly since 1945, have serious attempts been made to convert the organisations into active instruments of staff representation.

Quebec and the Eastern Provinces

Conditions favourable to this development have been confined largely to Ontario and the provinces to the west. In Quebec, Canada's second most wealthy and populous province, an unsympathetic government has effectively discouraged the two staff associations (organised in Montreal and Quebec City) from uniting, or expanding their activities beyond recreational and cultural pursuits; and statutory provision for employee representation on the Civil Service Commission has remained a dead letter. The basic outlook of Premier Duplessis is reflected in the Public Service Employee Disputes Act of 1944, which outlaws strikes in any phase of public service activity and prohibits affiliation of provincial government employees and certain other groups with organised labour.

Partly because of the very small size of the administrations, the formation of employee associations in the Maritime Provinces has lagged far behind

the rest of Canada. Nova Scotia has remained completely immune to the trend; in New Brunswick the organisation of a new association is still in progress; and the association in Prince Edward Island, though founded in 1945, has yet to receive official encouragement as a spokesman for its membership.

Of all the provinces east of Ontario, only Newfoundland supports an association which at present can be compared with those in other parts of Canada. After the admission of Newfoundland to federation and the return of responsible government in 1949, the Employee Association was reorganised under new leadership and in 1951 affiliated with the Trades and Labour Congress (T.L.C.).¹ It has since presented annual briefs to the Premier and has requested the establishment of machinery of joint consultation. The measure of its influence, however, is reflected in the failure to secure action on these submissions, and its lack of success is due in large measure to poor support given to the Association by eligible civil servants.

Ontario and the Western Provinces

Employee associations in Ontario and the provinces to the west have developed in a climate which has favoured the growth of organised labour generally. The industrialisation of Canada's most populous and wealthy province has stimulated organisation of government employees in Ontario; while from Manitoba to British Columbia employee associations have been nourished in soil which, in contrast to the more conservative east, historically has produced shifting political alignments and the major reform movements in Canadian politics. The growth in the west of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.)—Canada's version of a socialist party—has had a particularly strong influence in fostering recognition of the right of government employees to negotiate with their employer. C.C.F. influence has been felt not only in Saskatchewan, where the party has held power since 1944, but also in neighbouring provinces where the example of Saskatchewan has not gone by unnoticed.

Favoured by this background, the provincial employee associations in Ontario and the western provinces are the strongest in Canada, and since the war have become the recognised spokesmen for their membership before the respective Governments. Each represents a substantial majority of the Civil Service, retains a paid staff, and operates on a budget proportionate to its needs. The relevant statistics are shown in the table opposite.

Beneath these similarities, however, the associations differ from one another in many vital respects. Those in British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan are affiliated with the Trades and Labour Congress and have championed the cause of the organised labour movement. Their respective leadership has held firmly to the view, though sometimes against strong internal opposition, that organised labour deserves support and that the hand of the association is strengthened if it can claim backing from other provincial labour groups. The associations in Ontario and Manitoba, in contrast, remain unaffiliated, partly because of more cautious leadership, and partly because of widespread apprehension that relationships with their respective governments would be jeopardised by identification with organised labour. It was for these reasons, for example, that the Manitoba Association

Provincial Civil Service Associations in Ontario and Western Provinces

	Membership		Annual Dues	Central Staff	Annual Budget (b)
	1946	1955			
Ontario	5,700	15,300	\$ 6.00	8	\$ 90,000
Manitoba	1,000	3,517	\$ 6.00	2	\$ 20,000
Saskatchewan (a)	3,400	4,700	\$21.00	8	\$ 98,000
Alberta	2,560	6,500	\$ 9.00	4	\$ 50,000
British Columbia	3,700	9,700	\$12.00	6	\$100,000

(a) For the Saskatchewan Civil Service Association only.

(b) Annual fixed costs of operation.

Source: The membership statistics for 1946 are from Taylor Cole, *The Canadian Bureaucracy* (1949), page 208. All other figures are as of June, 1955, and are taken from the Canadian Council of Provincial Employee Associations, *Minutes of the Eighth Annual Meeting* (6th, 7th and 8th June, 1955), stencilled document, page 22. (The C.C.P.E.A. is a loose federation of employee organisations of Ontario and the four western provinces.)

after a close vote withdrew its two-year affiliation with the T.L.C. in 1949. Another significant difference among the five associations, and one which colours official-staff relationships, is the composition and outlook of their membership and leadership. The nature of the British Columbia Association is reflected in the location of its headquarters in Vancouver—far removed from the seat of management in Victoria—and a conscious attempt to confine the executive to lower paid employees; whereas in Manitoba and Alberta association headquarters are located in rent-free government buildings in the capital cities, membership of senior officials is not unusual, and officers are drawn more heavily from employees in the middle ranges.

Finally, the range in the quality of leadership is demonstrated by Saskatchewan, where officers of the Association have been chosen as delegates to national and international labour conventions; and Ontario, where the leadership allowed a badly divided Association to fall into near bankruptcy in 1953.

PUBLIC EMPLOYEES AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

To a noticeably increasing extent the question of collective bargaining rights for Canadian public employees has been taken from the realm of speculation and thrust into the arena of practical politics and public discussion. Resolutions of the national and provincial labour congresses (both T.L.C. and C.C.L.) and of federal and provincial employee associations have

condemned the denial to government employees of rights guaranteed to other workers, and have urged that civil servants be granted at least a modified form of collective bargaining based on compulsory arbitration and prohibition against strike action. Other indications of the currency of this question are to be seen in the creation by the national Trades and Labour Council in 1952 of a standing committee on public employees; in the public forums of Canadian public administrators and political scientists;² and in provincial legislation establishing compulsory arbitration for municipal police and firemen.³

Saskatchewan

Much of the present interest in collective bargaining for civil servants stems from the experiment which has been launched in Saskatchewan under the aegis of the C.C.F. Government. The Saskatchewan Trade Union Act, passed in 1944, specifically named the provincial government as an "employer" within the meaning of the Act, and hence one required to recognise and bargain collectively with any union of its employees certified as a legitimate bargaining unit. There are two unions of civil servants certified for bargaining purposes, the Civil Service Association (T.L.C.) and three locals of the United Civil Servants of Canada (C.C.L.). The latter groups, formed in 1944 as a result of factional strife within the Association, are confined largely to mental hospital employees; while the Civil Service Association includes nearly all other government employees save those in the Crown corporations. The only legal exclusion from Association ranks is the relatively small number of senior and professional officials (about 275 positions, or 7 per cent. of the service) whose membership would expose the Association to the charge of a company-dominated union, or over whose positions the Government wishes to retain complete control. These positions excepted, a clause in the annual agreement ensures that all new employees will join the association and all current members retain membership.

Each year a series of agreements is negotiated between the Association and the Government. The first settlement covers employees under the Civil Service Act and usually sets the pattern for subsequent agreements covering the Liquor Control Board, Workmen's Compensation Board, and (since 1949) the hourly and daily paid workers. The agreements embrace not only all matters relating to salaries and conditions, but also extend to Civil Service procedures. For example, written examinations are limited to those specifically enumerated, and the right of the Association to appoint an observer on promotion or selection panels is guaranteed. The only limitation to the scope of the agreements is Section 59 of the Civil Service Act, which guarantees that the Civil Service Commission shall have complete authority over the classification plan and job specifications; and a refusal by the Government to bargain on superannuation, which is controlled by statute.

Annual negotiations leading to the major Civil Service agreement usually extend over a period of three weeks. The Association side is composed of six or seven representative members of the Executive Board, who are accountable to the whole Board, and whose bargaining brief is based on submissions presented by the various Association branches throughout the province. On the official side, the Government is represented by the Chairman

of the Civil Service Commission, together with appropriate assistants from the Commission and other government departments. The Commission Chairman, too, is only a bargaining representative, and any concession or agreement is subject to Cabinet approval. On one occasion, when agreement could not be reached, an open dispute was avoided when the Cabinet agreed to meet with the Association representatives to iron out remaining differences. It is, of course, this final stage of the bargaining process which brings to the surface the unique position of Saskatchewan civil servants. The Association or the Government can turn to the provisions of the Trade Union Act which call for the creation of a board of conciliation or, if the parties agree, a board of arbitration. This failing, the Association has as its ultimate weapon strike action.

In addition to the bargaining process, employees are allowed recourse to formal grievance machinery. Each annual agreement contains provision for a joint council which hears classification appeals from individual employees (i.e., an appeal against an alleged improper salary classification of the officer's position). The council, made up of representatives of the Association, the Government, and a chairman mutually acceptable to both parties, has power to recommend, and in some cases issue final directives. Usually, however, appeals are resolved by the Civil Service Commission, and only a small portion ever reach the council. Of greater importance is the procedure for settling grievances affecting groups of employees. If satisfaction cannot be obtained through the department or the Civil Service Commission, the Association may request the formation of a three-member joint council which can recommend action to the Cabinet; or as a final resort can ask for a special board of arbitration.⁴

There is little doubt that the experiment in Saskatchewan has been eminently successful in providing a sound basis for a generally harmonious employer-employee relationship. The Government, though like most employers reluctant to grant salary increases and other concessions, has shown no disposition to abandon the scheme, and statements of opposition parties have suggested that a new Government would continue it. On its part, the Association is keenly aware that it enjoys a status seldom granted to civil servants, and that largely in consequence its members possess benefits which compare favourably with those of other provinces. Yet the most instructive result of the Saskatchewan experience is the manner in which the bargaining process has operated. Although civil servants are legally free to strike in support of their demands, they are realistically aware that public opinion would not tolerate such action; and while machinery for conciliation and arbitration is available, both sides have recognised that it should be used only as an unfortunate last resort. Thus on only two occasions has the signing of the annual agreement been preceded by the appointment of a conciliation board; all other matters have been settled through persistent negotiation.

What distinguishes the Saskatchewan experiment, then, is not a compulsion upon the Government to yield to Association demands—a fact which is evident in the list of outstanding grievances—but rather the legal necessity for the Government to negotiate in good faith with its employees. The right of collective bargaining is the right of the Association to present argu-

ments to the Government in the knowledge that they cannot be dismissed with impunity; or to quote a favourite phrase of Association officials, it is the right to approach the Government without carrying "cap in hand." What is involved is as much a question of dignity and pride as of economics.

Finally, it is apparent that the successful functioning of the bargaining process depends upon much more than the provisions of the Trade Union Act. Both sides, aware that they are charting new ground, have an interest in making the experiment work. They know that the eyes of public servants and officials across Canada are focussed on the results of their experience. The Association has been careful to avoid actions which would brand it as a militant union, or to insist upon demands which would embarrass the Government. Officials on both sides, moreover, are eminently qualified, regard each other with mutual respect, and participate in continual joint discussions throughout the year. Finally, the collective bargaining process is conducted against a background of Civil Service administration which, for its conscious adoption of modern methods of personnel management, is perhaps the most advanced in Canada.

Other Provinces

In the other Canadian provinces Governments of more conservative leanings than the C.C.F. have consistently refused to grant bargaining rights to their employees. The legal prohibition rests either on the Statute Interpretation Act, which exempts the Government from the provisions of its own legislation (i.e., the Labour Relations Act), or in some provinces upon a specific clause in the Labour Relations Act which in effect excludes the Government from the meaning of the term employer.

These provisions notwithstanding, the legal status of civil servants is by no means clearly defined; for the provincial Governments, like the Federal Government, do in fact recognise for bargaining purposes the unions in the Crown corporations, e.g., the Electric Power Commissions. New Brunswick, which has amended its Labour Relations Act to reflect this current practice, is the exception to this legal uncertainty. Following a threatened strike by the New Brunswick electric power workers, and in the wake of an election campaign in which the question of the recognition of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (I.B.E.W.) was one of the major issues, a newly-elected Conservative Government in 1953 amended the Labour Relations Act to include within the meaning of "employer" any public "corporation, board, or commission" so designated by the Government.⁵ In other provinces recognition of electrical unions appears to result more from practical than legal necessity.

The blurred legal position is further illustrated by the example of employees in another type of provincial commercial enterprise, the Liquor Control Boards. In 1951 a certified union attempted to organise the truck drivers of the Ontario Liquor Control Board, only to be told by the Premier that these employees were civil servants. On what legal grounds the Premier based his decision was never clearly defined. In British Columbia, too, the question of collective bargaining for employees of the Liquor Control Board remains an open question, and is being subjected to careful scrutiny.

With the legal prohibition undermined and the negative argument of

the Governments shattered by precedent, the employee associations from Ontario westward have come to view collective bargaining as an increasingly attractive goal. Rather than striving for complete equality with other unions, the associations are ready to forfeit the right to strike in return for compulsory arbitration. Nowhere has the campaign for arbitration been more consistently waged than in British Columbia, where the position of the Association is supported not only by the precedent of arbitration rights for school teachers, policemen, and firemen, but also has been strengthened by the report of a special legislative committee which recommended in 1952 that these rights be extended to civil servants.⁶ In reply, however, the Government has adopted the familiar position that it cannot surrender sovereignty to an independent arbitration board.

JOINT CONSULTATION

The quest for collective bargaining rights has usually taken on intensive proportions only when the results of existing machinery of employer-employee consultation have, in the eyes of the associations, proved disappointing. The most prominent feature of this machinery has been the joint councils, modelled after the Whitley Councils in Great Britain, which since 1944 have been established in Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta, and British Columbia.

The Joint Council in Ontario was established by Order-in-Council in May, 1944, to "study and consider" matters pertaining to the civil service and to make appropriate recommendations to the Cabinet.⁷ The Council consists of seven members, three appointed by the Government, three appointed by the Civil Service Association, and a chairman, who is the Civil Service Commissioner. In practice the official side has been composed of civil servants of Deputy Minister rank (i.e., Permanent Secretaries in British terminology), and the staff side made up of officers of the Association. In addition to the central Joint Council, provision was made for departmental and branch councils to deal with problems confined to a single department and also to make recommendations to the Joint Council in matters affecting the entire service. These sub-councils have generally been composed of three senior officials and three representatives elected by the departmental staff. The Association is assigned no official rôle in their operations.

The Joint Council in Alberta was clearly defined in an amendment to the Civil Service Act in 1954. The amendment outlines a constitution which is the most explicit of any province, and reflects the pressure by the Association to remedy shortcomings of the council which had been meeting since 1947. The Council is composed of three Cabinet Ministers and three nominees of the Association, while the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission and the Executive Secretary of the Association are invited to attend each meeting. The Council is required to meet once a month to consider all grievances and requests submitted by the Association, to make recommendations to the Cabinet or departmental heads, and to act as a board of appeal for all cases of alleged improper classification or unjust dismissal. Since 1947 the Association in Alberta has also appointed one of its members as part-time Civil Service Commissioner.

Unlike the councils already described, those in British Columbia and

Manitoba rest on no clear authority. The British Columbia Civil Service Act (1945) simply requires that the Government recognise a committee of Association representatives to discuss matters affecting "general welfare and conditions of employment." Until 1949 this provision was satisfied by periodic meetings with the full Cabinet; then, on the request of the Association, a committee was formed composed of three Association representatives and three Cabinet Ministers. Another provision of the Act allows the Association to present grievances to the Civil Service Commission, with final appeal to the Cabinet or a board of reference appointed by the Cabinet.

Manitoba was the last of the western provinces to establish a joint council. In response to Association requests the Government agreed in 1951 to form a committee composed of three Ministers, three Association nominees, and the full-time Civil Service Commissioner. However, this concession was confirmed neither by statute nor by Order-in-Council.

Ontario

A decade of experience with joint councils in Ontario has not justified the initial hopes for their success. It might be argued that the councils have precipitated more problems than they have solved; and that because suggestions for their improvement have been rejected by the Government, employer-employee relationships have actually deteriorated.

The basic complaint voiced by the Association is that the Joint Council lacks authority. Not only is the intended function of the Council limited to the submission of recommendations to Cabinet, but, the Association complains, its authority to discuss and to recommend has been curtailed by a reluctance of the official side—composed of loyal civil servants—to entertain grievances which might reflect upon Government policy. If necessary, the majority of official side representatives can ensure that this prohibition is enforced. Once a recommendation has been submitted, moreover, there is no guarantee that action will be forthcoming. Finally, the Association has objected to the infrequent meetings (separated by periods as long as a year) and to the lack of time and interest devoted to the Council by the Government members.

Not unrelated to the disappointing results of the central Joint Council has been the acknowledged failure of the departmental and branch councils. Indeed, according to the Association, the major factor which has hampered the staff side of the Joint Advisory Council has been the failure of departmental councils to submit problems of a service-wide nature; for the official side tends towards the attitude that grievances are real only if they are referred initially to a departmental council. After a brief period of hopeful interest, these sub-councils have become rusty from disuse, and a continual point of contention has been the question of responsibility for their operation. On the one hand, the official side of the Joint Council has taken the view that responsibility rests with the Association; that if the councils are not functioning properly it is no fault of the Government or its representatives. The Association, on the other hand, has argued that since it is given no authority to appoint members of the staff side of the sub-councils or to call for regular meetings, responsibility rests ultimately with the Government. The Association, therefore, has urged that authoritative instructions be

issued to the departments directing that regular meetings of the councils be called and that competent, interested, and senior official representatives be appointed. Meanwhile, the Association has begun to experiment with special committees made up of interested Association members within a department, in hope that these might be used to present grievances before the Deputy Minister or, where they exist, personnel officers or the departmental councils.

In an effort to clarify responsibility for the sub-councils, the Joint Advisory Council early in 1955 resolved that the Association "be encouraged to actively assist" in their "development and operation" and that regular meetings be held. The resolution did not, however, grant the Association additional authority; and after a trial period of two months in which little progress was noted the Executive of the Association countered with a resolution withdrawing its offer of co-operation and expressing "no confidence in the Joint Advisory Council or any of the bodies under its jurisdiction."⁸

While the demise of the system of joint councils in Ontario can be attributed in part to the mechanical defects in its structure, the basic difficulty would appear to lie much deeper. For its part, the Association has been unable to present a united front. It has been sharply divided on many questions, and was recently plagued by a financial crisis and the consequent disillusionment of many of its members. The latest example of internal strife was a message sent to the Government by a local branch of the Association condemning the Executive for its resolution on the Joint Advisory Council. It is apparent, moreover, that despite its substantial membership the Association does not enjoy the support of all civil servants, and that many middle-range employees and most senior officers are reluctant to join in common cause with the lower-paid workers.

Perhaps the most formidable obstacle impeding the operation of the Joint Council is the wide decentralisation of personnel administration. The Civil Service Commission is in a position of only limited authority; it makes suggestions but is unable to enforce their acceptance by departments. The Council therefore lacks the necessary machinery to issue authoritative directives and many employee grievances can be settled only at the department level. Seen in this light the importance of the departmental councils and the significance of their failure is clear. Recently the Association has come to recognise the roots of its discontent. Its first major brief presented to the Government in 1953 was devoted almost in its entirety to arguments for an independent survey of the Civil Service, the creation of an authoritative Civil Service Commission, and the institution of standardised procedures of recruitment, promotion, and classification. A similar memorandum was submitted in early 1956. Meanwhile, the Association is reassessing its policy of non-affiliation with organised labour and is cautiously exploring tactics to win public support for its objectives.

British Columbia

Until 1952 the Association in British Columbia made use of the provisions of the Civil Service Act to present its briefs and discuss its grievances with the Cabinet, the Cabinet-Association Committee, or the Civil Service Commission. Partly as a result, civil servants enjoyed the benefits of modern

personnel administration and conditions which were among the best in Canada. Within recent years, however, employer-employee relationships have been the most rancorous of any province, and all semblance of organised machinery for joint consultation has virtually disappeared.

The fires of controversy have centred around the Association's demand for arbitration rights and, equally important, the use by the Association of the recognised techniques of group political action. Prior to the 1952 election the Association canvassed the candidates of all political parties to learn their views on arbitration. Subsequently, following the refusal of the newly-elected Social Credit Government to endorse the pre-election sentiments expressed by a majority of its Cabinet members,⁹ Association tactics were expanded to include a \$10,000 radio and press campaign, active solicitation of trade union support, and the drafting of an arbitration bill for introduction by a private member. Under any circumstance these vigorous tactics would probably have been interpreted as acts hostile to the Government; coinciding with a new election in 1953, they were viewed by the re-elected Social Credit Government as part of an organised campaign for its defeat at the polls. Further incidents and inflammatory public statements on both sides added to the ill-feeling.

Amidst this hostile setting the machinery of joint consultation has proved ineffective. The Government has refused to re-establish the Association-Cabinet Committee which the Association regards as the first step toward effective negotiating procedure. Association representatives continue to meet with officials of the Civil Service Commission, but the resulting recommendations have suffered a high rate of rejection, and a board of reference has yet to be appointed. Finally, it was only after 18 months of inactivity and the intervention by the Vice-President of the British Columbia Trades and Labour Congress that the Cabinet agreed to meet with the Association; and though subsequent meetings have been held, their nature is reflected in the Government's statement that the Association may present, but not argue, its case, and that the unacknowledgment of written submissions is tantamount to their rejection.

Recent evidence would indicate that the period of extreme bitterness is yielding to more sober reflection. The Association has de-emphasised its insistence on arbitration and instead is looking toward the solution of immediate grievances; while the Government's decision to grant general salary increases for 1956, the first since 1952, is likely to contribute to more amicable relationships.

Manitoba and Alberta

In contrast to Ontario and British Columbia, the Government and Association in both Manitoba and Alberta have progressed toward more co-operative harmonious relationships. Basic to this accomplishment has been the more inclusive representation in Association membership, together with more cautious leadership. In Manitoba, for example, progress can be measured only since 1949 when the Association disaffiliated from the T.J.C., a new set of officers was elected, and a respected civil servant was granted leave of absence to replace a strong labour advocate as Executive Secretary.

On this foundation the machinery of joint consultation has proved valuable within a limited sphere. Unlike the Joint Council in Ontario, the councils in the two Prairie Provinces allow the Association representatives to meet with Cabinet Ministers for frank and informal discussions. No votes are taken or minutes recorded. The presence at the meetings of the Association Executive Secretary further adds to their effectiveness. To supplement the councils, moreover, periodic meetings are held with the full Cabinet or the Provincial Secretary,¹⁰ and cordial relationships with the Civil Service Commission provide an additional outlet for staff grievances. In Alberta, not only does the Association nominate one of its members as part-time Civil Service Commissioner, but the full-time Commissioner is a former officer of the Association. Finally, Association representation on classification appeal boards offers a solution to many individual complaints.¹¹

Despite encouraging trends, however, the councils have been the object of strong criticism. The most common complaint has been the infrequency of council meetings, which until recently averaged only three or four a year. Association pressure resulted in the 1954 amendment to the Alberta Civil Service Act which requires monthly council meetings, and in Manitoba led to the Government pledge for a minimum of eight meetings a year beginning in 1955. A more serious grievance has been that in important matters affecting employees, particularly salary scales, the Government has taken unilateral action, without first presenting the decision to the council for discussion. This practice has especially affected the Association in Alberta, and in 1952 precipitated a strong resolution calling for arbitration rights. Because the authority of the Alberta Civil Service Commission is severely limited, the Association representative on the Commission has yet to prove his worth in influencing policy on these questions.

CONCLUSION

Provincial experience has suggested some of the difficulties of transplanting Whitleyism outside its native environment. The organisation of civil servants into one big union has tended to discourage active support by professional and higher-ranking employees, with the result that the joint councils have been viewed primarily as forums for the middle-range and lower-paid staff. Concurrently, the respective Governments are inclined to tolerate the associations—to ignore them would be politically unwise—but to leave to them the initiative of joint consultation. Thus the councils have largely become outlets for staff grievances, and their potentiality as a means for co-operative discussion of mutual problems has yet to be explored.

In these circumstances it has been found impossible to duplicate the spirit which underlies British Whitleyism, and without it the councils by themselves are poor vehicles for negotiation. The failure to transplant the system of arbitration, which complements the British Whitley Councils, has forced the Associations to rely solely on their powers of persuasion, and ultimately questions are settled by unilateral decision. On certain matters, such as retirement age, calculation of pensions, and other fringe benefits, the Governments have in time responded favourably to association requests; but the more basic grievances, especially those concerning remuneration, have usually gone unanswered.

Against this background joint councils are necessarily delicate mechanisms which rest precariously on the willingness of the official side to listen sympathetically to association grievances, and the corresponding ability of the Association to swallow its disappointments. These conditions fulfilled, the councils appear to function most successfully when the official side is of Cabinet rank¹²; meetings are complemented by periodic representation before full Cabinet or the Provincial Secretary; and there exists a foundation of sound personnel administration.

The future of official-staff relationships in Canada seems likely to revolve around the question of collective bargaining or compulsory arbitration. The examples of Great Britain, Saskatchewan, federal and provincial Crown corporations, and Canadian municipalities are now too numerous to be overlooked, and the old arguments of surrender of sovereignty have come to ring hollow. There is some evidence that the Federal Government, in response to increasing pressure by organised labour and associations of its own employees, is reassessing its position on arbitration. Should it reverse its stand, civil servants in the provinces are not likely to allow their Governments to forget the example.

¹Until their amalgamation in 1956, the two major labour organisations in Canada were the Trades and Labour Congress and the Canadian Congress of Labour (C.C.L.). They were the Canadian equivalents to the American A.F. of L. and C.I.O., respectively. Future references in this article to the T.L.C. or C.C.L. are intended to reflect existing conditions prior to the recent amalgamation.

²See, for example, *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Conference, the Institute of Public Administration of Canada* (1953), pages 53-89; and Victor Johnston, "The Effectiveness of Staff Associations in Employer-Employee Relations in the Public Service of Canada," *The Civil Service Review* (June, 1955), pages 156 ff.

³See S. J. Frankel and R. C. Pratt, *Municipal Labour Relations in Canada* (Montreal, n.d., 1954?).

⁴The agreement signed in 1955 was the first to provide for arbitration of grievances. Previous agreements had allowed only the appointment of a conciliation board.

⁵The Federal Government similarly amended its labour legislation in 1948.

⁶*Report of Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Inquiry Board* (Victoria, 1952).

⁷It was also in May, 1944, that the National Joint Council was established in Ottawa.

⁸*The Trillium*, official publication of the Ontario Civil Service Association (October, 1955), pages 8-9.

⁹According to the Association, 11 of the 28 Social Credit candidates elected had expressed themselves in favour of arbitration. Six of the 11 constituted a majority of the Cabinet.

¹⁰In the Canadian provinces the Civil Service Commission usually reports to the Provincial Secretary.

¹¹The appeal procedure in Manitoba has been operating only since 1955. In Alberta the Joint Council now serves as the appeal board, although from 1947 to 1954 the three-member Civil Service Commission acted in this capacity.

¹²In July, 1956, Premier Frost of Ontario finally agreed to appoint a six-member Cabinet Committee to meet regularly with the Joint Advisory Council. Perhaps this concession was not unrelated to the forthcoming vote by Association members on the question of affiliation with organised labour.

Delegation in Local Government

By JOHN A. CHATTERTON

The Clerk of Leicestershire County Council reviews a recent study of delegation by Dr. Richards of the University of Southampton.

As the sub-title of his book* indicates, Dr. Richards is concerned with delegation by County Councils to County District Councils, a subject which is somewhat restricted but nevertheless important. He has handled his subject well and produced a readable and useful book.

Delegation in the past has, on the whole, played a limited rôle in local government. It has to be considered against the wider background of the complete range of local government functions exercised by particular authorities and the form of local government itself. The topic has excited considerable controversy, and is one on which few of those directly concerned with local government administration will not already have their own views. Even if the present work does not change those views, this survey of delegation by one looking in on local government from outside will be of general interest.

Dr. Richards sees the delegation provisions of certain modern statutes as a result of the tendency to concentrate local government administration in the hands of County Councils, which concentration he regards as largely the result of past failure to reform the structure of local government. He traces the history of post-war steps towards reform as far as the announcement by the Minister of Housing and Local Government in the Commons in March, 1955, that certain proposals had been agreed between the Local Authority Associations. More recently the Government has issued its White Paper on the Areas and Status of Local Authorities, on which two comments can usefully be made at this point. First, the Government concludes that there is no convincing case for radical alteration in the existing form of local government, and second, whilst Dr. Richards justifiably concludes from the Minister's announcement that form and functions of local government were to be considered together, the White Paper in fact is concerned only with form. It is nevertheless to be hoped that any resulting legislation will deal with both at the same time.

About one half of the book is a review of delegation in four services, one chapter to each. The four services are highways, where the machinery of delegation is contained in the Local Government Act, 1929, and is therefore of comparatively long standing, education, town and country planning, and civil defence, where the relevant statutes date only from the end of the last war or even later. It should be noted that certain highway and civil defence functions are conferred direct on District Councils, whereas education and planning are vested solely in the County Council.

According to its nature and population, a District Council may carry out highway functions in three ways: by direct conferment by statute; as a claiming authority; and by delegation. Dr. Richards sets out the advantages claimed for delegation: consultation with local interests;

**Delegation in Local Government* by Peter G. Richards. George Allen and Unwin, 1956. Pp. 184. 20s.

avoidance of duplication ; benefits to District Councils in obtaining qualified staff and better equipment ; and quicker availability of staff in an emergency. He comments that delegation may make a real contribution to the capacity of a district to provide other services in a more efficient and economical manner, but finds an overwhelming case against delegation of highway powers because of the need for a large organisation to obtain the full advantages of mechanisation, bulk purchase and employment of specialist staff. " Nowhere can [delegation] be shown to be more efficient or economical than direct county administration."

The survey of delegation in education deals with the Divisional Executive and the "excepted district," the latter a special edition of the former with the distinction that it can draft its own scheme of delegation after consultation with the County and that it is a single County District, the staff of whose Council is able to do much of the work. Difficulties which have arisen in the working of schemes of divisional administration are considered. It is questionable how details of the budget, except possibly for isolated items, could remain unsettled until well into the financial year when the county budget must be determined by about February. As for the complaint that Divisional Executives have to begin preparation of their estimates early in the autumn, this must be regarded as an incident of local government in general rather than of divisional administration, since the committees of the County Council are in the same position. Dr. Richards stresses that the difficulties which have arisen in divisional administration do not typify the normal working of delegation agreements which is carried out in an atmosphere of goodwill, give-and-take and general co-operation. One comment which he makes in this chapter is worthy of quotation for in it lies the key to any system of delegation : " The success or failure, value or futility, of any delegation scheme depends not merely upon the content of the legal phraseology, but upon the quality and attitudes of those who have to work it."

It should perhaps be said that the case of *Lamb v. Jeffries* (mentioned on page 73) did not establish any general principle that teachers employed by the County Council cannot be members of the Council of the "excepted district" in which they work. It is clear from the decision in the Queen's Bench Division on the appeal by case stated that the point in issue was whether Mr. Lamb's appointment was in the disposal of the District Council. It was so held because under the scheme of divisional administration and the relative articles of government his appointment was subject to confirmation by the Divisional Executive.

Turning next to town and country planning, Dr. Richards says that the transfer of planning responsibilities to the Counties was supported by a mass of evidence notably directed to the need for larger areas for planning purposes. He remarks that though the continued responsibility of the County Council for the preparation of development plans is unquestionable, by sharing the control of development with District Councils the County is able to utilise local knowledge, opinion and experience, to decentralise and to employ its own staff on major questions of policy. He reviews the organisation in individual counties, showing that the system employed ranges between centralisation, decentralisation and delegation (which he regards as more satisfactory than decentralisation) or a combination of them and that

delegation plays a part in the majority of Counties. The information given is of less value because of its lack of detail ; it is important, for example, to know the precise extent of delegation. Dr. Richards concludes that the cause of planning is greatly assisted by the technique of delegation for no system of local government in rural areas can produce a type of authority which is suitable both to frame an overall development plan and to apply it to every minor case.

The chapter on civil defence notes the general principle applied in the distribution of functions : each public authority shall undertake the range of civil defence functions that is analogous to its normal peace-time activities. This means that County District Councils are directly responsible for certain of these functions. In addition the County Districts may have delegated to them part of the civil defence functions of the County Councils. After reviewing the present arrangements, Dr. Richards feels that the argument for decentralisation may have been pushed too far and that, with the current trend in an age of nuclear weapons to emphasise the need for the organisation of civil defence on a national basis, the extent of delegation is more likely to diminish than to grow.

The only comment which appears necessary on his treatment of the miscellaneous delegation provisions is in relation to the tendency in recent years for counties to cease delegating to the Justices the powers to license theatres and cinemas. Dr. Richards notes that it is the Justices and not the Districts that have lost these delegated powers and goes on to say that the Justices, not being an elected body, are less able to make effective protest. Surely the real reason for this change is quite different, outside the delegation controversy, and lies in a growing realisation of the difficulties of a purely judicial body in dealing with matters of this kind on which the advice of technical staff is required ? Justices are not likely to regret the loss of powers which date from a time when conditions were very different.

In his final chapter, Dr. Richards deals with the administrative problems of delegation, noting the two basic conditions which always apply : that the County Council retains the right to decide major questions of policy, and to control expenditure. He also sets out the principles of delegation as stated by the Local Government Manpower Committee. He recognises the importance to an assessment of the value of delegation, of knowing its financial implications and accepts that delegation must increase expense, but he suggests that although it makes local administration more complicated and more expensive it may be thought worth while if it increases the limited public interest and participation in local government. Dr. Richards sees disadvantages in the centralisation of local government in the hands of the County Councils, in the conferment of major services on District Councils and in the use of delegation, and acknowledges that there is no fully satisfactory solution to the problem. He regards the case for delegation as strongest where the human element in the service is important, e.g., education, and as weakest in highways, where technical considerations are paramount. The aim of delegation arrangements is said to be the combination of local opinion and local knowledge with the resources which only a large area can provide. The author suggests that the difficulties which must occasionally arise attract more attention than normal routine working and are not necessarily

due to any defect in the arrangements themselves. His final comment is that the great merit of the British system of local government is that the elected representative has detailed control over executive action: delegation serves to stimulate public discussion and thereby to strengthen the democratic content of local administration.

The controversial nature of the subject makes it difficult to embark on comment without inviting accusations of partiality. Yet some comment seems to be called for purely by way of placing certain aspects of delegation in their proper perspective.

It is necessary to reiterate that delegation as a whole has to be considered against the wider background of the general pattern of local government. It cannot be treated in isolation and for that reason this book will be far more easily understood by the reader who knows the working of our local government system.

Although both District Councils and County Councils are elected bodies, there is a tendency in some quarters to regard County Councils as remote bodies out of touch with local conditions. As a consequence the advantage frequently claimed for delegation is greater consultation with local opinion and use of local knowledge. In judging the weight to be attached to that claim, it is necessary to remember that quite apart from the local knowledge and opinion which comes to the County Council through members co-opted from District Councils and, in rural districts, through those small but useful bodies the Parish Councils, the elected members of the County Councils themselves come from all parts of the County and in addition in many cases are also members of their local District Council. Furthermore the area staff frequently employed by County Councils make a substantial contribution to knowledge of local conditions. Moreover, though it is clearly important that the public should have some place within reach where they can go to discuss their individual problems, it is perhaps of little importance to the individual wanting, say, a home help whether he has to seek information at the office of his District Council or at the area office of the County Council. In the very personal problems which arise in the case of certain services, too much local knowledge may be a disadvantage; for the public may prefer to have their problems considered by the more remote and impersonal County Council rather than by their local Council. This is perhaps a field where the elected representatives should concentrate on matters of policy, leaving their officers to handle the application of that policy to individual cases.

There is no doubt that in recent years the transfer of functions to County Councils, coupled in some cases with the effects of nationalisation, has seriously weakened the District Councils whose wish for delegation is therefore quite understandable. Bearing in mind the endorsement by the White Paper of the broad objective that the aim of all alterations in the status and boundaries of Local Authorities should be to ensure effective and convenient units of local government administration, it is to be expected that the reviews which will take place on the implementation of the Government's proposals will help to remove that weakness. It is equally to be expected from the proposals agreed between the representatives of the five Local Authority Associations that in appropriate cases delegation will help to increase the range of functions exercised by District Councils. The degree of delegation

may vary widely according to the widely differing circumstances of particular areas, but in so far as local government at all levels exists for the benefit of the public it is to be hoped that the aim in each area will be to develop those arrangements which are most suitable for that area. Whilst there may be agreement on the aim, however, there may be less unanimity on what the most suitable arrangements are.

Dr. Richards has tackled a difficult subject which seems bound to present even more difficulty to one not actively engaged in local government administration. In his very thorough treatment of the subject, however, he has done much to overcome that difficulty and has always endeavoured to present a balanced picture. Some will agree and some disagree with his conclusions. In local government itself, where decided views on the subject are frequently held, it is probable that the majority will agree with him in part, though not always the same part. He is to be congratulated on the very considerable research which he has undertaken and on the mass of information which he has sifted. The few minor inaccuracies do not detract from the essential purpose of his work, which will provide a useful source of information and should serve to stimulate discussion at a time when, with reform in the air, delegation is very much in the forefront of attention.

CONTENTS LIST

A contents list for *Public Administration*, Vol. XXXIV (1956), is available on request to the Royal Institute of Public Administration, Haldane House, 76A New Cavendish Street, London, W.1 (LANgham 8881).

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCES

The quarterly journal of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, which has been published since 1928, has now been merged with *Progress in Public Administration*, a bi-monthly review of technical co-operation issued by the International Institute since 1953. The new quarterly, which bears the title *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, appears separately in English, French and Spanish editions. Its authoritative articles, news items and book reviews provide a valuable source of information on administrative activities and ideas throughout the world. The annual subscription is £2 17s. 6d. Payment from the United Kingdom should be made to the Royal Institute of Public Administration.

INSTITUTE NEWS

About Members

SEVERAL members of the Institute were honoured in the New Year's List. Among them were Sir Edward Bridges, a Vice-President of the Institute since 1946, on whom a Barony was conferred; it was subsequently gazetted in the name, style and title of Baron Bridges of Headley in the County of Surrey, and of St. Nicholas Wade in the County of Kent. Mr. J. R. Simpson, one of the Institute's Trustees, was created a Knight Bachelor. Mr. F. G. Brewer, Secretary of The Gas Council and since 1951 a member of the Institute's Executive Council, was awarded the O.B.E.

Mr. S. E. Raymond, a member of the Executive Council, has been appointed Commercial Manager of British Railways, Scottish Region.

Conference on Hospital Authorities and Staff Management

A conference under this title will be held from 20th-22nd May at the Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.2, and will be presided over by Mr. Henry Lesser, C.B.E. The subjects and principal speakers will be as follows:

The Staff Functions of Minister, Boards and Management Committees by A. J. Bennett.

Staff Management in the Hospital by G. A. Phalp, T.D.

Staff Turnover—Its Causes and Remedies by Professor R. W. Revans.

Training and Career Opportunity by R. Moore.

Relations between Staff and Management—An Industrial Approach by G. P. E. Howard.

New Books

THE lectures delivered in London in the Spring of last year by Herbert Morrison, Basil Smallpeice, Sir Alexander Fleck, Sir Wilfred Neden, A. D. Bonham-Carter and Major-General G. M. Russell have now been published under the title *Vitality in Administration* at the price of 8s. 6d. (6s. post free to members ordering from the Institute). The symposium describes the methods by which public authorities and business concerns ensure that vitality is achieved and maintained in their organisation. The wide range of experience of the contributors lends particular interest to the book.

Interviewing for the Selection of Staff, which was published in April of last year, has met with such a demand that a reprint has already been called for. The book forms a guide for the laymen in preparing interviews and drawing the proper conclusions from the information which they provide. It also contains advice for candidates being interviewed. The price of the book is 10s. 6d. (7s. 6d. post free to members ordering from the Institute).

I.I.A.S. Round Table in Yugoslavia

THE next Round Table of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences will be held in June at Opitaja in Yugoslavia. The main subjects for discussion will be "Present Trends in Connection with the Transfer of Power from Greater Authorities to Lesser Authorities separate from them, and *vice versa*," "Automation and the Relevant Problems in Public Administration Agencies," and "The Merit System as applied to the Promotion of Civil Servants, with Special Emphasis on Rating." Further details will be sent on application, from Haldane House.

Earlier Publications Required

ALTHOUGH the publications listed below have been out of print for some time, the Institute still receives orders for them. It would therefore be glad to purchase unwanted copies from members at the prices shown in brackets.

Local Authorities : Internal Financial Control by A. H. Marshall (10s. 6d.)

The Public Corporation in British Experience by Sir Arthur Street (2s. 6d.)

Back Numbers of Journals Required

THE Institute has recently received a large number of orders for back numbers, and stocks of certain issues are now very low. For the numbers shown below the Institute will pay the following prices:

1923-1929	..	all issues	..	..	10s. issue
1930	..	April, July	..	..	10s. issue
1931	..	July	..	..	
1932	..	January, October	..	..	
1934	..	July	..	..	
1935	..	April	..	..	
1938	..	January	..	..	5s. issue
1940	..	April, October	..	..	
1942	..	January, April	..	..	
1943	..	January	..	..	
1944	..	Summer, Winter	..	..	
1945	..	Spring, Winter	..	..	3s. issue
1946	..	Spring	..	..	
1952	..	Summer	..	..	3s. issue
1955	..	Summer, Winter	..	..	
1955	..	Index	..	..	1s.

New Research Projects

THE Nuffield Foundation has generously agreed to make a grant of up to £4,500 for a research project on "The Organisation of Building Construction and Maintenance in Local Authorities," and work will soon start. Plans are now in hand for a study of "Committee Systems in the Hospital Service."

BOOK REVIEWS

New Sources of Local Revenue

Report of a Study Group of the Royal Institute of Public Administration (*Chairman* : Mr. F. A. Cockfield). Published for the Institute by George Allen and Unwin, 1956. Pp. 249. 25s.

So there is hope for the Town Hall yet. Over the last forty years the proportion of Local Authorities' expenditure in England and Wales covered from their own revenue has slipped from 78 per cent. to 58 per cent. Rents and fees (especially rents) have gone up handsomely. But rates have fallen into disrepute as regressive and unworthy to be a pillar of the Welfare State. It has been a case of giving the dog a bad name and hanging him, for rates are not in fact as regressive as some of the Central Government taxes which have been expanding merrily in these years, and could presumably be cut if grants to Local Authorities could be brought down. But hanged he has well and truly been. In 1953-54, at constant prices, only 85-90 per cent. as much was spent from the rates as in 1938. And with this decline in local taxation has gone, though not for that reason alone, a fall in the reputation and authority of local government itself.

Now along comes an authoritative Study Group of the Institute with welcome proposals to put this right. Entertainments tax, motor vehicle duties, and driving licence fees should be transferred from the central to local government, subject to certain limits on the rates of tax to be imposed. This would add upwards of £120,000,000 a year to local resources. Counties and county boroughs should be allowed to raise a local income tax, which at, say, 3d. in the £ would contribute £150,000,000. There might also be a local tax on petrol, assuming that national policy leaves us any petrol to tax; but on this the Study Group prefer to leave the decision open. Industry and agriculture should be re-rated; the last is specially important, as helping a number of counties to which the other proposals would give rather little.

Let us assume for the moment that there is to be no major change in the combined spending of central and local government, nor in the sources from which it is raised. On that basis, the Group have done a

workmanlike job. They face the difficulties frankly, with a wealth of comparative material from other countries. The poorer counties will feel that they are once again left out. Entertainers will probably like the local scorpions even less than the more predictable whips of Whitehall. (I wonder, by the way, if the Study Group thought of the devilish temptation they are putting in the way of Councils in my part of the world who lack rateable value but also disapprove of Sunday opening?) Company profits and some of the other new sources of revenue will be hard to distribute fairly between authorities. And the income tax scheme contains, and I think is bound to contain, a number of anomalies and irritations.

Wages and salaries, for instance, are to be taxed by a simple, flat-rate deduction from pay-rolls, without gradation or allowance for size of family. That is sensible, seeing the low rate of tax proposed. But I happened to spend last spring in the State of Indiana, which has just such a tax. What drew my attention to it was the loud and heart-felt complaints of my married and low-salary colleagues, round coffee in the Faculty Club, of its unfairness as compared to the more carefully graded Federal tax. In matters of taxation we are like the princess with the pea under her mattress; it does not take a big pea to keep us awake. Nor will people like having to make special individual returns for local tax as well as to the Inland Revenue, as professional men, business owners, companies, and receivers of investment and miscellaneous income of over £100 a year will have to do. The Inland Revenue remind me of my duties, like the Catholic Church, at Easter or thereabouts, and return to be the skeleton at the Christmas feast. What they take off me in this way is only a fraction of what goes in P.A.Y.E., but how much more it hurts!

But I hope that discussion will not bog down in these or other, more specifically

administrative, details, for the Study Group have (if I may mix the metaphors a bit) the root of the matter by the tail. They have shown how, with reasonable fairness and not too great administrative cost, enough new money can be brought into local government to replace half or more of the present Government grants. And it will come from sources, especially the local income tax, which are likely to expand in step with the national income. Here is a really great and worth-while step towards local autonomy.

Discretion is the better part of valour, and the Study Group have not let their imagination run away with them. As is only right in a committee which wants immediate action, they give no handle to those who think that nothing should ever be done for the first time. But an irresponsible reviewer need have no such inhibitions. Let me take away the assumption that the general character of the fiscal system must remain as before. And let me draw together two ideas which have been poking above the ground in recent years, and may count a good deal more in future. First, there are two very different conceptions of the Welfare State. It may be an Executive State, whose test is its success in providing tax-financed services of its own. Or it may be an Educational State, which aims to help the people to provide and use services for themselves. Every State is partly one and partly the other. But the weight in this country ten or twenty years ago was very much on the first conception, whereas now it is shifting towards the second.

Secondly, a financial point. Inspired by some suggestions of Colin Clark's, I got out two or three years ago the following estimate. A man earning at that time £7 a week, having three children at school, an average health record, and living in a typical Council house, might have been getting about £5 to £6 a week in subsidies from the various social services, the great bulk of it in kind. At that time also, the scales of family allowance in operation in France were such that, if applied here, they would have given my £7 a week man an extra £6 a week in cash instead of, as the British family allowance then was, 16s. The whole of the subsidies he was receiving in kind could thus have been replaced with cash. A revised scheme of family allowances on that scale, financed with, say, a pay-roll tax, would have made it possible to demolish all but a fraction of the

fantastic scaffolding of purchase taxes, excise duties, subsidies and grants which now props up the structure of the social services and unreasonably interferes with the choice of cars, washing machines, schools and drinks.

In the industrial relations business, where I now am, concepts of training, responsibility, team work and co-operative group relations are gaining ground all the time at the expense of older ideas of hierarchy and authority. I may therefore have a professional bias. But I suspect that we shall all presently come round again to thinking it right, and profitable, to let people go to hell or heaven in their own way, as they or their own voluntary, co-operative groups may prefer. It is the Welfare State's business to see that transport in the chosen direction is available, that everyone can pay the fare, and that people know where the trains go, how to get on them, and the advantages of co-operative travel. In these respects the Educational State is very different from the *laissez-faire* State of the past. But it is also different from the Executive State in that the Educational State does not regard it as its business, except in an emergency, actually to load the people into the trucks and dispatch them to a State-chosen destination with a free Government warrant in their pockets.

Suppose we went to town on ideas like these, what would be the effect on local finance? Pretty dramatic, I suspect. Looking at the back of my last rate demand note, I see that 5s. 7d. of a rate of 14s. 4d. is accounted for by education, that is by the part of the cost of education not covered by specific grants. It would make quite a dent in the Cardiff City Council's financial problems if parents, while still under a statutory obligation to have their children educated, were put in a position to pay the fees themselves. There is also housing to consider, and some other less expensive services. "Fees, rents, recoupments, etc.," represented 19 per cent. of local revenue in 1953-54 where they were only 10 per cent. in 1913-14. Given the right national policy, a very great deal more could be made of them in the long run.

A final, solemn thought is that if the Study Group's proposals on income tax are adopted, and the chance is taken to reduce indirect taxation, the cost of living—or at least the cost of living index—will come down. The convention that

indirect taxes enter into the cost of living, but direct taxes do not, has had a long and useful history. But I doubt if even the most innocent is deceived today by an apparent fall in the cost of living achieved by removing a sum of money from prices in the shops and entering an exactly equal sum as a deduction on the payslip. To most of us, as we watch our standard of

living seep, nay flood, away down the Chancellor's drain, an operation of this sort is just plain irritating. The fact that the Study Group's proposals will be an operation of this very kind is one more proof that the current convention is now futile and out of touch with the facts of life. Like other veterans, it ought to be retired. MICHAEL P. FOGARTY

Civil Service or Bureaucracy?

By E. N. GLADDEN. Staples Press, 1956. Pp. 224. 21s.

The Civil Service in Britain and France

Edited by WILLIAM A. ROBSON. Hogarth Press, 1956. Pp. vii + 191. 21s.

DR. GLADDEN'S blunt and single-minded assessment of the Civil Service from within and Professor Robson's interesting collection of essays each illustrates the difficulty of dealing satisfactorily with so large, complex and ever-changing a subject as modern bureaucracy. Dr. Gladden, who is a Senior Executive Officer in a regional office of one of the larger social service departments, writes with the authority of a civil servant of long standing on the growth of the Service, its methods of recruitment and staff management and on what he considers to be its inadequate arrangements for training and for selection for promotion. The picture he provides in his first 160 pages is objective and as up-to-date as one could reasonably wish, though it concentrates on what Dr. Gladden calls the office grades and places most of its emphasis on the Executive or middle grades of the Service. This part of the book should prove particularly useful to anyone who wishes to understand how the Whitley system has evolved or to grasp the relative importance of the rôles played in this peculiar apparatus of joint consultation by the Treasury, the departments and the staff associations.

The rest of the book is devoted to discussion and to a brief recapitulation, which the author has tried to bring up to date by including a summary of the recommendations of the Priestley Commission. His main conclusions are that the Service is faced with a more difficult task than ever before and that if it is to cope with it successfully it will have to look to its methods of recruitment, training and selection for promotion. He points out, correctly, that the talents of many

middle grade civil servants are running to waste and is inclined to blame the existence of a separate Administrative Class for this state of affairs, not only because its members stand in the way of the advancement of members of the Executive and other classes, but because the ideal of oligarchic leadership which they represent is inadequate to the present confused and complex situation. He asks, as everyone who looks carefully at our Civil Service appears to, for more and better training and for improved personnel management, and he also suggests that the Administrative and Executive classes should be run together, graduates being brought in, in future, at or about what is now the Higher Executive Officer level. Finally, he suggests that it is high time that another Royal Commission, with suitably wide terms of reference, and so equipped as to do a little research on its own account, was appointed to look at the structure of the Service. These suggestions are interesting, and what is also significant is the weariness, if not frustration, that peeps through the pages. One is conscious that Dr. Gladden has been for a long time a member of an organisation which—to reverse Lord Beveridge's dictum quoted at the front of the book—contrives all too often to make uncommon men do common things.

If the voice of Dr. Gladden is sometimes that of a drowned sailor, those of some of Professor Robson's contributors seem to one engaged in the hurly-burly of Whitehall almost incredibly distant and serene. Lord Attlee's quietly entertaining picture of a senior civil servant's relations with his Minister is drawn as if seen through

the wrong end of a telescope, and his treatment of the subject of Ministerial responsibility is simple in the extreme. Everything the civil servant does, states Lord Attlee, "is the act of the Minister and it is the duty of the Minister to defend his servants and to take full responsibility." Sir Edward Bridges, who contributes a polished essay on the reforms of 1854 as seen in retrospect, is more forthcoming. "Nor would it have escaped the notice of the acute observer of public affairs," he says, discussing the snares which beset the civil servant of today, "that, where a civil servant fails to give a good account of himself in some matter which attracts public attention, the doctrine of ministerial responsibility does not shield him from a measure of public blame."

Nine of the 14 essays collected in this volume were originally printed in the special number which *The Political Quarterly* devoted to the Civil Service in the autumn of 1954 to mark the centenary of the Trevelyan-Northcote reforms, and one or two of them have already been to some extent overtaken by events, but Professor Robson's essays on "Bureaucracy and Democracy" and on "Recent Trends in Public Administration" are well worth re-reading, as are Sir Edward Bridges's brief but illuminating reflections on the present and future tasks of the Service with which he ends the essay

already mentioned. His conclusions, that "the task of civil servants today is not only changing somewhat in character, but is, on the whole, becoming more difficult," and that it is more than ever necessary "for the Civil Service to recruit the right type of men and women for the tasks which they have to carry out," echo those of Dr. Gladden, and, not only Professor Robson's essays, but a new one provided by Sir Thomas Padmore on Civil Service Establishments and the Treasury, also touch on the interesting question of how the Service selects and uses its manpower. Sir Thomas's careful picture of the relations between the Treasury and the departmental establishment officers is perhaps the most valuable of the new essays in Professor Robson's collection. But Mr. Creech Jones's warning of the strains that political advance in the colonial territories is throwing on the colonial service is most timely, and Professor André Bertrand's description of the new methods of recruiting and training higher civil servants in France neatly rounds off a volume which—if the quality of the contributions is a little uneven—does succeed in throwing a great deal of new light on certain aspects of our Civil Service, and, what is perhaps more important, in stimulating any tendency the reader may have to ask relevant and constructive questions about its future.

FRANK DUNNILL

The Administration of Health Insurance in Canada

By MALCOLM G. TAYLOR. Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. xiv + 270. 40s.

Now that we have had a few years' experience of the National Health Services in the United Kingdom, it is interesting to see how they manage these things abroad. Most European countries have schemes of social insurance, covering people who work for employers, and providing cash benefits when the insured person is unfit for work, and medical treatment when he or any member of his family needs it. These schemes are financed by contributions from employers and workers. Norway and Sweden have extended this compulsory health insurance to cover almost the whole population. Canada, like the United States, has no social insurance of this kind. Instead, it has a great variety of schemes of health insurance organised or sponsored by

Provincial Governments, municipalities, doctors, hospitals, the American Blue Cross Hospital Association, large employers, commercial insurance companies, etc. Saskatchewan and British Columbia have Government schemes covering the whole population of those provinces compulsorily. All the other schemes are voluntary. Some of them provide only treatment by doctors in their surgeries or at the patients' homes. Others, including the two compulsory Government schemes, provide only hospital treatment. Very few cover both kinds of treatment. Only the commercial insurance companies provide sickness benefit in cash for loss of working time.

Mr. Taylor's book gives a useful account of these schemes. There are chapters on

legislation, enrolment, the choice of benefits to be provided, the fixing of premiums, the reimbursement of hospitals and doctors, the control of abuse, and all the other problems of administration. Mr. Taylor analyses each problem very thoroughly and supplies tabular statements and statistics. Some parts of the book, such as those dealing with the costing of hospital treatment and the pattern of organisation, will be difficult for the ordinary reader. But the rest of the book is quite readable, even for people who know nothing about health insurance. Some of the chapters will be valuable for those who are seriously interested in the administration of the National Health Services of this country or in the corresponding schemes of other countries.

European readers of Mr. Taylor's book will be interested to learn that Canadian health insurance is most successful where large groups of workers in the service of the same employer are insured together in the same scheme, and the employer pays part of the premium and collects the worker's share by making deductions from his wages, i.e., where it follows most closely the pattern of the classical European schemes of social insurance. Indeed, many of the Canadian schemes which began by selling insurance contracts to individuals now concentrate on group insurance. Even with group insurance, there is the problem of maintaining insurance cover when a worker becomes unemployed, or changes his job, or dies leaving a widow and children.

The Blue Cross performs a valuable social service by charging the same premiums to all groups of workers, regardless of their illness experience. But this gives the commercial insurance companies an opportunity to offer cheaper contracts to particularly healthy groups, e.g., an office group composed mainly of young unmarried women.

Many of the insurance organisations compete with one another in promising more and more generous benefits, and spend large sums of money on advertisements and circular letters. But, for the unmarried man who is not interested in his health and is not covered by a group scheme, health insurance has little attraction. If some energetic agent persuades him to join, he will probably not keep up his premiums, particularly when he hears stories of people who go into hospital, not because they really need any treatment,

but because they are determined to get value for their money. When he marries and wants protection for his wife and children, he will probably have to join at least two schemes. For certain kinds of treatment there is a waiting period, perhaps as long as two years, during which he cannot claim. If he needs such treatment, he must postpone it till the end of the waiting period or else pay for it himself. His premiums will generally total more than 100 dollars a year. If he or a member of his family becomes seriously ill with a chronic ailment, he may have his insurance cancelled on the ground that his claims have become too expensive. He may have substantial claims disallowed on the ground that they concern an ailment which was latent when he became insured. One man who thought he was fully covered against all risks had to pay a hospital bill for 600 dollars when his wife gave birth to triplets and each of them was under weight at birth.

But more than half the population of Canada are covered by one or more of these schemes, and they must be convinced that this protection is worth while.

Where the health insurance organisation is not sponsored by doctors or hospitals, it has to provide benefits through the agency of people over whom it has no control. Instead of trying to negotiate a scale of charges, it accepts whatever scale is fixed by the doctors or hospitals. Probably this is wiser than the practice of those European social insurance institutes which persuade doctors' associations to agree scales of charges and then leave their members to bear the loss when a doctor overcharges. The Canadians have noticed that the fee for a visit to the doctor's surgery, which used to cover examination, diagnosis, prescription and advice, has now become like a cover charge at a night club. It pays for the visit, but there is an extra charge for each service. Generally, the doctors seem to have resisted the temptation to give too many services, and to have co-operated loyally with the insurance organisations.

Mr. Taylor is a native of Alberta, a Ph.D. of the University of California, and a lecturer at the University of Toronto. He does not tell us why Canada, which took full account of United Kingdom experience before formulating its schemes of unemployment insurance and old age pensions, has shown so little interest in our National Health Services, or whether

there is any likelihood that the Federal Government or the Provincial Governments may establish more comprehensive schemes of health insurance. No doubt these questions are outside the scope of his book. He is more interested in administration than in policy. But, incidentally, he does tell us a great deal which throws light on questions of policy,

and will be valuable to those who are responsible for formulating policies in countries which have not yet established any kind of health insurance or health service. His book is bound to have an important influence on all future developments of health insurance in Canada.

A. PATTERSON

British Government Inspection

By J. S. HARRIS. Stevens, 1956. Pp. 196. 25s.

CONSIDERING the potentialities of the subject and how little has been written about it, this is a disappointing book. There is a useful collection of material about the H.M.Is. for education, police, etc., not readily available elsewhere and a small amount of history. But the treatment is flat and uninspired and this American author is never at home with his subject. In part this is because he approaches the H.M.I. with the starry-eyed wonder usually reserved for the London policeman. In the main, however, it is because he has preferred to attempt to cover a lot of ground superficially rather than to enquire into any one part thoroughly. He also seems to labour

under the delusion that Local Authorities made no contribution to the progress of the public services (they occupy but a shadowy place in his thoughts). Because there has been great progress most of it must be due to H.M.Is. of various kinds with perhaps a sop of credit for those who sit in Whitehall. It is all harmless enough, but it is hardly the way to conduct research into the administrative process, particularly by a Professor from a country which is doing pioneer work in the behavioural sciences, in Case Studies, and in other ways of discovering and describing how the wheels go round.

D. N. CHESTER

The Industrial Structure of American Cities

By GUNNAR ALEXANDERSSON. George Allen and Unwin, 1956. Pp. 134. 40s.

"THE scientific contribution of the study," says the author, "lies in the methods of arranging and presenting the statistics." It is fair comment. Using the figures of industrial employment in the 1950 census, he has produced a map for each of its 36 industrial categories: the maps are accompanied by text presenting the author's interpretations, filled out by commentary culled from existing literature.

These maps are more precise, complete, and recent than those in the economic geography text-books: but, naturally, they add little to the ordinary reader's general impressions. The usefulness is in having them in accessible and comparable form. The more important contribution is the analysis of the industrial structure of individual cities: using William-Olsson's method, Alexandersson

distinguishes on a quantitative basis between industries which in a particular town are "city-forming," and those which are "city-serving" (i.e., care and maintenance) industries. For each industry he calculates a constant called *k*, which is roughly the percentage of people needed in a town just to serve it with those goods or services. An industry employing *k* plus 5-10 per cent. of the gainfully occupied in a town is thus a city-forming industry: towns with *k* plus 20 or more per cent. in a single industry are very one-sided. Detroit is a one-sided car-making town: Washington, D.C., has *k* plus 29.7 per cent. in the public administration "industry." The chief city-forming industries for all towns over 10,000 population are given in an appendix.

This is a useful tool, and one more successful than other attempts to make

the distinction. It allows statistical proof of circumstantial observations, such as that there is an inverse correlation between importance in manufacturing and importance in retail trade. Alexandersson has pumped his figures dry: thus he shows that cross-roads towns in farm areas have disproportionately large numbers of repairmen, and that southern cities usually have five to ten times as many people employed in private households as cities of the same size in New England.

The book is certainly an antidote to the "configuration of the land surface" approach which is the usual interest of economic geographers; the author means it to be a new approach to industrial location. But in fact he attempts only the easier explanations of location. Thus there is much on Detroit and the car industry, but nothing to explain the predominance of Hartford, Conn., in insurance. Why women's fashions should be made in New York and Los Angeles is easy to explain; but he notes without comment the surprising importance of Dallas, Tex., in this field—result of the enterprise of a single store, Neiman-Marcus.

The book is well produced, and blemishes are few (p. 71, for fig. 14 read fig. 13; p. 117, for fig. 39 read fig. 40). But in a compilation whose main use must be for reference, the absence of an index is a serious fault. Much of the text, moreover, is written in gobbledygook. Untangle the metaphors in this: "The advantages of concentration are, however, counterbalanced by the resistance offered the raw materials and the final product by the distance factor." Alexandersson has not been well served by his advisers on English. The following is unintelligible even in context: "The case of

retail trade raises the question if it would not have been motivated with different *k*-values for different regions." Frequently the expected is presented as a result of research: "Wine production is rather unimportant in the United States. It is highly localised in regions adjacent to the vineyards."

Nevertheless, this is a highly useful thing to have done, monumental in its way. A similar compilation for Great Britain (better still, for Western Europe) might be fruitful. The coming Common Market ought, if the logic is correct, to see some industries disappear from the British map, and others in growing bigger concentrate into Alexandersson's *k* plus 20 per cent. towns. Now one-industry towns have taken hard knocks in the past in Britain, and planners who follow Eva Taylor will presumably view such a development with concern. Yet it is true that Europe has one or two such centres of each industry in each country, compared with the United States' one or two for a market of comparable size.

A study like this has other uses. If "the problem is to attract new industries to a city," Alexandersson points out, "it should be valuable to know how the industries in question are associated with other industries in cities of different sizes, functions, and geographic locations." "When a population prognosis is made for a city, attention should be concentrated on the city-forming industries"; easy in a one-sided town, but less easy in the normal town. Planning officers here would benefit from having a study like this to work from. Perhaps the Ministry, who produced the urban hinterlands map, might turn their attention to this.

A. DUNSIRE

Health in Industry: Sickness Absence Statistics

Butterworth Medical Publications for London Transport Executive, 1956. Pp. 177. 35s.

MANY personnel officers have felt for some time the absence of detailed statistical information that would enable them to compare the incidence of sickness in their organisation with that occurring in other establishments. If for no other reason, therefore, the work done by the London Transport Executive to make this volume possible will be welcomed, especially so since the information is based on the sick-

ness absence incurred by employees engaged in a wide range of occupations. Furthermore, these statistics, a by-product of office mechanisation, are based on figures analysed over three-year periods. Actuaries and statisticians will express, elsewhere, their technical views on this work; the administrator will be seeking figures or trends to help him to say whether the incidence of sickness is high in his

particular organisation or department and, if it is, perhaps to provide a clue to poor working conditions or low morale.

The statistical information and charts are preceded by a useful background chapter written by F. H. Spratling, the Staff Administration Officer of London Transport Executive, who gives definitions where necessary and describes the method of compilation and the diagnosis codes used.

Brief descriptive notes also introduce the detailed charts prepared for each main category of employees and give essential information about the working conditions and sick pay regulations applying respectively to the omnibus operational staff, to London Transport railway staff, to workshop personnel and also to the clerical and technical staff. This fourth and final category were at the time of publication the only employees to receive sick pay from the Executive and separate figures have been compiled for men, married women and single women.

By main diseases, age groups and length of absence the various figures are charted and so can be compared with figures prepared on similar bases by other

organisations. Comparisons will not be easy for those personnel departments less adequately served with statistics and but few organisations will have prepared similar charts or have analysed their figures on this subject in such detail. Certain general tendencies can be seen, e.g., the higher number of single-day absences of clerical staff who receive pay for such absences. With some dismay one notes the mountainous rise in the graph that illustrates the incidence of bronchitis in men employed on outside work who are over the age of 45. The absence from work of married women is high when compared with that of single women and the statistics suggest an improvement in health after women officers pass their middle twenties. No conclusions are drawn—they would be misleading without more information compiled on a similar basis by other organisations. Nevertheless, the book is a useful contribution to a relatively unexplored phase of personnel management which has recently gained in importance. It is to be hoped that more public authorities will now follow the example of London Transport.

JOHN SARGENT

BOOK NOTES

Governments of Greater European Powers

By PROFESSOR HERMAN FINER. Henry Holt (New York), 1956. Pp. 931.

THIS text book, designed primarily for the American university student, deals in turn with the constitutions, politics and government of Great Britain, France, Germany and the Soviet Union. It is better than most attempts of this kind for Professor Finer has great knowledge and long teaching experience. The student is given a favourable picture of British government and Civil Service, though the Oxford and Cambridge "bias" of the Administrative Class is given considerable space. Inevitably in a book overflowing with facts there are many errors of detail and subtleties disappear under the broad brush.

Administrative Science Quarterly

Published by the Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. \$7.50 per annum.

THE September and December, 1956, issues of this recently launched American quarterly are now available. They continue the strong emphasis on the sociological approach to the study of administrative situations. Good examples are the article in the September issue on "Small Groups and Administrative Organisations" by Professors Demerutis and Thibaut, and in the December issue on "Social Factors Related to Performance in a Research Organisation" by Mr. D. C. Pelz. The latter issue (the third) is the best yet, probably because it deals more with actual problems than with words about them.

Research Frontiers in Politics and Government

By STEPHEN K. BAILEY and others. Brookings Institution, 1955. Pp. 240. \$2.75.

IN these stimulating lectures eight leading American experts deal with the present position of the study in their particular fields. In his surveys of Recent Advances in Organisation Theory, Professor Herbert Simon stresses two comparatively recent developments in American writing—the reassociation of administration with policy and the new emphasis on human relations. On the latter he warns against the pendulum swinging too far for “Behavior in organization is neither completely emotive nor completely aimless . . . most . . . is intendedly rational behavior.”

Political Science in the United States of America

By DWIGHT WALDO. U.N.E.S.C.O., 1956. Pp. 84. N.P.

WRITING primarily for the non-American student, Professor Waldo deals first with contemporary trends in American political science writings, including the changing interest in particular fields and topics, and then surveys each branch in turn. Obviously in the short space available he can only touch on the most significant features and then often but briefly. He does this extremely competently, however, and all students will be grateful to him (and to U.N.E.S.C.O.) for such a helpful guide to the literature and ideas of the country which outstrips the rest of the world in this field.

Interdepartmental Committee on Social and Economic Research

Third Report. H.M.S.O., 1956. Pp. 33. 2s. 6d.

UNDER the Chairmanship of the Registrar General, this Committee of academics and civil servants continues to perform a useful, if necessarily limited, function. Its primary activities have been to survey the research material available in governments and to recommend improvements in collection and analysis of statistics of value to the research worker. Of particular interest to readers of this Journal will be the survey of British local government statistics which the Committee undertook.

This led to the publication of a Guide in the series of *Guides to Official Sources*. The Committee was impressed by the useful contribution of the non-governmental publications in this field, particularly those prepared by the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and the Society of County Accountants, and makes suggestions about the relations that should exist between these and those published by the Departments.

Public Personnel Administration

By O. G. STAHL. Harper and Bros. (New York), 1956. Pp. 628. \$5.00.

THIS is the Fourth Edition of a well-known text book originally written by Professors Mosher and Kingsley. It still remains, however, a purely American book, confined to American ways of thought and practices. Almost the only reference to the British Civil Service in the bibliography is the Whitley Report of 1920 on the Cost of Living. Nevertheless it is not without interest and value to those concerned with establishment work in Britain and other countries. It is unfortunate that no similar book exists for British theory and practice.

Problems of Government in the State of Israel

By EDWIN SAMUEL. Rubin Mass (Jerusalem), 1956. Pp. 107. N.P.

READERS of this journal will be familiar with Mr. Samuel's recent survey of the developments and problems of the Israeli Civil Service. In his latest little book he makes the same kind of useful survey of other aspects of the politics and administration of this virile new State.

A Survey of Structural Changes in the Western Australian Economy

By C. A. VARGOVIC. University of Western Australia Press (Nedlands), 1956. Pp. vii+109. 8s. 6d.

THROUGH an interpretation of statistical material, the author has traced the shifts which have occurred since 1938-39 in the various branches of the economy of Western Australia. He indicates to what extent trends in the State parallel those found on a Commonwealth-wide scale.

A Parliamentary Dictionary

By L. A. ABRAHAM and S. C. HAWTREY. Butterworth, 1956. Pp. viii+224. 21s. (postage 1s. 6d. extra).

IN this book are defined and explained in alphabetical order the terms which are commonly used in the Houses of Parliament. Both the authors are senior officials of the House of Commons, and their compilation should prove of great value to all who are interested in Parliamentary institutions and procedure.

How to Visit the British Parliament

By ROY PRYCE. Hansard Society, 1956. Pp. 12. 1s.

THIS is a brief visitor's guide to the Palace of Westminster.

Political Quarterly (July-September, 1956)

Turnstile Press. Pp. 128. 7s. 6d.

THIS special issue considers industrial relations and trade unions as seen from the point of view of employers and management. It is complementary to the January-March, 1956, issue which viewed these questions from the standpoint of the trade unions and their members.

Technical Co-operation in Latin America

National Planning Association (Washington), 1956. Pp. xii+192. \$2.50.

A SPECIAL policy committee on Technical Co-operation produced this report, which also contains recommendations for the future. It is of particular interest because it reflects the experience of a large number of United States agencies which are engaged in providing assistance to Latin American republics. Much valuable material is also contained in statistical appendices.

Assistance to the Needy in Less-Developed Areas

United Nations, H.M.S.O., 1956. Pp. 227. 11s.

THIS is a comparative survey of the methods followed by various Middle Eastern, Far Eastern and Latin American countries in administering assistance.

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(Pp. 36. 4s. 6d.)

MACDONALD AND EVANS LTD. have now produced these nine further contributions to the series on modern office equipment which they are publishing for the Office Appliance and Business Equipment Trades Association.

Massachusetts State Government

Harvard University Press, Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. xv+399. 48s.

THIS citizen's handbook, which was prepared by the League of Women Voters of Massachusetts, provides a full guide to the government of that State and to the manner in which its legislative, executive, judicial and electoral institutions have evolved to meet the changing needs of modern civilisation.

British Journal of Administrative Law (July, 1956)

Shaw and Sons, Jordan and Sons. Pp. 142+vii. 45s. per annum.

THE main contributions to this issue are by Professor Harold V. Boisvert on “Control by Central Government in the United States and Great Britain,” by M. Schindler on “Judicial Review of Administrative Acts in Germany,” and by Professor F. Garrido Falla on “Civil Liability of the Administration in Spain.”

Economic Developments in the Middle East, 1954-1955

United Nations, H.M.S.O., 1956. Pp. 151. 11s.

Economic Developments in Africa, 1954-55

United Nations, H.M.S.O., 1956. Pp. 100. 7s.

THESE two supplements to the United Nations annual *World Economic Survey* for 1955 give a full picture of economic trends in the regions concerned.

International Tax Agreements (Vol. VI)

United Nations, H.M.S.O., 1956. Pp. vi+262. 14s.

THIS volume contains the texts of international tax agreements concluded between June, 1953, and November, 1955.

O.E.E.C. at Work for Europe (Third Edition)

O.E.E.C. Information Division and H.M.S.O., 1956. Pp. 107.

IN this booklet twelve senior officials of the Organisation give brief accounts of what O.E.E.C. has accomplished.

Nuffield Foundation—Eleventh Report

Pp. 160.

THE report of the Nuffield Foundation for the year ended 31st March, 1956, records the grants made to assist research in science, medicine, social research and experiment, education, and the care of old people.

Clean Air

Leeds Incorporated Chamber of Commerce, 1956. Pp. 144. 5s. (postage 4d. extra).

THIS survey of the Clean Air Act, 1956, appeared as a supplement to *The Leeds Journal*. It gives a full account of the

provisions of the statute, and also indicates how its main requirements can be met.

Training for Supervisors

H.M.S.O., 1956. Pp. 28. Obtainable free from headquarters and local offices of Ministry of Labour and National Service.

THIS booklet contains an imaginary conversation in which a training officer, a general manager, a director, a superintendent and a foreman exchange their views on the 1954 Report of the Committee of Inquiry on the Training of Supervisors.

The Growth of Responsible Government from James I to Victoria

By A. H. DODD. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956. Pp. xv+215. 23s.

THE author has sought to provide both the student of history and the general reader with an account of how British representative institutions first took shape, from the early seventeenth to the early nineteenth century.

Tomorrow's Landscape

By SYLVIA CROWE. Architectural Press, 1956. Pp. 207. 21s.

IN this book a landscape architect shows, with the aid of numerous photographs, the impact of modern industrial and residential development on rural and urban landscapes, and illustrates the ways by which the most evil effects can be averted or mitigated.

Rates and Rateable Values in England and Wales, 1955-56

H.M.S.O., 1956. Pp. 60. 3s.

THIS is a further edition of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government's annual return. A supplement (pp. 55, 3s.) shows the rateable values and numbers of hereditaments in the new valuation lists which came into force on 1st April, 1956.

RECENT GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

The following official publications issued by H.M.S.O. are of particular interest to those engaged in, or studying, public administration. The documents are available in the Library of the Institute.

ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNALS AND ENQUIRIES, COMMITTEE ON

Memoranda submitted by government departments. Vol. VI. pp. iv, 123. 1956. 5s.

Charity Commission, Board of Control, Development Commission, Foreign Office, Ministry of Fuel and Power, Home Office, H.M. Land Registry, Office of the Lord President of the Council, Registry of Friendly Societies, Tithe Redemption Commission, Board of Trade, H.M. Treasury, War Damage Commission and Central Land Board.

CENTRAL ELECTRICITY AUTHORITY

Eighth report and accounts, 1955-56. H.C. 367. pp. viii, 244. 8 illus., folding tabs. 1956. 10s. 6d.

CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE

Annual abstract of statistics. No. 93. 1956. pp. xi, 314. 21s.

Economic trends. Nos. 34-36. August to October, 1956. 2s. each number.

Monthly digest of statistics. Nos. 128-130. August to October, 1956. 4s. 6d. each number.

CENTRAL YOUTH EMPLOYMENT EXECUTIVE

Choice of Careers. New Series, No. 68. Her Majesty's Forces, Commissioned Service. pp. 48. 1956. 1s. 6d.

Choice of Careers. New Series, No. 76. The Prison Service. pp. 32. 1956. 9d.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

Civil Service posts for graduates. pp. iv, 78. Third edition. 1956. 2s. 6d.

Report for the period 1st April, 1955, to 31st March, 1956. pp. 39. 1956. 2s. 3d.

COLONIAL OFFICE

Report by H.M. Government . . . to the

General Assembly of the United Nations on the Cameroons under U.K. administration for the year 1955. pp. x, 318. 12 illus., folding map, tabs. Colonial No. 325. 1956. 16s.

Report by H.M. Government . . . to the General Assembly of the United Nations on Togoland under U.K. administration for the year 1955. pp. xi, 198. 24 illus., map, tabs. Colonial No. 323. 1956. 10s. 6d.

Report by H.M. Government . . . to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Trust Territory of Tanganyika under U.K. administration for the year 1955. pp. x, 313. 28 illus., maps, tabs. Colonial No. 324. 1956. 12s. 6d.

COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS OFFICE

The Colombo Plan technical co-operation scheme. Report for 1955-56 by the Council for Technical Co-operation in South and South-East Asia. pp. 48. 1956. 2s.

CORONA

September to October, 1956. 1s. 6d. monthly.

COUNCIL OF INDUSTRIAL DESIGN

Eleventh annual report, 1955-56. pp. 39. Illus. 1s. 6d.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH FOR SCOTLAND

Scottish Housing Handbook No. 3. House design. pp. 39. Revised edition. 1956. 4s. 6d.

DIGEST OF COLONIAL STATISTICS

No. 28. September-October, 1956. 6s.

DIGEST OF SCOTTISH STATISTICS

No. 8. October, 1956. 4s.

DIGEST OF WELSH STATISTICS

No. 3. 1956. pp. iv, 69. 6s. Annual publication.

EDUCATION, MINISTRY OF

Circulars and administrative memoranda issued during the period 1st April, 1955,

to 31st March, 1956. Paging irregular. 1956. 13s. 6d.

Pamphlet No. 30. Education of the handicapped pupil, 1945-55. pp. v, 26. 1956. 2s.

Report of the Burnham Committee on scales of salaries for teachers in establishments for further education maintained by local education authorities in England and Wales, 1956. pp. viii, 51. 1956. 3s.

The recommendations include those for an equal pay increment, additional payment for teachers in the London area, and the setting up of a Joint Committee of Reference to consider the Report's recommendations.

Report of the consultative committee on the primary school (Chairman: Sir W. H. Hadow, C.B.E.), 28th November, 1930. 1931. This famous report has now been reprinted. 5s. 6d.

Report of the Committee on scales of salaries for the teaching staff of farm institutes and for teachers of agricultural (including horticultural) subjects on the staff of local education authorities in England and Wales, 1956. pp. v, 37. 1956. 2s. 6d.

Report of the Committee on scales of salaries for the teaching staff of training colleges in England and Wales, 1956. pp. iv, 17. 1956. 1s. 6d.

Three-year training for teachers. Fifth report of the National Advisory Council on the Training and Supply of Teachers. pp. vi, 12. 1956. 1s. 3d.

FOREIGN OFFICE

Egypt No. 1 (1956). The Suez Canal Conference (selected documents). London, 2nd-24th August, 1956. Cmd. 9853. pp. 18. 1s.

Egypt No. 2 (1956). Exchange of correspondence between the Suez Committee and the President of the Republic of Egypt regarding the future operation of the Suez Canal. Cairo, 3rd-9th September, 1956. Cmd. 9856. pp. 15. 9d.

Sudan No. 2 (1956). Report on the administration of the Sudan for the year 1951-52. Cmd. 9841. pp. 186. Folding tab. 1956. 6s.

FUEL AND POWER, MINISTRY OF

Gas. Report of the Minister of Fuel and

Power for the year ended 31st March, 1956. H.C. 394. pp. 11. 1956. 8d.

GAS COUNCIL

Seventh report and accounts, 1955-56. H.C. 393. pp. x, 189. 1956. 7s.

GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE

The Registrar-General's statistical review of England and Wales for the year 1953. Text volume. pp. xv, 249. 1956. 9s.

HEALTH, MINISTRY OF

Report for the year ended 31st December, 1955. Part 1—1. The National Health Service (including a chapter on international health); 2. Welfare, food and drugs, civil defence. Cmd. 9857. pp. xviii, 254. 1956. 9s.

Report on the working party on hospital costing. pp. 52. 1955. Reprinted 1956. 2s. 6d.

Report of the working party set up to devise a system of costing the various departments and services of a hospital.

HEALTH, MINISTRY OF: DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH FOR SCOTLAND

Report of the Committee on recruitment to the dental profession. Cmd. 9861. pp. 61. 1956. 3s.

HOME OFFICE

Children in the care of Local Authorities in England and Wales at March, 1956. Particulars of the number of children in care under the Children Act, 1948, the manner of their accommodation, and the estimated costs of maintenance. Cmd. 9881. pp. 7. 1956. 6d.

Criminal statistics, England and Wales, 1955. Cmd. 9884. pp. xlviii, 92. 1956. 7s.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Parliamentary papers (House of Commons and Command): sessional index for session 1954-55. H.C. 144. pp. 85. 1956. 4s.

HOUSE OF COMMONS LIBRARY

Document No. 2. A bibliography of Parliamentary debates of Great Britain. pp. 62. 1956. 5s.

HOUSING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT, MINISTRY OF

Report for the year 1955. Cmd. 9876. pp. xii, 166. 1956. 6s.

Housing return for England and Wales. 30th September, 1956. Appendix. Cmd. 9885. pp. ii, 78. 1956. 3s.

Housing summary, 31st August, 1956. Cmd. 9869. pp. 2. 1956. 3d.

Local government financial statistics, England and Wales, 1954-55. pp. 16. 1956. 1s.

Model by-laws. Series I. The removal of house refuse and the cleansing of earth closets, privies, ashpits and cesspools. pp. 3. 1956. 4d.

INDEPENDENT TELEVISION AUTHORITY

Annual report and accounts, 1955-56. H.C. 362. pp. iv, 40. 1956. 2s. 9d.

IRON AND STEEL BOARD

Annual report for the year 1955. H.C. 350. pp. iv, 38. 2s. 3d.

JOURNAL OF AFRICAN ADMINISTRATION

October, 1956. 2s. 6d.

LABOUR AND NATIONAL SERVICE, MINISTRY OF

Catering Wages Commission. Twelfth annual report, 1955. H.C. 409. p. 1. 1956. 3d.

International Labour Conference. Proposed action by H.M. Government in the U.K. and Northern Ireland on a recommendation adopted at the 37th session, 1954. Cmd. 1. pp. 3. 1956. 4d.

The recommendation (No. 98) concerns holidays with pay.

Method of constructing and calculating index of retail prices. pp. 40. 1956. 1s. 9d.

A useful and comprehensive guide to the new index which replaced the interim index as from January, 1956. The method described is based on recommendations of the Cost of Living Advisory Committee and of a smaller Technical Committee, both appointed by the Ministry of Labour.

Report of the Committee of Inquiry on the Rehabilitation, Training and Resettlement of Disabled Persons. Cmd. 9883. pp. v, 126. 1956. 5s. 6d.

Staffing and organisation of factory inspectorate. Cmd. 9879. pp. 47. 1956. 2s.

Examines the nature and content of the work of the present-day Factory Inspectorate, and contrasts the present one with that of pre-war. In further chapters the staffing of the Inspectorate, including methods of recruitment and training, and problems of staff organisation in the Inspectorate are examined.

LAND REGISTRY

Report to the Lord Chancellor for the financial year 1955-56. pp. 9. 2s.

LAND SETTLEMENT ASSOCIATION LIMITED

Smallholdings organised on the basis of centralised services: report and accounts for the year 1954-55. pp. iv, 28. 2s.

LORD PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

Scientific manpower. Report of a committee appointed by the Lord President of the Council. Cmd. 6824. pp. 25. 1946. Reprinted 1956. 1s.

LUNACY AND MENTAL TREATMENT ACTS

Annual report of the Board of Control to the Lord Chancellor for the year 1955. H.C. 325. pp. 7. 1956. 6d.

MONOPOLIES AND RESTRICTIVE PRACTICES COMMISSION

Report on the supply of linoleum. H.C. 366. pp. vi. 1956. 5s.

Organisation of the linoleum industry; trade practices; prices, costs and profits, with observations on certain practices which may operate against the public interest.

NATIONAL SAVINGS COMMITTEE

34th annual report, 1955-56. pp. 31. 2s.

NEW TOWNS ACT, 1946

Reports of the Development Corporations for the period ended 31st March, 1956. H.C. 365. pp. iii, 462. 1956. 16s.

OVERSEAS EDUCATION

October, 1956. 2s. quarterly.

PENSIONS AND NATIONAL INSURANCE, MINISTRY OF

Report of the National Insurance Advisory

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Committee on the question of dependency provisions. Cmd. 9855. pp. 39. 1956. 1s. 9d.

REGISTRY OF RESTRICTIVE TRADING AGREEMENTS

Guide to the registration of agreements under Part I of the Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1956. pp. 16. 1956. 1s.

Notes prepared for the assistance of persons needing to give to the Registrar particulars of agreements to which Part I of the Act applies.

ROAD HAULAGE DISPOSAL BOARD

Seventh report, 1956. H.C. 410. pp. iv, 18. 1956. 1s. 3d.

SCOTTISH HOME DEPARTMENT

Sixth report of the Law Society of Scotland on the Legal Aid Scheme, 1955-56. pp. 24. 1956. 1s. 9d.

SCOTTISH OFFICE

Annual report of the General Board of Control for mental diseases for Scotland for the year 1955. Cmd. 9807. pp. 20. 1956.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ESTIMATES, SESSION 1955-56

Seventh report. Naval research and development. H.C. 345. pp. xxx, 271. 1956. 13s. 6d.

The Committee recommends that the possibility of merging naval research and development establishments with similar establishments working for other Government departments be considered. Final decision on which establishments are to be merged rests with the Ministry of Defence.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS AND DEBATES REPORTS

Reports, together with the proceedings of the Committee, minutes of evidence taken on the 23rd day of November last and an appendix. H.C. 420. pp. viii, 6. 1956. 1s. 6d.

Report of the Select Committee appointed to assist the Speaker with

arrangements for the reporting and publishing of debates and with form and distribution of Notice Papers and to inquire into expenditure and printing for House and public services.

STATIONERY OFFICE

List of statutory instruments, September, 1956. 4d.

TRANSPORT FUND

Account of the Transport Fund for the year ended 31st December, 1955. (Continuation of House of Commons Paper No. 46 of 1955-56.) H.C. 360. pp. 3. 1956. 4d.

TRANSPORT AND CIVIL AVIATION, MINISTRY OF

British Transport Commission. Proposals for the railways. Cmd. 9880. pp. 43. 1956. 1s. 9d.

Certain selective increases in the Commission's charges may be necessary during the next five or six years if present financial difficulties are to be overcome. Commission expects substantial deficits for several years. Urges Government to place their organisation on a sound basis during period of reconstruction. Government will advance money to Commission out of Consolidated Fund equivalent to their revenue deficits in these years but limited as to total amount (about £250 m.).

TREASURY

United Kingdom Balance of Payments 1946 to 1956. Cmd. 9871. pp. 55. 2s. 3d.

Report of the Committee on cheque endorsement. Cmd. 3. pp. iv, 27. 1956. 1s. 3d.

Committee appointed to consider when and to what extent need for endorsement of cheques and "similar instruments received for collection by a bank" might be reduced.

Government information services: statement showing estimated expenditure, 1956-57. Cmd. 9868. pp. 4. 1956. 4d.

The Treasury's Role in Civil Service Training

By DAVID HUBBACK

Until recently Director of Training and Education in H.M. Treasury, Mr. Hubback explains the part played by his Division and comments on some recent developments in Civil Service Training.

IT is now over thirteen years since the Assheton Committee reported, but their Report has stood the test of time remarkably well. Nearly all the main recommendations of the Committee have been adopted and form the basis of Civil Service training today. There have naturally been many other developments since the war, but the main structure is built on the foundations laid by the Committee. In this article I shall not try to trace in detail the history of Civil Service training since 1944. In brief, this has been mainly a matter of rapid expansion after the war, followed by some retrenchment at the beginning of 1952, succeeded in turn by a number of new developments. I shall, rather, attempt to give a picture of Civil Service training today as seen from the Treasury, paying particular attention to new methods and types of training which have been undertaken in the last year or so.

While I shall concentrate on the Treasury's rôle in Civil Service training, it is important to remember that the vast bulk of training is done within Departments, most of whom have their own schemes for training new entrants and, where necessary, for giving vocational training. The really big Departments with responsibilities for large blocks of routine work also undertake the training of supervisors and managers. The figures of staff employed on training illustrate the relative scales of effort. While the Training and Education Division of the Treasury consists of 14 people of all ranks, the training staffs, at both Headquarters and in the regions, of such major Departments as Inland Revenue, Ministry of Labour and National Service, and Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance total about 140, 45 and 95, respectively.

THE TREASURY'S PART IN TRAINING

The main functions of the Training and Education Division are:

1. Central guidance and co-ordination of Departments.
2. Training of departmental instructors.
3. Central training of Administrative, Professional and Technical Classes.
4. Training for higher administration.
5. Special central courses.
6. Administration of external training and further education schemes.
7. Relations with other countries.

(1) Central Guidance and Co-ordination of Departments

Just like other Divisions in the Treasury, the Training and Education Division is responsible for advising on policy and for co-ordinating the work of

Departments. Quite rightly, there is no question of the Treasury giving orders to Departments on the extent or quality of the training they carry out. The function of the Training and Education Division is rather to provide central guidance and advice on all matters of training and to ensure the necessary degree of co-ordination between Departments' activities. To attain this end, the Division is in constant touch with Departmental Training Officers, who meet from time to time, with the Treasury Director of Training and Education in the Chair. The Division is also responsible for considering fresh proposals for training schemes submitted by Departments for financial approval of the Treasury.

Members of the Training and Education Division visit Departmental Training Centres, both in London and the Regions, from time to time, in order to keep in touch with new developments and give whatever advice they can, particularly on training methods.

Just as most Departments have a Departmental Whitley Joint Training Committee, so there is a National Whitley Council Joint Training Committee, on which the Training and Education Division is represented.

At this Committee we discuss both the administration of present training and our plans for new developments with the Staff Side who have always been eager to extend and improve training throughout the Service. But perhaps of even more value are our informal day-to-day contacts with the Staff Side which we find of the greatest help in planning new courses.

(2) *Training of Departmental Instructors*

Our most effective way of keeping in touch with training throughout the Service is by training Departmental Instructors ourselves. In recent years about 200 instructors a year have attended courses in teaching techniques at the Treasury which, for this purpose, becomes a teachers' training college in miniature. The training is given by three tutors, with occasional talks from others both inside and outside the Government Service.

There is a constant demand from Departments for the training of their instructors, since not only do new types of training require new teaching techniques, but the instructors themselves change on an average about once every three years. These instructors are almost invariably chosen (by their Departments and not by the Treasury) from those working in ordinary operational Divisions, to which they return after a tour of duty in a Departmental training centre. Naturally, Departments try to select people with an aptitude for teaching. But there is no qualifying examination or period of probation. Having seen a large number of instructors pass through the Training and Education Division, my experience is that Departments normally choose well, and that the calibre of instructors is encouragingly high. More often than not they are remarkably keen on their work and anxious to keep up with developments both inside and outside the Civil Service.

There are four main types of Instructors' Courses, lasting from three days to two weeks, designed to meet the different needs of Departments, and the different levels of those to be trained in Departments. The basic Instructors' Course, which lasts for two weeks, is for the man with no more than a few months' experience of training who is mainly concerned with the vocational and background training of junior ranks. This course is in

three main parts. First we try to give instructors some idea of the theory of teaching and the psychology of learning, together with as much practical help as we can about the preparation and presentation of material, the use of visual aids including films and film strips, and the drawing up of a timetable. The Treasury tutors give demonstrations of how to lecture, how to run a discussion group, how to make the best use of a visiting speaker, and how to use rôle-playing. Thereafter, each member of the course has at least two practices in giving a lecture or running a discussion group, his efforts being criticised by the rest of the group and the Treasury tutor. We find these practice periods are the most valuable part of the course, since doing is the best way of learning to teach. Indeed, the whole course is practical rather than theoretical. 99656

We realise that, even with the best of methods, finished instructors cannot be turned out after a two weeks' course. Departmental instructors will benefit from the fund of experience they find in their own training centre, and they are also invited to come to short Refresher Conferences at the Treasury after they have been teaching for 18 months. These provide an opportunity for the instructors to discuss their problems with the Treasury tutors and with instructors from other Departments, and to hear about new developments in training. In addition, Treasury tutors visit Departmental training centres, both in London and the Provinces, as often as possible in order to give any help and advice they can, and we have recently started a Treasury Training *News Letter*, intended mainly for Departmental Instructors.

We run other more advanced courses for instructors who are going to train first-line supervisors, managers and senior staff. An interesting new development has been the courses in the Conduct of Public Business, which are now being held in most major Departments, designed for Higher Executive and Senior Executive Officers: that is, for people in middle-grade management, with anything from 15 to 35 years' experience in the Service. While these courses are primarily concerned with management problems, they also include discussions on ways and means of raising the standards of the individual's work. We use case study as one of the main teaching techniques for these courses.*

There is a strong family likeness in the training techniques taught on these different courses. As far as possible, the members of the course play an active part in the proceedings. There is little, or no, straight lecturing. While we try to keep in close touch with the many bodies working in this field, such as the National Institute of Industrial Psychology and the British Institute of Management, we have had, to a large extent, to work out the best method suited for the Civil Service. Much of the present outside work in this field has been done in industrial firms and the results cannot readily be adapted to Civil Service needs. Even where studies of big commercial offices have been made, we cannot simply copy what others have done, if only because of the different organisation required in a Government office as a result of its Ministerial head being responsible to Parliament. While, in the result, the methods we have adopted are not very different from those used in the more progressive firms in this country and the United States,

*For details of our use of case studies see Miss A. V. Turnbull's article at pages 125-142.

we would welcome more attention being paid by the learned institutions to the administrative problems of large offices. We realise that we still have a lot to learn about teaching methods, with which we are continuing to experiment to find the best way of undertaking new types of training.

Now that training is carried on over such a broad front in Departments, instructors find themselves faced with audiences greatly differing in age, from young new entrants to experienced middle- and senior-grade officers of considerable standing. As many of the latter might well resent going back to school, there is little straight lecturing. Quite apart from this, much of public administration can best be taught in terms of practical experience. While there is undoubtedly still a place for lectures, especially when it is a matter of teaching new entrants who have to learn the tools of their trade, we have found that, for the experienced, even the best lecture on the principles of management, organisation or public administration is largely a waste of time. But to discuss current problems in small groups, to reproduce typical situations through rôle-playing, films or film strips, or to analyse examples of good and bad administration (as illustrated in case studies), can be much more rewarding. Precisely how rewarding it is impossible to say since so much of our training is by way of changing attitudes rather than teaching skills. In our experience, however, there is no doubt that maximum participation by members of the course gives the best results. Such participation also leads to a high degree of enthusiasm in training, much to the surprise of the newcomer whose heart may sink when he is told he is going on a training course. We try to discount some of this enthusiasm by asking for frank criticism of each course, not only at the last session, but also, on occasion, several months later when the group has dispersed to their Departments and have to face their individual problems once more.

(3) *Central Training of Administrative, Professional and Technical Classes*

We have, perhaps, been more adventurous in our training of Departmental Instructors than in the central courses we run for Administrators and other senior Civil Servants, such as scientists and engineers. While the Assheton Committee recommended a two or three months' course of initial training for Assistant Principals, we give no more than three weeks. Nor can we claim that the Training and Education Division has become, as suggested by the Assheton Committee, "a clearing house of ideas for Civil Service administrators and a repository of schemes, successful and unsuccessful, which have been tried out in practice." On the other hand we have done rather more than the Assheton Committee proposed in other respects.

Training of Assistant Principals. As the Assistant Principal's grade is essentially a training grade, training continues for the whole of the five or six years the average man spends in this grade. After an initial training course in his Department, the new Assistant Principal will be posted to a Division where, right from the start, he is given some responsibility. By far the most important part of his training will be gained by moving from Division to Division at intervals of 6 to 18 months, ending up, if he has any luck, as a Private Secretary to a Minister or the Permanent Head of his Department.

If he belongs to a Ministry with a regional or local network, he is likely to have spent about six months working in a local office; thus, he will have seen Government from the circumference as well as at the centre. But, in addition to training by variety of experience coupled with responsibility, the Assistant Principal will attend the three weeks' central course at the Treasury. He may also go on special short courses organised by his Department and he will have the chance of studying some administrative problem during a short visit to another country in Western Europe.

The Treasury course consists of 16 to 18 Assistant Principals drawn from different Ministries, together with one or two young foreign civil servants, generally from Western Europe, invited to widen the scope of discussion. The object of this intensive course is to broaden the Assistant Principal's understanding of the machinery of government and of the organisation of the Civil Service.

Although, as is our normal custom, the course is conducted in an informal atmosphere with the members sitting in armchairs, on this occasion we find more scope for straight lectures; but with ample time left for discussion. This is because we are trying to teach certain facts about Government which the new entrant cannot be expected to know. On most of our other courses people train themselves through pooling experience, but the Assistant Principals have little experience on which to draw. Through lectures, reading and exercises they are expected to acquire a grasp of the main elements of such subjects as the relation between central and local government, the position of the law courts and administrative tribunals, financial control and the structure of the Civil Service. We try to keep the level of speakers high. Most come from within Whitehall, and include Ministers as well as senior civil servants. We usually include an Opposition Member of Parliament and some outside experts, such as a Town Clerk or a lawyer. At present the course includes visits to the Houses of Parliament, a County or County Borough Council, and a Government Research Establishment.

The Assistant Principals work in syndicates to discuss topical problems, the solutions of which need a good deal of thought and reading. Each Assistant Principal is either Chairman or Vice-Chairman of a syndicate for each subject and has to present a report.

We are sometimes criticised on the score that even the brightest of young men and women straight from the universities cannot be expected to learn what they ought to know about administration through attending a course lasting only three weeks. We would not begin to dispute this, but then the primary purpose of the course is rather different. It is to give an Assistant Principal his main bearings in a variety of subjects, so that, if he ever has to tackle problems connected with any one of them, he will at least have some idea where to begin. We hope, also, that these courses give the new entrant Assistant Principal the sense of belonging to a unified Civil Service rather than being just a member of an individual Department. It is quite true that we do very little compared with the year spent on largely academic studies at the Ecole Nationale d'Administration by the new entrants to the French Civil Service in the second year of their two-and-a-half-year course. As against this, the British Assistant Principal usually has far more training within his Department than his French opposite number.

There are many who argue that we ought to follow the example of the Ecole Nationale d'Administration, in which I would be the first to agree that there is a lot to admire. I was, for instance, much impressed, on a recent visit, by the two months' attachment to industry arranged for each young French civil servant passing through the Ecole Nationale d'Administration. But I am doubtful about the need for as much as a whole year spent on acquiring background knowledge. In this country, after continuous education from the age of 5 to 22, followed most probably by two years' National Service, the newly appointed Assistant Principal wants to get to grips with a responsible job. Moreover, while the Ecole Nationale d'Administration course is producing good results in France, it is not necessarily the best for us with our different educational and Civil Service systems. We give responsibility earlier than the French, and I would be sorry to see this altered. On the other hand, we should make it as easy as possible for our Assistant Principals to pick up for themselves the background knowledge they need. This is not just a matter of libraries and being aware of what the universities and other learned bodies have to offer. Sometimes more positive help is needed. For instance, the Foreign Office, last autumn, ran a course of 24 lectures on elementary economics, mainly for the benefit of recent entrants to the Foreign Service who expected to be posted abroad shortly: but the lectures were also attended by Assistant Principals from some of the Economic Departments. There may be scope for more of this type of in-service background training.

(4) *Training for Higher Administration*

The Assheton Committee, having turned down the idea of a special Civil Service staff college, recommended that training for higher administration should be given right outside the Civil Service by attachments to industry or Local Authorities, by sabbatical leave to be spent at universities, and by travel abroad. While there have been few attachments to industry and Local Authorities so far, the proposals for sabbatical leave and travel abroad have been put into effect on quite an extensive scale. In any one year, about 50 civil servants of the rank of Assistant Secretary and Principal (and equivalent ranks in the Executive, Professional, Technical and Scientific classes) have spells of sabbatical leave ranging from 3 to 12 months. Of these 50 civil servants, some 18 attend the Administrative Staff College at Henley; 12 go to the Imperial Defence College; 4 to the Joint Services Staff College; and 2 to the N.A.T.O. Defence College in Paris. In addition, some universities have been generous in awarding research fellowships to civil servants. In most years, for instance, Nuffield College appoints a civil servant to a Gwilym Gibbon Fellowship, and Manchester University to a Simon Fellowship; in both cases to study some aspect of public administration. These fellowships generally last a year. The London School of Economics has, on occasion, awarded a Webb Fellowship to a civil servant for a longer period.

Perhaps most attractive of all are the Commonwealth and Nuffield Travelling Fellowships. The Commonwealth Fund offer three fellowships for administrators and two for scientists each year for visits to the United

States. The Nuffield Foundation send an administrator and one scientist abroad, usually to Commonwealth countries. The main purpose of both fellowships is to enable the civil servant to undertake advanced study of some administrative problem in the country of his choice.

For young scientists there are the King George VI Fellowships for study in the United States, while others go to some university of their choice abroad to study some special subject. While these more specialised studies at first sight may have little to do with training for higher administration, it can be argued that experience of some overseas research laboratory may well help a man when he becomes senior enough to play a leading part in administering a Government Research Establishment at home.

Apart from sabbatical leave of one kind and another, we have gone beyond the Assheton Committee proposals in arranging conferences at both Assistant Secretary and Principal level mainly for the discussion of management and organisation problems.

For the past few years we have run residential conferences at a country house or a Cambridge college, lasting eight days and attended by about 20 senior scientists, engineers, architects and administrators of Assistant Secretary and equivalent rank. At first we kept the different groups separate, but recently we have tended to mix them up more, so as to get the maximum cross-fertilisation. Probably the scientists and engineers benefit rather more from these conferences than the Assistant Secretaries, since they come to them at a time when they have ceased being primarily research workers at the bench, or mainly engaged in technical problems, and are taking on responsibility for organising research work and for controlling blocks of staff. So, at present, scientists and engineers are getting two-thirds of the places on the three conferences we run every year. Of these three conferences at least one each is devoted to the special problems of scientists and administrators respectively. As for the Assistant Principals' Course, we usually invite an overseas visitor from the United States, the Commonwealth or Western Europe.

A description of methods used was given by Mr. S. A. Bailey in the Winter, 1955, issue of *Public Administration*. Here perhaps it will suffice to say that the subjects discussed by both types of conference are about equally divided between management and organisational problems.

Typical subjects in recent Scientists' Conferences include "The Place of Science and Technology in the Machinery of Government"; "The Organisation and Purpose of a Government Research Establishment"; "The Function of Headquarters in Relation to Outstations," and "Scientific Method in the Formulation of Economic Policy." Typical subjects for the Assistant Secretaries' Conferences have been "Administrative Tribunals," "The Place of the Economist in Administration," "Ministerial Responsibility," and "The Federal Service of the U.S.A." Both conferences discuss such management problems as recruitment, training and promotion.

Speakers at these conferences are usually senior civil servants or experts from the universities or industry. While we have been fortunate in getting good speakers, who undoubtedly add a great deal to the value of these conferences, it might be possible to run them without any outside speakers at all. The members of the conferences bring a sufficient wealth of experience

to provide material for worth-while discussion throughout the week. We have recently started a new series of one-week courses for Principals and equivalent Executive, and Scientific and Technical Grades. These are being run on similar lines to the Conferences for Assistant Secretaries although, unfortunately, they cannot be residential and are, therefore, unlikely to make the same impact. However, they should play a useful part in training for higher administration through allowing about 80 people a year, mostly in their late thirties, to see their work in better perspective by discussing common management and organisational problems with their fellows from other parts of the Civil Service. On our present scale of activities it is unlikely that any one man, in the course of his career, will attend both the Principals' and the Assistant Secretaries' Conferences and have a spell of sabbatical leave. But some will at least have a chance of getting away from their desks on two out of three occasions.

(5) *Special Central Courses*

Conferences and Courses for Administrative and other higher civil servants are not by any means the only central courses run by the Treasury. For instance, the Organisation and Methods Division run five-week courses for those who are going to specialise in this type of work in the Departments. There are shorter courses for Departmental and Regional Training Officers and for Welfare Officers. We also give three-day courses for people who have to give occasional talks in their Departments and want help in the art of speaking and the best way of presenting material.

Even more important is the rôle the Training and Education Division plays in the general control of typing training and testing. Typing training takes place in Departmental Training Schools, of which there are 14 in London and 16 outside London, the numbers passing through such schools amounting to over 10,000 a year. The Treasury is responsible for the test papers used in these schools. Moreover, following the recommendation of the Assheton Committee, we run central courses on a fairly large scale for those in charge of typing in Departments, for Personal Assistants to senior civil servants, and for those learning how to use dictating machinery. Thus, last year 34 Controllers of Typists, 134 Typing Pool Supervisors and 200 dictating machine typists attended courses at the Treasury together with 81 Personal Assistants.

(6) *External Training and Further Education*

Some Departments make extensive use of the technical colleges and universities for vocational training and technical education, giving time off from the office where necessary and paying fees in full.

Further Education, which is now administered by the Civil Service Council for Further Education, a National Whitley body, has developed greatly since the war. All young civil servants up to the age of 18 have a day off a week to pursue studies of their choice at day continuation schools. It is, of course, not always possible to find suitable classes for all young civil servants, as the Service is scattered throughout the country (two-thirds of the Civil Service is stationed outside London). There is a tendency for

some young civil servants to give up their classes before the age of 18; but, even so, the numbers attending classes are impressive. At present they total 80 per cent. of those under 18.

For those over the age of 18, the Civil Service Council for Further Education has been active throughout the country in bringing to the notice of all civil servants the varied opportunities which exist in local evening colleges and technical institutes. The Council interpret "further education" in the broadest sense, including crafts, fine art, ordinary academic subjects and modern studies.

The Assheton Committee recommended that the Government should encourage non-vocational further education in every way, short of paying fees. This, as explained above, the Civil Service Council for Further Education already do for cultural and practical subjects of all kinds. Recently, however, it has been decided that financial help may be given to civil servants attending external courses in subjects which would afford a better understanding of the problems and activities of the Department to which they belong or of the public service generally. Departments may, at their discretion, give greater encouragement than they have been able to in the past, to members of their staff who wish to follow, in their own time, worth-while external courses in such subjects as public administration, economics, law and other social sciences. This is a recent development and it is, as yet, too early to judge how great the demand in the Civil Service for such studies is going to be. Much will depend on what the universities and technical colleges have to offer. In the past the universities in this country have always held, quite rightly, that it is not their job to train civil servants, although they have an important part to play in Civil Service education. The universities have a lot to offer in the study of law and economics and the older disciplines. But public administration and some of the other social sciences as studied in the universities sometimes seem rather remote from the everyday problems of civil servants who are apt, perhaps too hastily, to question the value of the universities' teaching. If Whitehall has been a little sceptical from its mundane point of view about what the universities have to offer, many teachers of public administration at the universities would be the first to agree that their subject is still in its infancy as an academic study. The ordinary administrator is apt to think (and some university lecturers would agree) that public administration can only be studied fruitfully by those who have practical experience. But many other Governments, for instance in France, Holland and the United States, look to their universities for considerable help in training civil servants. Perhaps we could learn from their experience.

We have recently gone some way to bridge the gap between Whitehall and the universities by making it possible for a few university lecturers in public administration to work for periods of about two years as Principals in some Government Departments. Provided the universities can spare them, the Treasury has agreed to try and arrange two or three appointments a year. This is a new scheme and we do not yet know what the response will be. But if it is a success the scheme should be of mutual benefit to both the universities and Whitehall, just as both benefit from the fellowships which some universities award to civil servants.

(7) Relations with Other Countries

I have already mentioned how we like having overseas civil servants as members of Treasury Administrative Courses and how some of our own people go abroad either for short periods or for sabbatical leave lasting as much as twelve months, to study some administrative problem. But this is only one side of the growing international study of public administration in which we play a part. Here the traffic is mostly inwards. Every year several hundreds of civil servants from most countries this side of the Iron Curtain come to the United Kingdom to study our methods of administration. Some are financed by United Nations Technical Assistance, others by the Colombo Plan, and others again by their own Governments. Many of these visitors are helped to find what they want by the British Council, which arranges individual programmes tailored to meet special needs. The British Council has also run courses on such subjects as Taxation and the Administrative Problems of Under-developed Countries. But those civil servants who are primarily concerned with central government (and there have been over 100 in the last 18 months) are apt to find their way to the Treasury where we do our best to give them what they want, usually by sending them to experts in the various Departments.

An important recent development has been the work of the Public Administration Committee of Western European Union, both in arranging exchanges of civil servants between member countries and in organising courses attended by up to six civil servants of Assistant Secretary rank from each of the member countries. In recent years successful courses have been held in Holland on "The Inter-action of the State and Society," in France on "The Rôle of Administrative and Technical Officials in Planning and Execution," and in the United Kingdom on "The Civil Servant and the Protection of the Citizen." This year there is to be a course in Italy on "The adaptation of traditional forms of Government to carry out a major development programme." While the themes for these courses are very general, discussions are brought down to earth by concentrating on practical problems. Thus last year's course in the United Kingdom was divided into three groups of study, namely, "Administration and Control of the Police"; "Safety, Health and Welfare in Factories"; and "Social Insurance and Assistance," members of each group being concerned with these matters in their own countries. In the 2½ weeks that these courses last there can be no question of any profound study: their chief value lies in the stimulus these courses give to those attending them through discussion of everyday problems with their opposite numbers from other countries. Even if a civil servant does not find anything abroad which he would wish to see transferred to his own country, he should get some useful ideas about how he might do his own job better.

CONCLUSIONS

I am afraid that this sketch of the Treasury's activities in training may appear complacent and also give the impression that the Treasury's part in training is more important than that of Departments. But it would be wrong to draw these conclusions. We are painfully aware that there are lots of things

that we ought to be doing better. As for Departments, it is they who do at least 95 per cent. of the training done in the Civil Service and many of the methods we recommend are based on the experience of Departments.

Looking ahead, I would like to see more done, both in training for higher administration, for which the Treasury is responsible, and in training the Executive and Departmental Classes, for which Departments are responsible.

Developing the Assheton Committee's recommendation that the administrator ought to get right away from his desk from time to time, we might well arrange for the young civil servant to spend some time in industry or with Local Authorities. I would like to see the senior man having more chance than at present of sabbatical leave, spent either in a university at home or in travel abroad. Whether this is practicable or not in the fairly near future, it seems clear that we should look more and more to the universities for help and inspiration.

As for the Executive Class, a strong case can be made out that more training is needed if we are to make the best use of the talent we recruit. It will, however, be primarily for Departments to work out the best form of training to meet their individual needs.

Perhaps a new Assheton Committee should be appointed to appraise what has been done since the war and to propose ways of improving our present training methods. It may well be that the Civil Service needs better rather than more training. Quite considerable sums of money are spent every year on training, but are we really getting value for money? Anyone with any responsibility for training nowadays is bound to be looking for ways and means of finding out whether his activities are worth while. Do our training courses make any lasting impact and, if so, do they make the right impact? The Post Office, in conjunction with the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, has done some work on this problem, but I would like to see a lot more effort devoted to assessing the results of training, particularly training of middle and senior grades where it is a question of changing attitudes rather than inculcating knowledge or skills. The Civil Service has perhaps adopted a rather more cautious attitude to training than obtains in some of the biggest industrial concerns where training has been looked upon as a panacea in recent years. Were it possible to do more to assess the results of training, we should feel more confident in going further and faster. While from the nature of the problem we shall probably never get conclusive answers, here again we must look to the universities and learned institutions to devise the methods for assessing training which we at present lack.

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Training and Education in the Post Office

By J. V. GREENLAW

Mr. Greenlaw is an Assistant Secretary in the Post Office and is in charge of the Training and Welfare Branch of the Personnel Department at Headquarters.

THE Post Office is primarily an industry, but it is also unmistakably a Government Department. It has to consider not only the public, as its customers and shareholders, but also Parliament, Ministers, and the Treasury. Its policy necessarily contains a good deal of compromise, and although in some fields the Post Office is more than commonly progressive, it is fundamentally a stable organisation with objectives that most people understand and accept. Major changes in Post Office policy and structure are in fact infrequent, and it is not difficult to pick out the main characteristics that underlie and determine the shape of its system of training and education.

THE GENERAL SHAPE

The most notable event since the purchase of the National Telephone Company was the regionalisation that followed the report of the Bridgeman Committee in 1932. This cut across the previously sharp divisions between the engineering hierarchy and the remainder of the Post Office organisation, and it put the responsibility for nine-tenths of the staff on ten Regional Directors and the Head Postmasters and Telephone Managers under their control. These Directors, together with the Directors of the Savings Department and the External Telecommunications Executive, are unmistakably responsible in line command for the operation of Post Office services; the staff functions of administration, common services, operational control and technical direction remain with Headquarter branches and departments. The familiar dilemma of staff interference with line functions is particularly troublesome under the stress of Parliamentary control, Ministerial responsibility, and Treasury restraint, but it is in general true, in fact as in theory, that the field Directors can make full use of their extensive devolved powers in the way recommended in the Fleck Report for the coal industry.

The second most important factor in the pattern of Post Office training is the relations between official and staff sides. The Post Office is unique among Government Departments in having two Departmental Whitley Councils, one for the technical staff in the Engineering, Factories and Supplies Departments (some 85,000) and the other for the remainder of the staff (265,000). I doubt whether it would be too strong to say that it is unique among large organisations in the extent, harmony, and creativeness of its staff negotiations, both through Whitley channels and in direct contact with trades unions.

The third dominant factor is the quantity of training that has to be done in an industry with more than 350,000 staff, and an annual turnover of over 10,000 in one grade alone; in 1956 this came to an estimated time-expenditure of nearly 25 million trainee-hours. The bulk of this is the

inescapable training of new entrants to the main grades, and is mostly given in Regional schools and offices. But there are many varieties and levels of training, making the arrangements complex as well as extensive, and I can hardly hope to provide more than a broad outline here.

DEVELOPMENT

The history of organised training in the Post Office reaches back into Victorian times. The First World War increased the need, bringing with it instability of staff and rapid changes in process. In 1924, for example, a school was set up to teach the new skills of automatic telephony, and a rapid expansion of technical training followed, while in 1931 the training centre for clerks at Post Office counters did pioneer work in the development of visual aids, class participation, and a highly practical form of rôle-playing at a fully equipped dummy counter.

During the Second World War the need for training became more generally recognised in this country, and public interest led to the setting up of the Assheton Committee, referred to by Mr. Hubback. This Committee dealt explicitly with general questions of training within the Home Civil Service, and referred to a separate study of grades peculiar to the Post Office (para. 4). This study was made by a Committee containing representatives of the official side and both staff sides: it published three reports, between 1944 and 1946. It recorded its approval of the existing training arrangements, but spoke of the way in which the various training schemes had grown up independently under the control of the operational and technical departments, of the need for co-ordination, and of the desirability of creating a central training branch at Post Office Headquarters. Training in basic skills would remain under the control of the specialised departments who had the knowledge needed to work out the details of the training and the responsibility for seeing that the arrangements met the needs of the work. But the Committee went on to suggest that a central body should be set up to look after general questions arising from specialised training; to look after training and education outside these special fields; to keep a general eye on training in the Post Office; to keep in touch with other organisations interested in training and education; and to deal with major questions and general policy. This is the origin of the present Training and Welfare Branch of the Personnel Department, remote, in one sense, by a double remove from the work of the field, since the line responsibility belongs to the Regional Directors and the staff responsibility to the specialised departments concerned with postal, telephone, telegraph and engineering work. A natural question is whether a central training branch of this kind, with advice, co-ordination and the training of instructors as its main functions, is useful. The balance of Post Office official opinion is, I think, that there is a need for such a branch; Staff Side opinion is unhesitatingly in favour. The principal doubt is about the boundaries of its functions, since the operational branches are inclined to look back with nostalgia at the days before the war when the personnel function in industry was rudimentary and rather shy. The complementary question is whether the central control of training should be concentrated in one branch covering all services and functions, as in some other large industrial organisations. This may be the ultimate outcome, but at present

it would be too much of an affront to the professional and specialist groups, and is hardly a possibility fit to be mentioned.

STAFF CONSULTATION

The Post Office Training Committee, following the suggestion of the Report of the Assheton Committee (para. 22) and the National Whitley Council Committee that followed it, recommended the setting up of arrangements to bring the two Staff Sides in on the development and conduct of Post Office training and education. It went further, and specifically recommended that a permanent training committee should be set up, including representatives of the official side and both Staff Sides—a bold and unprecedented advocacy of lions lying down with the lamb. The committee was duly set up, and recently held its forty-fifth meeting. The official side consists of representatives of Headquarters branches and Regions, while the staff side includes representatives of all the major groups of Post Office staff; the Assistant Secretary in charge of the Training and Welfare Branch is in the chair. This body, the Standing Joint Committee on Training and Education, has as its terms of reference the original recommendation “to advise the Administration on all matters concerned with training and education,” and although any agreements affecting particular trades unions are confirmed by them, it was agreed at the seventh meeting that it was unnecessary for all agreements to require full Whitley-Council ratification.

Specialised training is usually dealt with by sub-committees, or panels. The Committee agreed as long ago as its second meeting that clerical training should be discussed by a special panel and that other panels should be appointed as necessary. At the twelfth meeting it set up two more panels, one to deal with postal, telegraph and telephone training, and the other for engineering training. Later, postal training was divided from telecommunications training, and the engineering panel took under its wing the special grades employed in the Factories Department and the Supplies Department.

The main committee concerns itself now with general questions of training and education. It does, for example, keep under constant review the arrangements for the training of managers, and for the continued education of young people under 18 through day-release classes, correspondence courses, etc. It also receives regular reports from the specialised panels on matters of interest and major importance.

The clerical panel is interested in the training and education of non-technical general-service grades, and in particular of the clerical and executive classes. It has in the past devoted most of its attention to the training of clerical staff in the offices of Telephone Managers, as this is one of the biggest and most complicated tasks in this field, extending as it does over 57 Areas, while the office staff in Headquarters offices such as the Savings Department have less need of co-ordination, being in large self-contained units. The postal panel deals with all basic and supervisory training of postal grades, including counter staff; the postal grades who collect, sort, despatch and deliver mail; the staff who do the “admin.” work of Head Post Offices; and the sub-office postmasters who are not strictly civil servants at all. The telephone and telegraph panel is similarly concerned with telephonists,

telegraphists and their supervisors; the engineering panel with technicians, technical officers, mechanics, photoprinters, draughtsmen, and many other technical grades, and with their supervisors. There is one other offshoot of the Standing Joint Committee, a small sub-committee of two official side and two staff side representatives, set up specifically to deal each year with the selection of twenty out of the 14,000 young people in the Post Office to go to one of the training courses run by the Outward Bound Trust.

It is again natural to ask whether this close co-operation with the Staff Sides is worth the time and effort that goes into it. My own answer, given without any hesitation, is that it is, and that consultative machinery of this kind, with a common purpose and with sincerity and goodwill on both sides, is one of the most important factors in creating and maintaining industrial harmony.

THE PATTERN OF RESPONSIBILITY

The distribution of functions reflects the general shape of Post Office organisation and the history of its training and education policy as described earlier.

The staff can be divided broadly into five groups. The largest, the postal, handles the mail and serves the public at the counters of Crown post offices; there are 22,000 counter staff and 108,000 mail-handling staff, with 8,500 supervisors of various grades. The engineering group includes 78,000 engineering staff from labourer upwards, together with 3,250 in special grades in the Factories Department and 2,500 in the Supplies Department. The office group is mainly clerical (some 30,000), but also includes 12,000 people in great variety, professional engineers, typists and the Permanent Secretary. Telephone operating staff are 47,500, with 5,750 in supervising grades, while telegraphs have 6,500 with 750 supervisors. For the training of nine-tenths of this staff the immediate responsibility rests with the Regional Directors.

The functional headquarters departments, postal, telecommunications and engineering, are responsible in their own fields for training policy and the design of courses. There is at present no functional branch with operational responsibility for office staff, and the central Training and Welfare branch looks after this group, as well as other non-specialised grades such as Head Postmasters. The extent to which headquarters branches are part of the line of command is dubious, but there is a Whitely-Council agreement that there should be no Regional variation of training schemes without discussion by the Standing Joint Committee on Training and Education. The size of the headquarters groups concerned with training is small, with some 12 in the Training and Welfare branch engaged in the central organisation and planning of Post Office training and education, and fewer still in the specialised departments.

The Regions do most of their training locally and in Regional schools in accordance with the national patterns laid down at headquarters. The main exceptions are the central engineering training school, which provides certain basic and supervisory courses for the whole country and is run by the headquarters Engineering Department; the traffic school and the sales school, which provide national courses for the grades that deal with operational

and sales work in the telecommunications field, and are run by the headquarters Inland Telecommunications Department; the management training centre, which offers management courses, and the headquarters training centre, which trains instructors, both being parts of the headquarters Personnel Department.

Regional Directors, like Headquarters, have functional branches with operational responsibility for the different groups of staff and their training; the engineering, postal and telecommunications branches explain themselves, while the staff and buildings branch is concerned with office-staff training. In addition, each Region has a specialist training officer. He has a particular responsibility for technique and quality of instruction, and for further education, but he is not usually part of the line of command and the amount of good he can do depends on the willingness of the functional branches to accept his help. In each of the functional branches there are one or two people directly concerned with the organisation of training and the control of Regional training schools in their special field; the schools themselves vary in size, the largest having over 50 instructors.

Staff outside the Regions, numbering some 38,000, are the responsibility of their own Departmental heads in collaboration with interested headquarters branches; the main groups in this category are the Savings Department (13,000 staff, mostly office grades), the Engineering Department (7,000), the External Telecommunications Executive (5,000), the Supplies Department (4,000 in all) and the Factories Department (also 4,000). Nearly all these units have staff directly responsible for the organisation of their training programmes, and some also have instructors, coming to about 90 people in all.

TRAINING OF NEW POSTAL STAFF

Basic training in the postal service is needed for postmen and counter staff. Postmen, engaged primarily for the collection and delivery of the mail, are not put through a standard centralised course: they may get one or two weeks' introductory training at a postal school (this happens in three Regions), but in the main their training is carried out locally in their own Head Offices. This training varies in quality, and we are just beginning a review, intended in particular to consider the pros and cons of school and local training; a certain amount of local training will be necessary in any event, because some of the basic knowledge—e.g., of the method of sorting incoming correspondence—varies from office to office. Counter staff, on the other hand, get seven weeks of training at central Regional schools. The seven weeks include a certain amount of background and attitude training, but are essentially an intensive course in the knowledge and skill needed for the whole range of counter work, from the simple acceptance of parcels (though even this is a lot more complicated than it sounds) to the complexities of pensions, bonds, licences and radio telegrams. The course is broken into two parts, separated by sixteen weeks of practical work on junior counter duties, but even so it is not easy for the instructors to keep up the interest and assimilation rate with such a quantity of knowledge to be absorbed. The schools reproduce as closely as possible the actual conditions of work, using counters with all fittings, stamps, cash, parcels, forms, etc., for practice

transactions; the trainees act in turn as customers and counter clerks. The aim is to give every trainee enough practice to make him able to handle business confidently before he faces the public. At one school some of the practice periods have been designed specifically to teach courtesy—both attitude and skill—by rôle-play, and this technique is likely soon to be used in postal schools generally. The counter staff trained at these schools are known by the odd name of “postal and telegraph officers,” or, affectionately, as P & TOs.

TRAINING OF NEW TELECOMMUNICATIONS STAFF

Telephonists are almost all taught at Regional schools. A new standard course of five weeks has just successfully passed through its trial period, although a few special courses—e.g., for operators in the international services—will still be needed. The standard course is made up of classroom work, including an extensive use of visual aids and demonstration equipment, together with the handling of dummy traffic at practice positions using standard equipment. Each lesson consists of instruction in the theory of handling a particular type of call, followed by individual practice under supervision. At the end of the course the trainee goes to her own exchange for two to three weeks of further training, handling live traffic under experienced guidance. Finally, there is a test of speed and accuracy to be passed before the telephonist can take her part in the team.

The training of telegraphists is now, with the reduction in telegraph traffic, a shadow of its former self. But some is still in progress. In the inland service there is a school course of sixteen weeks, the length of which is largely determined by the time needed to develop the manual skill of teleprinter operation and the use of the telegraph typewriter. As in the telephone course, the day is divided between procedure and practice, and the course is followed by a week during which the trainee works at his home office on live traffic alongside an experienced operator. Overseas telegraphists get six months of training on entry, followed later by about eight months of further training in more advanced telegraph techniques and procedure.

Engineering youths spend their first two years in training; they are not apprentices, but rather learners following a programme of the kind suggested in *Citizens of Tomorrow* (p. 86). During this period they attend centralised school courses of five weeks during the first year and eight weeks during the second year, and they spend one day a week at technical schools working for certificates (City and Guilds or National); practical training continues throughout the period. The school training of engineering staff, including these youths, is divided between a national residential school¹ in Staffordshire, where complicated apparatus in great variety can be kept in more or less continuous use for demonstration and practical work, and eight Regional schools covering the more straightforward technical duties, particularly the construction and maintenance of overhead and underground line plant. The Regional schools cover more than 50 different subjects, but the central school at Stone has an even wider range, including long-distance television transmission, electronic telephone switching, and the design of underground cable systems. The courses at the school are nearly

all technical, and last from one to nine weeks; the school is designed to accommodate 600 students, and is mostly worked to capacity.

TRAINING OF NEW OFFICE STAFF

Of the clerical staff—the people that some branches of industry call disarmingly just “staff” as distinct from the operatives—the majority work in Telephone Managers’ offices on commercial and accounts work. The scheme of training is based on background courses, given in all regional clerical schools, and specialised courses on, for example, contracts work, run by one or more Regions on behalf of the whole country. The background courses are designed to give the recruit an introduction to the Post Office, and, later, a widening of knowledge to cover all sides of the clerical division of the Telephone Manager’s office and a deepening understanding of the way the clerical division fits in with the three other divisions: engineering, traffic and sales. The specialised courses aim at giving full knowledge and practised skill in particular operations, though some learning at the desk is still necessary. Similar training of a simpler kind is given to the clerical assistants. Typists, who are usually recruited as such and need no basic instruction in keyboard skill, get a four-week course in a central school, and machine assistants a two-week course in accounting machine work. Clerical staff in the big Departments (notably the Savings Department, with some 10,000) get training on the same general lines, though with a greater emphasis on desk-instruction—partly because of the diversity of the work.

Of the staff recruited at degree and G.C.E. Advanced level, the numbers are quite small, and their training is more elaborate, since we must aim at getting the most out of a shorter working life and fitting these highly selected recruits quickly for the more complex types of work. Executive officers, for example, recruited by open competition at 18 or more, are allowed up to twelve months for their training; this period is occupied by school courses and a tailor-made programme of practical experience, often resulting in the carrying of a full load before the twelve months are up. Assistant Principals, recruited by competition at 21 or more, were, like engineering youths, given a two-year training, including about twelve months in a Region getting practical experience of all sides of the work, from Regional Board meetings to delivering letters. This scheme did, however, make them restive and anxious for responsibility, and a new system has recently been worked out under which they go to a Region almost immediately after recruitment for a six-month programme strongly biased towards either postal or telecommunications work, and then return for a period of eighteen months or more of Headquarters work in two different branches. After this they will go back for a second six months of Regional experience, correcting the bias in the earlier period and seeing the other half of the picture with a mind enriched, or at least enlightened, by a knowledge of some of the problems of administration.

Other senior entrants are Assistant Engineers, whose work is primarily technical; Telecommunications Traffic Superintendents, whose work is partly technical and partly managerial; Executive Engineers; and Assistant

Postal Controllers. These, too, go through specially designed programmes, covering wider fields in less detail.

DEVELOPMENT TRAINING

Development training, as distinct from new-entrant or basic training, takes several forms, designed to widen and develop skill and judgment, to increase knowledge of the job and its context, and to prepare for supervisory, managerial and administrative work.

Movement from one kind of work to another is inevitable under the ordinary pressures of changing loads and managerial necessity. But some kind of planned movement is also necessary in the interests of the individual, to widen his range and outlook and even simply to avoid staleness.² We try to arrange this at all levels, and sometimes to make the transition easy by appropriate training. Postmen moving to sorting-office work go through a two-week school course; engineering technical staff changing their work get school training of varying length; clerical officers moving from one job to another go to a specialised duty course, and when they move from the commercial side to the engineering-accounting side or *vice versa* they get a more general course as a background; postal and telegraph officers moving to accounts and organising duties in Head Post Offices go to specialised "writing-duty" courses at Regional schools. Programmed changes of duty of this sort have been much discussed during the years since the war, and we believe that we have now got a reasonable balance between the interests of the individual and the immediate needs of the work.

Movement from one level to another is even more important. Here we have for many years used a device which seems to be far from well known: the use of specified juniors to cover absences in the next grade up the line. In a Head Post Office, for example, certain Assistant Inspectors will be selected, by a procedure rather like full promotion procedure, to act as Inspectors. When an Inspector falls sick, or goes on leave, one of the Assistant Inspectors on the so-called "acting list" will take over his duties and powers, his own place being taken by a higher-grade postman. In this way we give practical experience of higher duties to people coming within range of promotion, and simultaneously get a chance of seeing how they do the job. This admirable practice, of long standing in the field of postal, telephone and telegraph work, is now showing signs of spreading elsewhere. A useful accompaniment is a short school course explaining the higher duties and the principles of supervision to people selected for inclusion on the acting list for the first time: telephonists, for example, put on the list to act as first-line supervisors, get a one-week school course, followed by a week's training in an exchange other than their own.

At the higher levels, we attach great importance to movement between Headquarters, the Regions, and, for certain grades, the Areas.³ A certain amount of Headquarters work is administrative in the remote Whitehall sense, but much of it is a mixture of administrative, operational and technical, for which a practical understanding of field work and direct experience of management are needed if decisions are to be soundly based on realities. This kind of movement is accepted policy, and is practised as far as possible

in the administrative, operational and managerial groups. We hope in time to overcome the obstacles to extending it in the executive and professional fields.

TRAINING OF SUPERVISORS AND MANAGERS

The training of people already on supervisory grades, advocated in paragraph 77 of the Bridgeman Report and introduced tentatively before the War, was recommended again by the Post Office Training Committee, which commented in its first report, of August, 1944, on the value of training for potential supervisors, and in its second report of December, 1945, said categorically that such training should be given to existing supervisors. Since then a fair range of supervisory training has been developed, the movement in this direction being given further impetus by the Productivity Report on the *Training of Supervisors*.⁴

The first development of this kind was a course for first-line postal supervisors (Assistant Inspectors), which was tried out at Taunton and has since been extended to the whole country. This is a two-week course on the principles and practice of supervision in this special field, ranging from human relations to specific job-knowledge. It is, in fact, on lines that are now familiar, but it was in its day an innovation. More recently, a similar one-week course has been developed for postal Inspectors and Chief Inspectors, also carried out in the Regional postal schools; a course for first-line supervisors in the field of counter, organisation and accounts work in Post Offices has just been given a preliminary run.

The telecommunications field is well covered. There are Regional courses for charge hands and foremen on the engineering side, while the senior supervisors go to central courses at the Stone training school; all these courses last for two weeks, with the foremen (Inspectors) going to both the Regional and the central courses. First-line supervisors in telephone exchanges, on the operating side, get a two-week course in the Regional schools, and first-line telegraph supervisors get a similar course. There is also a one-week course for officers in charge of telephone exchanges, designed to give them an appreciation of the basis of the training of the staff under their command and to lessen the danger of a divergence between their attitudes and those of telephonists and junior supervisors. Higher staff can go to more advanced two-week courses, run at Stone for the engineers and at schools in London for traffic and sales people.

In the field of office work there is, for reasons mentioned later, practically no supervisory training. A course covering supervisory skill and job-knowledge was run at Headquarters for the senior clerical-executive supervisors in Regional and Telephone Area offices, and this was to have been extended to the same levels in Headquarters offices and then to the first-line supervisors. It is now in suspense, as also is the scheme that had been worked out for a one-week course for senior staff under the title of "courses in the conduct of Post Office business."

Training in general management has been in progress for six years. These courses are residential, held in an hotel outside the holiday season, and last a month. They were designed primarily for people personally exercising devolved powers in charge of self-contained units, and for their lieutenants, but the benefit of their mixing with each other was increased

by including in the courses a few people from Regional offices and some of the Headquarters Departments. The students are drawn from all sides of the Post Office ; we have had much in mind the Percy Committee's remark⁵ that "the highly trained technician is often ignorant of the principles of industrial organisation and management." The design of the courses was based on Administrative Staff College methods, and still relies on lectures-with-questions, syndicate study, and discussion. Most of the people for whom the course was designed have now had an opportunity of attending the Management Training Centre, and the character of the work has changed slightly as the working-out of the programme has changed the average composition of the group ; junior managers on the postal side are now very much in the majority. It will soon be necessary for us to reconsider our plans for management training : when the existing people have been covered we shall have to work out how best to cater for management succession, and how far it will be possible to take advantage of recent developments in management training, such as the use of various forms of case-study, sociodrama, group project work and the concepts of group dynamics. We can legitimately hope for a more permanent residential training centre, even of the austere kind appropriate to civil servants. Such a centre could do much to keep up standards of efficiency and humanity in all branches of Post Office work, and might also make a real contribution towards solving the problem of relationships between the professional/technical staff and the administrative/managerial staff, rightly referred to by Dr. Tickner⁶ as one of the most difficult administrative problems of any country.

EXTERNAL TRAINING AND EDUCATION

In the further education of its young people the Post Office can claim a pioneer's credit, with youth clubs, boy messengers' institutes and day-release classes long before the Education Act made such provision a national policy, and even before the Fisher Act.⁷ At present all Post Office staff under 18 may, and some must, continue their general education for one day a week (or its equivalent in terms of evening classes or correspondence courses where local conditions make these expedients necessary). Conclusive figures cannot be got, but we suspect that the Post Office is the largest single user of general-education day-release classes in the country, and also that a higher proportion of our youngsters attend than from any other large organisation. In addition, engineering youths compulsorily attend technical classes for one day a week to get technical certificates and the extra pay that goes with them.

Staff over 18 are in general not given time off to attend classes as a matter of course, but for certain studies likely to be of direct use to them as public servants they can get practical help of various kinds. The emphasis is on technical work, but it is not confined to this ; in 1955 there were over 50 people getting official help in reading for a degree in their spare time. There are also opportunities for exceptional people in the scientific field to attend universities or technical colleges with bursaries for degree studies, and we are hoping to extend this beyond the scientific grades.

An important part of external training, though it can benefit only the few, is attendance at training courses organised by the Treasury and other

more specifically educational institutions ; we make an effort to send senior staff to these courses as far as funds and the pressure of work allow. The courses arranged by the Administrative Staff College and similar organisations are particularly valuable in that they present opportunities for meeting people in business and industry in a way that we all value but generally have to forgo in favour of the struggle to overtake arrears of work.

A particularly interesting form of external training is the exchange of staff with the communications administrations of other countries. Recently certain engineering staff at the basic level exchanged jobs with their opposite numbers in Norway and Holland ; this experiment, organised by a joint official-side/staff-side committee, was successful in spite of language difficulties, and plans are afoot to repeat and extend it. Another example is the exchange of the Regional Training Officer from our London Telecommunications Region with a training expert from Australia ; this exchange lasted for twelve months, during which the Australian spent some time in a Region and then joined my branch where he did practical work on the development of plans for the supervisory training of executive staff and in the training of instructors at our Headquarters Training Centre.

A variant of this international exchange is the training of postal and telecommunications staff from overseas ; some, interested solely in technical work, are catered for by our Engineering Department, while others—nearly 100 last year—have a variety of courses, often long, arranged for them individually by the central Training and Welfare Branch.

GENERAL COMMENTS

This brief survey of Post Office training and education has, broadly, followed the pattern of historical development : new entrants, first-line supervisors, higher supervisors, management. Ideally, of course, training ought to start at the top. The fact that Post Office training failed to develop this way since the war does not indicate a disbelief in that proposition, nor is it mere perversity : the simple explanation is that the jobs of retraining the people coming back from the War, and of simultaneously expanding the training machine to cope with the greater flow of recruits resulting from post-war instability, meant that most of the available resources were swallowed up at the basic level and, later, in the training of potential and actual first-line supervisors. Managers and higher supervisors had to wait, and even now are not fully covered.

A further distortion of planned development, leading to concentration on basic training at the expense of a balanced pattern, particularly in the clerical/executive field, came from the way in which the Post Office has suffered from the impact of national financial crises as well as internal stringency, and has not in the past been able, although an industry, to escape political pressures for arbitrary cuts in the Civil Service and Government expenditure. The effect of some of these cuts was referred to by Mrs. Johnstone in 1952 :⁸

"The most recent thought about training, however, has run chiefly on the connection between training and manpower. In 1949 (E.C. 16/49) the Treasury announced that it did not subscribe to the view

that training must suffer if economies in manpower were to be achieved, since training could itself contribute to saving manpower, but added that training could like other activities be run in ways which needed excessive staffing and that economies might be possible in it. In September, 1951 (E.C. 75/51), the Treasury said that it was increasingly necessary to economise in manpower: that the training of the new recruit should concentrate primarily on his immediate task, and that, in effect, background training might have to recede a little further into the background. 'Current difficulties,' the circular went on, 'call for a greater measure than ever before of originality and resourcefulness on the part of members of the training staff and others who deal with the organisation of training.'"

Since then, crisis has succeeded crisis, and the pressure for short-term cuts has never receded for long enough to get the development of Post Office training back on to an even keel, with balanced and planned development.

The harsh truth is that the cost of training is immediate and obvious, while the cost of not training is dispersed and hidden.

On the other hand, the Productivity Report, in writing of practice in the U.S.A., offers some encouragement:⁹

"All the larger companies were spending a very substantial amount of money on training and in most cases it proved impossible to isolate the total expenditure from the normal operating costs of the factory. No figures were available to us as to the estimated savings effected. It was widely recognised that, as with other personnel work, no strict financial evaluation of training is possible, and there was no evidence, except in a few isolated cases, that any companies attempted such an evaluation. . . . Our persistent enquiries on this matter seemed to cause some surprise and we gained the impression that there was general acceptance of training as an essential tool of production; the main concern lay with content, method and, above all, procedure in obtaining the full co-operation of members of the line organisation."

We have in the Post Office made some attempts at validation and evaluation, though we have been too short of headquarters staff to do as much as we should have liked. Validation of basic training is in one sense a continuous process, since it must achieve its aims or the work will not get done; there are also objective tests, as at the end of the telephonist course. Evaluation is more difficult, but we believe, generally, that the training we give is as cheap as it can be—perhaps cheaper than it ought to be. Assessment (validation ÷ evaluation) of our supervisory and managerial training is particularly difficult, and even with the help of a good deal of experimental work by N.I.I.P. we have failed to get conclusive answers, though there has been reason for mild satisfaction.

Assessment of training must, in the present rudimentary state of the art, contain a large element of personal opinion. My own conclusion is that Post Office training is by and large sound, effective, and efficient. But there is still scope for improvement, particularly in the supervisory and management fields, where shortage of staff and funds has led to a tendency to administer

the mixture as before, without much reconsideration or research. And the fact that the cost of training in the Post Office, assessed as a percentage of all staff costs, is consistently falling year after year seems to me just as likely to be a danger signal as a cause for satisfaction.

¹See *Manchester Guardian*, 30th January, 1957.

²See Assheton Committee Report, Cmd. 6525, para. 29.

³See Bridgeman Committee Report, Cmd. 4149, para. 120.

⁴Productivity Report on *Training of Supervisors*, Anglo-American Council on Productivity, 1951.

⁵*Report of a Special Committee on Higher Technological Education*, H.M.S.O., 1945, para. 71.

⁶*Public Administration*, Spring, 1956, page 37.

⁷Ministry of Education Pamphlet No. 3, 1945, para. 5.

⁸*Public Administration*, Spring, 1952, page 54.

⁹*Op. cit.*, paras. 129 and 132.

SELECTED STUDIES PREPARED FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

The Royal Institute of Public Administration, which is the United Kingdom National Section of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, is able to supply a number of studies produced by the International Institute for the United Nations. These studies were intended primarily for under-developed countries, but those listed below will be of interest and value to administrators in this country. They should be ordered direct from the Royal Institute of Public Administration.

Handbook of Organisation and Methods Techniques by H. O. DOVEY.
Pp. 61, 4s. 9d.

This handbook provides an outline of the problems to be faced in the study of the organisation and methods of an administrative unit, and of some of the ways of approaching them. It contains an account of the practice of O. & M. work as applied in the United Kingdom Civil Service, and is written for both the practising O. & M. Officer and the recruit to O. & M. duties.

Presenting O. & M. Recommendations by K. S. JEFFERIES. Pp. 23, 4s.

A study of the problems to which the presentation of O. & M. recommendations to the executive authorities gives rise. Among the methods of presentation with which the author deals are discussions, demonstrations, charts and written reports.

Improvement of Organisation and Management in Public Administration by T. D. KINGDOM. Pp. 180, 14s. 3d.

A comparative study of ways of improving organisation and management based on information obtained from 22 national governments and four international organisations. This material is appended and the body of the book analyses it to bring out underlying principles.

Some Human Aspects of Administration by HARTVIG NISSEN. Pp. 158, 13s. 6d.

The author presents, primarily for higher executives, a synthesis of modern ideas on personnel management in government organisations. His aim is to provide material for discussion groups of higher executives, by which they may gain a clear understanding of the importance of human factors in administration.

ROYAL INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
Haldane House, 76A New Cavendish Street, London, W.1

The Use of Case Study in the British Civil Service

By MISS AVICE TURNBULL

Miss Turnbull, a Tutor in the Training and Education Division of the Treasury, has been closely concerned with the development of the use of "cases" as a method of training.

I WRITE as a tutor in the Training and Education Division of H.M. Treasury. The job of this Division is described by Mr. D. F. Hubback, until very recently its Director, in the first article. My part in it is to help civil servants to become effective instructors. In the last two or three years we have introduced case study as one of the major training techniques we teach our apprentice instructors. In this article I shall try to explain why we look on it as a valuable technique, for what purposes we use it in the British Civil Service, and what variations in its use have sprung up in Departmental training.

The Value of the Case Study Method

One of the skills of an instructor in the Civil Service must be to capture the concentration of his students. This task is not always easy; in many fields of work, instructors are dealing with groups of mature people who do not have a strongly felt and compelling motive to learn. For instance, the course may deal with supervision or management, or with the improvement of written work, or the increase of individual efficiency. The listeners may consider themselves already to be satisfactory supervisors, good managers, effective writers or efficient workers. If the instructor is to make any impression on them, he must arouse their interest, stimulate their thought and keep them thinking actively and purposefully about the subject. Some students may be open-minded, receptive and co-operative—the apple of the hard-working instructor's eye; but others may be more sophisticated, and more ready to question any apparent over-simplification of ideas, any "steering" by an instructor to predetermined conclusions, any suggestion of being bulldozed into compliance, or taught to suck eggs. In these general fields of study, there is a danger of an instructor's uttering pious platitudes which will fall on deaf ears and leave minds closed. As Professor Charles Gragg says in his article "Because Wisdom Can't Be Told," published in *The Case Method of Teaching Human Relations and Administration**, "it can be said flatly that the mere act of listening to wise statements and sound advice does little for anyone. In the process of learning, the learner's dynamic co-operation is required. Such co-operation from students does not arise automatically, however. It has to be provided for and continually encouraged."

Apart from the danger of boring the listener, there is also the danger of dealing with subjects of this kind in terms so broad that they fail to make

*Edited by Kenneth R. Andrews. (Harvard University Press, 1955, distributed in England by Oxford University Press.)

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any contact with the everyday realities of people's jobs. Professor Roethlisberger in his article "Training Supervisors in Human Relations," published in the same book, gives some realistic examples of the mere playing with words which can result from so-called "discussion" of abstract principles of conduct. The same remoteness can characterise talks about "clear expression" in writing, or "the exercise of judgement and discretion" in case work in offices. The Civil Service instructor must always try to bridge the gap between the apparent artificiality of the training centre room and the reality of the job itself. Civil Servants, in my experience, are mainly hard-headed practical people, who eschew the academic or theoretical as a waste of time, and the barriers which they put up against what they consider purely theoretical teaching may be justified, for the real need is not so much to implant principles or standards of administration in their minds, which might lead to a woolly discussion of generalities, as to help them to be more alert to the implications of their work, more self-critical of their own standards, and more alive to the possibilities of improvement.

Where an instructor is imparting facts, or explaining law or procedures, or giving people practice in handling specimens of work, the older teaching techniques can be used: straightforward exposition, questioning, visual aids, films, tests, exercises, practical work. These are well tried, and an instructor who is competent can usually rely on teaching effectively by them. In general, in the Civil Service, "vocational" training courses, which teach people their jobs, or "background" courses telling them about the work and organisation of their Ministry, run smoothly and are well received. The need to learn is evident to the student. Case study is seldom used in these courses. It comes into its own in the less clearly defined subjects.

Let us take supervision and management courses. In common with industry, the British Civil Service is aware of the need to improve the standards of its first-line supervisors and its managers. The first main drive towards this was the adoption of the Training Within Industry programmes, Job Relations, Job Instruction, and to a much lesser extent, Job Methods. Civil Service instructors were trained at T.W.I. Institutes for Job Relations and Job Instruction, held at the Treasury until 1952. The T.W.I. Manuals were followed; their contents were slightly altered to include clerical as well as industrial examples, but the teaching technique was as laid down in these Manuals, that is the "controlled" discussion of general principles, illustrated by examples, chosen to highlight one aspect of their subject.

In 1952 the Treasury discontinued these T.W.I. Institutes. For a short time, some Departments worked out their own programmes for supervision training, some using the T.W.I. material or part of it, and others devising their own material. Other Departments, because of their particular needs, still continue to use this as part of their training for first-line supervisors. The Training and Education Division then decided to replace the T.W.I. Institutes by a training course for instructors of supervision subjects, designed for Civil Service needs. Instead of very simple "principles," a broader-based discussion of human relations problems and of staff management generally was introduced. The use of free discussion, syndicate discussion, case study and of rôle-playing was demonstrated in the course. Shortly after the introduction of this new course, the Ministry of Pensions and National

Insurance, feeling the need for a new approach to supervision training, joined forces with the Treasury Training and Education Division in devising a course for their instructors. While preparing for this new course the tutors read as widely as possible in the literature of training for supervision and came across accounts of the use of case study in America. We decided to bring it much more to the fore in our new course. Here I should like to say that we are much indebted to the American writers, especially Professor Roethlisberger, J. D. Glover and R. M. Hower, Harold Stein and the writers in the symposium *The Case Method of Teaching Human Relations and Administration*. They gave us a starting point, although, in many ways, as I shall show, we have diverged from the practices they described.

How Used in the Civil Service

One of the first cases, then, used here for training instructors, was one prepared by the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance. They put on paper an account of an imaginary local office of the Ministry: "Lowood." This has become something of a classic among our case studies. The file about Lowood contains a ground plan of the office, an organisation chart of the staff, brief pen pictures of their characters and office experience, a work flow chart, a holiday chart for the staff, and a "background" sheet describing the town of Lowood and its problems as they impinge on the local office. Part of the basic material from the Lowood file and some question papers based on it are contained in an Annex to this article. Although the office could not be a real one, it was based on real life, an amalgam of facts from various offices. Within the setting of this office, problems of many kinds could be put forward for discussion. I well remember the launching of this case and the interest aroused among our trainee instructors. In our courses at the Treasury the instructors under training act as guinea pig students, thus providing a group for us and each other to practise on. Although the instructors were experienced supervisors and mature and sophisticated people, they found plenty of food for thought and active discussion in this case. Since then the same case has been used with many groups of instructors under training or of Training Officers, and has always aroused lively discussion. Its success is largely due to its trueness to life. It is very real to those working in the Department. Also, there is no attempt in the running of the case to isolate aspects of supervision into artificially watertight compartments. Any one of the problems posed in the context of this office can give rise to a widely ranging discussion, covering topics such as allocation of posts, delegation, training of staff, relationships among staff and between supervisor and staff, and even allocation of rooms among staff and physical layout of the office. The office comes to life, and during the ten-day course for which it is used in the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance itself, its problems can be considered many times without losing their appeal. It also lends itself to rôle-playing, which I shall mention again later.

The idea of case studies spread rapidly among Departments and others followed suit, producing similar types. However, the imaginary, but true to life, office of a standard pattern does not do for every Department. It works for a Regionalised Department with local offices doing the same kind of work, but not for students coming from the Headquarters of a Department, who

work in sections, each of which is doing separate and often very different kinds of work. One way of dealing with the problem is to devise an imaginary section doing work based on real work, and pose problems set in this context. This has been done by the Ministry of Education, in two studies. Another way is to devise an entirely imaginary setting, as the Air Ministry have done with their Assistant Directorate of Dental Care studies. All three of these studies are fairly fully documented so that there is flesh on their bones.

It will be clear to those familiar with the American studies published by Harold Stein in *Public Administration and Policy Development* that our studies so far described are aimed at a different kind of student from his. His are long, couched in narrative form, and aimed at students of public administration who want to consider policy formation and the machinery of administration at a high level. These British ones are shorter, are not usually expressed as a continuous narrative, and deal with practical problems encountered by supervisors and managers at middle management level. They also differ from those referred to by Professor Roethlisberger in his article "Training Supervisors in Human Relations" in which he says: "I am only speaking of the case method as applied to the area of human relations, since it is to this area alone that my experience has been limited." We have found the case method suitable for other subjects, so far for all aspects of office management, for training in written English and for our "Conduct of Public Business" courses mentioned in Mr. Hubback's article.

In the Conduct of Public Business course we are aiming at officers of Higher Executive Officer, Senior Executive Officer and sometimes Chief Executive Officer and Principal level. The aim of these courses is to increase efficiency both in management and in personal standards of work, by directing attention to the avoidance of delays and arrears, increases in speed and accuracy, sensitiveness to the needs of Parliament, Ministers, and the public, and the effective handling of staff. In 1956 we started a training course for instructors who would be handling these courses, which were largely a new venture in Civil Service training. We decided to lay a good deal of emphasis on the value of the case method, and all instructors attending the course had to produce one case suitable for this level of officer and this kind of training. These courses produced a crop of case studies of a new type. For a demonstration given at the Treasury, we took an actual file from the Home Office, dealing with a tricky "borderline" case. It was not "cooked" in any way, and consisted of about 50 actual documents and minutes. Within this, all kinds of points could be discovered and usefully discussed. The students themselves had to identify the relevant points from the file. The people coming to the course brought cases which varied from similar files to descriptions of incidents and of the working of office sections; sometimes only half a sheet of typewritten quarto was used. The interesting thing was that there seemed to be no standard formula for success. A very short case could provoke as lively a discussion as a long, fully-documented one, and often many facets were discovered in something apparently simple. Nearly all the cases had one thing in common, they were taken from life. We feel that unless an instructor has the insight of a great novelist he cannot make up a case which has in it the variety of complex patterns which life itself reflects. Also a contrived case may easily be an over-simplification of life, and thus

destroy one of the main purposes of case study, which is to help students to discover for themselves the forces at work, their significance and their inter-relationships.

We have also tried the case method with a course mainly composed of Principals, once only, so far, and it met with a very mixed reception. This may have been partly due to the presentation. But there is no doubt that the more senior officers do need a case of sufficient complexity to stretch their mental powers, and these cases are hard to come by. There are no suitable published cases, and the British tradition of anonymity might make publication of real cases difficult. Within the Service, it is a matter of laboriously searching in files for material which can be used in this way; and it is not easy to find a case which is both demanding enough and yet reasonably self-contained. We are only at the beginning of our search at this level.

There are a number of possible variations in the presentation of cases. One is the spoken study, possibly illustrated with a blackboard diagram showing an organisation chart of an office. This is more difficult for an instructor to run since the group do not have the facts before them except in the form of scrappy jottings and it seems that a written record leads to more fruitful work. However, great vividness can be created by a tape recording used as an introduction, followed by the written script for detailed study. The Post Office have produced some very effective scripts introduced in this way. In one or two training centres realism is added to the discussion of a physical layout of an office by the use of small wooden blocks representing furniture, which is moved around on a large diagram of the rooms concerned. We are always hearing of new experiments by Departmental instructors with the case method.

The use of case method for practice in written English has been very successful where it has been tried, notably in the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food. They started doing this some time before the training label "case study" was adopted over here, but for some of the same inherent reasons. To preach principles of clear writing sounds sanctimonious and it does little to impress those who are most complacent and who may most need a jolt into awareness and a new standard. The Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food took a real file, and used it at intervals throughout a week's course for Executive Officers. At the beginning of the week, the file was given out in the form in which it would reach an officer straight from the Registry. It contained two letters, one from a member of the public, and one from a colleague. The students were given a sheet of "background" information and asked to answer the letters. Their efforts were corrected, comments were made by the instructors (an exacting job calling for much discrimination and tact) and returned, together with specimen letters. Then more documents were handed out, taking the case further, and students were asked to write a summary. Again the work was collected in, commented upon, and returned with the specimen. Stage by stage, and following the same procedure, a memorandum, a circular and a press notice were prepared. The students' interest was high, they were very active (of necessity!), and they learned about their own strengths and weaknesses. Later a similar procedure was brought in for Higher Executive Officers, with a more difficult file, and again it was well received. Most of the work was individual, but

in the Higher Executive Officers' course, syndicate discussions were held at which groups discussed the best line of action to recommend in their memorandum. Their conversations were recorded and played back at a joint session at which they were asked to comment on the processes of reasoning by which they had reached their conclusions.

The Rôle of the Instructor

This leads me to what we consider to be one of the vital elements for success with case study, the way in which it is handled by the instructor. We are well aware that to get the best out of a case, however well chosen, the instructor must play a skilful part. Our trainee instructors at our Central Departmental Instructors' (Supervision) and Central Departmental Instructors' (Conduct of Public Business) courses have each to present a case study, and the technique is then commented on by the tutors and their fellow instructors, who have acted as guinea pig students for them. The tutors in the Training and Education Division have read with gratitude what Professor Roethlisberger and J. D. Glover and R. M. Hower and the writers in the Kenneth R. Andrews book have said about the handling of case studies. We have found the booklet *Some Notes on the Use of the Administrator* by J. D. Glover and R. M. Hower particularly useful. We have also learned from experience here and have developed some variations from the American practice as we understand it. These variations result, I think, partly from the very limited time we have, partly from the maturity of our students, and perhaps in part from indefinable differences in national characteristics.

Our limitations of time mean that we cannot, in our judgement, just let students loose on case after case, as seems to happen at the Harvard Business School, and let them gradually learn wisdom. We try to give freedom to the students to think through the cases for themselves, to which we attach great importance, taking very seriously the warning of Messrs. Glover and Hower: "The instructor who tries to teach in the sense of directing the discussion towards foregone conclusions will seriously interfere with the learning process." On the other hand we do attach importance to the instructor's rôle as a chairman. We suggest that he should give a certain shape to the discussion. After letting the group start in where it will on a case he encourages others to join in and give their views on that aspect of it. He may also sum up their views on that point before following them on to the next aspect. We feel that without this progressive grouping of ideas under headings, which follows the group's own lead, one might get an extremely shapeless and bewildering conversation, which might leave the group in a state of mental confusion. It is, of course, vital that the instructor does not at any stage tell the group what to think, although he may throw in a point for consideration if he thinks it is being overlooked. At the end he summarises the points made by the group as a whole, and from the individual case generalises to any broad conclusions which it has illustrated. He also holds the ring between students, just as in a normal free discussion, by bringing in quiet members, restraining monopolists, and keeping the "pot boiling" if necessary, by throwing out relevant questions to them.

Professor Roethlisberger's delicious account of how he handles his

groups of students and deals with those who "hunt the villain," "hunt for perfection," "hunt for more facts," and "hunt for authority" intrigued us and we did our best to follow suit and also to coach our instructors in this art. We found that symptoms of these witch-hunts were sometimes present in our groups but only in mild forms because they are mature and experienced people. At the Treasury courses they are also instructors and have reached a level of self-discipline possibly higher than that among ordinary civil servants. Nevertheless, for myself, when I see irrational thinking and prejudice raising its head my favourite interjection is "why?". I have been told that this is not a fair question, but no group has ever reached the state of seething frustration described by Professor Roethlisberger. To a large extent our students discipline each other.

As tutors, we have had to try to reduce our criteria of successful handling of cases to some form in which they can be passed on from one to another as our staff change. The colleague with whom I worked when we were devising our training in the use of case methods, Mr. N. D. Wolf, has now left this Division, and much of his original contribution in working out the technique has had to be put on paper for future generations of tutors. A paper we wrote for our instructors, *On Writing and Running Case Studies*, contains much of this, and we also have evolved a "check list" for use in appraising the performance of instructors practising the case method here. This covers such points as whether the case was realistic and not "cooked"; whether it was true to life and not over-simplified; whether in discussion the relationships were brought out and logical reasoning shown; whether the instructor restrained himself and did not try to force his own opinion on the group; whether everyone joined in and no-one dominated; whether there were signs of irrational thinking and if so whether they were revealed; and whether useful lessons were brought out. The commentary by the tutor is by no means a solo. He directs these questions to the guinea pig students and asks for their honest opinion on their reaction to the treatment given them by the instructor under training. This is both a fairer test than the subjective and individual opinion of the tutor and also much more acceptable to the trainee instructor.

Some Departmental Training Centres run cases in syndicate, either without an instructor, or with an instructor present either as an observer or "resource person" to provide more facts if needed. He may throw in a point of view if discussion is slackening but he is in no sense a chairman. Syndicates will discuss an aspect of a case, then come together to report their findings, under the instructor's chairmanship. At the Treasury we have our doubts about this method although many instructors favour it. Certainly the feeling of freedom and responsibility it engenders is acceptable, especially to senior groups and they generally seem to work hard. The danger we see is that a group may be monopolised by a strong personality, to the exclusion of the others, or they may all air their prejudices unchecked, or beat the air unfruitfully. At the reporting back stage the syndicate's conclusions are given, but the processes by which they were reached, which demonstrate their thinking power, may not be known. Too much attention may be focused on the arrival at a "solution." The conclusion of any one case is ephemeral in value, but the thinking processes are permanent. The instructor handling

a case study should, we think, always focus attention on the general lessons which have emerged from a case rather than on any solution which may have been advanced.

We have issued two short papers to our instructors, one "Case Study in Supervision Training" and one "On Writing and Running Case Studies." The first deals broadly with the purpose of the case method in teaching, and the second concentrates on practical hints. In the first we identify the "case problem" as compared with the "case illustration." In the first, the story is left unfinished and the group must suggest lines of action; the second tells a completed story, and its implications are analysed. Most of our instructors seem to prefer to use the case problem, which leads on to a decision for action. Their groups can identify themselves with a certain level of authority and decide what they would do if they were working at that level in the case. Naturally enough they generally choose a level similar to their present one. If a case illustration is presented, they find it difficult to identify themselves with anyone in it and seem to find the pure analysis of implications and factors at work of less interest than the preparation for action. Maybe this is an Anglo-Saxon trait.

Where a case leads on to action it frequently lends itself to rôle-playing, and many times has our imaginary character Mr. N. of the Lowood office of the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance been put through his paces here by a group member "dealing" with him as he thinks his supervisor should. The merits and demerits of rôle-playing are a separate subject which I cannot enter into here, but certainly the case study often provides the opportunity for some good rôle-playing situations which rouse a high level of interest in the group.

Conclusion

From the centre of the network of Civil Service training here at the Treasury we have seen a rapid growth of case study for which much credit is due to instructors in Departmental Training Centres. We have tried to plant seeds and they have grown up and flowered in a variety of ways. Experiments continue and we try to act as a clearing house for information about them and to amass a collection of case studies from Departments. This is growing. We do not try to lay down any dogma about case study—even if we did our instructors are too independently minded to follow it blindly—but we do think that experience has brought out some general points which I might briefly summarise here. Case study is a technique which generates a high degree of interest and is well received by our clients—mature, critical, sometimes hard-headed or even hard-boiled Civil Servants. We therefore recommend its use for experienced or senior officers, in subjects where straightforward teaching techniques might not hit the mark. We do not find that any Department practises unrelieved case study throughout a training course. It is used as one string to the bow. The case must be as relevant to the needs of a particular group as can be managed. It should be realistic even if it cannot be real, and should not be over-simplified or pre-digested. The emphasis throughout should be on getting a group to work their own way through the case with only a light touch from the instructor guiding them to re-examine

their thinking, to probe it, to justify it and to broaden their mental horizons. These are our own beliefs; some instructors might not even accept all of these wholeheartedly and our own minds are still open. It is interesting to find that although the methods may seem new the approach goes far back. I have not found the attitude of mind which the instructor should bring to this job anywhere better expressed than by Francis Bacon when he says: "I do not endeavour either by triumphs of confutation, or pleading antiquity, or assumption of authority, or even by the veil of obscurity, to invest these inventions of mine with any majesty. . . . I have not sought nor do I seek either to force or ensnare men's judgements, but I lead them to things themselves and the concordances of things, that they may see for themselves what they have, what they can dispute, what they can add and contribute to the common stock."

ANNEX—THE LOWOOD CASE

The basic material and questions contained in this Annex were prepared by the Staff Training Branch of the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance for use in management courses. Both the office and the persons described are fictitious and letters have been used to identify the characters. In training courses, imaginary names are used for the characters.

BASIC MATERIAL

LOWOOD NATIONAL INSURANCE OFFICE—GENERAL DESCRIPTION

1. Lowood is a small market town, of about 26,000 people, set in rural surroundings. Three miles north of the town there is a coal mine employing some 5,000 men and a further 6,000 are engaged in light industry. The remainder of the insured population (some 6,000) are engaged in agriculture, distributive and clerical work. On the southern outskirts of the town is a training depot of a Regiment which has a constant intake of boys doing service prior to regular engagement.

2. The town is residential and has one main shopping street. In the summer it is a centre for holiday-makers and tourists as it is within easy reach of several well-known beauty spots. It is served by a branch line railway connecting with the main line at a junction eighteen miles distant, while the bus company operating in the area maintains a small depot in Lowood from which services are run to the neighbouring villages.

3. The office is a Victorian semi-detached house in the High Street, close to the railway station and the bus depot. The premises were used by an Army unit during World War II, and after the war stood empty for some time. When it was decided to use the building as the local office, essential repairs and redecoration were carried out. This work, however, was only superficial and nothing was done to modernise the premises in any way. Heating is by coal fires. Gas and electricity are laid on. The rooms on the second floor are semi-garrets formerly used as servants' quarters.

4. The staff complain of dirty windows and dirty tables, mantel-pieces, lampshades, etc. The manager, however, has no complaint about the way in which his room is cleaned and feels that the cleaner does her best in view of the

old and inconvenient premises and the fact that she is rather elderly and finds difficulty in carrying coal up the narrow and badly lit stairs.

5. There is a leaflet rack in the public office where members of the public help themselves to leaflets and scatter them on the floor. The floor is also frequently littered with cigarette ends.

6. There is a nearby doctor's surgery, and it is the practice among some claimants to collect medical certificates on Saturday morning and bring them in to the local office at about 11 a.m. demanding cash payments as they have no money for Sunday's dinner. The number of other callers is large on that day because the majority of the insured population have a five-day week. Consequently, it is difficult to avoid a queue forming outside the office, which causes adverse comments by the occupants of neighbouring property.

7. There are some 250 "live" disablement benefit claims, 130 of them being in respect of pneumoconiosis cases. An officer from the National Assistance Board visits on two half-days per week to conduct interviews and make emergency payments.

8. The staff consists of a Higher Executive Officer Manager, one Executive Officer, six Clerical Officers, three Temporary Clerks, Grade III, and one typist. An Inspector is shared with one other local office giving only one and a half days per week to Lowood. Brief pen pictures and official histories of the staff are given at pages 135-138.

9. The Manager believes in delegating as much as possible, and takes the view that it is his job to manage rather than to become involved in details. He realises that Mr. B likes responsibility and is keen to give him as much scope as possible. Consequently, he (the Manager) supervises only the cashier's section.

10. Mr. A has placed responsibility for the proper performance of a job squarely on the shoulders of the person doing it, and has made it clear to the staff that they will each be held responsible for seeing that their own work is kept up to date. No accumulation of arrears of work will be countenanced. As far as possible, however, each one will be allowed a free hand to organise his work as he thinks best subject to the overriding authority of the Executive Officer and the Manager.

11. Mr. A has arranged that post-opening should be done in the Contributions Section so that Miss E, whose charted hours have been arranged to meet her domestic requirements, can deal with the mail. Mr. H is replaced at lunch-time and assisted in times of pressure by Mr. F. Pensions callers are usually directed to the Pensions Section.

12. Manager's checks of benefit payments are shared between the Manager and the Executive Officer.

13. The Manager knows that the organisation of the office is greatly influenced by the staff and premises available, and is satisfied that the present arrangement is the best that he can do in the circumstances.

14. Mr. A is a practical man and believes that a job is best learnt by practical experience, and that in a small office such as this, everybody must be a jack-of-all-trades to be able to fit in anywhere if an emergency arises. He considers now that the office is normally too busy for time to be spared to send staff on training courses. The training of new staff and of staff put on to new work is left to Mr. B, who, in turn, leaves it to one of the more experienced Clerical Officers. The general method is for the learner to sit by the skilled officer and observe what is going on.

15. Occasionally, the Manager discusses with the Executive Officer changes in the work: circulars, code amendments and other documents are sent round to the staff to study. The Manager has instructed Mr. G that all circulars must be seen by all the staff.

16. The Manager is on friendly terms with the local Council officials, Employment Exchange Manager and larger employers. He deals personally with all Minister's cases and corresponds with the local M.P. With the aim of fostering good relations, he spends a good deal of his official time on visits to local "important" people.

LOWOOD NATIONAL INSURANCE OFFICE—
BRIEF PEN PICTURES AND OFFICIAL HISTORIES OF STAFF

Mr. A, Higher Executive Officer

Age 59; ex-Customs and Excise; transferred to Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance in 1948 as Executive Officer; promoted 1950 to Higher Executive Officer and appointed Manager of Lowood Local Office. Is concerned with the problem of getting through the mass of work. Considers he should have more staff and complains at times to Region about this and that his present staff could be of better quality. A practical man who eschews theory. Looks on Headquarters and Region (especially Survey) as theorists who would soon change their tune if they had to do the job. Considers that there are too many instructions and that they leave him insufficient scope. Thinks he should be left to run his own office in his own way without "interference" from above.

His hobby is golf.

Courses: May, 1948—New Acts.
April, 1950—Three-days Management Discussion (at Headquarters.)

Mr. B, Executive Officer

Age 43; married; two children. Served in Army (Airborne Division) during 1939-45 war. Joined the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance in 1948 from local authority (public assistance). Has a good knowledge of the Acts and Regulations and is anxious to help the staff as much as he can. Likes responsibility and is prepared to accept all he can get.

Main outside interest is cabinet-making, but his official work leaves him little time to indulge his hobby.

<i>Local Office</i>	July, 1948	—September, 1949	Benefit Supervisor.
<i>Experience:</i>	September, 1949—April, 1950		Cashier and Contributions Supervisor.
	April, 1950, onwards		Benefit Supervisor and Local Insurance Officer.
<i>Courses:</i>	May, 1956		Supervision (Refresher).

Mrs. C, Clerical Officer

Age 29 ; married ; one child. Ex-Approved Society. Joined the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance in 1948. In Lowood Local Office since. Prefers rating to any other work and usually takes control of the Benefit Section when the Supervisor is away. Is a quick worker, but does her job in rather a mechanical way. Inclined to be quick-tempered. Tends to ask for time off to go shopping, go to the doctor, take child to the hospital for examinations, etc.

Her domestic responsibilities leave her no time for hobbies.

<i>Local Office</i>	June, 1948	—September, 1949	General Benefit Rating.
<i>Experience :</i>	September, 1949—September, 1951		Contributions and Credits.
	September, 1951—March, 1953		Pensions and Disablement Benefit.
	March, 1953, onwards		General Benefits.
<i>Courses :</i>	June, 1948		Sickness Benefit, Maternity Benefit and Injury Benefit.
	November, 1949		Contributions.
	June, 1951		Pensions.
	February, 1952		Disablement Benefit.
	March, 1953		Interviewing.
	May, 1955		Benefits (Advanced).

Miss D, Clerical Officer

Age 18. Examination entrant six months ago, since when has been employed on general benefits. Attended a New Entrants' Course at Headquarters after three months, and a Contributions Course at the Regional Training Centre a month ago. Quick worker, but liable to error. The same mistakes recur despite having her attention called to code instructions. Is vivacious and gets on well with the rest of the staff.

Her main interests in life are her tennis club and dancing.

Miss E, Clerical Officer

Age 48. Transferred to the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance in 1947. Spent her first two years in Blackpool, then transferred at her own request to Lowood Local Office so as to live with her widowed mother. Likes to leave the office early to get home to her mother, so is allowed to come half an hour earlier to open the office post. Rather slow but very accurate. Can be relied on to do a good job but at her own pace. Can deal with Pensions and Disablement Benefit Claims. A keen staff association worker.

<i>Local Office</i>	September, 1949—September, 1951	Pensions and Disablement Benefit.
<i>Experience :</i>	September, 1951, onwards	Contributions.
<i>Courses :</i>	November, 1949	Pensions.
	January, 1951	Disablement Benefit.
	March, 1952	Contributions.
	February, 1953	General Benefits.

Mr. F, Clerical Officer

Age 47 ; married. Transferred to the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance in 1948 from Forestry Commission. Interested in pensions work, but occasionally a little too keen, asking claimants for information which is not necessary. Is anxious to get on and always willing to teach other staff pensions procedure if asked.

Interested in the Scout movement and runs a local troop.

<i>Local Office</i>	July, 1948	—March, 1951	General Benefits.
<i>Experience :</i>	March, 1951	—March, 1953	Reception.
	March, 1953, onwards		Pensions and Disablement Benefit.
<i>Courses :</i>	June, 1948		Sickness Benefit, Maternity Benefit and Injury Benefit.
	April, 1950		Disablement Benefit.
	May, 1951		Maternity Benefit and Family Allowances.
	April, 1953		Pensions.

Mr. G, Clerical Officer

Age 54 ; married. Joined the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance in 1948 from Miscellaneous Field. On rating and benefits work, he found he could not cope with the complexities of the regulations. Reasonably good as cashier, but is inclined to regard the codes, etc., as "so much red tape." Does not associate with other staff.

His chief outside interest is gardening.

<i>Local Office</i>	July, 1948	—September, 1949	Contributions.
<i>Experience :</i>	September, 1949—September, 1951		General Benefits.
	September, 1951, onwards		Cashier.
<i>Courses :</i>	January, 1949		Contributions.
	December, 1949		General Benefits.
	November, 1951		Finance.

Mr. H, Clerical Officer

Age 40 ; married. Served in R.A.F. from 1940 to 1946, mostly overseas. Suffers from malaria. Is good at figure work. Has only a limited knowledge of many aspects of National Insurance. He makes no effort to improve his knowledge.

A keen supporter of the local football club.

<i>Local Office</i>	July, 1948	—September, 1949	Pensions.
<i>Experience :</i>	September, 1949—September, 1951		Cashier.
	September, 1951—March, 1953		General Benefits.
	March, 1953, onwards		Reception.
<i>Courses :</i>	April, 1949		Pensions.
	July, 1951		General Benefits.
	June, 1953		Counter Clerks.

Mr. I, Temporary Male Clerk, Grade III

Age 38; married. Served in Royal Artillery from 1939 to 1946. Recruited locally in 1949, and has been engaged on claims building and Postal Draft writing for all but six months of his service. From January to June, 1950, he was in the Contributions Section but asked to go back to his original work which he very much preferred. Does his job satisfactorily, but is rather slow-moving mentally and physically. Is a church organist and teaches music in his spare time.

Miss K, Temporary Woman Clerk, Grade III

Age 49. Recruited locally in 1950 for card exchange and retained under Regional Office authorisation. From June, 1950, to December, 1951, she was employed in the Contributions Section and was then transferred to her present computing duties. Very reliable worker, accurate and could do higher grade work. Is handicapped in her movements by a club-foot. Her general health is not good and she is compelled to take more sick leave than she would otherwise. Her outside interest is church work.

Mr. L, Temporary Male Clerk, Grade III

Age 57. Recruited locally when the office opened in 1948. Was a computer until December, 1951, when he joined Contributions Section. Inclined to be argumentative. Has travelled widely in his earlier years and soon becomes reminiscent if given the chance.

No hobbies except a nightly visit of two to three hours to "Six Bells" inn.

Miss M, Typist

Age 20. Transferred to Lowood from War Pensions Issue Office, Blackpool Central Office, shortly after the merger of the Ministries of Pensions and National Insurance in 1953. Assists in other sub-clerical jobs in spare time. Good worker, keen and willing, but liable to be led away by a stronger personality. Usually has a "beau ideal"—often a film star—with frequent changes in the person of admiration.

Is keen on cycling and most week-ends goes on trips with the local club.

Mr. N

Age 35. Single. Recruited from Miscellaneous Field in May, 1948. Forceful character, keen, ambitious. Has been in a local office since he joined the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance. He has always been interested in National Insurance work and has purchased his own copies of the Acts and such regulations as he needed to carry out his duties. His somewhat overpowering personality arouses some antagonism in colleagues.

<i>Local Office Experience :</i>	May, 1948	—August, 1950	Sickness Benefit, Maternity Benefit and Injury Benefit.
	August, 1950	—April, 1952	Contributions.
<i>Courses :</i>	April, 1952	—October, 1953	Reception.
	October, 1953, onwards		Pensions.
	June, 1948		New Acts.
	November, 1950		Contributions.
	December, 1953		Pensions.
	November, 1954		Disablement Benefit.

QUESTION PAPERS

I

Do you consider, on the evidence before you, that Lowood National Insurance Office is working at maximum efficiency?

Are you satisfied that the staff are being used to the best advantage? Would you recommend any changes in the organisation of the work?

What would be the best lay-out of the rooms in Lowood National Insurance Office? (No major structural alterations may be made to the premises.)

II

Lowood Local Office had been hard-pressed for some time. It was the beginning of the epidemic period and sickness claims were increasing daily. Mr. A, the Manager, felt fairly confident about being able to get through the work without undue difficulty, when one of his raters, Mrs. C, fell sick with influenza and was likely to be away from the office for about a fortnight.

A day or two after this occurred, Mr. A heard from the Regional Office that, in consequence of negotiations with the Ministry of Works which had been going on for some time and in which he had participated, it had been agreed to give up one room on the ground floor of the Lowood Local Office premises to another Government Department almost immediately.

Mr. A knew that his Benefit Section had had more than ample room up to the present, and he decided to put them into Room 5 (measuring 14'9" x 13'6") on the first floor. This involved moving and rearranging the furniture, and he went to a lot of trouble and spent much time working out a new layout for the Benefit Section with Mr. B, the supervisor. The removal took place and Mr. A felt that the change would be a distinct improvement in the smooth working of the Benefit Section.

The reorganisation worked very satisfactorily for a week or so, although Mrs. C's absence meant that the remainder of the staff were carrying a fairly heavy load. Then Mr. A received a final medical certificate from Mrs. C announcing that she would be returning on the following Monday. He was relieved at this news as he was about to ask the Regional Office for permission to work overtime and her return would make this unnecessary so long as the work did not further increase.

On the Monday morning Mr. A was due to visit one of the larger employers in the area at 9.30 a.m. He went straight to this appointment from home and when he came in to the Local Office about 11.0 a.m. Mr. B was waiting to see him. He reported that Mrs. C had returned that morning and had at once protested volubly about the change in the position of her desk. She had said she was now placed near a draughty window and some way from the fire. She had been rather nasty about the whole thing. Mr. B had told her he thought she was being unreasonable. He had said that in his view her desk was no nearer a window and no farther from the fire than it had been before, that she was being a little childish, and that she would soon get used to the new arrangement. Besides it was impossible to "start moving everything all over again."

Mrs. C had listened to Mr. B in silence. She had gone back to her desk but half an hour afterwards she had come to Mr. B to say she felt ill and was going home. She had put on her hat and coat and left the office.

If you were the Local Office Manager how would you set about solving this problem?

In your reply analyse the reasons why this problem arose and say what guiding principles of staff management, if any, can be derived from it.

III

Mr. F, the Clerical Officer on pensions work in Lowood National Insurance Office, was recently successful at a promotions board for Executive Officer. Mr. A felt that Mr. F might soon be posted away from Lowood and so took steps to train a replacement. He chose Miss E, who had had some experience of pensions work as an understudy for Mr. F, and to whom he had more or less promised the job should Mr. F leave.

Miss E's training was almost complete when an Executive Officer vacancy occurred in a nearby office. Mr. F applied for the job and got it. Mr. A was told by the Regional Office that some new entrant Clerical Officers were expected shortly but for the present a Clerical Officer would be lent from Midwood National Insurance Office, a Senior Executive Officer office not far off with a staff of 50.

Mr. F was due to leave on a Saturday and for the weeks preceding, Miss E had been working with him part-time and then took over on the following Monday. On that day the Clerical Officer from Midwood, Mr. N, reported on "detached duty." He had done all jobs in Midwood National Insurance Office but had lately been on pensions work, of which he is very fond and on which he regards himself as a bit of an expert. He lives rather nearer to Lowood than to Midwood and his daily journey to Lowood is easier than to Midwood.

Mr. A saw Mr. N, who made it apparent that he did not relish the temporary transfer. After hearing of his experience at Midwood National Insurance Office, Mr. A told him that he was to go on contributions work. N did not like the idea at all, but consoled himself with the remark, "Thank goodness it's only for a limited period." He did not settle down to his work at all well. He made it quite clear that he regarded contributions work as much inferior to pensions and well below his capabilities. His work, which was satisfactory to start with, began to fall off gradually in quality and quantity after a few weeks, as no sign of his return to Midwood was forthcoming. Mr. B noticed this but thought he would not intervene for the moment, fearing an explosion if he did. The office was not especially busy and he hoped N would pull round. In addition Miss E on pensions was doing extremely well at her job.

This had gone on for about two months when N received a notice from the Regional Office saying that he had been permanently posted to Lowood National Insurance Office. He also learned that the complement of Midwood National Insurance Office had been revised and a Clerical Officer post abolished, and that he was the first in order of transfer in accordance with the rules. The card exchange was then about to begin and N was in charge of it, assisted by a Temporary Clerk, Grade III, Mr. L.

A week later Mr. B reported to the Manager that he was very worried about the card exchange. It was progressing very slowly and seemed likely to take much longer than usual.

As the Manager of Lowood National Insurance Office, how would you tackle this problem? In your answer, analyse the reasons why the problem arose and say what guiding principles of staff management, if any, can be drawn from it.

IV

Mr. H makes a point of taking his full quota of uncertified sick leave each year on the grounds of his recurrent malaria. Usually his absence is limited to one or two days, often coinciding with the holding of some sporting event in the vicinity, e.g., a football match or race meeting. During these absences he has been seen, by other members of the staff, working in his garden. This naturally gives rise

to discontent and resentment among the staff. One or two have been heard to say: "I don't see why I shouldn't wangle an extra day or two. Mr. H seems to get away with it."

You have called Mr. H to your office and told him of the feelings of the staff. Before you can continue he remarks: "Oh! Well, if that's all you're worrying about I can always go to the doctor and get a certificate." This, having regard to his health, he can quite easily do.

How do you continue and what else would you do? What basic principles are involved in this problem?

V

Quite recently, Miss M made a casual remark to Miss D—in Mr. G's hearing—which revealed to him that she must have listened to a private conversation he had held that morning.

Mr. G became extremely angry about it, and immediately went to the Manager, complaining bitterly and vehemently. In the heat of the moment, he demanded:

- (a) A written apology from Miss M; and
- (b) That the Manager should report the incident to the Regional Office with a recommendation that Miss M should be suspended while further disciplinary action was being considered.

After he had gone, the Manager sent for Miss M and asked for her version of the incident. She became very tearful and said she realised she had been wrong to mention what she had heard to another member of the staff, and she had done so unthinkingly. She alleged that Mr. G was in the habit of making long private telephone calls and that it was often necessary for her to break in on them because other members of the staff were waiting to use the line. She said she could not always avoid hearing odd snatches of conversation. She offered to apologise orally to Mr. G, but thought he was making a great deal of bother over very little and was unreasonable to demand an apology in writing. She was not prepared to accede to that demand and would sooner lose her job.

When Miss M had returned to her room, the Manager decided to interview Mr. G again. He told Mr. G that Miss M was repentant and that she was prepared to apologise orally, adding that he (the Manager) personally felt that such action would meet the situation without incurring loss of face to anyone concerned. Mr. G replied that nothing less than a written apology and an undertaking not to eavesdrop in future would satisfy him. Furthermore, unless he had this very soon, he was determined to take the matter elsewhere, either to the Regional Office direct or to his Staff Association.

Is there any action which you, as the Manager, would have taken to avoid this situation arising? What would you do about it now it has arisen?

What lessons can be learned from this problem?

VI

If you took the place of the Benefits Supervisor, Mr. B, what would you consider to be the best division of the work between Mrs. C, Miss D, Mr. I and Miss K? What would be the best layout of the necessary furniture (desks, chairs, cabinets, cupboards, etc.) in Rooms 4 and 5?

Mr. A retired three weeks ago. The new Manager, Mr. O, has told you (the Supervisor) that he thinks the existing layout of the office could be improved;

for instance, callers have sometimes walked into his room (No. 1) and interrupted his work. He has suggested that he should move to Room 4. Reception would then be in Room 1, Benefits would move to Rooms 2 and 3 and the Inspector to Room 5.

Mr. O has also said that if the layout is altered, there would be an opportunity for any desirable changes of duty among the staff.

He would like to have your views on both questions.

Reporting to Parliament on the Nationalised Industries

By RAYMOND NOTTAGE

After surveying the size and content of the Annual Reports of the Boards of the Nationalised Industries, the Director of the Royal Institute suggests a number of changes which he considers would improve the usefulness of the Reports to Parliament.

N EARLY a decade has now passed since the nationalisation of some of the country's major industries. Parliament is still not satisfied, however, that it is as fully informed of the activities of these industries as it should be, and that it is in a position to judge whether they are being well run or not.

This uncertainty could arise from two causes. One, because the industries have not so far been successful in effectively communicating information to Parliament. The other, because it is difficult to assess the performance of major industries in public ownership. The Annual Reports which the nationalised industries are required to submit to Ministers, and which they, in turn, must lay before Parliament, throw up both these questions in an acute and related form.

The framers of the nationalisation statutes no doubt expected the submission of the Annual Reports to be one of the principal methods of keeping Parliament abreast of the achievements and plans of the great industries that were being brought into public ownership. Over the past ten years, many hundreds of man-hours and many thousands of pounds must have been spent in compiling and producing these Reports. But apparently the Reports submitted have not given Parliament satisfaction. In 1952 and 1953, Select Committees were appointed "to consider the present methods by which the House of Commons is informed of the affairs of the Nationalised Industries and to report what changes, having regard to the provisions laid down by Parliament in the relevant statutes, may be desirable in these methods." Two Reports emerged. One concentrated on Questions to Ministers. The other recommended the establishment of a Standing Committee of the House on the Nationalised Industries. The following comment, in the Select Committee's Report to the House of Commons on 23rd July, 1953, is the only reference to the Annual Reports :

"The Nationalised Industries publish voluminous reports, but these do not completely meet the needs of Parliament or the public, partly owing to their sheer volume and complexity, and partly because information is not necessarily available on the matters on which it is required or when it is required."

This, if it sums up Parliament's attitude to the Annual Reports that have been submitted over the past decade, is not a satisfactory outcome, either for Parliament or for the industries themselves.

What has been done to meet these twin evils of "sheer volume" and of "complexity" to which attention was drawn in 1953? The following

table compares the sizes of the Reports and Annual Accounts issued for 1951-52, with those issued during 1956 by the Boards which will come within the purview of the Select Committee on Nationalised Industries, the establishment of which was approved by the House of Commons on 29th November, 1956.

TABLE 1

Boards	1951-52 pages	1955-56 pages
British European Airways	105	88
British Overseas Airways Corporation	68	61
National Coal Board*	263	(I) 63 (II) 143
Central Electricity Authority	271	244
Area Electricity Boards	536	632
South of Scotland (S.E.)	30	} 54
Electricity Boards (S.W.)	39	
North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board	59	71
The Gas Council	169	189
Area Gas Boards	804	897
British Transport Commission* (I)	169	88
(II)	252	266
	<u>2,765</u>	<u>2,796</u>

*The N.C.B. and the B.T.C. now submit two volumes each year, a Report (I) and the Accounts and Statistics (II).

The number of pages placed before Parliament thus remains about the same in total. The electricity and gas industries have increased the sizes of their contributions, and have both now passed the 1,000 pages a year mark, the gas industry by a comfortable margin.

The National Coal Board, however, have clearly tried to meet the Select Committee's criticism. They have separated the Report from the Accounts and Statistics, and have made a conscious effort to produce a smaller Report. In the first paragraph of the Report for 1953 the Board stated:

"This Report, like most of its predecessors, is designed to do two things—to give an account of the main happenings in the British coal industry during the year, and also to bring to public notice particular subjects of special significance for the industry's present or future. . . . This year, the Board have reduced the length of the purely narrative passages in the hope that this change will be an advantage."

The British Transport Commission have halved the size of their Report, but the volume containing the Accounts and Statistics remains about the

same. The Reports of the Airways Corporations show only a small reduction in length.

THE STATUTORY PROVISIONS

How far do these voluminous and complex Reports result from obligations which Parliament itself has placed on the nationalised industries? An examination of the statutory provisions shows that all the Boards listed in Table 1 are required to submit an Annual Report to the responsible Minister, and generally to do so as soon as possible after the end of each financial year.

The Airways Corporations and the Scottish Electricity Boards are required to deal only with the preceding year's operations, but all the others must report each year on their "policy and programmes" as well. The Ministers responsible for the Electricity and Gas Boards may specify the forms of those Boards' Reports. None of the other Boards, however, is covered by a statutory provision of this sort.

The basic statutes require the responsible Ministers to lay all the Annual Reports before Parliament. With those for Central Electricity Authority, the Area Electricity Boards (in England and Wales), The Gas Council and the Area Gas Boards (including Scotland), however, the Minister must lay, at the same time, "a report with respect to the exercise of his functions during that year under this Act."

The legislation therefore divides the Boards into:

- (i) *Boards whose Annual Reports may be determined in form by the Minister; and must be accompanied on submission to Parliament by "a report with respect to the exercise of his functions during that year under this Act."*

Central Electricity Authority and the Area Electricity Boards.

The Gas Council and the Area Gas Boards.

- (ii) *Boards whose Annual Reports are not subject to either of the requirements set out in (i):*

The Airways Corporations.

The National Coal Board.

The British Transport Commission.

The two Scottish Electricity Boards fall between these two categories. The Secretary of State may specify the form of the Annual Reports, but is not required to report on the exercise of his own functions when submitting them to Parliament.

The Minister's Annual Reports

The question naturally arises whether Parliament has fared better under the one system than the other, and this must lead to an examination of the way in which the Minister of Power has discharged his own duty to report to Parliament. Such an enquiry immediately reveals the notable brevity

of the Minister's reports, which over the years have contained the following numbers of pages :

TABLE 2
Annual Reports by the Minister of Power to Parliament

	On Electricity	On Gas
1949 ..	17	—
1950 ..	9	13
1951 ..	6	9
1952 ..	8	8
1953 ..	10	5
1954 ..	11	7
1955 ..	12	10
1956 ..	11	10

The Minister's Reports have so far been mainly devoted to recording in the most formal way the actions taken by him under the main statutes governing the electricity and gas industries. They record the appointments he has made to the Boards and to the Consultative Councils, the consents he has given under his financial powers, the compulsory purchase orders he has confirmed, and the statutory instruments he has made. The Electricity Reports deal briefly with a number of matters relating to public safety, and the Gas Reports contain a section on the measures taken to ensure satisfactory standards of gas supply. Reference is made to some of the major policy questions which are subject to the Minister's approval, and on these the following extracts are not altogether untypical :

"The Minister further received a report on education and training programmes for the year 1st January, 1952, to 31st December, 1952, and gave his formal approval to the programme described in the report" (*Electricity Report*, 1954).

"15. *Research*. In accordance with Section 3 of the Act, The Gas Council settled a general programme of research for the year in consultation with the Minister" (*Gas Report*, 1956).

Under the heading "General Policy" the Gas Reports have usually had about half a page, and the Electricity Reports sometimes a little more, sometimes nothing at all. These brief passages describe the broad trend of national fuel policy at the time, and the ways by which the Minister is seeking to ensure that the industry concerned will conform to it.

These Reports presented by the Minister of Power contain little information which is not already available elsewhere, and it is difficult to see what real benefit they confer on Parliament. Certainly, on the basis

of the Reports so far submitted, Parliament is unlikely to demand similar Report from Ministers for the other industries. The Minister of Power has not yet fully grasped the opportunity to enlighten Parliament, by written report, in the exercise of his own functions under the various statutes. Has he, however, made up for this by the skilful exercise of his powers in regard to the form of the Annual Reports which he has statutory authority to specify? Have they been moulded nearer to the heart's desire of the heavily-burdened Member of Parliament?

Unhappily, it will be seen from Table 1 that most of the Annual Reports whose form the Minister of Power can determine have grown larger, while those for which Ministers have no specific obligation have tended to become smaller. In the light of the Select Committee's comment this is, indeed, an ironical development.

Reports on Long-Term Plans

A curious anomaly has resulted from the insistence in the statutes on *Annual Reports*. Periodically, the nationalised industries draw up long-term plans and are required to submit them to the responsible Ministers for approval. These are, by their nature, probably the most important documents prepared by the Boards. Their proposals concern an aggregate capital expenditure of several thousand million pounds, and involve basic assumptions of the most far-reaching importance in their effects both on the national economy and on the operational efficiency of the industries themselves.

These vital documents are not presented to Parliament. They are referred to briefly in the Annual Reports of the industries concerned. At the most a summary of the proposals is given in a page or two, and mention is made that the plan has been published separately, as in the National Coal Board's Annual Report for 1951 (page 18). The Gas Council, however, recorded in their 1953/54 Report only that the Area Boards had submitted programmes, which the Council had endorsed and the Minister had approved. No information was given about the programmes themselves, or where details of them could be ascertained.

The publications which have been issued about the long-term plans of the major industries are as follows :

Plan for Coal. Published October, 1950, by the National Coal Board, price 3s. 6d.

Investing in Coal—Progress and Prospects under the Plan for Coal. Published April, 1956, by the National Coal Board, price 3s.

Power and Prosperity, a popular version of British Electricity Authority's programme of development. Published February, 1954, by British Electricity Authority, price 1s.

Fuel for the Nation : The Gas Industry's Programme (a popular version). Published May, 1954, by The Gas Council, price 1s.

Modernisation and Re-equipment of British Railways. Published January, 1955, by the British Transport Commission, price 3s. 6d.

Canals and Inland Waterways : Report of the Board of Survey. Published April, 1955, by the British Transport Commission, price 8s. 6d.

The position seems to be, therefore, that the National Coal Board and the British Transport Commission have published their plans in the form in which they were submitted to the Ministers, that the electricity and gas industries have incorporated the substance of their programmes in popular documents, and that Parliament has received really very scanty information about these matters in Parliamentary papers. And, it will be noted, these are the plans of the Boards that are specifically required to cover in their Annual Reports their "policy and programmes" as well as their operations during the preceding year.

One exception must be noted to this general picture. The Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation submitted to Parliament in October, 1956, a Memorandum prepared by the British Transport Commission and entitled "Review of Policy and Prospects with Special Reference to the Railways." It constituted an annex to the White Paper setting out the Government's *Proposals for the Railways* (Cmd. 9880). This was not part of a normal procedure, however. It came about only because of the Government's decision to make the British Transport Commission a series of special advances up to a total of about £250 million to tide the Commission over their financial difficulties during the early years of their modernisation plan for the railways. Had the Minister and the Commission not required Parliamentary approval for that financial transaction, this long-term review would not have been submitted to Parliament.

Conclusion

So much, then, for the statutory obligations in regard to the Annual Reports. Although not uniform, they are on the whole simple and straightforward, and Parliament certainly cannot be accused of having provoked "voluminousness" and "complexity" by legislation. These characteristics might conceivably be caused by the natures of the industries concerned, but, since most of the Boards are single-purpose undertakings operating entirely within the United Kingdom, this seems unlikely.

All told, therefore, one may reasonably conclude that Annual Reports are the products of administrative decision. They are what they are because the Boards, and perhaps Ministers to some extent, have chosen to make them so. Essentially, they are a reflection of the Boards' general concept of their public duty, a duty to report to Parliament fully and in generous detail.

THE PRESENT VARIETY OF FORM AND CONTENT

The Reports of the major Boards show substantial variations in their structure, in the viewpoints from which they are written, and in the nature of their contents. The British Transport Commission, for example, begin their Report for 1955 with a chapter entitled "Main Features," covering brief issues which were of particular concern to the Commission during the year. Chapter 2 deals with "Manpower," Chapter 3 with "Development," and it is only towards the latter part of the Report that the preceding year's operations are reported in detail. By contrast, the National Coal Board and British Overseas Airways Corporation set out the results of the last year's

activities in some detail at the beginning of the Reports, and deal with some of the broad policy questions later.

The Gas Council follow the British Transport Commission in relegating a good many of the details of the previous year's operations to the latter part of the Report. A feature of The Gas Council's Report, however, is the priority accorded to the accounts. In other Reports, finance, apart from a brief reference to the major results, tends to be placed further back.

Research has a chapter to itself in The Gas Council's Report, but in the other Reports this subject is dealt with more briefly and included under the broader heading of technical progress and development.

The National Coal Board end their Report for 1955 with a chapter "Coal of the Future." The British Transport Commission, as mentioned, deal with "Development" in Chapter 3. Neither Central Electricity Authority nor The Gas Council have a special chapter devoted to future policies. Their Reports record the past and state plans for the future on particular aspects of their activities, looking backwards and forwards by turn as they go along.

All the Boards present their accounts and statistical returns as appendices to their Reports. The National Coal Board and the British Transport Commission issue their Reports in a separate volume from their accounts and statistics, but Central Electricity Authority and The Gas Council publish theirs together. This means that the National Coal Board's Report can be purchased on its own for 3s., but Central Electricity Authority's has to be bought as part of a larger volume for 10s. 6d. Central Electricity Authority and The Gas Council print summaries of their Reports at the beginning, but the South of Scotland Electricity Board put theirs at the end.

Central Electricity Authority and The Gas Council express their operational results in text and, for the most part, compare them only with the previous year's. The National Coal Board and British Overseas Airways Corporation display theirs in tables placed prominently at the beginning of the Reports, and show trends over the period of the last nine years.

The Airways Corporations use a large number of simple charts, drawn in modern style, to explain the salient statistics of their operations (B.E.A. in two-colour printing). This device is employed to a very much smaller degree by the other Boards, and where it is the diagrams are perhaps not always so attractive in appearance.

Staff Numbers

There is a surprising degree of inconsistency in the amount of information given regarding staff numbers. The current practices of the main Boards can be summarised in the following way:

- (i) *In detail by organisational function.* British European Airways is the only Board to give really detailed figures about the deployment of its staff. Its total of 10,200 employees is broken down into 80 groups. The British Transport Commission's staff statistics are given in fair detail, and a feature of them is that they are shown throughout by sex as well as by organisational function. No other Board deem this necessary. For the gas industry the staff are shown in 13 main categories for operatives and three for administrative, technical, etc., grades.

(ii) *Under the main branches of the national machinery for the negotiation of terms and conditions of employment.* This is the classification used by Central Electricity Authority and the South of Scotland Electricity Board. It has only five categories, each of which is inevitably very broad and gives very little indication of the types of work on which the staffs are employed.

(iii) *Totals only.* British Overseas Airways Corporation and the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board follow this practice.

(iv) *Weekly wage earners only.* The National Coal Board gives a good deal of statistical information about colliery and ancillary workers, but no indication of the numbers of administrative and technical staff and the manner of their deployment.

Can such a high degree of variety be justified?

Technical Information

The Reports vary a good deal in the amount of purely technical information they include. Central Electricity Authority tend to assume that the readers of their Reports will have a good grounding in a variety of forms of engineering and state in their latest Report, for example, that:

"Tests of specimens cut from a welded pipe joint of chromium molybdenum vanadium steel indicate that satisfactory welds of adequate creep strength can be made under site conditions with pipes of this material . . ." (para. 114).

"Cold-reduced grain oriented steel is being increasingly used in the smaller sizes of generator transformers" (para. 116).

Other Boards do not generally go into such severely technical detail.

Statistical Data

Inevitably the Boards must use a large number of figures in their Reports, and one finds marked variations in the way in which these are presented. The National Coal Board, by employing large units of measurement, e.g., a million tons of coal and a thousand men, are able to keep most of their numbers to four digits. Thus they report that coal output in 1955 was 221.6 million tons. By contrast, B.O.A.C. measure their performance in small units and report that in 1955-56 they flew 260,286,387 ton/miles. Central Electricity Authority also favour the small unit of measurement and, if necessary, the six to eight digit number, but they round up to the nearest thousand or hundred thousand, thus characterising their Reports by a profusion of 0s, e.g.: "This represents a net addition of some 8,400,000 kilowatts of output capacity, from 18,800,000 kilowatts at the end of 1955 to 27,200,000 at the end of 1961."

A kindred problem is the degree of detail into which regular statistics need go. Some of the statistical tables published by the National Coal Board give monthly details and these, coupled with a Divisional classification as well, produce a mass of data which is quite forbidding in appearance. Most Boards, however, confine themselves to statistics on an annual basis, either by giving an average or quoting those for a particular date each year.

The Accounts

The Accounts which the major Boards submit, most of them in very great, and perhaps overwhelming, detail, are broadly consistent in form. There are, however, one or two variations to be noted.

The National Coal Board print in front of their formal Accounts four pages of summarised financial results for the years 1947-55, and are the only Board to publish a long-range financial summary in detail. The other Boards generally give only the preceding year's figures for comparison.

Details of the Boards' expenditures are generally on an objective basis, stating the purpose for which the money was spent, e.g., generation of electricity, maintenance and depreciation of rolling stock, employees' welfare. The National Coal Board, however, also show their expenditure on a subjective basis, i.e., wages, payments for stores, etc. Central Electricity Authority give a broad breakdown of the industry's total revenue of £380m on the same basis (Appendix 1 of the Report), but do not distinguish between the Central Authority and the Area Boards, for which the proportions must be very different. B.E.A. include a diagram showing the percentages of each £1 spent which go to wages, fuel, fuel tax, etc. The other Boards do not publish such an analysis of their expenditure, and it is not always possible to extract this information from their Accounts.

The Gas Council give numerous details of British Gas Stock, together with the benefits this Stock has conferred and the obligations it has imposed on the Area Boards. These tables take up nearly 20 pages. The National Coal Board print an extended summary, covering 15 pages, of the major capital schemes which have been authorised and are estimated to cost more than £250,000. None of the other Boards deal with matters of this sort in such detail.

Some Boards place the Revenue Account before the Balance Sheet, while others use the reverse order. Some precede the main Accounts with the Auditors' Report and the Notes on the Accounts, while others put them the other way round. Although these are only minor points, the layman might perhaps be forgiven for thinking that there ought to be one order which was indisputably the best.

Miscellaneous

The Reports vary in the extent to which they give information on one or two particular points. For example, on education and training some Boards merely say that they appreciate the value of good practices in these matters, and are following them, while others state the numbers of employees who have attended particular courses during the period under review.

B.O.A.C. describe their fleet of aircraft by type and number, and take merely half a page to do so. B.E.A., however, require four pages for theirs, because they publish details of each aircraft, including its registration number, its name, the date acquired, hours flown to the last date of the Report, and the hours flown in the year covered by the Report. Listed in the latest B.E.A. Report are 24 planes on order and not yet delivered.

Finally, the Airways Corporations print at the beginning of their Reports

definitions of terms they will be using, e.g., capacity ton mile and load factor. None of the other Boards do this. The National Coal Board and Central Electricity Authority include indexes at the back of their Reports. The Gas Council and the British Transport Commission, whose Reports are of similar sizes, do not.

The Area Boards' Reports

Variety of treatment is not confined to the Reports of the major Boards. It is also to be found in full measure among the Reports of the Area Electricity Boards and of the Area Gas Boards, organisations which within each industry are charged with exactly the same responsibilities.

A survey of the lists of contents of the Reports of the Area Electricity Boards immediately illustrates how great is this variety in the electricity industry. The topics dealt with vary a good deal, and there is no uniform order or style of exposition. Some Reports are written in chapters with sub-headings. Others have no chapters, but only paragraph headings. The Southern Electricity Board does not publish a Contents List in the usual form, but a short alphabetical index starting:

	Para.
Aluminium—Use of Conductors	18
Board Membership	1 and 2

The Report of the Yorkshire Electricity Board has a detailed alphabetical index covering four pages as its contents list, an index which would be appropriate and valuable at the end, but gives no idea of the form of the Report which one is about to read.

The Reports vary in the number of appendices they include and in the use they make of diagrams. Some Boards publish brief reports on each of the Districts within their Area, but most do not.

Much of what has been said about the Reports of the Area Electricity Boards applies to the Reports of the Area Gas Boards. The latter are, however, all written with main chapters and sub-headings, and none of them includes Sub-Area reports as do some of the Electricity Boards.

Is Such Diversity Desirable?

With the establishment of so many new Boards at about the same time, it was no doubt inevitable (unless the Government took drastic action to prevent it) that their Annual Reports should be constructed and presented in a variety of ways. Indeed, plenty of freedom to experiment was very desirable in the first few years. But is the resulting great diversity a sign that the best methods so far evolved have still to gain universal acceptance? Equally important—what is the effect of this diversity on Parliament? The answer to the first question, on the basis of the foregoing evidence, seems to suggest that the best methods could be more widely used than they are at present. With regard to the second, it seems probable that the present variations are not helpful to the M.P. faced each year with 2,800 pages in 32 Reports on half a dozen major industries, and that they hinder him in readily ascertaining the information he needs to acquire and in comprehending

its significance. In short, these variations are probably one of the basic causes of the complexity of which the Select Committee complained.

If, therefore, the Annual Report is to become a more powerful instrument than hitherto for conveying essential information to Parliament and in helping to create among Members an assurance that they know how the Nationalised Industries are being run, a more systematised and less heterogeneous form of reporting may have to be devised. Certainly it seems worth considering what lessons can be learned from past experience and whether a standard pattern of Report would be both practicable and desirable.

TO WHOM SHOULD ANNUAL REPORTS BE ADDRESSED?

First, one must be quite clear on the audience for whom the formal Annual Report is to be designed. Is it the Minister to whom the Report has to be submitted, or is it Parliament to whom he must present it? Or is the presentation of the Annual Report to Parliament to be regarded primarily as a device for making a document available to the general public, or those members of it who are especially interested in public enterprise? The needs of these three audiences may well be different, and it is highly improbable that one Report will fit them all.

The Minister can perhaps be eliminated to start with. He will already know a great deal about an industry for which he has certain responsibilities to Parliament, and the submission to him of the formal Annual Report will generally do little to augment his knowledge. Moreover, he can always call for information on any matters on which he may be specially interested. The present Reports no doubt provide convenient works of reference for Ministry officials (and also, incidentally, for the Boards' own officers), but this clearly should not be a paramount consideration in determining their form and content.

The general public constitutes an audience of widely differing demands, indeed, a whole series of audiences. It is to be doubted, therefore, whether a single document could ever satisfy them all, and the Boards would hardly be justified in making the attempt. Other means must be employed to give the various sections of the general public the information they would like to have.

Because, therefore, Parliament is by statute the ultimate destination, and also for the reasons indicated above, it seems evident that the Reports should be designed exclusively for the benefit of Parliament. Such Reports would, of course, be of interest to a wider audience, but it would not be right to jeopardise their usefulness to Parliament by amplifying and complicating them to meet the special needs of those for whom they are not intended.

If it be agreed that Parliament constitutes the audience for whom the Annual Reports should be prepared, one has to ask whether they should be framed so as to meet the needs of the largest number of Members, or to provide the maximum information for the relatively small number of Members who take a special interest in the nationalised industries. The chances are that it will not be possible to do both at the same time. For the former purpose a short report will be required highlighting the salient features of

the industry's activities; for the latter something much more detailed and weighty, which may well dismay the majority of Members

Parliament has never made its wishes known on this issue. It is clear, however, that the nationalised industries have so far tried to satisfy the keen and earnest student of their affairs. But their efforts have met with a good deal of Parliamentary indifference, and the Boards would now seem well justified in changing their policy and in seeking in future to try and interest the largest number of Members. The National Coal Board and the British Transport Commission have already proceeded to some extent in this direction.

The Annual Report for Parliament should not, however, become merely a simplified tabloid, possibly abusing the need for brevity by omitting the less convenient facts. On the contrary, what is required is the proper selection of all the most important material, its presentation in the most skilful way to facilitate comprehension and to reveal its true significance, and the elimination of material of only subsidiary importance. Further, if short Annual Reports were submitted to Parliament it would not mean that the information for which there was no place in these Reports could not be published. It is, indeed, very desirable that all the information the specialists need should be made available to them, but this could well be done through other media such as the Central Statistical Office, regular or special publications of the Boards themselves, and the publications of reputable professional and learned societies. A bibliography of such material could be included in the Annual Report as a means of directing the specialist to the information he may require, and without needlessly burdening the reader with a more general interest.

BASIC PURPOSES OF THE ANNUAL REPORT

Given that the short Report would have much to commend it, how could it in fact be achieved without depriving Parliament of information it should have? A clearer understanding of the purposes which an Annual Report can and should serve would perhaps contribute to this end. It is apparent that in varying degrees the existing Reports are used to:

- (a) Provide a record.
- (b) Report compliance with statutory obligation.
- (c) Assess the industry's efficiency.
- (d) Disseminate general information about the organisation.
- (e) Improve staff morale.
- (f) Publicise the industry or some of its services.

There can be little doubt that the Report to Parliament should strictly avoid the inclusion of material that is primarily intended to raise staff morale or to "sell" the industry to the public. A Report with a good record of achievement may, in fact, do both, but it should do so incidentally and not be deliberately designed to this end.

An Annual Report must certainly be a document of record, and it is also obviously appropriate to use it to inform Parliament that statutory

obligations are being, or have been, complied with. With regard to this compliance, however, the question arises whether Parliament need be told of it every year. For example, the Boards are required to establish machinery for negotiation and consultation on matters concerning conditions of employment and on other matters of mutual interest to the Boards and their employees. Clearly, once such machinery has been introduced, reference to it hardly seems necessary in the Annual Reports unless significant changes take place in any year.

An Annual Report's most important purpose, it is submitted, is to enable Parliament to make an assessment of the efficiency with which the industry is being run, and to this purpose all other considerations should generally be heavily subordinated. In the pursuit of this particular objective, information about the form of organisation and current policies may be necessary. If, however, the Report is to be kept brief, such information must be carefully selected and must be truly relevant to the prime purpose of the Report. Further, through the manner in which the information is presented, its significance must be made patently clear.

CONSIDERATIONS IN DESIGNING A STANDARD PATTERN

What, then, would be a suitable form of Report to facilitate Parliament's task in making some assessment of an industry's efficiency? The first point to consider is whether a sharp division should not be made between past results and policies for the future. Such a distinction would seem to be justified, because in any effort to assess efficiency, it is necessary to ask the two questions: "Have past results been good?" and "Will current policies secure the best results over, say, the next ten or twenty years?"

Closely related to these questions is the extent to which the Report should describe ends and means. It is reasonable to assume that any industry that could demonstrate to Parliament that its past record was outstandingly good would not need to go into great detail about the means it employed. The ends achieved would be sufficiently eloquent in themselves. When a past record does not show such a result, some reasons and explanations, all of which may be perfectly valid, are necessary and justified. This does not imply, however, that all the means employed in running the industry must be laid bare.

When, however, one comes to consider the question of future efficiency, one is thrown entirely into the realm of the means to be employed. Reference may certainly be made to current and recent experience. This will often be a good guide to the future, but it may not be infallible and the extent to which it will need modification will always have to be considered.

In the cause of clear and logical exposition, therefore, it is suggested that a distinction between past results and policies for the future has much to commend it, and one of the important supporting reasons for this distinction is that it helps to secure a proper balance between the records of ends and of means. The National Coal Board, it is to be noted, already employ this form to some extent.

If this suggestion is accepted, the next question to be decided is the information that should be included in the record of past results. Here

the Reports of the National Coal Board and British Overseas Airways Corporation give a lead. Both these Boards set out in tabular form at the beginning of their latest Reports salient operational indices and the financial results for the last year and also for the eight preceding years. One feels that in tables of this sort the reader can get the quintessential story of these industries, and in a way that would never be practicable by a report in text.

If this is so, it would be a service to Parliament if every Board printed at the beginning of its Annual Reports a summary of its operational results, in tabular form, as do the N.C.B. and B.O.A.C. Such a summary, it is suggested, could usefully follow these precepts:

- (a) It should start with details of the physical operations.
- (b) It should proceed in a logical order, e.g., an order of descending magnitude of importance.
- (c) It should end with the financial results, which are the consequences of the physical operations.
- (d) It should provide adequate comparisons with past years so as to reveal long-term trends.

For some Boards the production of such tables would involve little more than the collation of material already included in the Reports. For others, however, it might demonstrate that the information at present placed before Parliament is not as complete as it could usefully be.

THE SELECTION AND PRESENTATION OF INDICES

A reasonable way of selecting the operational indices would be to try and provide the essential information to answer the three following questions:

- (a) Quantity of output—is it sufficient?
- (b) Quality of output—is it adequate?
- (c) Real cost of product—is it being reduced, and at a fast enough rate?

For some industries it would not be necessary to prepare elaborate indices to answer the first two questions. It is a matter of common knowledge, for example, that the gas supply is generally adequate and that, except in the very coldest weather, the electricity supply maintains its standard voltage and frequency. The more general publication of indices to measure the adequacy of the service being provided, both in terms of quantity and quality, would be helpful, however. For example, the Airways Corporations might indicate their latest accident rates and the trends of these over recent years. At the moment they publish no regular index of this important quality factor in their services.¹

¹The Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation publish "Statistics of accidents on regular passenger-carrying services of U.K. operators" in an annual publication, *A Survey of the Accidents to Aircraft of the U.K.* (H.M.S.O.). They include such indices as passengers carried per passenger killed, passenger miles flown per passenger killed, and fatal accidents per 10,000 stage flights, all per year. No figures are given, however, for individual operators. The U.S. Civil Aeronautics Board publish similar information to that issued by the Ministry.

The Non-Financial Index

With regard to indices of cost, it is desirable that these should be given as far as possible in physical terms and no more than is necessary in money terms. The first reason for this is that in a time of persistent inflation, such as we have experienced since the last War, it is extremely difficult to appreciate the significance of the trend of financial costs, and to decide the allowance to be made in any particular case for the decline in the value of money. The second reason is that physical indices can often be prepared with much less trouble than those expressed in money terms and are, in fact, frequently the bases from which financial costings are derived—with a good deal of labour and expense.

The coal industry provides a good illustration of the advantage of the non-financial index. The following table shows the labour cost of a ton of coal in work and in money terms for the years 1951 and 1955 in comparison with 1947, the first year of public ownership of the coal industry:

Cost Per Ton	1947	1951	1955
Man-hours ¹	7.45	6.61	6.53
Money ²	26s. 10d.	32s. 1d.	41s. 7d.

The work index shows that there was a perceptible increase in labour efficiency between 1947 and 1951, but that the progress since then has been only slight. The money index shows a continuing and substantial decrease in labour efficiency, unless one subjects it to certain adjustments. Given the money index alone, how much should be allowed for (i) the general decline in the value of money, and (ii) the higher bid that has to be made for mining labour in conditions of stable full employment? An estimate can be made for the first—albeit a rough one—but the second involves a highly imponderable factor. One could never, in trying to assess the trend of efficiency of labour in the coal industry, produce through financial indices an answer which has anything like the certainty and validity of the index of output per manshift or per man-year.

The Ingredients of Production

All the industries being considered in this article have three principal ingredients of production: Men, Machines and Materials. It would be reasonable, therefore, for each industry, in selecting and developing its

¹The costs in man-hours have been computed from the "tons per manshift" figures for all workers given on page 3 of the N.C.B. Report for 1955. A manshift, which is statutorily defined as "7½ hours plus one winding time," has been taken as an average of 8 hours. The figures shown are thus 8 ÷ tons per manshift.

²The costs in money have been computed from the average earnings per manshift worked (all ages)—including the value of allowances in kind, details of which were published for 1947 in Table 37 of the 1948 Report, and for 1951 and 1955 in Tables 38 and 28, respectively, of the Annual Reports for those years. The figures shown are average earnings per manshift ÷ tons per manshift for all workers.

indices of real cost, to try and demonstrate the efficiency with which each of the ingredients of production is being used.

Men

An example has already been given from the coal industry indicating the value of an index measuring men's work.

Attention has also been drawn to the variation in detail of the numbers of staff employed. What is needed, generally, is an analysis of staff according to the work which they perform, and an indication of the volume of output achieved within each of those functions. Indeed, it should surely be the duty of the Boards not only to develop work measurement to a substantial degree for purposes of internal management, but also to report to Parliament the most important work measurement indices they normally use. The National Coal Board, it has been indicated, publish some such indices, as do B.O.A.C. and British European Airways. Most of the Boards, however, could usefully present a good deal more information of this sort than they do.

Machines

An important index in measuring the effectiveness of the utilisation of machines is the "load factor," which is broadly the ratio of remunerative work obtained from a machine to that which might have been secured if the machine could have been employed to the maximum possible extent. It is used by the Airways Corporations to show the load-ton-miles carried to the capacity-ton-miles offered, and for both corporations is now about 62 per cent. It is used in the electricity industry to show the ratio of the total amount of electricity produced or supplied during a given period to the total amount which would have been produced or supplied had the maximum demand been maintained throughout the period. Central Electricity Authority's load factor over the past few years has averaged about 45 per cent.

In the transport industries the potential speeds of the vehicles used and the average speeds actually achieved in operating them are, of course, important efficiency factors.

With regard to indices in relation to machines, there is probably scope in some of the industries for the development (or perhaps merely the publication) of measurements in regard to capital expenditure. At the moment, large sums of money are being spent, but the Reports contain little information which can enable the outsider to judge with what acumen. Presumably, when the Airways Corporations decide to buy a new aircraft, they know what the capital cost is in relation to certain basic operational units. Likewise, when Central Electricity Authority order generating equipment, they must know the probable cost per megawatt of installed capacity, and they no doubt have some knowledge of the average cost per route mile of extensions of their major distribution networks. Since the capital costs of these items of equipment are extremely high, Parliament would no doubt be interested to learn of the trends of cost in suitable unit terms, and of the resulting benefits. Indeed, it is essential to do so in any broad assessment of efficiency. Such indices can, of course, be produced

most easily for industries using equipment in large and relatively standardised units, or for which average costings can be made without too high a proportion of them being subject to wide variation.

Materials

The electricity industry, with its index of thermal efficiency, provides a good illustration of the method of measuring the effectiveness with which materials—in this instance, coal—are used. Thermal efficiency is defined as "the ratio, expressed as a percentage, between the heat energy contained in the fuel consumed, and the heat energy in the electricity sent out from the station," and Central Electricity Authority have increased it from an average of 20.91 per cent. in 1947-48 to 24.35 per cent. in 1955-56.

The gas industry also uses the index of thermal efficiency to assess the efficiency of its utilisation of coal. In this industry, however, there are two ways of computing the index, depending upon whether one assumes that the main purpose of the industry is to produce gas and that the by-products, e.g., coke, are merely incidental, or that gas and the by-product are equally important. The Ridley Committee on *National Policy for the Use of Fuel and Power Resources* thought that the former method, which produces a relatively low figure, e.g., 55 per cent., was to be preferred; but the latter method, which produces a relatively high figure, e.g., 80 per cent., is the one used by The Gas Council in their Annual Reports.

Order of Presentation

As has been said, a logical order of presentation of information will greatly assist the layman to grasp its significance. One way of approaching this problem of presentation is to find out, and to explain to the reader, what are the proportions of the various ingredients to the total cost. According to a diagram in the 1955-56 Report of Central Electricity Authority (page 70), the cost of a unit of electricity is made up approximately as follows:

Fuel Costs		.575d.
Capital and Related Charges		.425d.
Other Costs		.390d.

Thus it would be reasonable for Central Electricity Authority to present their operational indices for generation in the order of (i) materials, (ii) machines, and (iii) men.

Financial Information

While it may be said that, on the whole, the present Reports are deficient in work measurement indices, and unnecessarily so, they contain a plethora of financial details, and the question arises whether this emphasis on financial statements of one sort and another has not been overdone. Are a tithe of those submitted ever scrutinised, even in the most cursory fashion, and used in any way? The nationalised industries are generally required by statute to keep their accounts in "a form which shall conform with the best commercial standards." But in certain important respects, these industries are in radically different positions from privately-owned commercial companies, and one cannot help wondering whether they employ unnecessarily some of

¹Cmd. 8647. See also The Gas Council's publication, *Thermal Efficiency in Gas Production and Utilisation* by J. E. Davis (1952).

the detailed practices of commercial accounting. Be that as it may, in any determined attempt to make the Reports shorter, simpler and at the same time more illuminating, it might well be found that a good deal of the financial information at present included could be safely omitted. Some of this information is perhaps necessary for internal management purposes, but this does not mean that it should be included in Reports to Parliament.¹

NEED FOR ADEQUATE COMPARISONS

In matters of administration and management there are no absolute standards of efficiency. One organisation may be more efficient than another, but even the better one may fall short of its own ideals. Efficiency can be assessed only through a process of comparison and, if the Reports of the nationalised industries are to provide the best basis for such an assessment, they must make all the relevant comparisons they can, and present them in a systematic way. Such comparisons can be of three kinds :

- (a) Over different periods of time.
- (b) Between different parts of the organisation.
- (c) Between one organisation and another.

With regard to the first of these comparisons, it has been pointed out that the National Coal Board and British Overseas Airways Corporation publish a table of results over the past few years, and there seems to be no reason why the other Boards should not do the same.

On the second, the National Coal Board, Central Electricity Authority and The Gas Council already submit a good deal of information on a Divisional and Area basis, and current practice in this regard probably needs no improvement. No doubt the British Transport Commission will do the same for the railways when their reorganisation is complete.

With industries in national ownership, comparison with other organisations must often mean with those of other countries. The bases for comparison are no doubt rather limited, but it is open to question whether everything practicable is already done in this respect, and whether the Boards have made the fullest possible use in their Reports of the internationally compiled statistics that are already available. For example, the United Nations' Economic Commission for Europe have made surveys of the efficiency of electricity supply systems in Western Europe and the U.S.A., and the *World Airline Record* (published by Roadcap and Associates, Chicago) contains a good deal of information about the operations of the world's major airlines, including B.O.A.C. and B.E.A., compiled from replies to a standard questionnaire.

Once a set of operational indices is established for an industry as the basis of its record of past achievement, one may assume that, generally, not a great deal of comment need be added to explain or justify the results the indices

¹For some discussion on the question of whether or not the accounts of a nationalised industry can reveal the degree of efficiency achieved by that industry, see the Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on Nationalised Industries accompanying the Report of 23rd July, 1953 (235); in particular, the evidence given by Sir Frank Tribe, Mr. T. B. Robson and Sir Harold Howitt, and Sir Edward (now Lord) Bridges.

reveal. In any event, if the indices are clearly presented in a logical order, and the comment is then directly related to them, it should be a simple matter for the reader to assimilate the information presented to him and to grasp its significance.

REPORTING ON FUTURE PLANS

The basic framework on which it has been suggested that past results should be recorded will also be suitable for reporting on plans for the future, since it will be desirable to know :

- (a) In what quantity the goods or services of the industry will be required, or in what measure it is proposed to supply them ;
- (b) What variations, if any, in the quality of supply are in view ; and
- (c) What steps are planned to reduce the cost of the product.

With regard to the quantity, estimates may show that demand is rising. In this event, Parliament will need to be told how far this increased demand will be met by existing resources, and how far by extensions of plant. Estimates of the future may show, however, a declining demand, as with canals and the telegraph service, in which event Parliament will need to know the extent to which contraction is planned to avoid financial loss or rises in charges.

Where the quality of the service or product can be a variable factor, and especially where it is likely to influence the demand, it is reasonable for Parliament to be told what changes are proposed, the reasons for them, and the effects they are thought likely to produce.

The expected trend of future costs will inevitably be of great interest to Parliament, and it will clearly be helpful to express these costs as far as possible in real terms, so that when the actual costs come to be checked with the estimates, the comparison will not be invalidated by any changes which may have occurred in the value of money. Trends of costs may to some extent have speculative bases, and they may be falsified by events. That is no reason, however, for not advising Parliament of the assumptions on which the Boards are proceeding. The Boards clearly have to make some assumptions, and Parliament will no doubt allow for some margins of error as an inevitable feature of business activity.

The future efficiency of practically all the existing nationalised industries will depend predominantly on two factors :

- (a) Rate of capital investment.
- (b) Rate of technological progress.

Capital investment can serve three purposes. It can (i) maintain existing plant, (ii) buy extra plant to meet increased demands, and (iii) replace existing plant which is worn out or inefficient by modern standards. If Parliament is to be given the best possible indication of the trend of future efficiency, it will need to be told what part of proposed capital expenditure is going to each of these purposes. The first of them, maintenance of existing plant, is generally likely to lead to only minor improvements in efficiency. The second, new plant to meet extra demand, will help to raise the average efficiency, but the third, plant replacement, will generally make the biggest contribution to

higher efficiency. In the latter connection it will be useful to know what are the general replacement rates for the principal items of equipment used by the industry concerned.

With regard to the rate of technological advance, this raises difficulties as far as Annual Reports are concerned, for two reasons. First, because the Boards are not the only parties with an interest in research into, and development of, the plant and processes used in the industry with which they are concerned. The equipment manufacturers are also vitally affected, and no well-defined division of responsibility for research and development between the privately-owned manufacturers and the publicly-owned users seems as yet to have been publicly debated and promulgated. Second, research programmes generally extend over periods of longer than a year and, for this reason, are not always easy to report on each twelve months.

There is no reason, however, why the Boards should not describe the operating characteristics of the latest plant brought into service, and the improvements in these characteristics which plant soon to be introduced or shortly to be ordered is expected to produce.

ADVANTAGES OF A STANDARD PATTERN

The foregoing suggestions for a standard pattern of Annual Report would be largely applicable, it is thought, to all the present nationalised industries. Experience might show that they could be improved upon. But that a standard pattern could be constructed, to which all the Boards could broadly conform, if they felt inclined to do so, can hardly be doubted.

To have such a standard pattern would bring at least three advantages. First, for the Member who acquainted himself with that pattern, it would greatly facilitate initial reading and comprehension, and subsequent reference. Second, it would help Members to understand what are the salient factors that must concern the Boards themselves in running their industries. Third, it would serve to direct Parliament's consideration and discussion to the big issues and away from matters of less importance. Indeed, if they were able to obtain a clearer understanding of the major problems of the industries and the ways they are being tackled, M.Ps. might feel less anxious than they are at present to debate the industries' affairs or ask Questions about them in Parliament. As Sir Ivor Jennings has said: "Members are always curious until they have means of satisfying their curiosity."

It may be argued that a Report of the type proposed, no matter how well it was constructed or how carefully its indices were selected and presented, would not be able to give the complete answer to the question: "Is this industry being run with the maximum possible efficiency?" It would not be able to answer this question any more satisfactorily than can the shareholder who, when receiving an increased dividend, wonders whether, if the sales force had been more energetic and the production manager more ingenious, the increase might not have been even greater. A logical and standard method of selecting and presenting material would, however, have real advantages not offered by the present diverse methods of reporting. It would reveal the largest area of really significant information and, in so doing, limit the scope for conflicting interpretation and argument.

Improved reports for Parliament would not, of course, obviate the need for periodical detailed enquiries like those carried out by the Fleck and Herbert Committees in the coal and electricity industries. They might, however, help Parliament to decide when such enquiries should be undertaken. In any event, Parliament can never do the work of such specialised bodies itself.

THE TIME-SCALE PROBLEM

Apart from these broad possibilities in regard to the form and content of the Reports, there are one or two special problems that merit consideration.

First there are those aspects of administration and management which have a longer time-scale than a year, for example capital development programmes and research policies. It has already been explained that the nationalised industries are allowed to submit only Annual Reports to Parliament, and this clearly creates a problem for them. In general, they try to include in every Report something on matters of longer-term importance, although, not infrequently, they have little to say about such matters that is really newsworthy, and the Reports are made longer than need be to no purpose.

One wonders, on this particular point, if the Boards might not follow, in some respects at any rate, the practice of Lord Heyworth, the Chairman of Unilever, in reporting to his shareholders. He provides them with a brief document, recording the salient features of the year's activities and the main financial results. This "Report and Accounts" has been comfortably contained in the past few years in a 32-page booklet. In addition, Lord Heyworth deals each year, in a speech to the shareholders' Annual General Meeting, with one particular question of policy or administration which is of major concern to the company. The subjects he has treated in this way over the past few years have been:

- 1953 Synthetic Detergents.
- 1954 The United Africa Group.
- 1955 Transport.
- 1956 The Managers.
- 1957 Research in Unilever.

If the Boards of the nationalised industries followed this practice, and so spotlighted each year some particular aspect of their work, they might achieve more success in the long run in securing an understanding of their main policies and achievements than by the present method of submitting widely-ranging reports every year.

CONSOLIDATION A CAUSE OF COMPLEXITY

A special reporting problem arises for those Boards that have several different responsibilities, and it is particularly acute for the British Transport Commission which has in its charge railway, road passenger, road haulage and hotel and catering services, inland waterways, docks, harbours and wharves, and steamer services. The policy followed by the Commission is to base the first part of their Report on general subject headings, e.g., Recruitment and Training, Wages Claims, and to describe what has happened for each service

under the heading concerned. The second part is called "Working Results of Principal Activities," e.g., British Railways, British Road Services.

Associated with the Commission's Report is a volume called *Financial and Statistical Accounts*. The keynote of this is again essentially consolidation. Thus, for example, there is a heading "Rolling Stock, Ships, etc." under which are listed *seriatim* totals of railway locomotives, passenger coaches, freight trucks, road vehicles and horses, London Transport vehicles, and so on through to ships, inland waterways craft and docks craft. There are a number of other general headings and under each of them all the main services find a place.

This arrangement of material means that an M.P. wishing to make an assessment of the management of British Railways or of London Transport must turn to perhaps twenty or thirty different places in two volumes totalling 350 pages, threading his way past and disregarding the information on British Road Services, Inland Waterways and all the other services for which the Commission are responsible.

Each of the Commission's main units is operated as a largely self-contained enterprise and, for the most part, each has its own traditions and special problems. There are a few subjects in the Report, as with the scheme for equal pay for men and women, to which a Commission-wide reference is justified. Frequently, however, it is the practice to list under a general heading the developments that have taken place in the various services, or to describe only what has happened in British Railways by far the largest unit for which the Commission are responsible.

One cannot help feeling that, with the Report, Accounts and Statistics of the British Transport Commission, the policy of consolidation has produced a high degree of complexity with no compensating advantage. Most M.Ps., it is suggested, will be primarily interested in particular services, and will find it most convenient to have all the relevant information about each service brought together.

An alternative form of Report for the British Transport Commission would be self-contained sections dealing with each of the largest services, namely: (1) British Railways, (2) London Transport Executive, (3) Road Passenger Services, and (4) British Road (Haulage) Services. Docks, Harbours and Wharves; Ships and Marine; and Inland Waterways would make a kindred group of smaller services that might conveniently form a fifth self-contained section. Of the individual services this would leave only Hotels and Catering to be considered, and this could perhaps be combined with the service with which it has the closest association—presumably British Railways. Each of these five sections could be constructed to a standard pattern along the lines suggested earlier. The general part of the Commission's Report would then need to include only details of any reorganisation or change of policy affecting more than one of the individual services, financial summaries, and any necessary information on the small central services operated at the Commission's Headquarters.

The Report of Central Electricity Authority provides a further example of consolidated reporting. Details of the activities of the Authority itself and of the Area Electricity Boards in the aggregate are freely interwoven, and the operations of the Authority and of the Boards are not sharply divided

into separate sections, as presumably they could be. The Gas Council's Report makes such a division, at least in form, Part I dealing with the Council's responsibilities and Part II with the accounts and operations of the Area Boards.

In suggesting that consolidation is an unfortunate cause of complexity, it is not to be inferred that national summaries of the results of area organisations are not of the greatest value. A distinction must be drawn, however, between the aggregation of the results of organisations performing exactly the same task, and the aggregation (or consolidation) of the results of organisations with different tasks.

WHO SHOULD PUBLISH?

A further point for consideration is the question of who should publish the Annual Reports of the nationalised industries. Those of the corporations dealt with in this article are now published by the Stationery Office. This is a post-war innovation, however. Their pre-war counterparts, the Central Electricity Board and London Passenger Transport Board, published their own, and the Port of London Authority still does so. The fact that an Annual Report has to be laid before Parliament does not mean that it must be published by the Stationery Office. The C.E.B. and L.P.T.B. Reports had to be laid, as has the P.L.A. Report.

What are the pros and cons of publication by the Stationery Office? The main advantage to the Member of Parliament is that he is entitled to a personal copy without charge through the Vote Office of the House. Privately issued reports, however, he must either consult in the Library, or buy or beg from the publisher.

It is to be noted, however, that the Reports published by the industries and referred to earlier in this article, e.g., *Plan for Coal and Modernisation and Re-Equipment of British Railways*, have usually been produced to a more generous printing specification than that laid down for Parliamentary Papers by the Select Committee on Publications and Debates. The nationalised industries' own Reports do, in fact, accord with the standards of presentation followed by many reputable privately-owned commercial and industrial concerns in the reports to their shareholders. If, then, it were felt that a less austere style of production would result in Reports that were easier to read and to comprehend, there would be advantage in allowing the industries to publish the Reports themselves. If this course were adopted, the Boards would no doubt be glad to present a copy of their Reports to those Members of Parliament who wanted one, and to devise simple machinery by which this could be done.

THE PRESENT OPPORTUNITY

On 29th November, 1956, the House of Commons resolved:

"That a Select Committee be appointed to examine the Reports and Accounts of the nationalised industries established by Statute whose controlling Boards are appointed by Ministers of the Crown and whose annual receipts are not wholly or mainly derived from moneys provided by Parliament or advanced from the Exchequer."

In introducing the Motion to set up the Select Committee, Mr. R. A. Butler said: "These Reports and Accounts seem to us to provide a convenient summary of what the nationalised industries are doing, and I suppose that these documents would constitute the most practical agenda for the Committee that we could possibly devise."

The Government and the House of Commons no doubt intend the Select Committee, within the bounds which Mr. Butler postulated of the Committee's "good sense and good will," to examine and reach conclusions on the work and results achieved by the various industries. It would be a pity, however, if the fundamental question of the adequacy of the statutory provisions under which the Reports are now prepared were not reviewed at the present time. If this question should come outside the Select Committee's terms of reference, Members could doubtless find other means of examining these provisions and of considering whether, in the light of our now substantial experience, they are the best that could be devised. In particular, they might consider whether the present restriction to *Annual Reports* is wise, and whether it would not be advantageous to all concerned if the Boards were required "to present reports from time to time, including Annual Reports dealing with such matters as it is appropriate to report on at yearly intervals."

Such a formula would assist in the simplification of the Annual Reports, and would enable the long-term plans and those matters with a natural time-scale of several years to be reported on specially in the most intelligible and meaningful way. It would also allow Parliament to consider at suitable intervals of time certain broad administrative questions, e.g., research policy, depreciation policy, for all the industries at once, and to do so in a way which would be quite impossible with only a series of general annual reports of conventional style at their disposal.

Once the Select Committee starts to examine the substance of the Annual Reports, they may soon find themselves concerned with the question of their form. If that should happen, the Committee might well then be at the point of getting to grips with the really fundamental reason for the failure, if failure there has been, to make the Annual Reports documents which inspire the respect and confidence of Parliament. And that reason, it is suggested, is the absence hitherto of direct and constructive collaboration between Parliament and the Boards, and, where he has a responsibility, the Minister.

The Boards, for their part, seem to have tried to place a generous amount of information before Parliament. Ministers, it appears, have encouraged Boards to amplify rather than limit their Reports. But Parliament, although it has had two Select Committees "to consider the present methods by which the House of Commons is informed of the affairs of the nationalised industries" has given scant attention to these Reports, and declined to give a clear indication of the sort of documents it would really like to receive.

Given a willingness to experiment, the solution of this problem might not be difficult. What is needed is a working group of representative Members of Parliament and suitable officials charged with two main tasks: first, to examine the possibilities of devising different forms of Reports for some of the main industries and to produce several alternative versions of existing reports based on different set lengths or on various principles; second,

in the light of the results achieved by this experiment and the experience gained in carrying it out, to draw up a code of conventions which would make for brevity and effectiveness in the Reports, which would be acceptable to Parliament, and which should form a guide for the industries' future Reports.

Possibly the Select Committee on Nationalised Industries could carry out these tasks themselves; or they might prefer to arrange for a separate body to undertake them. Either way, no more than an administrative exercise would be involved, and it would cost very little to carry out. At the least, it would almost certainly secure useful savings in future printing costs. At the best, it would lead to greatly improved communication between the nationalised industries and Parliament—and to an increase in mutual confidence which would be of inestimable benefit to all concerned.

VITALITY IN ADMINISTRATION

By HERBERT MORRISON, BASIL SMALLPEICE, SIR
ALEXANDER FLECK, SIR WILFRED NEDEN, A. D.
BONHAM-CARTER, MAJOR-GENERAL G. N. RUSSELL

Pp. 78. 8s. 6d. (6s. to Members)

Every organisation must ensure that its staff remains alert and adaptable and does not fall into habits of routine and apathy. The contributors to this symposium show how vitality can be achieved and maintained in the administration both of public authorities and of business concerns.

Herbert Morrison, on the basis of his long experience of both central and local government, shows how the official is kept up to the mark by the elected representative, who in turn is called to account by the voters. Basil Smallpeice, Managing Director of British Overseas Airways Corporation, describes how commercial competition acts as a stimulus to energy and efficiency, and how his own organisation keeps abreast of the latest developments in its sphere. Sir Alexander Fleck, Chairman of Imperial Chemical Industries, deals with the effect on administration of scientific and technical advance, and shows how his company meets this challenge.

Sir Wilfred Neden, Chief Industrial Commissioner of the Ministry of Labour and National Service, emphasises the fundamental importance of sound human relations at all levels of both private enterprise and the public service, and stresses the need for a full and frank exchange of information and ideas throughout an organisation. A. D. Bonham-Carter, a Director of Unilever Ltd., describes the ways in which his own organisation ensures that its higher management is kept at concert pitch. In the concluding chapter Major-General G. N. Russell, General Manager of British Road Services, shows how the benefits of large-scale operation can be secured without sacrificing the advantages of the small undertaking.

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Departmental Financial Control

By A. S. MARRE

Mr. Marre is Under-Secretary for Finance and Accountant General in the Ministry of Health.

Parliament, Treasury and Department

THE main objects of our system for the control of Government expenditure, viewed as a whole, are :

- (a) To achieve, between the different services for which the Government accepts responsibility, a reasonably fair distribution of the total sum which the country can afford to devote to Government expenditure.
- (b) To ensure that the money so distributed is used for the purposes for which it was intended and in accordance with the statutory authority which exists for the expenditure.
- (c) To try to secure full value for the money which is distributed.

Major issues of government policy arise in connection with the first of these objects. How much *can* the country afford for Exchequer expenditure each year? If, in the Government's view, it can afford substantially less than the total which all Departments have between them suggested will be required to implement present policies, how is the gap to be bridged (assuming it cannot be fully bridged by proper and reasonable economies in the administration and operation of the services)? Have major changes of policies to be considered, and if so where should they be made? Political considerations full facts have to be put before Ministers, the pros and cons of possible alternatives have got to be weighed, the need for legislative action, if existing powers are insufficient, examined, and the probable reactions of Members of Parliament and of the voters taken into account. All this means high-level deliberations. Each Department will fully brief their own Minister with the detailed arguments for the money which they consider they require, and for and against any changes of policy. The Treasury will present to the Chancellor, and if need be to Ministers collectively, a balanced picture covering all Departments. Ministers collectively will then decide what is to be done.

Ministers having decided upon the policies to be followed, the three separate agencies—Parliament, the Treasury, and the Department itself—with responsibility for financial control, have their separate parts to play. This paper is concerned only with the Departmental aspect, but this cannot be looked at completely in isolation. The different controls exercised by the different agencies react closely upon each other. Thus, Parliament has to vote the annual Estimates; before that stage is reached the Estimates have to be prepared and submitted to Parliament—by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (in the case of the Civil Estimates)—after the Treasury have scrutinised and discussed the Estimates prepared by the different Departments; and further back still, the finance branches of the different Departments have had to prepare their own proposals for the Estimates, usually

after giving a pretty careful vetting to the suggestions put to them by their administrative colleagues. Again, when the money has been spent and Accounts have been presented to Parliament, Parliament through its Public Accounts Committee examines personally the Accounting Officers of those Departments of whom it wishes to ask questions, and also officers of the Treasury as necessary.

Some parts of the Parliamentary financial procedure—much of it descended from the days when Parliament was struggling to obtain control over the King's expenditure—may appear to many today to be antiquated and excessively formal. There is great insistence on regularity and propriety, in Government financial business (see (b) on page 169). It must be borne in mind that the successes of most Government Departments cannot be tested by an assessment of monetary profit or loss; and in the absence of that test of efficiency, it is inevitable that Parliament should insist as it does on strict compliance by Government Departments in the spending of money, with very detailed rules designed, for example, to provide very full safeguards against loss or misapplication of funds or stores. But we must take into account the cost in terms of clerical and administrative labour of carrying out these checks and safeguards. At the same time there is increasing emphasis these days in every part of the machine upon the importance of making the best possible use of public moneys (see (c) on page 169). A good deal of our thought is directed to trying to achieve that result while at the same time satisfying as far as possible the more formal requirements.

The Accounting Officer

The key person in the Departmental arrangements for financial control is the Accounting Officer. He is nominated by the Treasury and is almost invariably the Permanent Secretary of the Department. In his capacity as Accounting Officer he is answerable to Parliament, to whom—as well as to his Minister—he thus has a direct responsibility. It is curious to realise that the union of financial with administrative responsibility in the hands of the Permanent Secretary of a Department is of comparatively recent growth; in fact it really goes back only thirty or forty years. Before then it was customary for the Accounting Officer of a Department to be the Principal Finance Officer of that Department. This separation of financial from administrative policy was found to work unsatisfactorily. The administrators could, and did, override the views of the Principal Finance Officer, who was thus placed in a very difficult position when it came to answering for the expenditure. Moreover, finance came to be looked upon as a thing apart, a rather troublesome nuisance which could be disregarded or overridden without much compunction. When the First World War ended, various alternative methods of organisation were considered before the decision was taken to marry financial with administrative responsibility by putting them both on the Head of the Department. The theory was—and in my experience it works well in practice—that this arrangement would help to make quite sure that financial considerations were given full weight in the determination of a Department's policy. There still are—normally—separate streams in a Department for administration on the one hand, and finance on the other:

but if the Permanent Secretary is to be able to discharge his responsibility as Accounting Officer, close co-operation between the two branches is necessary, and in the last resort, if differences arise between the two branches of the office which cannot be otherwise resolved, the Permanent Secretary must decide, knowing that he is financially accountable for the expenditure as well as for the policy.

Treasury control in no way detracts from the Accounting Officer's own financial responsibility to Parliament, though it helps to determine the way in which the responsibility is discharged. The duties of the Accounting Officer in fact involve accepting personal responsibility for the efficient financial administration of his Department as well as for the accuracy of the accounts which he is required to sign; and entail the obligation to appear before the Public Accounts Committee of the House of Commons and answer any queries which are raised by the Committee upon the accounts. His duties were set out in some detail in a Treasury Minute of 1872 and restated and redefined in a new letter of appointment of Accounting Officers, introduced in January, 1953. In summary, the duties can perhaps be stated as follows:

- (a) To ensure that public funds entrusted to his care are properly safeguarded.
- (b) To ensure that these funds are applied only to purposes intended by Parliament.
- (c) To ensure that the Treasury are consulted, both on technical matters affecting the accounts, on other matters relating to the formal propriety and regularity of transactions, and on the wider aspects of financial administration.
- (d) To ensure that, within the Department itself, financial considerations are taken into account at all stages, both in framing and reaching policy decisions and in executing those decisions.
- (e) To ensure that the organisation and staffing of the office are sound.

It is clear that although the Accounting Officer is regarded as personally responsible for the accounts which he signs, the phrase "personally responsible" is not to be interpreted literally. He cannot, and is not in practice expected to, satisfy himself in detail about the propriety of all the Department's financial transactions, about the accuracy of the accounts, or about the financial wisdom of every individual project. What he is expected to do in discharging his personal responsibility is to ensure that the organisation of the office is such that proper consideration will be given to these matters at the right levels; and that he himself will be brought in if any substantial difficulty arises. For the efficiency of the organisation and staffing he will have an Establishments Branch, to which he must look to discharge the ordinary day-to-day responsibility of seeing that the office is run efficiently and without excessive numbers of staff. For the financial aspect he will usually have a Finance Department, which will include an accounts branch and to which he must largely look to discharge on his behalf the other duties summarised above.

I have said that the Accounting Officer must answer for the accounts which he signs, to the Public Accounts Committee of the House of Commons.

He appears personally before that Committee and is expected in particular to be able to justify items which have been commented on by the Comptroller and Auditor-General; or, if he cannot justify them, to say what he proposes to do.

The Comptroller and Auditor-General is a servant of the House of Commons and is in charge of the Exchequer and Audit Department. Some of the staff of that Department are responsible for the formal duty of seeing that moneys paid from the Consolidated Fund (that is, the Exchequer's account at the Bank of England) are correct and are authorised by statute, and that all revenues due to the Exchequer are paid into the Consolidated Fund; but most of them are concerned with the business of auditing Departments' accounts. The larger departments have Exchequer and Audit staff working in their offices. They have the right to call for files and official documents generally, and to examine the accounts books and other books recording financial transactions of any kind. Where, as a result of their examination of these different kinds of books and documents, they find an item which suggests to them that there has been some irregularity of expenditure, whether because some accepted procedure has not been followed or because the Treasury have not been consulted where they should have been, or, more generally, where there appears to have been some unjustified extravagance or wastefulness, they ask for an explanation from the Department; and where a satisfactory explanation cannot be given and the point is of any substance it may well be that they will put the matter up to their superiors, and that the Comptroller and Auditor-General, as their Head, when certifying (as he is required to do) the accounts of the Government Department concerned, will make specific reference to that particular item. It is on items which have been discovered in this way that the Public Accounts Committee usually cross-examines the Accounting Officer. The Committee (the chairman of which is, by convention, a member of the Opposition) normally has fifteen members (from both sides of the House), and though it is infrequent for all members to be present, those who are present are usually members who take a keen interest in the proceedings and have a large number of questions to ask. After the cross-examination, the Public Accounts Committee will in due course produce a report drawing special attention to matters on which they have remained dissatisfied, often suggesting some change in procedure or practice or some speeding up of progress which they consider to be slow; and upon these items—as well as on any other items which are brought out in the course of the next year—the Accounting Officer knows that he may have to answer again next time. The fact that there is this cross-examination which has to be faced annually makes it inevitable that the Accounting Officer will take a very close interest in financial considerations and financial procedure throughout the year; and that is, indeed, part of his responsibility as Accounting Officer. For any irregular or unauthorised expenditure the Public Accounts Committee can indeed, if they so decide, recommend that the Accounting Officer should be surcharged, i.e., called upon to meet the whole or part of the unjustified expenditure from his own pocket. In that event, unless the Treasury are prepared to relieve him of the liability by submitting an estimate to Parliament covering the expenditure, he would in fact have to meet it himself. The power of surcharge is very

rarely exercised by the Public Accounts Committee, but the fact that it is in the background must weigh with an Accounting Officer from time to time in deciding what course to follow.

It is by no means an easy thing for an Accounting Officer to discharge all his responsibilities without the occurrence of some mistakes or irregularities within his Department; his position becomes considerably more complicated when he has also to answer—as has the Accounting Officer of the Ministry of Health—for the activities of outside bodies financed by the Exchequer, like those set up under the National Health Service. Substantial financial responsibility has, in accordance with deliberate Government policy, been delegated by the Ministry of Health to the Hospital Boards which have been set up to administer the hospital service. A fair amount of central guidance is given and some powers are reserved to the centre. But a very wide measure of financial freedom has been delegated, and whatever precautions are taken there is bound to be a good deal more scope for irregularity and extravagance in a large hospital service administered by nearly 400 different authorities with different histories and traditions. Yet, since the service is one for which the Minister is fully answerable to Parliament, the Accounting Officer is expected to answer to the Public Accounts Committee for any inadequacies of all these different bodies.

The Principal Finance Officer, who heads the branch responsible for assisting the Accounting Officer to discharge his duties, has also a special position within the Department. His appointment requires the Prime Minister's approval, and he has the right to represent his views direct to the Minister if he feels that necessary. This special position is a further indication of the importance attached to the proper discharge of a Department's financial responsibilities. The work of the finance branch falls into two main categories: the accounts work and the work of finance. These different parts of the work overlap and are not always carried out in different branches, but it is convenient to deal with them as though they were.

Accounts Branch

It is the duty of the accounts branch to see not only to the issue of sums which are due to be paid and the collection of revenue due to the Department, to the preparation and keeping of the accounts, and to compliance with all the technical and formal procedures that have to be satisfied, but also to ensure that the safeguards to which Parliament attaches importance, particularly in relation to the custody of money and of stores, are observed.

Government accounting has its own special features and it is not usual for professional accountants to be employed in this work, though there are some special branches of Government accounting work (particularly in the trading services or in contract work) where professional accountants are used quite extensively. The work naturally varies in complexity from one Department to another—from the smaller Departments where little more is involved than the procedures to be followed in the payment of salaries, to the larger Departments where very large sums may be handled, where there may be large numbers of local offices with their own "sub-accountants," and where there may be dealings with foreign countries.

The emphasis placed by Parliament on regularity and propriety in financial dealings is reflected in the way in which the accounts are kept. Full information has to be recorded about any loss or irregularity involving even quite small sums and about any unusual transaction. This is, as I have implied, probably inevitable where public funds are involved and the ordinary tests of business efficiency are not available. It does, however, lead to insistence on safeguards aimed at avoiding losses, which, while much the same in kind as in other large organisations, are probably more elaborate and detailed. "Separation of duties" is a cardinal doctrine in Government accounting systems (as in those of other large organisations): thus, for example, a person who prepares the pay sheets of the staff is never supposed to handle the money and pay out the wages himself, and great importance is attached to this separation. Some Departments also operate a system of "internal audit" or check, the functions of the "internal auditor" being to see that there are proper systems for such matters as the control of cash and stores, for the receipt and payment of moneys and so on, that these systems are in fact operated, and that payments are made in accordance with any relevant regulations, etc. These arrangements may mean that more staff are needed than a simpler system with fewer safeguards would require. The aim is to try and strike a balance between safeguards and reasonable risks.

Something has already been said on page 172 about the auditing of accounts of Government Departments by the Comptroller and Auditor-General and his staff.

The insistence by Parliament on strict regularity in Government accounting methods and financial transactions has inevitably had a direct effect on the procedures followed in the National Health Service, where the cost is met directly by the Government. If it is right that there should be "separation of duties" in the handling of wages in a Government Department, is it not also right that there should be "separation of duties" in a hospital? The Comptroller and Auditor-General certainly thinks so and so does the Public Accounts Committee; and we have said so too; but there is a very large number of very small hospitals with a small number of staff and fairly remote from any other hospital, and there is no doubt that in a good many of these hospitals to achieve effective "separation of duties" means the employment of extra staff (or the waste of a considerable amount of time by requiring the staff of other hospitals to travel a good deal). We have here too to try and strike a balance in the light of experience.

Hospital authorities have, of course, their own accounting systems, which differ in some ways from normal Government accounting systems. One particular point of difference is perhaps worth mentioning here. Government accounts are normally on a "cash" basis; that is, they record the actual sums of money which have been paid out and received during the financial year. Hospital accounts, on the other hand, are on an income and expenditure basis; that is, they record the amounts receivable and sums payable *in respect of* services provided or supplies issued during the financial year—even though the money may not actually be paid in that financial year. The accounts of hospital authorities are not subject to audit by the staff of the Comptroller and Auditor-General (though they have the right to, and in fact do, examine the accounts). Instead they are audited by auditors appointed by the Minister

of Health. These auditors have much the same functions in relation to hospital accounts as the Exchequer and Audit staff have in relation to Government accounts; they are concerned with satisfying themselves that money spent has been spent properly and on purposes for which the expenditure was authorised, and they are also expected to draw attention to any apparent examples of wastefulness and irregularity. By this system of audit, which is unusual in relation to Government expenditure and stems from the special set-up of the Health Service, the Department is able to keep hospital authorities alert and take up with the authorities points to which the auditors draw attention. It is part of the whole system of safeguards in the expenditure of public money which have had to be developed to meet the requirements of Parliament.

Finance Branch

The duties of the Finance Branch are on the whole wider and more interesting than those of the Accounts Branch; in particular it is its duty to see that financial considerations are given full weight in the formation of policy and to consult with the Treasury whenever necessary in so doing.

What is meant by seeing that financial considerations are given full weight in the formation of policy? I think there are two main aspects:

- (a) Taking into account not only the merits (including the cost) of a particular proposal and the other expenditure which the Department has already incurred or to which it is committed, but also the general financial position of the country, is it reasonable to proceed with the proposal?
- (b) If it is reasonable, is the proposal one which is calculated to secure the best return for the money to be spent?

The job of the Finance Branch is to make sure that these aspects are properly considered before a final decision is taken. It is a positive, and not a negative, function. The Finance Branch does not, and should not, have the last word; but it should, and does, see that decisions are taken after full consideration of possible difficulties, alternatives and objections.

It is not unfair to ask why a separate Finance Branch is necessary at all. Ought not the administrators themselves to be left to ask themselves the kind of questions mentioned in the preceding paragraph, and to settle the policy to be followed only when they have answered them satisfactorily? In theory the answer is yes. In practice, it does not—at any rate not always—work out like that. An administrator may tend to be an enthusiastic advocate of a particular policy, so much so that he may tend not to attach sufficient weight to the cost which it involves. He will often need some brake. Again, immersed as he is in the general issues of policy which arise, he has not always the time to familiarise himself with the full financial background to the Department's activities or with the different kinds of financial yardstick which can be applied to various projects. Moreover, he may tend to allow his judgment to be influenced unduly by the Department's professional advisers, who may concern themselves little with questions of cost. The Finance Branch, by its constant preoccupation with the one branch of work and by its regular contacts with the Finance Branches of other Departments and with the Treasury, acquires a specialised knowledge which is bound to help it to make a positive

contribution. For example, it can advise on the kind of statistics which ought to be got out if possible to measure the financial results of the policy ; on the proper interpretation of such statistics ; and on possible ways of improving them. From its independent standpoint, it may be able to point to alternative courses of action which might cost less money and be of little, if any, less value than a proposal which a particular Division is anxious to press on with. It may be able to anticipate difficulties or objections which the enthusiasm of the administrator may have minimised or overlooked. And it should always have prominently in mind the rate of expenditure already being incurred by the Department as a whole, since the development of a service may well have to be postponed if the money is not available within the total sum voted by Parliament. The powers that be are sufficiently seized of the value of having a separate Finance Branch, as mentioned on page 173, to have given the head of the Branch a special position ; not that in practice he much wants or needs to take advantage of that position—indeed it would be an admission of failure to secure sensible working arrangements within the Department if he did.

All this is not to say that financial considerations must be the pre-occupation of the Finance Branch alone. It is the administrators who ultimately spend the money ; and it is they who must be persuaded to save it. It is indeed an essential part of the job of the Finance Branch to keep the administrative divisions finance-conscious. The more they succeed in this, the less troublesome will be the duties of the Finance Branch. In a recent paper, the Comptroller and Auditor-General suggested that the existence of a strong Finance Branch might tend to weaken the sense of financial responsibility that should exist among administrators. That is not my own personal view. I think the two go largely together ; and a strong Finance Branch and a strong sense of financial responsibility among the administrators is the ideal position to attain. Both sides have to work together as a team, with joint discussion from the very earliest stages of the development of policy, and if either overshadows the other too much the result is almost bound to be unfortunate. At the top of the Department, the administrative and financial responsibilities are joined together in the Permanent Secretary, and the closer the link between the officers in the different branches, the easier it becomes for him to discharge that responsibility.

I would myself, with this in view, like to see more interchange between the administrative and Finance Branches. A sense of economy and financial responsibility cannot be the monopoly of any individual or Branch, and the more people we can train to look at this as well as the other aspects of policy, the more useful it is bound to be.

Regular contact is maintained between the Finance Branch and the Treasury. Apart from satisfying themselves that public money is being spent with strict propriety, the Treasury have the responsibility for doing, from the wider national standpoint, what the Finance Branch does within its own narrower field—that is, in particular, to try and ensure that value for money is being obtained in the policies being followed and that the resources made available to the Department are being used wisely and prudently. This involves regular correspondence and discussion between officers of the Finance Branch and the Treasury, not only at Estimates time, when the detailed

proposals of Departments for the next financial year—put forward after the Finance Branch have vetted the proposals of the administrative Divisions—are examined, but whenever, for example, a new departure from policy is proposed, whenever a new or unusual point of financial difficulty crops up, and whenever it is proposed to take any action involving expenditure greater than that within which the Treasury have authorised the Department to act at its own discretion.

The relationship of the Finance Branch to the administrative side, and also its relationships with the Treasury, become more complex when there is an organisation such as the National Health Service, the cost of which falls on the Exchequer, but which yet enjoys, by deliberate Government policy, a wide measure of autonomy. Within the hospital service, for example, there is at various levels an independent administrative and financial set-up. To what extent is it reasonable to encroach by central direction and control upon the independence which the local bodies are intended to enjoy ? On important questions of medical policy, the administrative Divisions of the Ministry give general guidance—consulting with the Finance Branch as necessary. Subject to that, the planning and execution of the development of the hospital service is left largely in the hands of the local bodies and of their administrative, professional, and financial staff—the financial staff of the local bodies having much the same responsibility for financial advice to their own authorities as have the Department's own finance staffs at the centre. How far, in this kind of organisation, ought the Department's own administrative and Finance Branches to attempt to control the activities of the administrative and finance staffs in the field ? In fact, we have worked out what really amounts to a compromise :

- (1) Before the beginning of each financial year, within the total which we expect to be voted to us by Parliament, we allocate to each Hospital Board a total sum of money for the running costs of its hospitals in the following year. Within that total, they have more or less complete freedom to spend, though in view of the importance of maintaining the assets of the service, we do now " earmark " the sum included for building maintenance work in each Board's allocation so as to ensure its use for that purpose alone.
- (2) Some general guidance—but not direction—is from time to time given from the Department as to priorities. For example, we may think at a particular time that the part of the service most urgently in need of as much money as can be spared is the mental hospital service ; and we should encourage the Boards to devote as much of their resources as they reasonably can to that part of the service. In this general guidance we include points to which we know Parliament attaches a good deal of importance in the spending of public money, such as safeguards for cash and the need to keep inventories up to date.
- (3) We also circulate statistical and other information designed to show whether one hospital is being more expensive and or less efficient than another, for example, figures showing for each hospital the weekly cost per bed ; the average occupancy of the beds ; staffing ratios ; and so on.

With the help of this kind of material, we expect the Boards to study and improve upon their own performances.

- (4) We also exercise some control over new developments by requiring details of building schemes or projects for the acquisition of premises above a prescribed figure to be submitted to us for approval.
- (5) We have a system for controlling manpower numbers by broad groups.
- (6) We have also lately introduced as an experiment a hospital O & M service which will—by invitation of the hospital authorities—investigate particular kinds of procedures—the system of records, stores accounts, etc.—and the organisation of particular units.

Local Government Finance in South Africa

By L. P. GREEN

Dr. Green's analysis of the financial position of Local Authorities in South Africa shows a striking similarity to the position in the United Kingdom.

TOWARDS the end of 1956, the Union Government set up a committee to enquire into the financial relations between the central government, the provinces and local authorities in South Africa. The committee is now setting about its formidable task, and its investigation is none too soon. South Africa has not escaped the revolution in financial relations between central and local governments that has swept through most of the more advanced countries of the world in the last 35 years. This revolution has had two main causes: the growing demand for communal services and equipment of all kinds consequent upon the rapid urbanisation of national populations, and the lack of a corresponding growth in local financial resources because of the dependence upon the local assessment rate. As estimated below, the gap between local financial needs and resources in South Africa now stands at roughly £20 million, and it is growing by over £1 million a year.

This gap began to appear during the depression of 1931 and 1932, when demands made upon all levels of government started to multiply. Central and provincial revenue resources were able to respond to these demands because of the fertility of the income tax. At first local revenues also responded, not by way of the rate, which proved to be a relatively inelastic source of revenue, but by way of trading profits. The Second World War had a catastrophic effect on trading undertakings, however, and trading profits fell from 25.7 per cent. to 7.4 per cent. of municipal revenues between 1938 and 1948. They have since remained relatively stationary. Municipal revenues thus lost their buoyancy and the gap between local financial needs and resources has rapidly expanded in recent years.

The Growth in Demand for Communal Services and Equipment

The growth in demand for communal services and equipment has had two main causes: a rapidly increasing urbanisation of the population, and the setting of higher standards of service.

Between 1921 and 1951, the rural white population declined by 99,000 people, while the urban white population increased by 1,224,000 and from 56 per cent. to 78 per cent. of the total white population. The non-white rural population continued to increase, by 2,185,000, but the non-white urban population increased by 2,402,000, and the proportion of urban non-whites rose from 16 per cent. to 33 per cent. Taking all races together, the urban population rose from 25 per cent. to 42 per cent. of the total population. On the basis of the changes taking place between 1946 and 1951, it may be estimated that about 50 per cent. of the Union's population now lives in its urban areas.

This extraordinary shift in population coincided with an economic and technological revolution that made far-reaching demands upon existing

municipal services and brought new ones in its train. The increasing use of motor transport, particularly the private passenger car and heavy-duty vehicle, introduced serious problems in street construction and maintenance and in traffic control and parking. Rapid industrialisation led to heavy expenditure on health, housing and public services generally, without equivalent return. The influx of natives into urban areas, as a result of the economic revolution, imposed further burdens on municipal government, since they could contribute little towards the cost of the extra services that had to be provided for them.

The Central and Provincial Authorities were naturally affected by this urbanisation of the population, but to a lesser degree than the Union's Local Authorities, as the latter have always provided most of the communal services and equipment demanded in the urban areas. Between 1921 and 1952, the only major changes made in the distribution of functions between the several levels of government were the transfer of poor relief and, in Natal, police from the Local to the Provincial and Central Authorities, and the development of social welfare services as a State activity. The direct burden of urbanisation fell for the most part on the shoulders of the Local Authorities.

It is difficult to estimate with any accuracy the part played by higher standards in increasing the demand for communal services and equipment. Certainly, however, demands for higher standards in personal and environmental health services, whether arising locally or coming from higher authority by way of legislation and regulation, entailed a heavy additional financial drain on municipal resources. The principle of *apartheid*, the provision of separate amenities, and the new standards advocated in town planning involving larger stands, wider streets, grass verges, double carriage-ways, open spaces, green belts, parks and recreation grounds, also added to the cost of municipal servicing. And, although the individual expenses incurred in social welfare and allied activities may have been small at the local level, their accumulation led eventually to substantial outlays.

The Relative Decline in Local Revenues

The main sources of local revenue have been the local rate, charges for services, trading profits, licence fees and rents. Of these sources, charges for services are mainly for sewerage and refuse removal. Apart from trading undertakings, the remaining field of municipal activities must be financed for the most part from rates and trading profits. Table I on page 181 is concerned with these two sources of revenue and with the decline in their contribution to total municipal revenues. It also throws into relief the main trends in national, provincial and local taxation.

Table I speaks for itself. Between 1919 and 1952, national and provincial tax revenues rose from 12.4 per cent. to 18.6 per cent. of the national income, but municipal revenues rose from 1.9 per cent. to only 2.7 per cent. Moreover, the latter rose to a peak of 3.5 per cent. in 1939 and then fell year by year to a level in 1952 below that of 1929. In short, while by using trading profits, municipal revenues marched ahead of national and provincial tax revenues in the early years of the revolution in financial relations, since the War years they have fallen increasingly behind. This is confirmed by Table II on page 182. The reasons for this decline are also given in Table I. Between

TABLE I
National Income, National and Provincial Revenues and Municipal Revenues, 1919-52

	1919	1929	1939	1949	1952
	£ million 193	£ million 271	£ million 395	£ million 878	£ million 1,273
National Income					
National and Provincial Tax Revenues	24	36	56	171	237
Percentage of National Income	12.4%	13.2%	14.2%	19.5%	18.6%
Municipal Revenues*	4	8	14	27	34
Percentage of National Income	1.9%	3.1%	3.5%	3.1%	2.7%
Municipal Rate Revenues	2	3	5	11	14
Percentage of National Income	0.9%	1.2%	1.3%	1.3%	1.1%
Municipal Trading Profits	0.3	2	4	1	2
Percentage of National Income	0.2%	0.7%	1%	0.1%	0.2%

*Deducting trading expenditure from trading income and including grants, refunds and subsidies.

(Source: Official Union Year Books and Industrial Development Corporation, S.A., Ltd., Statistical Division)

1919 and 1939, rate revenues rose from 0.9 per cent. to 1.3 per cent. of the national income; trading profits rose from 0.2 per cent. to 1 per cent. By 1952, however, rate revenues had fallen to 1.1 per cent. and trading profits to 0.2 per cent. again.

Thus, although the direct burden of urbanisation fell mainly on the shoulders of the local authorities, their share in the aggregate revenue resources of all levels of government actually declined between 1919 and 1952 from 14 per cent. to 12 per cent. Moreover, the municipal revenue statistics given in Table I include central grants, refunds and subsidies as well as trading profits, and the rating statistics therefore give a truer reflection of the municipalities' plight. Rate revenues fell from 7 per cent. to only 4 per cent. of total government revenues. This decline, confirmed by Table II on page 182, is a clear measure of the relative inelasticity of the main local tax and its inability to respond to the demands made upon it by rapid urbanisation in spite of the rise in property values resulting from such urbanisation.

The Gap between Local Needs and Resources

In a very rough manner, it is possible to measure the increasing gap between the growing financial needs of Local Authorities arising from the urbanisation of the Union's population, and their declining capacity to meet such needs.

This is attempted in Table II, on the basis that in 1919 government sources of revenue were generally adequate at all levels, and that the relationship then obtaining between the *per capita* incidence of taxation and *per capita* income may be taken as a yardstick with which to measure the adequacy of taxation in later years. It must be noted, however, that the use of this yardstick must leave out of account the growing needs of local authorities arising from the urbanisation that took place after 1919. It is difficult to say how much is left out, but it is significant that the Table shows the incidence of national and provincial taxation to have more than doubled between 1919 and 1952, and an increasing proportion of personal incomes to have accrued to the national and provincial governments. For municipal revenues to have grown at the same speed, their index number should have been 497 in 1952 and not merely 336 as indicated by the yardstick.¹

TABLE II

National Income, National and Provincial Tax Revenues, Municipal Revenues and Municipal Rate Revenues per capita; 1919-52

Year	National Income per capita		National and Provincial Tax Revenues per capita		Municipal Revenues per capita (Urban Population)		Municipal Rate Revenues per capita (Urban Population)	
	Amount	Index No.	Amount	Index No.	Amount	Index No.	Amount	Index No.
1919	£29.4	100	£3.7	100	£2.6	100	£1.3	100
1929	£32.5	111	£4.3	116	£3.3	127	£1.2	92
1939	£39.0	133	£5.5	149	£4.2	162	£1.5	115
1949	£72.3	246	£14.1	381	£5.5	212	£2.3	177
1952	£98.8	336	£18.4	497	£6.1	235	£2.5	192

(Source : Union Census Returns and Table I above)

Table II shows only too clearly the failure of local taxation to march in step with the growth in the national income, and the more than proportionate growth in national and provincial taxation. On the basis of the *per capita* incidence of taxation in 1919, the gap between municipal needs and resources in 1952 can be estimated at an index number of roughly 100, i.e., £2 6s. *per capita*. With an estimated urban population of 5,600,000, this means a short-fall of £14,560,000. In other words, for municipal revenues to bear the same relationship to national income in 1952 as they did in 1919, they should have

¹The assumptions that Government sources of revenue were generally adequate at all levels in 1919 and that municipal revenues should at least have kept in step with the increase in the national income, are both reasonable and more difficult to deny than to support. Not only do the trends in the two Tables tend to confirm them—if anything, they indicate that municipal revenues were inadequate in 1919—but the rate of expansion and urbanisation of the population was comparatively slow up to that date and the pressure on sources of revenue thus relatively light at all levels.

amounted to at least £48 million instead of £34 million. Today, 1957, the short-fall must be in the region of £20 million, if the trends from 1919 to 1952 have continued. Even so, this is a most conservative estimate as it virtually ignores the growing needs of rapid urbanisation from 1919 onwards, since which date the Central Government has loaded Local Authorities with ever-widening responsibilities under health, housing, native administration, separate amenities, group areas, food and drugs, and slum clearance legislation.

The table also outlines the history of the gap between local financial needs and resources. Even by 1929, the local rate was failing to keep in step with the growth in national income, and increased reliance was being placed on trading profits to bolster up local revenues. By 1939, while total municipal revenues had increased faster than either the national income or national and provincial tax revenues, local rate revenues had fallen still further behind. The favourable position of municipal revenues was thus artificial and its vulnerability was clearly revealed once trading profits began to slump after the War. By 1949 the true position was only too evident, and the failure to find any local revenue source to take the place of trading profits widened the gap at an alarming speed.

Local Authorities were very much aware of their vulnerable financial position before the War. Representatives were first made by the United Municipal Executive in 1933 in connection with the derating of Government property, and in 1937 a comprehensive memorandum on financial relations was submitted to the Minister of the Interior. A number of interviews took place between 1938 and 1941 and further memoranda were prepared in 1944, 1946 and 1949. By then, expenditure on housing, public health, social welfare and native administration was accounting for 27.5 per cent. of the total annual expenditure of nineteen major municipalities, in spite of the fact that central refunds amounted to only 6 per cent. of their total income. Since new sources of revenue had not been made available, the strain had to be taken by existing sources never designed to support the demands made upon them by rapid urbanisation.

The memorandum prepared in 1949 by the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, S.A., for the United Municipal Executive, covered sixteen heads of income and expenditure, including health services, housing, assessment rates on Government properties, motor vehicle licences, traffic control and trading and liquor licences. As shown in an addendum published in February, 1955, subsequent discussions on the basis of this memorandum with the Minister of Finance, other Ministers and the Provincial Administrations resulted in a small measure of agreement in regard to health refunds, but not in respect of sub-economic housing, assessment rates on Government properties and motor vehicle licences, which were three of the main items. In October, 1953, a further memorandum was prepared by the Institute entitled *Other Possible Sources of Revenue, etc.*, reviewing the history of the negotiations related above and making twelve further submissions on alternative revenue sources. In spite of the weight of evidence in support of these submissions, no immediate action was taken by either the central or provincial authorities except in Natal in connection with motor vehicle licence revenues, and the problem of the gap between ends and means thus still awaits solution. The recent Government policy of

restricting capital supplies to Local Authorities has in fact tended to widen the gap, since some of the latter have had to set aside considerable sums from current revenues to finance capital development which would normally have been met from loan moneys.

Conclusions

It is too early to forecast the recommendations of the committee of enquiry, but it cannot have much room for manoeuvre. If it examines the possibilities of transferring functions from Local Authorities to other bodies, it cannot do much more than suggest that the central government or provincial administrations should assume the financial responsibility for personal health services, sub-economic housing, ambulance services and airports, whether or not these continue to be locally administered. A gap of some £15 million will still remain and, short of suggesting further increases in central subsidies, the committee will be forced to turn to new sources of local revenue as the main solution to its problem. Here, apart from the re-rating of Government property, which might bring in £1 million a year, the answer can lie only in the directions of either a re-allocation of resources in the non-national tax field, or new local taxation—or a combination of both.

As regards a re-allocation of non-national sources of revenue, Local Authorities have already submitted that two-thirds of the motor vehicle licence revenues, one-half of the entertainment tax revenues, and one-third of the betting, totalisator and auction sales taxes should be transferred to them from the provinces. However, together with the re-rating of Government properties, this action could no more than halve a £15 million gap between local needs and resources, and there seems to be no escape from recommending one new source of local revenue. The most fertile source would be a local income tax, to be collected provincially along with the central income tax. A rate of 2d. or, at the most 3d., in the £, would effectively seal the gap, if companies were included. The alternative is probably a sales tax, but it would not comply so fully with the canons of taxation nor be such a fertile source of revenue. Moreover, a local income tax is actually no innovation to South Africa, as it was levied at the Cape between 1814 and 1839 before the present assessment rate took its place.

The University Grants Committee

By DR. H. V. WISEMAN

*This is an addendum to Dr. Wiseman's article in the Spring, 1956, issue of
"Public Administration."*

IN January, 1955, the Treasury hoped that the Public Accounts Committee would not press its proposal that certain proceedings and papers relating to non-recurrent grants to universities be open to inspection by the Comptroller and Auditor-General at least until the publication of a report on the subject by a special committee of four. On 12th February, 1957, in a Special Report from the P.A.C., the Treasury rejected the proposal. Perhaps at last the P.A.C. may accept defeat in the twelve years' war of attrition with the Treasury on the degree of autonomy proper to the University Grants Committee. Despite increased estimates for the next quinquennium and the publicity given to them, to increased salaries for university staffs, to the cost of awards to university students, and to the requirements of the "bulge," there has been no significant dissent from the Treasury decision. The following note summarises the stages whereby this decision has been reached and brings the original article up to date.

The special committee of four, under the Chairmanship of Sir George Gater, was appointed by the U.G.C. in June, 1954. Its terms of reference, suggested by the Treasury, were "to report . . . whether any, and if so what, changes are necessary to secure that universities' methods of contracting, and of recording and controlling, expenditure are reasonably designed and properly applied, to ensure effective safeguards against waste, extravagance, or other abuse." The Committee reported in January, 1956. Each university completed an elaborate questionnaire and was, in addition, visited by Sir George Gater and the Secretary; the procedure of the Ministries of Works and of Education, of the London County Council, and of the U.G.C. itself, was examined; the Committee held 24 meetings.

Its final report covered over 20 pages and ran into over 100 paragraphs. All is practical detail and relevant. The summary of conclusions and recommendations contains 66 points. Seldom can an O & M team have done its work more thoroughly. In a letter to all the university institutions concerned, dated 22nd June, 1956, the U.G.C. expressed "gratification at finding how nearly their own practice conforms with that recommended" and described the report as "a most valuable statement of the procedures which should be followed." The U.G.C., however, qualified its acceptance of 16 of the 66 recommendations. Details of the matters referred to in this and the preceding paragraph are contained in the White Paper *Methods used by Universities of Contracting and of Recording and Controlling Expenditure* (Cmd. 9) published in November, 1956. Armed with this authoritative survey to supplement the previous points made by the P.A.C., the Treasury proceeded to formulate its proposals. The result was the Special Report of 12th February, 1957.

The Treasury reiterated its complete confidence in the determination and ability of the U.G.C. to discharge its functions "with a full sense of

responsibility to the Government and the universities"—an adequate retort to the doubts engendered by the sustained attack of the P.A.C. and the attitude expressed by one question which went so far as to ask whether the U.G.C.'s estimates were "made in good faith!" Four main features of control were then set out:

1. The Government must determine the total amount of commitments (for non-recurrent grants) which may be entered into in a given year.
2. The University Grants Committee must determine the projects on which this money may be spent and also the cost of all such projects. (On point 1 and 2 the Treasury was satisfied with existing practice.)
3. The universities themselves must ensure economy in expenditure. (On this point the Treasury "trust that the P.A.C. will agree that the proposals of the Gater Committee give solid assurance that proper financial practices will in fact be followed.")
4. The Treasury must be provided with information (available also to the Comptroller) "to show that the total commitments entered into have not exceeded the approval given by the Government, to ensure that the accounting officer is aware of the main projects on which the U.G.C. has decided that the money should be spent, and also to ensure that the Treasury are able to review the position in good time if the pattern of expenditure in a particular year seems likely to be widely different from that envisaged by Parliament in voting the grant."

It is on the fourth point that a number of changes are to be introduced. Each university institution will notify its auditor of every non-recurrent grant received and its purpose. The auditor will be requested to give a certificate, in general terms, that such grant was duly applied to such purpose. The U.G.C. will obtain from the universities monthly claims in respect of certain building projects and quarterly claims in respect of all others. The U.G.C. will provide the Treasury with quarterly statements based on these claims, and these statements will be open to inspection by the Comptroller. If the latter raises points with the Treasury, the U.G.C. might be asked to supply further information. If, after the estimate for a year has been approved, the U.G.C. wish to alter substantially—defined as more than 10 per cent.—the distribution of the non-recurrent grant, it will seek the Treasury's approval.

Though the precise significance of these changes can be understood only by reference to the original article and, indeed, to the more detailed material on which it was based, one thing seems certain. Beyond the point now reached—and as *The Times* remarked on 13th February, 1957, if this kind of thing goes much further they will be putting somebody in to count the petty cash—it is impossible to go without upsetting the delicately balanced mechanism of the U.G.C. We may again echo *The Times* and say "thank goodness the Treasury have once again returned a firm answer to the P.A.C. over the question of university grants . . . the solution which was hit upon has worked extremely well. It is admired by many other countries. A typically successful political-administrative device of the kind the British are adept at evolving, it should now be left to get on with its job."

Valuation and Rating in Scotland

By A. CURRIE

The Depute Town Chamberlain of the Burgh of Hamilton explains the changes that are taking place in Scottish law and the reasons for them.

THE main provisions of the Valuation and Rating (Scotland) Act, 1956, abolished at one blow two peculiarly Scottish institutions—the local rate payable by owners of heritable property and the direct association which existed between the valuation of property for rating purposes and the rent at which it was let. When the Act comes fully into effect in 1961, some of the long-standing differences between Scottish and English practice will have been removed: but it would be a mistake to imagine that a common practice would then obtain in both countries.

In 1956 the position in Scotland was that each geographical area was subject to one rating authority only and that each rating authority levied only one rate. Broadly speaking, the rate was divided equally between the owners and the occupiers of heritable property; there were certain exceptions in the Burghs where historically the occupiers bore responsibility for the costs of a limited number of services. In addition, a separate water rate was imposed under the Water (Scotland) Act, 1949, and a limited number of special rates were found in the Administrative Counties. This consolidation had been achieved by the Rating (Scotland) Act, 1926, and the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1929. These respectively provided for the imposition of rates by one authority and for the consolidation of the many rates which had hitherto been levied for separate services.

The chief weakness of the system thrown up by the years was the existence of the owners' rate. This had no counterpart in England and to it there has been attributed the blame for certain shortcomings in Scotland.

The First Sorn Committee

In consequence of criticisms over a long period and in anticipation of the need for a large number of new houses once the war was over, a Departmental Committee was appointed by the Secretary of State for Scotland in 1943 under the chairmanship of Lord Sorn to review, among other things, "the effect of the existing system of rating on the provision of houses, and the question whether it is practicable and desirable to limit the maximum amount payable in respect of owners' rates." Its report appeared in 1945 (Cmd. 6595). The Committee found that the rating system was a serious deterrent to building by private landlords, and that the blame for this might fairly be placed upon the owners' rate. In the first place, this rate was exigible as soon as building was complete; the liability awaited the arrival neither of a purchaser nor of an occupier. Hence, builders tended to work only for an assured market, and had little incentive to engage in the same kind of speculative building which had for many years prevailed in England. Again, where property was let, the return on the investment fell with each increase in the owners' share of the rate. The landlords' return might have

been secured by passing successive increases in rates to their tenants, but this was not always possible because of the Rent Acts. Moreover, an annual revision of such a contract is neither desirable nor is it always economically possible. The system contained a further complication; although a landlord might have been able to vary the rent payable, it was not enough merely to impose an increase equal to the increase in rates. Each change in rent was accompanied by a corresponding change in rateable value. This movement of rateable value in sympathy with rent produced the peculiarly Scottish phenomenon of "rates upon rates" and owners' rate poundages having reached such a level that in many cases more than twice the amount of rate increase would have had to be added to rent in order that the landlord might retain his position. This state of affairs had been uncompromisingly condemned by the Departmental Committee on Local Taxation of 1922 (Cmd. 1674) which concluded that "the exhaustion of all margin of profit (as a result of the rate burden) which renders house-building as an investment unprofitable has a direct effect on the housing problem. Not only does it raise rents, but it entirely destroys the possibility of private enterprise setting itself to meet the demand for house accommodation."

The Sorn Committee considered the abolition and the limitation of the owners' rates. They favoured limitation rather because of their terms of reference than for any other reason. They also recommended that property which was empty for at least three months should not be liable for either the owners' or occupiers' rates. No action was taken on the Report.

The Second Sorn Committee

The question rested until the appointment of the Second Sorn Committee in May, 1953, "to review the present system of valuation and rating (other than the derating of agricultural, industrial and freight transport lands and heritages) in Scotland; to consider whether any, and if so what, changes should be made in the system, and what other action would in consequence of any such changes be required; and to report."

Meanwhile there had been changes in England, particularly concerning valuation. The Local Government Act of 1948 transferred valuation functions from the Local Authorities to the Inland Revenue: after much delay a revaluation was completed and became effective in April, 1956. This was based on current values of commercial property but on 1939 values of houses. It led to increased valuations in general but with a marked swing of incidence away from house property to commercial hereditaments.

The Sorn Committee reported in September, 1954 (Cmd. 9244). Their principal recommendations were that the owners' rate should be abolished and that rents should correspondingly be reduced: that valuation should be related rather to fair rents on current values than to actual rents: that the County Councils and the Councils of the four Counties of Cities alone should appoint Assessors: and that all property should be revalued every five years. They also made several other recommendations of minor importance.

On this occasion the report has been followed by legislation—the Valuation and Rating (Scotland) Act, 1956, which, in the main, embodied the Committee's recommendations.

The Abolition of Owners' Rates

Owners' rates will be abolished from the beginning of the financial year 1957-58; and the rents of let property will be reduced from that date, by the amount of the owners' rates payable in the year 1956-57. This means that if rates do not change, the total payment by tenants will be unchanged, but that they will bear the whole of any future increase in rates. A complete revaluation of all property based on current values, is to be completed by the beginning of the financial year 1961-62. Valuation is to be divorced entirely from rents. In the meantime, the rateable values of property in existence in 1956-57 will be preserved at their present amounts, and new property will be valued as though the law had not been changed. It appears that Scottish house property will therefore continue to attract higher valuations than corresponding property in England. Assessors may well be faced with great problems. In most cases, since rented houses are valued at their actual rents rateable values tend to be depressed either by the operation of the Rent Acts or because of subsidies. It is most exceptional for houses to be let at economic rents. Perhaps a handy guide will be provided by the owner-occupied houses. On the other hand, their present valuations are probably depressed because of comparison with protected let property.

The principal effect of the abolition of the owners' rate is further to narrow the basis of local taxation. This is to be regretted particularly at a time when the shortcomings of the rating system have never been more apparent. It has been argued persuasively in the past that to the extent that the owners of property derive benefit from local government services, they should bear a fair share of local expenditure. No evidence has been adduced to justify rejection of that view.

So long as the owners' rate was exigible, a tax could be collected from the owners of empty property. Broadly speaking, no occupiers' rate was levied. The English idea of beneficial occupation has no place in the Scottish scheme, but *prima facie* there may be a place for it in future. It should be noted, however, that the 1956 Act enables rating authorities to levy a limited rate on owners who allow property to remain unoccupied without reasonable cause.

The Changes in Valuation

The Second Sorn Committee recommended that Assessors should revalue one-fifth of their areas each year. The annual value was to be arrived at by considering what a hypothetical tenant would be prepared to offer as a fair rent. The statutory restriction on the rents of controlled houses is to be ignored in arriving at the annual value.

The new Act provides that a complete revaluation shall be carried out at five-yearly intervals. The recommendation by the Sorn Committee was rejected by the Government because they considered that it would result both in annual fluctuation in rateable valuations and in unfairness to occupiers as ratepayers.

Until the new Act, property in Scotland was valued by reference to 'the rent at which, one year with another, such lands and heritages might in their actual state be reasonably expected to let from year to year . . . and where such lands and heritages are *bona fide* let for a yearly rent conditioned

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as the fair annual value thereof, without grassum or consideration other than the rent, such rent shall be deemed and taken to be the yearly rent or value of such lands and heritages in terms of this Act" (Lands Valuation (Scotland) Act, 1854).

A new definition of annual value appears in Section 6 of the 1956 Act, viz.: "The gross annual value of any lands and heritages consisting of one or more dwelling-houses or other non-industrial buildings, with any garden, yard, garage, outhouse or pertinent belonging to and occupied along with such dwelling-house or dwelling-houses or buildings, but without other land shall be the rent at which the lands and heritages might reasonably be expected to let from year to year if no grassum or consideration other than the rent were payable in respect of the lease and if the tenant undertook to pay all rates and the landlord undertook to bear the cost of the repairs and insurance and the other expenses, if any, necessary to maintain the lands and heritages in a state to command that rent."

The new gross annual value is to be arrived at after consideration of a free market and current values. No account is to be taken of any artificial effect on rents caused by, e.g., the rent restriction and housing legislation. It is difficult to foresee what will be the effect of the first complete revaluation in 1961-62. To the extent that property has already been valued at current price levels, one might expect some reduction to follow because of the abolition of the owners' rate: its existence tended to result in rateable values above the English level. The combination of rent restriction and of house ownership on a large scale by Local Authorities, however, may result in some swing of incidence away from commercial and other property towards house property. The change in incidence in favour of house property in England was largely caused by the valuation of houses at the 1939 price level: it cannot be expected therefore in Scotland. One defect of the new system is that actual rent is not likely to become the basis of rateable value in any particular case. Instead, there will begin a search for hypothetical tenants willing, and presumably able, to pay rather higher rents than those paid by actual tenants. The reason for the new legislation is clear; but nostalgia for the simplicity of the "actual rent" method is difficult to dispel.

Rateable values for the year 1956-57 continue to be effective until the revaluation is completed. As a matter of practice no easy alternative can be offered. It has been regretted, however, that such anomalies as the former system produced are to be allowed to continue for a further five years. It is known that these have been considerable both within rating authorities and between them and it may be that until rents are fixed with a truer regard to the worth of each property, the search for the hypothetical tenant must continue.

The independent position in Scotland of the Assessor is maintained under the new act. He has always been regarded as acting judicially—he is not concerned with the interests of his employer as rating authority. The Secretary of State has made regulations defining the professional qualification which must be held by Assessors and their deputed. This is a progressive step which is to be welcomed: a welcome nevertheless tempered by sympathy for those unqualified officers who will consequently lose their appointments this year.

An appeal against valuation lies to a local valuation appeal committee. These Committees will be appointed by the Sheriff of each County after such consultation as he thinks fit. Each committee will have its own secretary, who is not to be a local government officer. Formerly, appeals were heard by a local appeal court normally composed of members of the rating authority advised by the Clerk to the Council. While one would not suggest that their decisions were not judicial, it was undesirable that they should appear to be judges in their own causes. The new procedure may be expected, therefore, to be an advance on the old.

The securing of uniformity throughout the country is to be assisted by the activity of the Scottish Valuation Advisory Committee. This new body, appointed by the Secretary of State, will receive an annual report from each Assessor and will advise the Secretary of State on any matter relating to valuation.

Public Administration Clearing House

THE years between the wars saw a notable development in the United States of organisations devoted to the study of public administration and to the improvement of administrative practices. An important impetus came from the Spelman Fund of New York, when it gave grants in the 1930s to set up Public Administration Clearing House, a body designed to bring together under a common roof existing professional organisations in the field of public administration, and to help to establish new ones for which there seemed to be a need.

In 1938 the present Clearing House was opened at 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago. This handsome building stands on land owned by the University of Chicago, and was erected under an agreement with the University which provides that the students and faculty may use the library and materials of the Clearing House, thus making "1313" a source of study and research.

For the past 25 years Public Administration Clearing House has served two rôles. It has helped to provide a home, and a library and other common services, for more than a dozen important organisations such as the Council of State Governments, the International City Managers Association, the Public Personnel Association and the Federation of Tax Administrators. It has also undertaken certain pioneering activities of its own, and in this it was recently helped by grants from the Ford Foundation. These activities included special research projects, maintaining contacts and communications with university faculties and research centres, and liaison work with federal government agencies and with international organisations. It took particular interest in the international field and in assistance to officials in newly self-governing countries.

Unfortunately Public Administration Clearing House was not endowed and, on the expiration of its long-term grants, its governing body came to the conclusion that it should go into a period of orderly liquidation and transfer its responsibility for the management of the "1313" centre to the organisations headquartered there. The new controlling body from the beginning of 1957 is Public Administration Service, a non-profit-making consultancy service already housed in the Clearing House, and on whose Board of Trustees all the organisation housed in "1313" have a representative.

Public Administration Clearing House has had only two Directors. The first was Louis Brownlow, who served from 1930 to 1945, and who, in the mid-1930s, was Chairman of the President's Committee on Administrative Management. Mr. Brownlow is still active. He recently published the first volume of his autobiography, *Passion for Politics* (Chicago University Press), and has lately undertaken a course of university lectures. The second Director was Herbert Emmerich, who has also been a good friend of the Royal Institute of Public Administration's in recent years and who is known to many of its members. He took part in an Institute conference at Ashridge in 1947 and was entertained by members during his visit to London in 1951. Mr. Emmerich has now taken up an appointment as a Consultant in Public Administration in the Technical Assistance Administration of the United Nations.

One of the organisations which Public Administration Clearing House

helped to foster is the American Society for Public Administration. This Society, which was founded in 1939 and publishes the quarterly journal *Public Administration Review*, corresponds in many ways to the Royal Institute of Public Administration. Both organisations have a number of activities (and problems) in common. The American Society for Public Administration has lately received a promotional grant from the Ford Foundation, and is making strenuous, and successful, efforts to develop its work and to increase its membership.

Members of the Royal Institute of Public Administration who are familiar with the American scene will regret that Public Administration Clearing House has had to go out of existence, but will congratulate it on its achievement over the past 25 years, an achievement which will continue to bear good fruit in the future. They will also be glad that the American Society for Public Administration has the opportunity to enlarge its work, and will wish it every success in its present endeavours.

Pay of the Higher Civil Service

Standing Advisory Committee Appointed

The appointment of a standing advisory committee on the pay of the Higher Civil Service, in accordance with the recommendation of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, was announced from 10 Downing Street on 7th February, 1957.

Chairman : Lord Coleraine.

Members : Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders, Mr. Geoffrey Crowther, Sir Alexander Fleck, K.B.E., Sir Oliver Franks, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., and Lord Latham.

The Royal Commission recommended that the Prime Minister should make the appointments after consulting staff interests informally. It was also suggested that they should be people "chosen to reflect a cross-section of informed opinion in the country at large." (An article on the Royal Commission's Report appeared at pages 187-198 of the Summer, 1956, issue of PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, and a survey of the measures taken to implement the Report at pages 321-328 of the Autumn, 1956, issue.)

Terms of Reference

1. The function of the Committee is stated in general terms in paragraph 386 of the Royal Commission's Report—namely, to exercise a general oversight of the remuneration of the Higher Civil Service.

2. The Royal Commission defined the Higher Civil Service in paragraph 15 as "all staffs whose salary maximum or whose fixed rate exceeds the maximum of the Principal." Under their recommendation this maximum was raised to £1,850 ; it has now been settled at £1,950.

3. The Royal Commission's main recommendations on the Higher Civil Service are contained in Chapter IX of its Report. Having accepted these recommendations, the Government have put into effect the rates of pay which the Royal Commission in paragraphs 367-69 regarded as appropriate for the Higher Civil Service. The rates recommended by the Royal Commission were related to conditions prevailing in the middle of 1955 ; they came into operation with effect from 1st April, 1956.

4. Under the Royal Commission's recommendations the Committee will be called into action in various ways :

(a) In the exercise of its general oversight of the remuneration of the Higher Civil Service, to advise the Government, either at the latter's request or on its own initiative, on what changes are desirable in the remuneration of these officers. The Royal Commission suggested (paragraph 368) that an early review of the level of remuneration would be called for, since they had deliberately refrained from making recommendations which might suggest that the Civil Service was in any way setting the pace or being in the van of a movement for a new approach to salaries for senior staffs.

- (b) Where there has been a general settlement applicable to the lower and middle grades of the Service. The Royal Commission said (paragraph 184) that it was not appropriate that the Higher Civil Service should be included in such a settlement ; but they assumed that, when such a settlement was reached, the fact would be reported to the Committee, who would examine what, if anything, should be done for the Higher Civil Service in consequence.
- (c) When a claim has been put forward by a Staff Association on the pay of a grade within the Committee's sphere, and it has proved impossible to reach a satisfactory solution (paragraph 387). In paragraphs 388-89 of its report, the Commission said that minor issues of remuneration on which agreement had not been reached, should not be referred to the Committee, but should, unless there were good reasons to the contrary, be allowed to go to arbitration by consent. They added that, if genuine and serious doubt arose over whether an issue was major or minor, the Committee might possibly be asked to decide the point of interpretation.

INSTITUTE NEWS

Annual General Meeting and Dinner

THE Institute's Annual General Meeting, held at County Hall on 26th April, was preceded by an address by Mr. T. J. Jones, O.B.E., Chairman of the Executive Council and Chief Officer of Supplies, London County Council, on *Public Administration in New York City*. Mr. Jones described the area administered by the City of New York and the salient methods of administration employed by the City Council. He then dealt in some detail with the investigation undertaken by the Mayor's Committee on Administrative Management, the Executive Director of which was Dr. Luther Gulick. This enquiry had resulted in the appointment of a City Administrator and for a time Dr. Gulick had occupied the post. In conclusion, Mr. Jones remarked on the scale of the task undertaken by the Mayor's Committee and paid tribute to the energy with which it had been carried through.

Following the Annual General Meeting, an Institute Dinner was held in the Members' Dining Room at County Hall and was attended by about 70 members and guests. This dinner, the first of its kind, was greatly enjoyed by those who were present, and it seems probable that a gathering of this kind will become an annual event.

Mr. Edwards elected Honorary Life Member

AT the Annual General Meeting, Mr. A. J. C. Edwards, C.I.E., was elected Honorary Treasurer for the twentieth year in succession and, following his election, the Chairman announced that the Executive Council had unanimously decided to elect Mr. Edwards an Honorary Life Member of the Institute as a token of their esteem for the most valuable service he had rendered to it over many years. Mr. Edwards expressed his very great pleasure at the unexpected honour which had been conferred on him, and the Meeting applauded the Executive Council's decision.

New Chairman and Vice-Chairman of Executive Council

MR. S. G. WILLIAMS, O.B.E., Controller of Administration in the B.B.C.'s Television Service, has been elected Chairman of the Executive Council in succession to Mr. T. J. Jones. Mr. Williams, who has been with the B.B.C. for 26 years, is also a Director of the British Commonwealth Film Corporation. In 1947 he visited Singapore in connection with the establishment of a broadcasting organisation there, and a year or two ago undertook a similar mission to Nigeria.

Mr. R. C. J. Kenrick, who has been elected Vice-Chairman, is now in the Hospitals and Specialist Services Division of the Ministry of Health and was previously Management Side Secretary of the Ancillary Staffs Council, one of the Whitley Councils for the Health Services. As many members will recall, Mr. Kenrick was Honorary Secretary of the Institute from 1945 to 1950.

About Members

MR. D. G. DODDS, who until recently was Chairman of the Cardiff Regional Group, has left South Wales following his appointment as Chief Industrial Relations Officer in Central Electricity Authority. Mr. G. M. Stephens, Chairman of the Birmingham Regional Group, recently left on secondment to the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria for four months.

Dr. A. H. Marshall, C.B.E., City Treasurer of Coventry, recently visited the West Indies to attend a Conference organised for British territories in the Caribbean, to promote the development of local government there.

Kenneth Frere, who was Secretary of the Bristol Regional Group for a time and winner of the Haldane Essay Competition in 1952, has been appointed Recruitment and Training Officer, Research Group, Atomic Energy Authority, Harwell.

Mr. S. E. Raymond, who was Assistant Manpower Adviser to the British Transport Commission and was co-opted to the Executive Council last year, has been appointed Chief Commercial Manager for the Scottish Region of British Railways.

Institute Publication

The Organisation of British Central Government 1914-1956 was published in June. This is the report of the first major group research project undertaken since the war by the Institute. The group was formed in 1952 and since then it has conducted, under the chairmanship of Mr. D. N. Chester, C.B.E., a detailed survey of the changes which have taken place in all the major branches of Central Government. The report, which runs to 420 pages, was edited by Mr. Chester and written by Mr. F. M. G. Willson. The price is 32s. (25s. to members post free).

News from the Edinburgh Group

THE Peebles Hydro Hotel, high on the bank of the River Tweed, provided an ideal centre for the Conference organised by the Edinburgh and East of Scotland Regional Group on "Child Care—Working Together," and the arrangements were of the high standard now expected of the Honorary Officers of this Group.

The Conference papers, the main points of discussion and the inspired introduction of Sir Basil Henriques are to be published shortly. The most significant feature of the Conference was the sincerity and obvious dedication to the care of children shown by speakers from the many statutory and voluntary bodies represented at the Conference and concerned with the lives of deprived children. One felt that not only were the material needs given to these children, but also that their social and spiritual requirements were appreciated and that all present really wished to work well together for these ends.

The Group propose to follow up this Conference with a series of lectures in Edinburgh next autumn, entirely devoted to the training and functions of the social worker, in which speakers from the Social Studies Department of the University of Edinburgh will play a leading part.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Ministry of Works

By SIR HAROLD EMMERSON. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. for Royal Institute of Public Administration, 1956. Pp. 171. 15s. (11s. 6d. to Members of the Institute ordering from it direct).

ALTHOUGH I have had the advantage, first as a Ministry of Health official and, later, as an employee of a building employers' federation, of working closely with the Ministry of Works since its inception as the Ministry of Works and Buildings, I had not fully appreciated the wide scope and variety of the Department's functions until I read this book in the *New Whitehall Series* by one who was its Permanent Secretary for ten years.

It will, I hope, be widely read and I commend it, in particular, to any, whether they are members of the general public or employed in other Government Departments, who may still have any doubts about the continued existence of the Ministry of Works as a first-class Department. And the book will, I am sure, be of great help not only to new recruits to the Ministry, including Ministers who change more frequently than their permanent advisers, but to those already in the Department who would not otherwise be able readily to get a bird's-eye view of its varied activities.

No better author could have been chosen for the task than Sir Harold Emmerson, who came to the Ministry after spending the greater part of his career at the Ministry of Labour to which he has recently returned as permanent Head. If a change is as good as a rest, he must have found it very pleasant after dealing with problems of manpower and industrial disputes to turn occasionally to such subjects as the Royal Parks, public buildings and works of art. He was fortunate in two widely different respects. First, because by the time he arrived at the Ministry the dust of the many conflicts which had raged regarding the functions of the Department had largely settled down and he could, therefore, concentrate on its organisation on a peace-time basis; and secondly, because he was able to play

an important part in perfecting the arrangements which were made for the Coronation in 1953.

As regards the conflict over functions, I have always thought that housing and town and country planning should be dealt with by one Department, preferably that responsible for local government, and that it was therefore wrong to transfer one without the other either to the Ministry of Works, or, as happened later, to a separate Department. I welcomed, therefore, the decision to return town and country planning to its original home, now known as the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. There is, of course, much to support the view that one Department should be responsible for all building matters, but as there are many more good reasons why one Department should be responsible for all the building work carried out directly on behalf of the Government, it is unfortunate that recent decisions by the Government, e.g., in connection with atomic power, have not been in favour of increasing the Ministry's powers.

The Ministry has been of great help to the building industry largely because it has recognised that co-operation is a two-way street and because it has increasingly shown that its policy is to encourage, and not to supplant, activities which the industry itself should undertake. This policy may not have produced either spectacular or speedy results, but progress has been sure and solid. That the Department has gained the confidence of the industry is clear from the fact that the industry regards the Minister, when difficulties arise owing to the policies of his colleagues, e.g., petrol rationing, as their ambassador at the 10 Downing Street Court.

STANLEY HEARDER

BOOK REVIEWS

The Victoria History of Wiltshire: Vol. V

Published by the Oxford University Press for the University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1957. Pp. xxi + 383. £5 5s. 0d.

THE Victoria History of the Counties of England was founded in 1899, and is designed to cover every county of England. So far 118 volumes have been published, some of them dealing with general topics such as economic and ecclesiastical history, many of them dealing topographically with each parish, hundred by hundred, in the county.

Though the same general pattern is observed for each county, the details vary, as does the number of volumes. This fifth volume of the Wiltshire series is a deviation from the normal course: in other counties there has been a chapter called "political history"; this is here expanded into a separate volume, covering the parliamentary history of the county and its local government from the eleventh century to the present day, ending with specialised chapters on public health and education.

The decision to publish a separate volume for these subjects is amply justified. Under the skilled editorship of R. B. Pugh and Miss Elizabeth Crittall it has emerged as a work of real scholarship and great value. Administrative histories of a number of municipal boroughs have been published before now, such as Lady Simon's *Century of City Government* (Manchester) and Brian White's *History of the Corporation of Liverpool*; a number of records societies and county councils have published extensive collections of extracts from the muniments and records of their counties, but there has not before been a comparable history of the administration of a county as such. Yet a number of such studies are necessary for a true understanding of the history of local government; for this can only be built up, bit by bit, from the experience and records of individual towns and counties.

To the student of public administration the most interesting chapters of this book are probably those which cover the government of the county since 1660, by W. R. Ward and R. A. Lewis. They describe the growth of Quarter Sessions as an administrative body, employing salaried officers and appointing committees to deal with its expanding functions. Wiltshire was peculiar in having no fixed abode of Quarter Sessions; they met by rotation

in Salisbury, Devizes, Warminster and Marlborough, with occasional visits to Trowbridge. This system survived up to and beyond the creation of the County Council in 1888, and as it entailed four separate Chairmen administration must have been cumbersome and slow. The establishment of the County Council inevitably meant some administrative improvements, but it entailed but little change in membership. Half the new Council were also Justices of the Peace, and the aristocratic tradition was unbroken; the 4th Marquis of Bath, Chairman of Salisbury and Warminster Sessions, became Chairman of the County Council. His son held the same office for forty years, from 1906 to 1946, and was also Chairman of the County Quarter Sessions for 23 years. It would be interesting to know something more of the personal influence and ascendancy of such a man. Despite the levelling legislation of the nineteenth century, such aristocratic county potentates continued to rule in many counties, and do still rule in some today. There are no equivalent figures in the government of the towns, nor elsewhere in the field of public administration. To understand the government of the County one needs to know more of how these men have worked, of their relations with the committees and with the permanent officials. Of these officials, too, one would like to know more; what manner of men they were, and how they carried out their duties.

This volume is so good that one hopes that it may be a precedent for other counties. It would be invaluable to have a series of such studies of the growth of county government. If this were to happen one would not wish that such future volumes would differ much in form and method from this Wiltshire precedent. It might, however, be possible to extend the scope in one way; this volume treats county government as being too nearly synonymous with Quarter Sessions and the County Councils. Very little is said of turnpike trusts, improvement commissioners, vestries, and the many other minor governing bodies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or even of the

Guardians, and the Urban and Rural District Councils. How did they work? Who were the dominant figures in their deliberations? How much or little did they achieve? Some of their records are scattered or lost, and it would be laborious and difficult to piece their stories together; but yet they are an essential part of the government of the county. In many ways they must have affected the common people of the county more intimately and regularly than the deliberations of the comparatively remote Quarter Sessions and County Council. Some of these bodies will no doubt be described in the later topographical volumes, dealing with individual parishes; the first of these volumes (Vol. III) has already been published, and it includes a short account of the Trowbridge vestry and pavement commissioners. But other authorities, such as turnpike trusts, will not fit into the parochial pattern. Future volumes, dealing with the government of other counties, might be better still if they dealt not only with the Quarter Sessions and County Council but also with these minor administrative bodies, which are here either omitted or described too briefly.

The chapters devoted to Parliamentary history are naturally very different in nature. The parliamentary history of a county or a borough is not an easy theme, for the play is being acted on the stage of

Westminster; the county historian is standing in the wings, recording only the entrances and exits of the actors, not what they do when they are on the stage. He may describe what sort of people they are, and how they behave behind the scenes, but the play is acted elsewhere. Wiltshire however was rich in such actors; for, beside the two County Members, there were, before 1832, sixteen boroughs each returning two members—a total of thirty-four seats. (Today there are five.) The nature of their constituencies, and the way in which these were lost and won, are admirably shown. One sees in the eighteenth century the decline in power of the local gentry, as the influence of the peerage increases; then the growth of powerful party organisation, superseding the great boroughmongers, and the development of the Labour Party. These influences, and the type of men which they produced, are clearly described, particularly in the early period; but when they come to the last few decades the authors are, perhaps, too cautious, and give a more matter-of-fact statement of events which conveys less of the character of the men or the influences which affected them and the electors.

The Oxford University Press has maintained in full its high tradition of book production. In print, in illustrations and in format this volume is a delight.

B. KEITH-LUCAS

Candidates in a Municipal Election

By G. W. FENN. University College of Leicester, 1956. Pp. 32. 1s. 6d.

THIS monograph is a study of the candidates in the County Borough of Leicester election for May, 1956. It examines various attributes of the candidates—their sex, marital status, age, education, religion, occupation, length of residence, and previous experience in local elections. The material is sub-divided under the headings of the main political parties. The information was obtained from interviews with candidates by extra-mural students at Vaughan College of the University College of Leicester, and was analysed, tabulated, and written up by Mr. Fenn who conceived the scheme.

Undoubtedly this is a field about which we know far too little. The academic is irritated by the oft repeated criticisms of

the professional practitioner that "councillors are not what they were." It is as impossible to refute as to substantiate, as no information exists about "what they really were." Whilst this study does not help in this respect it will be of value to the future student in providing some evidence of the nature of election candidates in Leicester in 1956. Unfortunately, the sample is small, the deductions put forward cannot be justified by it, and the work itself is far less comprehensive and useful than it might have been.

The total number of vacancies was sixteen, the total of candidates thirty-three. Consequently, how can we decide that a candidate's (p. 32) "chances are likely to be improved if he has a wife and

children"? The figures show that one out of two bachelors were successful as compared with fifteen out of thirty-one married men, but that fourteen out of twenty-seven parents were successful.

Figures like this cannot be used as the basis of such a conclusion. The only assumption which might be made is that nothing succeeds like success because, of the sixteen elected, fifteen had been councillors before; whilst only one was elected out of the other sixteen candidates with no council experience.

In short, this study gives us a picture of what the candidates looked like in Leicester in the year 1956, but we cannot deduce that because a person had these characteristics, he would therefore be successful. We read that he is generally a family man (there was only one woman successful), aged 40-50, predominantly elementary education having Church of England leanings, a man who has lived probably twenty years in Leicester, who has sat on the council before—in fact an ordinary type of Leicester male. The description would not necessarily apply in 1957, nor to the neighbouring city

of Coventry.

It was tantalising not to be able to go a little farther. How did this description of the ordinary councillor elected in 1956 marry up with those aldermen and councillors—48 of them already elected? How did the candidates in 1956 compare with those who have offered themselves since 1945? Whilst from its nature such a study must be geographically restricted, there is little reason why it should be so restricted temporally. Then what is the explanation of only five of the sixteen Conservative candidates having had a secondary education? Has there been an exodus of nearly all educated and active Conservatives from the city?

Vaughan College is to be congratulated for producing this booklet and Mr. Fenn on showing some of the possibilities of such field work by the mature extra-mural student. It is to be hoped that other colleges and departments may promote like studies. The results when aggregated might well be significant, but even failing that, they would still have historical importance.

HENRY MADDICK

A Source Book and History of Administrative Law in Scotland

Edited by M. R. McLARTY, assisted by G. CAMPBELL, H. PATON. William Hodge, 1956. Pp. viii + 267. 21s.

THE first duty of a mere Sassenach in reviewing this book is to assure his fellow countrymen that it does not deal with any of those topics which are usually indicated, south of the Border, by the term "Administrative Law." Nor does "Source Book" exactly fit the contents, if the latter term conjures up the vision of a collection of basic documents. An Englishman editing this volume would probably have chosen something like *Background to Scottish Administration* as a title. Here is a collection of nineteen short, descriptive essays, each containing the main historical features of, and the principal legislation affecting, a governmental institution or service existing in Scotland today. Each chapter has a useful short bibliography, and there is a very adequate index. The subjects dealt with are: Burghal and Rural Administration; the Office of Secretary of State; the U.K. Departments in

Scotland; the Lord Advocate and the Crown Office; Registration; Sheriff and Justice of the Peace; Agriculture and Forestry; Buildings and Dean of Guild (the Dean of Guild Court is principally concerned to regulate and control building operations "within the burgh so as to prevent obstruction to or encroachment upon public or private rights, and to safeguard and promote public health and public safety and prevent obstruction to streets"); Education; Fisheries; Health; Housing and Town Planning; Lunacy; Poor, Welfare and Social Services; Roads, Ferries and Bridges; Valuation; Water; and Finance.

The volume is intended to provide a "compact historical introduction" to the different branches of "Administrative Law" as studied in Scotland, and thereby to remedy the lack, hitherto, of a basic text book. No one could quarrel with

that intention. Indeed, it is passing strange that a society so closely-knit, with so insistent a desire during the last half century to have more say in its own affairs, and with so fine a tradition of scholarship, has only now produced a book containing the basic data about its governmental organisation. We now await a critical study to put alongside Professor Mansergh's *Government of Northern Ireland* and the essays on *Ulster under Home Rule* edited by Mr. Thomas Wilson.

The contents of a symposium almost inevitably vary in quality, and when those contents are almost devoid of critical matter they cannot always be expected to yield lively reading. None the less there is plenty of workmanlike writing, and the reader unfamiliar with the details of Scottish administrative development will often be struck by the interesting contrasts with English experience. Sir Patrick Laird's chapters on "The Office of Secretary of State" and on "Agriculture

and Forestry" are polished contributions and Professor Ferguson writes vividly on vagrancy and the early history of the Poor Law. There are two errors in Chapter IV: the Ministries of National Insurance and Civil Aviation were set up in 1944 and 1945, and not in 1946 and 1949, respectively. It is, of course, only just to point out that those events were outside Scottish control!

A "Source Book" does not, perhaps, demand an introduction, but a thumbnail sketch of the whole of Scottish constitutional and administrative development would greatly help the newcomer by enabling him to see where the pieces fit. The Editor tells us that: "Any profits from the sale of the book will be used towards financing further impressions." Would he not try his hand, next time, at an opening essay to pull together the valuable work of his contributors?

F. M. G. WILLSON

State Intervention and Assistance in Collective Bargaining: The Canadian Experience 1943-54

By H. A. LOGAN. University of Toronto Press, Oxford University Press, 1956.
Pp. vii + 176. 24s.

DR. LOGAN, who is already known for his *Trade Unions in Canada*, has here set himself the task of describing the origins and present-day working of federal and (some) provincial government intervention in Canadian industrial relations. This he performs efficiently if rather narrowly. Outside Canada, the book will be useful primarily to fellow specialists in industrial relations, and possibly to some students of government, who may be interested in the sidelights thrown on the working of the federal constitution.

About two-thirds of the book is divided into ten chapters, and the notes to those chapters gathered at the end. The constitutional background is first outlined, together with a short account of earlier legislation, and the pre-1939 industrial relations situation. Next two chapters discuss the wartime legislation, and examine it in action, while the following two deal with the Industrial Relations and Disputes Investigation Act, 1948, and the ways in which it differed from the wartime legislation. Three chapters deal with the positions in the provinces of Ontario and

Quebec, followed by an evaluation of the effects of the various enactments between 1943-44 and 1952, and finally a critical consideration of what Dr. Logan calls "significant issues," or how the legislation might be improved.

The remainder of the book is devoted to three appendices, giving the text of the two major pieces of legislation (the War-time Labour Relations Regulations, P.C. 1003, of 1944, and the 1948 Act) and summaries of a dozen recent cases showing interpretations of the legislation by various of the Labour Relations Boards.

Many of the facts revealed or conclusions reached by Dr. Logan are what might reasonably have been expected. For example, fifteen out of twenty strike votes conducted by the Department of Labour favoured striking: all five others were in small concerns (p. 12). Almost invariably unions chose not to prosecute employers failing to carry out obligations (p. 67, etc). Conciliation councils set up by the State seem uncertain whether they should merely help the parties to reach an accommodation based solely on the balance of power

between them, or rely on some view of the "public interest," or on ideas of justice (p. 100).

On the other hand, unlike Great Britain, surprisingly little use is made of the power of public opinion on the parties, a fact which Dr. Logan criticises (p. 96). Similarly we have escaped political domination of the industrial relations machinery in the way it is pictured in Quebec since about 1948, with retrospective legislation, and improper intervention by the provincial government (pp. 69-72).

The first eight chapters are inevitably full of facts, including an appreciable quantity of statistics and discussion of clauses of the relevant provincial and federal legislation. This does not make for easy reading. The last two chapters, devoted to the more general consideration

and conclusions, including some of the author's own opinions, are of wider interest.

What Dr. Logan has done, he has done thoroughly, and it is perhaps unfair to say that one might have liked consideration of the value of the system as a whole, as well as of its detailed working, and far more comparisons with other countries, including any other influences on the Canadian legislation apart from the Wagner Act. But the consequence is that, outside Canada, this book is likely to be mainly a source of raw materials for writers willing to make wider generalisations than Dr. Logan here allows himself.

The index is not entirely adequate: strike votes, the labour court (of Ontario), and employee representation are left out, while the Notes appear to be partly indexed.

R. C. ADAMS

From School Board to Local Authority

By ERIC EAGLESHAM. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956. Pp. ix + 220. 24s.

PROFESSOR EAGLESHAM has filled a very real gap with his detailed, clear and scholarly account of the growing friction and confusion between the Education Department, the Local Government Board, the Science and Art Department, the School Boards and the County Councils in the years between the 1870 Education Act and the Act of 1902. He has been fortunate in having access to Ministry of Education files hitherto unavailable to research workers, and is able to publish for the first time certain documents which should, perhaps, have been accessible earlier, notably several trenchant memoranda by Morant, the one man who had a thorough grasp of the history and causes of confusion, and of the solution required.

As a result of Professor Eaglesham's researches, we are now in a far better position to assess the real significance of certain events, especially the Cockerton Judgement, and of certain personalities, especially Gorst and Morant, in educational history. It is now abundantly clear that the Judgement "served mainly to provide a convenient smoke-screen to cover changes which were politically desirable rather than legally necessary." In other words, it was brought about by Gorst and Morant, subsequently backed by Balfour, because they had come to the

conclusion that the only way out of the muddle was the creation of all-purpose Local Authorities based on the Counties and County Boroughs. It was, I believe, their intention from the start to include County Boroughs as Education Authorities, so that Professor Eaglesham's numerous references to County Councils (see p. 179) are rather misleading. It was not the original intention to include the Part III Authorities, but Balfour and Morant accepted this compromise with reluctance in order to get the 1902 Bill through. Subsequent history has, of course, pronounced in favour of their original plan.

Professor Eaglesham started his study as a critic of the School Boards, but his final judgement is that "a systematic and extensive development of the *ad hoc* principle might in the long run have provided a sounder system of local educational administration than that of the 1902 Act" (Preface). His main reason for this conclusion appears to be the intrusion of party politics into local government today. This is, of course, a conclusion which challenges the recent development of local government in England to its very roots, and its validity therefore needs careful scrutiny.

To begin with, the author's own

researches make it clearer than ever before that the School Boards tended to be politically progressive. London, especially, assumed a liberal-cum-socialist complexion. The friction between such Boards and a Conservative Administration became more and more political. What evidence is there that an extension of the *ad hoc* principle would have prevented the entry of politics into education, assuming that the *ad hoc* bodies were entirely subject to popular election? Of course the author may have in mind the model of a present-day Regional Hospital Board, or a County Agricultural Executive Committee, where popular election is eliminated and appointments are made by a Minister. Such a set-up for education, especially technical education, might reduce the influence of politics, and might present other administrative advantages. But one reader, at least, feels that Professor Eaglesham jumps to a very sweeping conclusion which needs much more detailed argument than is provided in his book. In particular, one would have to consider the enormous advantages educational administration has derived from its association with other branches of local government, and from the co-operation between Education, Clerks', Medical, Treasurers', Librarians', Architects', Transport and other Departments. Indeed, it is difficult to see how local government could have survived at all from a multitude of unco-ordinated *ad hoc* bodies.

One other conclusion must be examined. The author blames those responsible for policy in the critical years leading up to the 1902 Act for damaging and retarding the development of Further Education (both vocational and recreational), and of Secondary Schools other than Grammar Schools. It is very clear from his own account that Evening Classes under the School Boards suffered from the usual defects of any system dependent on government grants based on student

enrolments in individual subjects. In this case grant was available from two government departments, and classes organised by the County Councils and the technical instruction committees in towns were running in open competition with classes under the School Boards. Relatively few students at School Board classes made as many as 12 attendances in a session. The problem then was to establish really worth-while courses, to set standards, to encourage serious work, and to introduce a more liberal element into the technical instruction given at Evening Schools.

Morant did not hesitate to embark on such a policy in his much-criticised *Minute* of 1901, which stipulated that a student must attend at least 14 hours in a session to qualify for grant, and that not more than two of the four subjects that could be studied should be from the scientific, manual or technical groups. Professor Eaglesham is not able to give figures to estimate the damage allegedly done to technical and recreational classes, because the Board published only numbers of students qualifying for grant, instead of average attendances. But even today administrators would hesitate to place too much reliance on average attendance figures in assessing the true value of the work of an institution. It seems a little unrealistic to criticise Morant in 1956 for :

- (a) Stressing *quality* in Further Education rather than numbers ;
- (b) Trying to introduce a liberal element into Junior and Senior courses.

Finally, we must remember that Morant was as unconcerned about such labels as Grammar, Technical and Modern as was the Education Act of 1944. He wanted good Secondary Schools, and he was anxious to devolve the detailed running of them to strong Local Authorities. History has not yet proved him to have been wrong.

JOHN LEESE

Les Services de la Fonction Publique dans le Monde

By J.-J. RIBAS. Obtainable from the Royal Institute of Public Administration, 1956. Pp. 168. 16s.

THIS book has been published by the International Institute of Administrative Sciences in furtherance of its aim of spreading the facts about administrative institutions and practices. It deals with

something which no two countries handle in quite the same way—how to organise the task of regulating the recruitment and conditions of service of people working under governmental authority, with parti-

cular reference to special bodies (e.g., civil service commissions) or central groups of officials with a responsibility for personnel problems that are common to government departments.

As many as 45 countries are named and, although the arrangements in only about half of them get more than a cursory mention, this will show the difficulties the author had to contend with in attempting to give a picture of what is done. Neither he nor the Institute would claim that the information given will be sufficient to enable anyone to decide what are the best practices but the hope is that it will lead enquirers to countries which are likely to provide a useful field for further research. Only so can the student guard against false comparisons based on superficial knowledge. A case in point is the question whether the oversight of civil service matters is better placed in a special organisation attached to the Prime Minister's office, as in France, than centred in the finance ministry. The present outline touches on this, but it needs a closer examination, as for example one made a few years ago by the former head of the French Civil Service Division,* to bring out that the British Treasury is so different from the Ministry of Finance in Paris as to afford no solid basis of comparison.

The author has exercised much ingenuity in his layout but it has the defect of not presenting the arrangements of any one country as a whole. The grouping of the United Kingdom with countries with civil service commissions tends to play down the importance of the Treasury. A good point is the warning that there is no common understanding of what constitutes the civil service: in France, for example, it takes in the teaching profession and in some countries people working in nationalised industries are subject to the same régimes as officials in the ministries.

There is a useful account of what is done about staff consultation, including such interesting facts as that (to apply our own idiom) in France an Official Side nominee takes the chair at meetings of the Staff Side of the National Whitley Council and that in Belgium the civil servant is compelled to vote at elections of Staff Side representatives. A blemish in this

part of the book is that, having mentioned the years 1927-47 as a period when the right of association was limited, the author leaves the impression that the British civil servant is still not free to join a staff association with trade union affiliations.

A description of the Civil Service Commission in Pakistan brings out that the examinations there go out more for a good standard of general education than for competence in vocational subjects, a point not made with enough force as regards the United Kingdom. Most of the 34 candidates from the universities who succeeded in the 1956 Administrative Class examinations had been engaged in courses of study that were unlikely to give them any knowledge of the subject matter of their future work. All but eight of the 34 had been at Oxford or Cambridge. This last point serves to illustrate a common misconception which the book reflects: the author says that there has been a widening of the social origins of our senior civil servants, who used to be "recrutés pour la grande majorité parmi les anciens élèves d'Oxford et de Cambridge." The implication is that these universities are the preserve of the well-to-do and that democratic recruitment through the Open Competitions must be measured by the intake from other universities. But about four out of five undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge are there on scholarships. Consider an analysis of candidates for the Administrative Class in 1953.† Of the 52 who succeeded (26 of them from Oxford and 15 from Cambridge), 23 came from middle-class, 17 from lower-middle-class, and 12 from working-class homes; and of this last group, seven were educated at Oxford or Cambridge and eight had first-class honours degrees.

It is not to be wondered at if a reviewer can find something to criticise in the way his own country's arrangements are described in a short study with so wide a scope. What is remarkable is the wealth of information this book contains: the use of work analysts and the establishment of an interdepartmental staff suggestions scheme in the Netherlands; the joint facilities for higher staff training shared by

*Roger Grégoire: *La Fonction Publique*. (Reviewed in PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, Winter, 1954, p. 450.)

†See a chapter contributed by Sir Laurence Helsby, First Civil Service Commissioner, to *The Civil Service in Britain and France*, edited by Professor W. A. Robson (Hogarth Press, 1956).

five Central American republics under United Nations auspices; and the progress of the French National School of Administration, from which 100 *administrateurs civils* pass out each year, including a number of promotees from the lower grades who, on passing a preliminary examination, are given four months' special leave with pay to prepare themselves for the main competition—these are samples from this compendium of establishment activities as they are unfolding

throughout the world. The impression as a whole is of countries at various stages of movement away from haphazard conditions of employment for their officials and towards the goal of a civil service which, if not uniform from department to department, is based on common principles consistently applied. In the last decade much good work has been done in this direction and the International Institute is entitled to some of the credit for it.

T. D. KINGDOM

Local Expenditure and Exchequer Grants

Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, 1956. Pp. 352. 42s.

THIS valuable new contribution to the study of local finance, and of central/local financial relations in particular, is the work of an I.M.T.A. study group of five Treasurers with an economist (Dr. D. S. Lees) in the chair. To review it adequately would require a full-length article, it is so full of material and points for discussion. I propose, therefore, to pick out one or two highlights.

The general theme of the Report is that there is not very much wrong with the present system of grants. The Exchequer Equalisation Grant needs tidying up and changing at one or two points which would lead to "a fairer distribution of the grant." One of these would have a bearing on the education grant and there is an interesting suggestion for amending the formula for this grant. They defend the "percentage" grant most vigorously. It is no longer true to say that percentage grants enable rich Authorities to take greater advantage than the poor Authorities of the Treasury's money. It is not true that percentage grants lead to excessive "detailed central control." In contrast the Committee are very much against those who would like to see an extension of "unit" grants whether for specific or general purposes. They produce a great array of figures to show that costs per unit vary between Authorities for reasons not within each Council's control. They therefore see the percentage grant and the E.E.G. as the main features in any grant system. All this is explained and supported by a mass of data and argument, which will convince many.

Much as I enjoyed the argument, I for

one am still not wholly convinced. True the book is a very useful corrective to those who want to roll up most of the present grants into a very large grant distributed according to needs. Indeed, nobody can write about the reform of Exchequer grants in future without taking account of this work. There were, however, at least three points that worried me about the Report.

First, I am not yet convinced that one can ignore completely the effects of the abolition or reduction of derating or the provision of alternative sources of revenue. The Committee say that the arguments for alternative sources have been dealt with elsewhere and, therefore, need not concern them. But is this wholly true? Is not this Report dominated in its thinking by being obsessed with the poverty of all except a very few Authorities? Otherwise how can we account for their mathematical obsession with seeing that one Authority does not gain a few £s more than another? I am alarmed at the way Treasurers are increasingly watching each other to see that none gains a halfpenny advantage. In this Report there is table after table showing how this or that item costs slightly more or less in one area than in another. This is the obsession with poverty. If all Authorities had more revenue sources, would not some of this obsession disappear? Would not it be felt sufficient to ensure that justice was done to the obviously very poor Authorities without searching for perfect "fairness" for every Local Authority?

Second, even without an increase in the independent sources of local revenue, are not the Local Authorities' financial

advisers in danger of forgetting that the primary purpose of most grants must be to ensure a fair contribution from the Exchequer towards the "national" services provided by Local Authorities? Equalisation is being elevated into the sole aim, even on occasion to the detriment of the Local Authorities. Thus some (not this Report) have criticised the alternative sources put forward by the R.I.P.A. Committee on the ground that they would help some areas more than others. But does this really matter so long as they help all Authorities and increase the resources of the poorest? One of these days we will find Treasurers advocating levying a higher rate in some county boroughs so that the proceeds can be paid to other county boroughs. In this direction lies madness and disaster. There is a little of this in this Report.

Finally, I suspect that one must look farther ahead either than this Report or than the present Government proposals. One has to ask what will be the look of local finance and the grant system in ten or so years' time. This must assume

a continuation of some inflation as the Treasury and the Government seem unable to avoid it. A system combining the E.E.G. and a series of specific percentage grants is more likely to stand up to such a trend than a system of "fixed" grants. But will not both systems be undermined by the inevitable increase in the proportion of total local expenditure financed by the Exchequer? And if this happens, what then of the pretty argument that this or that grant basis, indeed any grant basis, gives Local Authorities the necessary incentive to spend carefully and wisely. In these circumstances will not some of the discussion become increasingly academic?

Looking back I can see I have used this review to criticise the Government's general proposals rather than the authors of this Report. But some of my comment is not altogether inappropriate to them. Nevertheless the Report is one of the most important contributions to the subject in all the literature.

D. N. CHESTER

Perspectives on Administration

By DWIGHT WALDO. University of Alabama Press, 1956. Pp. 143. \$2.50

THE five chapters in this book were originally presented as lectures in the University of Alabama in the Southern Regional Training Programme in Public Administration. The theme is perspectives: How does administration fit into human enterprise? How does administration look to other disciplines? It is an interesting and ambitious theme, but Professor Waldo does not succeed. He does not get deeply enough into any one of his perspectives. Sometimes he merely mentions one book title after another. There seems to be a real danger that Professor Waldo will become a slave to his card index. As he reels off the references we are rather like the rustics in Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*: "Still they gaz'd and still the wonder grew, That one small head should carry all he knew." Is Professor Waldo really like

this or is he more like one of us? Now and again, for example, when he is talking about models which have been used to illustrate or develop administrative theory, he is interesting and stimulating. But when he fills the pages with the reference to this or that book he is as interesting as a bibliographer, but we are left to do not merely the reading but also the understanding. We would like Professor Waldo to write a book in which no author, other than Waldo, and no book title is mentioned. Not that we are not grateful to the guides to the current and classical literature of public administration, but we would like to see Professor Waldo stand up without the aid of all these sticks and make a rather "illiterate" attempt to deal with some aspect or issue in administration.

D. N. CHESTER

BOOK NOTES

The New Atomic Age

United Nations, H.M.S.O., 1956. Pp. 40. 1s. 9d.

A DESCRIPTION in non-technical language of the principles of harnessing atomic energy; of the uses to which it is being put in industry, medicine and agriculture; and of the arrangements being devised for international co-operation "to ensure the benefits and prevent the possible ills of this new technology." The readability of the booklet is enhanced by diagrams and other simple illustrations.

*Metal Equipment for Office and Works Steel Office Furniture**Ancillary Machines and Equipment for Shops, Offices and Works**Mail Room Equipment*

THESE are Parts 18-21 of the comprehensive *Manual of Modern Business Equipment* which Macdonald and Evans Ltd. are publishing for the Office Appliance and Business Equipment Trades Association.

Definitions of Value

Collected and annotated by H. HOWARD KARSLAKE. Rating and Valuation Association, 1957. Pp. 161. 25s.

IN this compilation are contained the statutory definitions of value relating to the ownership or occupation of land. Succeeding parts deal with the statutes relating to compulsory purchases, requisitioned land, estate duty, taxation, rating, landlord and tenant, agricultural holdings, and licensed premises. Where necessary the language of the Acts is elucidated by introductory notes and additional comments.

Socialist Digest

Published monthly by the Labour Party. 1s. per issue.

THE January, 1957, issue of this periodical includes, in the section on "Public Enterprise," a brief review of the progress of the electricity supply industry since nationalisation.

Medical Negligence

By LORD NATHAN with the collaboration of ANTHONY R. BARROWCLOUGH. Butterworth, 1957. Pp. xxxii+218. 35s. (postage 1s. 3d. extra).

THIS book gives an account of the law of negligence in relation to the medical profession and hospitals. It is intended both for legal practitioners, for members of the medical and nursing professions, and for hospital administrators. The importance of the subject has been emphasised by the great increase since 1948 in legal actions against hospitals. Since this is a recent development in this country, however, it has proved necessary to supplement the reports of English cases by references to decisions of the courts in the Dominions and the United States.

Sexual Offences

Edited by L. RADZINOWICZ. Macmillan, 1957. Pp. xxvii+55. 63s.

THE Cambridge Department of Criminal Science has embodied in this report the results of its five-year enquiry into sexual offences. This enquiry was based on about a quarter of the known crimes occurring in fourteen police areas covering the London area, large industrial cities, seaports, suburbs, and country districts. The main section of the report is devoted to providing the factual background to 2,000 cases of conviction. There follows a comprehensive survey of the relevant substantive law and law of evidence, and a critical review of the major proposals for amendment of the existing provisions. In conclusion, memoranda from Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Belgium and the United States provide valuable comparative material.

Counterattack against Subtopia

Edited by IAN NAIRN. Architectural Press, 1957. Pp. 84. 12s. 6d.

THIS reprint from the December, 1956, special issue of the *Architectural Review* forms a sequel to *Outrage*. While the latter concentrated on exposing the way in which the land of Britain is being steadily

defaced, its successor shows how positive action can be taken to prevent further despoliation and to mitigate the damage which has been already done to the urban and rural landscape.

*Return of Fire Service Statistics, 1955-56**Return of Police Force Statistics, 1955-56**Education Statistics, 1955-56**Ambulance Service Statistics, 1955-56*

THESE annual returns are prepared jointly by the I.M.T.A. and the Society of County Treasurers. All four are obtainable at the price of 3s. per copy (reduced prices for six or more copies).

Integration of Social with Technological Change

By THE EARL OF HALSBURY. Occasional Papers No. 11. Published by the Institute of Personnel Management, 1957. Pp. 11. 2s. 6d.

AFTER reflecting on Nedd Ludd and his objection to cut-up pantaloons being used in the manufacture of stockings a century ago, the author comes to the present days of full employment. The final pages of this brief paper can thus do little but mention that technological change has not been found to be the main cause of prolonged unemployment, and that there are gaps in our knowledge of career patterns, which should be remedied.

Addresses of this type, although no doubt excellent in a conference setting, rarely make worthwhile publications—this is no exception.

Industrial Training

By A. TEGLA DAVIES. Institute of Personnel Management, 1956. Pp. 39. 4s. 6d.

THIS booklet is an excellent summary. Few, if any, of its pages do not contain information of interest or value to newly-appointed training officers or executives anxious to initiate some form of suitable training within their organisation.

Governmental Services in the Philippines

By H. B. JACOBINI and Associates. University of the Philippines, 1956. Pp. ix+640. No price shown.

THE twelve contributors to this symposium give a comprehensive account of the various services performed by the Philippine government. An introductory chapter contains a useful historical sketch and other background information.

Theses in the Social Sciences

Unesco, H.M.S.O., 1954. Pp. 236. 10s. 6d.

THIS is a reprint of an analytical catalogue of the unpublished doctorate theses which were written between 1940 and 1950. The information was derived from surveys carried out, at the instance of Unesco, in 30 Member States, including the United Kingdom and the United States. The theses are classified by subject and by language.

Government Contracting in Atomic Energy

By R. A. TYBOUT. Michigan University Press and Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. 226. 36s.

THE author examines the various kinds of contracts—fixed-price, variable-price, cost-plus-fixed-fee, etc.—used in the American atomic energy programme. This is an interesting and too little explored field of public administration. Unfortunately Professor Tybout does not explore it very thoroughly and seems mainly interested in showing that cost-plus-fixed-fee contracts represent a new form of relationship between government and private business.

In Their Early Twenties

By T. FERGUSON and J. CUNNISON. Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. 110. 12s. 6d.

THIS book is a sequel to two earlier studies of Glasgow boys who left school in 1947 at the age of 14. It is a detailed study of nearly 600 of them between the ages of 20 and 22, including military service and subsequent readjustment, leisure interests and employment.

*National Conference on
Metropolitan Problems*

Government Affairs Foundation (New York), 1957. Pp. 100.

THESE are the papers and proceedings of a conference on the problems of very large cities held at Michigan State University in 1956.

New Housing Estates in Belfast

By D. E. FIELD and D. G. NEILL. Queen's University of Belfast. Pp. 84. 3s.

BASED on a one-in-ten sample of the tenants of Belfast municipal estates, the survey deals with their expenditure, standard of living, attitudes towards house and estate, and social relationships.

Civil Service Posts for Graduates

H.M.S.O., 1956. Pp. 58. 2s. 6d.

AN extremely informative booklet prepared by the Civil Service Commission explaining the work of the Administrative Class, the Senior Branch of the Foreign Service and certain other classes recruited mainly from university graduates.

Friendship's Harvest

By VIOLET MARKHAM. C. H. Reinhardt. Pp. 227. 25s.

IN this very readable book, Miss Markham puts on record in biographical form her memories of some of the well-known men and women among her host of friends. Two will be of particular interest to readers of this *Journal*: the glimpses of Lord Haldane, his sister Elizabeth, and their mother, and the full-length account

of Sir Robert Morant. In the latter she defends Morant firmly and effectively against the criticisms and attacks of Mr. Michael Sadleir and Miss L. Grier. This chapter also includes some new material, particularly letters, about the later years of Morant's official life.

The Problem of "The Problem Family"

By N. F. PHELP and N. TIMMS. Family Service Units, 1957. Pp. 77. 7s. 6d.

THIS is a very useful critical review of the literature concerning the problem family and its treatment. The bibliography lists 154 articles, reports and books.

*The Clerk of the Council
The Medical Officer of Health*

Filmstrips No. 2 and 3 in *The Local Government Officer Series*. N.A.L.G.O. in collaboration with Education Productions Ltd. 15s. each.

THESE film strips are an excellent introduction to the work of these departments. The notes issued with the film strips describe the various frames and cover most of the more spectacular aspects of the work of these chief officers.

One's first inclination would be to assume that these strips are particularly suitable for older school children, but on examination it becomes evident that the general public, if they knew only of these aspects of the work of local officials, would be taking more interest than the average elector in local affairs. Local government is dependent for any success on the participation of an informed public and the N.A.L.G.O. Public Relations Officer has done well to produce these film strips.

RECENT GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

The following official publications issued by H.M.S.O. are of particular interest to those engaged in, or studying, public administration. The documents are available in the Library of the Institute.

AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT COUNCIL FOR ENGLAND AND WALES

Third report, 1950-56. pp. vi, 37. 1956 2s. 6d.

AGRICULTURE, FISHERIES AND FOOD, MINISTRY OF

Agricultural statistics, 1955-56. United Kingdom agricultural censuses and production. pp. vi, 36. 1957. 3s.

BOARD OF TRADE

The Commonwealth and the sterling area. Statistical abstract No. 76. 1955. pp. v, 334. 1956. 17s. 6d.

CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE

Standard industrial classification. pp. 33. 1948. 2s.

A reprint of the guide which was originally prepared "as a means of securing uniformity and comparability in the statistics published by Government Departments in the United Kingdom."

CENTRAL YOUTH EMPLOYMENT EXECUTIVE

Choice of Careers New Series, No. 31—The Civil Service: openings for juniors. pp. 36. Illus. 1956. 1s. 9d.

CIVIL APPROPRIATION ACCOUNTS

Classes I-IV, 1955-56. H.C. 23. pp. xiv, 321. 1956. 13s. 6d.

CIVIL ESTIMATES AND ESTIMATES FOR REVENUE DEPARTMENTS

Supplementary estimate, 1956-57. H.C. 71. pp. 223. 1957. 8s. 6d.

COLONIAL OFFICE

Annual report on the East Africa High Commission, 1955. Colonial No. 326. pp. ii, 81. Map, illus. 1956. 5s. 6d.

Colonial research, 1955-56. Reports of the various bodies. Cmnd. 52. pp. 312. 1956. 10s.

Colonial Research Publications, No. 18—Report on roads and road problems in South East Asia and the Caribbean (by F. H. P. Williams). pp. vii, 88. Figs., folding charts, 48 plates. 1957. 13s.

Constitutional proposals for Cyprus. Report submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Right Hon. Lord Radcliffe, G.B.E. Cmnd. 42. pp. 47. 1956. 2s.

Constitution makes no provision for change in international status of Cyprus. Cyprus will be governed by two law-making authorities; Governor to have full law-making and executive power in his own field. Turkish Cypriot voters to have 6 seats in Legislative Assembly.

Nigeria. Tribunal of inquiry appointed by warrant of appointment, 4th August, 1956. Report of the tribunal appointed to inquire into allegations reflecting on the conduct of the Premier of, and certain persons holding ministerial and other public offices in, the Eastern Region of Nigeria. Cmnd. 51. pp. viii, 65. 1957. 3s.

The proposed constitution of Ghana. Cmnd. 71. pp. 11. 1957. 8d.

Ghana "to be an independent State within the Commonwealth with the Queen as Sovereign and with a Cabinet and Parliamentary system of government of the same general type as is found in the United Kingdom and other independent Commonwealth countries."

Report of the British Caribbean Federal Capital Commission. Colonial No. 328. pp. 48. Folding map. 1956. 3s.

COMMITTEE OF PRIVILEGES

First report together with the proceedings of the Committee and the minutes of evidence. Session 1956-57. H.C. 27. pp. vi, b. 1956. 1s.

Second report, Session 1956-57. Complaint (17th December) of a passage in the *Sunday Express* newspaper of the 16th December, 1956. H.C. 38. pp. viii, 9. 1956. 1s. 9d.

Third report, Session 1956-57. Complaint (18th December) of a drawing and text in the *Evening News* newspaper of that day. H.C. 39. pp. iv, 3. 1956. 9d.

Fourth report together with the proceedings of the Committee and the minutes of evidence, Session 1956-57. H.C. 74. pp. vi. 1957. 6d.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS

Fourth, fifth and sixth reports and special report from the Committee. H.C. 204-1, 238-1, 282-1, 348-1. pp. xx, 598. 1956. 30s.

Index to the fourth, fifth, sixth and special reports from the Committee and to the further evidence, 1955-56. H.C. 348-Ind. pp. 19. 1956. 1s. 9d.

Special report. Treasury Minute and Abstract of Appropriation Accounts. Session 1956-57. H.C. 75. pp. 20. 1957. 1s.

COMMONWEALTH AGRICULTURAL BUREAUX

Twenty-seventh annual report of the Executive Council, 1955-56. pp. 33. 1956. 5s.

COMMONWEALTH ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

Annual report covering period 1st April, 1955, to 31st March, 1956. pp. 10. 1956. 9d.

COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS OFFICE

The Commonwealth Relations Office List, 1957. An official year book. pp. 276. 6th ed. 1957. 21s.

A very useful reference book on the Commonwealth. Lists Commonwealth Ministers and those organisations in the U.K. concerned with various aspects of Commonwealth relations, gives notes on constitutional development of certain Commonwealth countries, etc.

CORONA

November, 1956, to February, 1957. Monthly. 1s. 6d.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH FOR SCOTLAND

Housing return for Scotland, 31st December, 1956. Cmd. 66. pp. 15. 1957. 1s.

National Health Service, Scotland. Analysis of running costs of hospitals for the year ended 31st March, 1956. pp. iv, 64. 1956. 10s. 6d.

National Health Service Superannuation Scheme (Scotland): an explanation. Revised 1956. pp. 27. 1956. 1s.

DEPARTMENT OF SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

Notes on D.S.I.R. grants for graduate students and research workers. pp. 20. Revised January, 1957. 1s. 3d.

DIGEST OF COLONIAL STATISTICS

November-December, 1956; January-February, 1957. 6s. each issue.

ECONOMIC TRENDS

November, December, 1956; January, February, 1957. 2s. monthly.

EDUCATION, MINISTRY OF

The health of the school child. Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Education for the years 1954 and 1955. pp. 187. 4 plates. 1956. 6s.

Ministry of Education Pamphlet 31—Health education. pp. viii, 183. 1956. 4s.

Report of an enquiry into the working of the school meals service (1955-56). pp. v, 17. 1s. 3d.

Many reasons exist why children do not make fuller use of service—poor food, parents' preference for children to lunch at home, "faddy" children, cost, etc.

Training colleges in England and Wales recognised by the Minister. pp. 34. 1956. 1s. 6d.

Science Museum. Hand-list of short titles of current periodicals in the Science Library. pp. iv, 426. 8th ed. 1956. 12s. 6d.

FOREIGN OFFICE

European Coal and Steel Community Treaty series No. 51 (1956). Agreement concerning the relations between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the European Coal and Steel Community (and connected documents). Cmd. 13. pp. 39. 1956. 1s. 9d.

Miscellaneous No. 14 (1956). Report on the proceedings of the seventh Ordinary Session of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe including the Joint Meeting with the Common Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community, Strasbourg, 5th-9th July and 14th-27th October, 1955. Cmd. 26. pp. 115. 1956. 5s.

FORESTRY COMMISSION

Thirty-sixth annual report of the Forestry Commissioners for the year ended 30th September, 1955. H.C. 341. pp. 89. Tabs., illus. 1956. 4s. 6d.

FUEL AND POWER, MINISTRY OF

Proposals for the reorganisation of the electricity supply industry. Cmd. 27. pp. 3. 1956. 4d.

GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE

The Registrar General's decennial supplement, England and Wales, 1951. Life tables. pp. 34. Folding tabs. 1957. 3s.

Statistical review of England and Wales for the year 1955. Part I, tables, medical. pp. x, 372. 1956. 12s. 6d.

Estimates of the population of England and Wales. Population of each administrative area at 30th June, 1956. pp. 16. 1957. 9d.

GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE OF SCOTLAND

Annual report of the Registrar-General for Scotland, 1955. No. 101. pp. 488. Folding map. 1956. 16s.

HEALTH, MINISTRY OF

National Health Service hospital costing returns for year ended 31st March, 1956.

Part I—Regional hospital boards and hospital management committees in England and Wales. Part II—Boards of governors of teaching hospitals in England and Wales. Part III—Summary of hospital costs for the years 1952, 1954, 1956. pp. 137. 1956. 21s.

National Health Service Superannuation Scheme (England and Wales): An explanation. Revised 1956. pp. ii, 25. 1s.

Report for the year ended 31st December, 1955. Part II—On the state of the public health. Cmd. 16. pp. vi, 264. Tabs., 1 folding. 1956. 9s.

HOME OFFICE

Annual report of the Council of the Central After-care Association, 1955. pp. iv, 31. 1956. 1s.

The Council for Wales and Monmouthshire. Third memorandum on its activities. Cmd. 53. pp. 178. 1957. 6s.

Report of the Commissioners of Prisons for the year 1955. Cmd. 10. pp. vi, 203. 1956. 7s.

Report of the Committee on horticultural marketing. Cmd. 61. pp. iv, 182. 1957. 6s.

Some recommendations: that a London Markets Authority be set up to deal with necessary improvements in marketing and distribution at the London markets (such improvements would mean better value for the consumer and better prices for the growers); that existing markets be improved; that the volume of trade now concentrated at Covent Garden be distributed amongst the markets at Brentford and Stratford.

HOME OFFICE AND MINISTRY FOR WELSH AFFAIRS

Wales and Monmouthshire. Report of government action for the year ended 30th June, 1956. Cmd. 9887. pp. iii, 55. Illus. 1956. 3s. 6d.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Standing Committees. Return for session 1955-56. H.C. 429. pp. 13. 1956. 9d.

Standing orders, 1956. H.C. 422. pp. x, 310. 1956. 11s. 6d.

Supplementary estimate. Ministry of Defence. Estimate of the further sum required to be voted for the year ending 31st March, 1957: £1,650,000. H.C. 46. pp. 5. 1957. 8d.

Trading accounts and balance sheets 1955-56. H.C. 18. pp. vi, 167. 1956. 7s. 6d.

HOUSING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT, MINISTRY OF

Clean Air Act, 1956. Memorandum on miscellaneous provisions. pp. 11. 1956. 8d.

Clean Air Act, 1956. Memorandum on smoke control areas. pp. 25. 1956. 1s. 3d.

Housing return for England and Wales. 31st December, 1956. Appendix. pp. 78. Cmd. 65. 3s.

Housing return for England and Wales. 31st December, 1956. Cmd. 65. pp. 7. 1957. 6d.

Housing summary, 31st October, 1956. Cmd. 28. pp. 2. 1956. 3d.

Moving from the slums. Seventh report of the Housing Management Sub-Committee of the Central Housing Advisory Committee. pp. iii, 24. 1956. 1s. 9d.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Rent Control. Statistical information. Cmnd. 17. pp. 3. 1956. 4d.

IMPERIAL WAR GRAVES COMMISSION

Thirty-seventh annual report—1st April, 1955, to 31st March, 1956. pp. 61. Fronts., 23 plates. 1957. 2s. 6d.

INLAND REVENUE

Ninety-ninth report of the Commissioners of H.M. Inland Revenue for the year ended 31st March, 1956. Cmnd. 54. pp. 156. Folding tab. 1957. 8s. 6d.

IRON AND STEEL HOLDING AND REALISATION AGENCY

Report and statement of accounts for the period 1st October, 1955, to 30th September, 1956. H.C. 41. pp. 63. 1957. 3s.

JOURNAL OF AFRICAN ADMINISTRATION

Monthly. 2s. 6d. per number.

LABOUR AND NATIONAL SERVICE, MINISTRY OF

Annual report of the Chief Inspector of factories for the year 1955. Cmnd. 8. pp. 275. 1956. 9s.

Central Youth Employment Executive. The work of the Youth Employment Service, 1953-56. A report by the National Youth Employment Council. pp. vi, 38. 1956. 2s. 6d.

Industrial Court Awards No. 2630. London County Council: administrative, professional, technical and clerical staff salaries—claim for increase. pp. 17. 1957. 1s. 6d.

International Labour Conference, 39th session, Geneva, 6th-28th June, 1956. Report by the delegates of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Cmnd. 36. pp. 42. 1956. 2s. 3d.

LORD CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE

Law Reform Committee. Fifth report (conditions and exceptions in insurance policies). Cmnd. 62. pp. 7. 1957. 6d.

MONOPOLIES AND RESTRICTIVE PRACTICES COMMISSION

Report on the supply of electronic valves and cathode ray tubes. H.C. 16. pp. 194. 1956. 7s.

Report on the supply of certain industrial and medical gases. H.C. 13. pp. viii, 143. 1956. 6s.

Report on the supply of oxygen, dissolved acetylene and propane in the U.K. Principal sources of evidence include Air Ministry, Board of Trade, British Oxygen Co. Ltd., Esso Petroleum Co. Ltd., etc., etc.

Report on the supply of standard metal windows and doors. H.C. 14. pp. vi, 112. 1956. 5s.

Report on the supply of tea. H.C. 15. pp. iii, 69. 1956. 3s. 6d.

MONTHLY DIGEST OF STATISTICS

November, December, 1956, and January, 1957. 4s. 6d. each issue.

NATIONAL LAND FUND

Account of the National Land Fund for the year ended 31st March, 1956 (in continuation of H.C. 44, 1955-56). H.C. 357. pp. 5. 1956. 6d.

NATURE CONSERVANCY

Report of the Nature Conservancy for the year ended 30th September, 1956. H.C. 1. pp. v, 82. 12 plates. 1956. 4s. 6d.

OVERSEA EDUCATION

Quarterly, 2s. each issue.

OVERSEAS RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT ACTS, 1948 to 1956

Account, 1955-56. H.C. 76. pp. 7. 1957. 6d.

PENSIONS AND NATIONAL INSURANCE, MINISTRY OF

Report of the National Insurance Advisory Committee on the death grant question. Cmnd. 33. pp. 32. 1956. 1s. 6d.

POST OFFICE

Broadcasting: copy of an agreement dated 1st February, 1957, between the Postmaster-General and the British Broadcasting Corporation, supplemental to a licence and agreement made the 12th June, 1952, between the parties. Cmnd. 80. pp. 4. 1957. 6d.

Commercial accounts, 1955-56. H.C. 26. pp. 53. 1956. 3s. 6d.

Report of the Committee of Inquiry into

RECENT GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Welsh Broadcasting, 1956. Cmnd. 39. pp. ii, 42. 1956. 2s. 3d.

PRIVY COUNCIL

Medical Research Council Special Report, Series No. 292—A study of attitudes to factory work. Compiled by S. Wyatt and R. Marriott. pp. vii, 115. Bibliog. 1956. 10s.

Investigation to ascertain the nature, extent and causes of satisfaction and of discontent among men employed on mass-production methods in factories with similar types of work but different managements policies.

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS

Appropriation accounts, 1955-56. H.C. 6. pp. x, 31. 1956. 2s. 6d.

ROYAL MINT

Eighty-sixth Annual Report of the Deputy Master and Comptroller for the year 1955. pp. v, 89. 6 plates. 1956. 5s.

SCIENTIFIC POLICY, ADVISORY COUNCIL ON
Ninth annual report, 1955-56. Cmnd. 11. pp. iv, 12. 1956. 9d.

SCOTTISH EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Abstract of the accounts of education authorities and managers of grant-aided educational establishments for the year 1953-54. Report by the accountant appointed under the Education (Scotland) Act, 1946. pp. 30. 1956. 1s. 9d.

SCOTTISH HOSPITAL ENDOWMENTS RESEARCH TRUST

First report—12th January, 1954, to 31st July, 1955. H.C. 37. pp. 17. 1956. 1s. 3d.

SELECT COMMITTEE

Report from the Select Committee on the Naval Discipline Act. H.C. 421. pp. cxxxii, 420. 1956. 25s.

Navy requires wider scheme of summary jurisdiction than other services, because of its mobility; naval discipline must be equally strict in peacetime and in war. Present code of naval discipline derives from Articles of War passed in 1661. Committee has had to consider how Act can be altered to suit modern conditions.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ESTIMATES, SESSION 1955-56

Minutes of the proceedings of the Select Committee on Estimates. H.C. 427. pp. 15. 1956. 9d.

First report—Her Majesty's Stationery Office. H.C. 33. pp. xiv, 201. 1956. 10s. 6d.

Second report—The supply of military aircraft. H.C. 34. pp. xxxviii, 306. 1956. 16s.

Third report—Stores and ordnance depots of the service departments. H.C. 60. pp. xxxii, 266. 1957. 13s. 6d.

Special report. Observations of the Treasury and the Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation on the first report of the Select Committee on Estimates in session 1955-56 (on civil aerodromes and ground services). H.C. 35. pp. 19. 1956. 1s. 3d.

STATE MANAGEMENT DISTRICTS

Annual report for the year ended 31st March, 1956. H.C. 3. pp. 7. 1956. 6d.

STATIONERY OFFICE

British Imperial Calendar and Civil Service List, 1957. pp. xiii, 1003. 1957. £1 1s.

International organisations' publications, 1955. Supplement to the Stationery Office Catalogue. pp. 1231-1266, xiv. 1956. 6d.

TRANSPORT AND CIVIL AVIATION, MINISTRY OF

London Airport central terminal buildings. pp. 46. Illus., folding plans. 2nd ed. 1955. 5s.

Parking survey of inner London. Interim report, September, 1956. pp. 35. Folding maps in pocket. 1956. £1.

Deals with the proposed parking scheme—installation of parking meters, enforcement of meter system, etc.

Public road passenger transport statistics, Great Britain, 1955-56. pp. 19. 1956. 1s.

TRANSPORT TRIBUNAL

The British Transport Commission (Railway Merchandise) charges scheme, 1957. pp. 19. 1s.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

TREASURY

The Colombo Plan for co-operative economic development in South and South-East Asia. Fifth annual report of the Consultative Committee. Cmnd. 50. pp. 154. 1957. 5s. 6d.

Customs and Excise: forty-seventh report of the Commissioners for the year ended 31st March, 1956. Cmnd. 69. pp. 192. 7s. 6d.

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WAR OFFICE

Report of the Committee on the Employment of National Servicemen in the United Kingdom. Cmnd. 35. pp. 27. 1956. 1s. 3d.

Committee composed of three impartial observers examined all aspects of the use of National Servicemen, following widespread feeling that National Service manpower was being wasted. Recommendations of report include courses of training for commanding officers and staffs of training units, explanations of his allocation to a particular arm, greater "civilianisation" of the National Serviceman, etc.

WELSH LAND SETTLEMENT SOCIETY LIMITED

Co-operative farms and smallholdings with centralised services in Wales. Report and accounts for the year 1955-56. pp. 36. 1956. 3s. 6d.

Haldane the Man

By THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT WAVERLEY, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., F.R.S.

This essay and the four which follow it are based on the lectures delivered in Autumn, 1956, under the auspices of the Royal Institute of Public Administration, to mark the centenary of the birth of Viscount Haldane of Cloan.

IT is my task in this essay to write on the subject of Haldane the Man. Subsequent contributions will deal with law, education, defence, and the machinery of government.

In writing of Haldane I have the advantage of having known him personally in several phases of his highly diversified career. I think I first came into close touch with him in the early part of the 1914-18 war. I was then Secretary to the Insurance Commission, and had undertaken in that capacity to take such measures as might be possible to ensure the continued supply to panel patients of necessary drugs and medicines for which we had been dependent to a very unfortunate extent on Germany. The Government was faced with a similar problem in regard to materials needed for the manufacture of explosives and other war-like purposes, and Lord Haldane—in view of his previous experience as War Minister, and particularly of his membership of a Committee on Explosives which sat for four years in the early part of the century—had been invited to handle that matter. This he did in association with Lord Moulton, and the two of them sought my collaboration because of the not dissimilar task in which I was already engaged, and also, I suppose, because I happened to be one of the few senior Civil Servants with any extensive knowledge of chemistry.

Then, some years later, I came again into touch with him in connection with the work of the Committee on the Machinery of Government over which he presided. In a section of the Report of that Committee, which, he has told us, he wrote with his own hand, an extensive rearrangement of the work of the Home Office and of the Lord Chancellor's Department was recommended as a first step towards the establishment of a Ministry of Justice. There is no doubt that this was a reform on which he had set his heart, but it is interesting to recall that when in 1924 he became Lord Chancellor for the second time he sent for me, I being then permanent head of the Home Office, and in the course of conversation about the relations between the two Departments remarked, with a rather wistful smile, "I think we had better quietly forget what was in that Report."

Later still I sat under his chairmanship on a committee dealing with research in connection with air raid precautions. Other members of that committee were Professor J. B. S. Haldane, Professor F. A. Lindemann (later Lord Cherwell), Professor G. I. Taylor, the Master General of the Ordnance, the Air Marshal responsible for Supply, and a member of the Board of Admiralty. Various modern developments were discussed, such as radio control, the possible use of radar for cutting out aircraft engines, proximity fuses, and the like. Haldane took a keen personal interest in all these matters.

In all these contacts I could not fail to be impressed both by the breadth of his knowledge and by his ardent desire to get things done. The same

impression is given by the series of addresses with which he inaugurated no fewer than four sessions of the Institute of Public Administration. It was my privilege to take the chair on several of these occasions.

Haldane's Character

After this introduction let me turn to deal with some outstanding features of Haldane's life and character.

The atmosphere in which he spent his early life was sternly Calvinistic. As I think often happens in such cases, he reacted violently against it: not, however, as a libertine. I must here describe a rather curious incident because of the light that it throws on his later development. He had not been baptised in infancy, and at the age of 18, just after he had returned from his first term at Göttingen University, it came to his knowledge that his father was much concerned at the thought of his growing to full manhood unbaptised. He therefore fell in with a plan to have the ceremony performed at the Baptist church which the family normally attended when in Edinburgh. I now quote his own words:

"I told them all openly that I would not refuse to go through the ceremony, but that I should make a definite explanation the moment it was over. I rose dripping from the font, and, facing the congregation, announced to them that I had consented to go through what had taken place only to allay the anxiety of my parents, but that now, as those present might have misunderstood, I must say something to them. It was that I could not accept their doctrines; that I regarded what had taken place as the merest external ceremony; and that for the future I had no connection with the church, or its teaching, or with any other church."

I must suppose that he cannot have realised how deeply his attitude must have distressed his parents. It was, however, characteristic of him to be acutely sensitive in some respects and quite insensitive in others. For example, he has told us that on his first visit to Germany he was "particularly distressed" to see a woman and a dog drawing along the street a cart containing a man and a calf. There was nothing, of course, very extraordinary in that. I am reminded of an Indian who rode into Dawson City, when I was there, with his squaw plodding behind carrying the papoose and all the household goods, and when asked why his wife did not ride, replied quite simply: "She got no horse." It may have been the same man who, when he rode alone into White Horse and someone asked him where his wife was, replied: "Oh, she paddle canoe; she got no money."

On the other hand, Haldane seems to have been unable to understand until too late what people had been feeling about what they supposed to have been his attitude towards Germany during the first world war. I have wondered whether such insensitiveness might not have been the cause of the rather tragic breaking off of his engagement to a young lady to whom he was very deeply attached. He was aged 34 at the time—here is the story in his own words:

"I had fallen deeply in love with a remarkable girl of distinguished quality and of good position. The response to me on her side came slowly, but

when it did come it seemed to have come very surely. We had many tastes in common and much the same outlook on life and affairs. We became engaged in March, 1890, and there followed some weeks of unbroken happiness. Towards the end of April, I had left her, in order to return to my duties, after a visit we made together in Devonshire. Suddenly, without previous warning, and as a bolt from an unclouded sky, there came to me in London a note saying that all was over. She felt that she had misunderstood herself, and her decision to break the engagement must be taken as final. I could not realise what had happened."

Again:

"After five weeks of uninterrupted happiness, happiness, to the best of my judgment then and now, for her as well as for me, all was changed and at an end.

"My grief was overwhelming, for I had a strong sense of the irrevocableness of the decision. The shock upset me. But there was no moment in which I either blamed her or pitied myself. My feeling was that somehow I had failed. I had read and thought so much that I knew this might well have been so, notwithstanding that I was unconscious of it.

"To this hour I treasure the memory of these five happy weeks, and bless her name for the return she made in them to my devotion to her, and for the feeling inspired apparently in both of us. I came to realise afterwards, when the pain was past, that my love for her, though it failed, had brought to me not loss but great gain. For it enlarged the meaning and content of life for me."

It is abundantly clear that Haldane had great capacity for friendship. His autobiography abounds with references to life-long friends of both sexes in this country and in Germany. He and his mother, brother and sister were devoted to each other. Nor was he in any way unsociable. Dining out had great attractions for him, though it was a form of relaxation against which he thought fit to warn young men on the threshold of their career. He had a nice taste in wine—particularly claret—and with a view to improving his social equipment he at one time underwent what would seem to have been a rather laborious course of tuition in ballroom dancing. Incidentally, one of his fellow pupils, he has told us, was Elizabeth Garrett Anderson—a grave and distinguished member of the medical profession. The inclination, he says, as indeed one might have expected, was of brief duration.

Haldane's Philosophy

I have already quoted Haldane's declaration of his resolve to have no connection with any church. That does not, however, mean that he was irreligious. On the contrary, while he rejected revealed religion in any form he developed early, no doubt against a background of German philosophy, profound religious convictions. A few quotations will suffice to make this clear. Already, when he left Göttingen at the age of 18, "My mind," he writes, "had become concentrated on a search for light about the meaning of God, Freedom and Immortality." "My religious outlook was a genuine one. Its origin was a deep conviction that the more experience is spiritual

the more it is real. "God is not outside us but is within our breasts, an almighty ever-present Deity." "Originally under strong evangelical conviction I passed from the form of such conviction before I was eighteen years old." "The phenomena of life would be unintelligible unless there entered into the constitution of biological experience relations of a wholly different order from those of mechanism."

It seems appropriate here to add a word about the philosophy which dominated every aspect of his activities. "I think," he has said, "that I have in the main followed Leonardo da Vinci in the faith that it is even better to know than to be." Always he emphasised the importance of ideas which he described as of immense potency, and of enunciating principles before proceeding towards the practical solution of any problem. "No systematic knowledge is sufficient in itself unless it leads up to and points to first principles."

It was no doubt inevitable that his philosophical approach to practical problems should have been somewhat baffling to more pragmatic colleagues. He himself records a remark attributed to Campbell-Bannerman after his appointment to the War Office: "We shall now see how Schopenhauer gets on in the Kailyard"; and I have been assured that when a colleague in the 1924 Labour Government asked him, in a rather sneering way, whether he found that philosophy of his of any practical use, the reply was: "Well, I find it quite useful in dealing with ignorance with which I have to contend a great deal in these days." Seriously, however, the remarkable thing was that his philosophical bent led invariably towards, and not away from, practical achievement.

He was endowed with considerable physical and vast intellectual energy, and rejoiced to apply it in the pursuit of practical aims. The range of his activities was truly remarkable. His contributions at the War Office, in the law and in the fields of education and public administration are, as I have mentioned, the subject of later essays. But these subjects, many-sided as they are, by no means complete the story. Electricity, coal, explosives, Irish Home Rule, to give only a few examples, at one time or another claimed his attention.

Haldane and Politics

As a Parliamentarian he was not, on the whole, conspicuously successful. He has said himself that he had a poor voice and only a dubiously attractive personality. He was also at times too prolix. I recall F. E. Smith's remark of him as "in matter copious and even infinite." On the other hand he achieved by his speech on the Bill to establish the University of London (to which Dr. Lockwood refers on pages 235-236) an outstanding success. "In my experience," wrote the Prime Minister, "I have never known a case in which a single speech converted hostile and impressed indifferent opinion in the House."

It is indeed strange that with his unique record of achievement, his single-mindedness, his freedom from personal vanity and selfish ambition, he should have provoked so much hostility. The explanation perhaps is that people in general, though aware of his great gifts and outstanding services, did not understand him. Perhaps he did not sufficiently care. "Political success," he wrote, "is not to be an admired Minister surrounded by a devoted group

of adherents. It is to have a belief that is true and leads others to follow it." At all events he seemed to lack at times what is called "political sense." This became very apparent, for example, on an occasion when he got into trouble over an amendment to a *Hansard* report, and he certainly failed to recognise the interpretation that was bound to be placed on his refusal—from, it may be stated, the highest motives—to publish a letter sent to him by Herr Ballin on the eve of the outbreak of war. He also, I think, was at fault in not realising at the time the political implications of the action taken by the Attorney-General, at the behest of the Cabinet, in withdrawing the proceedings against one Campbell in 1924. Another illustration that came to my notice personally may be worth mentioning. Haldane, as Secretary of State for War, had been called upon to act temporarily as Home Secretary. A crisis suddenly arose, as happens not infrequently in Home Office affairs. Haldane was in Scotland and was asked urgently for directions. He has confessed that he did not know what to do so he called his dog and went out for a walk, in the course of which light dawned. It was a question of preventing three ships from reaching a certain destination. He knew of no legal provision under which he could act, but recalling the maxim "*Salus populi suprema lex*," he issued the appropriate orders none the less and the crisis was averted. As he seemed disposed to regard this as something of a triumph I felt constrained to comment that to stretch the executive arm out too far is apt to lead to trouble.

It is notable that among his many interests Haldane did not include the developments leading up to what is now called the Welfare State. I think he found Lloyd George antipathetic, and he certainly considered that his ideas were often too hastily thrown together. In fact, the methods of work of the two men could hardly have presented a greater contrast.

Conclusion

In his latter years Haldane suffered greatly in health. An attack of iritis deprived him of the sight of one eye and the other was threatened. He also developed diabetes, to which he would undoubtedly have succumbed but for the timely discovery of insulin. He died in 1928 at the age of 72, having been active to the end and with, I venture to say, a much greater record of practical achievement in public affairs than any other statesman of his day and generation.

Haldane and the Law

BY THE RIGHT HON. EARL JOWITT, P.C.

Among the high offices held by Lord Jowitt was that of Lord Chancellor, which he occupied from 1945 to 1951.

IT is, I confess, a somewhat melancholy thought that there are but few persons still living who had a better opportunity of seeing at first hand Lord Haldane's work as Lord Chancellor than myself. I am very conscious, however, of my inability to make the best use possible of that opportunity. I wish that John Simon were still with us. He would have loved to do honour to Lord Haldane's memory: and he, of course, being twelve years older than myself, would have been able to speak with a far more intimate knowledge of Lord Haldane's work as Lord Chancellor from 1912 to 1915.

I was only called to the Bar in 1909, and though I was fortunate enough to establish a considerable practice within a few years of my call, yet it was only on rare and exceptional occasions that I found my way to what I then regarded as the formidable and rarified atmosphere of the Privy Council or the House of Lords. My regular field of activity was in the County Courts.

However, during Lord Haldane's second tenure of office as Lord Chancellor in 1923, and during the succeeding years when he used to preside as an ex-Lord Chancellor over the Privy Council or the House of Lords, I had the honour of appearing before him on very many occasions. I had taken silk in 1922, and by that time I had acquired a large practice which led me to both these Courts.

I am proud to think that he took an interest in me and I had the immense privilege of getting to know him personally. I am one of the very small number of lawyers still living who were bidden to dine with him at his charming house in Queen Anne's Gate. There I have listened to him recounting his early days at the Bar, telling of his heroes amongst the great judges of the past and discussing the problems concerning the administration of the Courts and his plans for their reorganisation; and when he had delivered himself on these topics I would lead him on to his early political recollections.

Haldane's Character

Looking back over a long life, during which I have had the opportunity of knowing many men who achieved a great position in this country, Haldane stands out in my memory. He was utterly devoid of conceit, and possessed the highest ideals. He was content with nothing that was second-rate, and he looked for happiness in seeking to do his very best in whatever task he undertook.

But it is not for me to write of the man: that has already been beautifully accomplished by Lord Waverley. Nor must I write of him as a philosopher, because I am in no way qualified to do so. I will merely say that if philosophy enables a man to endure, without becoming embittered, the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune—and of these Haldane had more than his share—it is indeed a noble study. I never heard Haldane say an unkind word about anyone.

Haldane at the Bar

I must come to my proper task and say something of Haldane's place as a lawyer.

He was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1879, and three years later he became devil to Davey (afterwards Lord Davey) who then enjoyed a great practice in the Chancery Division and in the Appellate Courts.

These two were, I should judge, exactly fitted to each other. Haldane possessed an accurate and scholarly mind. He was widely read in the law, he had a good memory, and he was prepared to devote all his energies—and they were considerable—to his work. He soon made himself indispensable to Davey and through him came into touch with many of the most eminent solicitors. In that way he began to acquire a practice of his own.

Haldane entered Parliament for East Lothian in 1885 and he sat for that constituency for an unbroken period of 27 years. In 1890 he took silk and elected to attach himself to the Court of Mr. Justice Kay who, on his promotion to the Court of Appeal, was succeeded by Mr. Justice Romer. In 1897—to use the legal jargon—he went special. I have heard it said that Haldane's junior practice being by no means so considerable as one might have expected, he decided to apply for silk; and that his practice as a silk, attached as he was according to the custom of those days to a particular court, not developing satisfactorily, he went special. From this I infer that he possessed confidence in his own power to make good in his chosen profession, and considerable courage and determination.

As a special he prospered particularly in the Appellate Courts. He was never, I think, at his best in the Courts of First Instance, where the facts have to be ascertained by the painful process of cross-examination. He had no particular skill as a cross-examiner. He liked to be given his facts and to work out the legal principles to which those facts gave rise.

He tells us in his autobiography that in his best year at the Bar he earned 15,000 guineas: and although there were fashionable leaders in those days who earned substantially larger incomes, it is surely the fact that such a sum (as prices and taxes stood fifty odd years ago) was a princely reward even for the most arduous labours.

As to his characteristics as an advocate, I can of course say nothing. He had ceased his practice before I was called to the Bar. But I have been told, both by Lord Oxford and Lord Dunedin, that he was regarded as a very formidable opponent by those who were against him.

He states in his autobiography what he regarded as the first canon of advocacy: if counsel is faced with a difficult point, let him state it in the very forefront of his case. To conceal it is foolish, for sooner or later it is certain to come out. If it is elicited for the first time either in the argument or during the cross-examination of his opponent, it will have a much more deadly effect than if it is frankly stated at the outset. By stating the point himself, by opening—as it were—the cupboard door and revealing the skeleton, counsel will gain the sympathy of the Court by his conduct and may even hope to stitch together a few clothes to cover the skeleton. I respectfully agree with Haldane.

He mentions a second point which reveals him as a good psychologist and

shows, too, that measure of shrewdness which we often find in his compatriots. If, for example, Lord Watson—a great judge and one of Haldane's heroes—took some point which seemed destructive of his case, Haldane would deliberately address himself to some less formidable judge and try to induce that weaker vessel to develop Lord Watson's point. Lord Watson would become restive when he heard it being developed less attractively, or perhaps even being bungled, and would become far less enthusiastic about the point than he had been when he first discovered it; finally, he would tend to find the answer to it and all would be well. Herein, no doubt, lay one of the secrets of this very successful advocate.

For the rest, I have been told that Haldane would never cite cases for the mere sake of citing them, though his knowledge of case law was very considerable. He would never quote a case without first stating with precision the principle which it illustrated: though he would, of course, always cite those cases which told against the principle for which he was contending. He adopted this same admirable principle when he became a judge, and those who study his judgments—and there are many to study—will, I feel sure, be impressed with this quality.

I will content myself with one illustration. It was a case in which the House of Lords was divided three to four; and the fact that Lord Haldane joined the four (the other three on his side were Loreburn, Shaw and Reading) against the dissentient three (Dunedin, Parker and Atkinson) of course settled the decision.

It was the famous case in which a schoolmaster employed in an Irish industrial school had, whilst engaged in his duty, been set upon by some unruly boys and assaulted in accordance with a preconceived conspiracy. From this assault the schoolmaster died and the question arose under the Workmen's Compensation Act whether his death arose by accident arising out of his employment.

I quote this passage from Haldane's judgment [1914 Appeal Cases, p. 680]:

"I will only add that I have not arrived at this conclusion without examining a number of authorities which I have not referred to specifically. Having regard to the conflict which exists between judicial opinions expressed in some of the decided cases, the only safe guide appears to me to be the language of the Act of Parliament itself. It is on what I conceive to be the dominating purpose that appears in the language of the Legislature that I base my own view."

I must add that the judges in the minority could find from first to last nothing remotely resembling an accident, but in judicial proceedings the majority is always right. It is, I believe, not always so in politics.

The Task of the Lord Chancellor

I pass on to consider the contribution Haldane made as Lord Chancellor. By far the most important task which falls upon the Lord Chancellor is the part he plays in the selection of judges. It is for him to make recommendations to the Sovereign as to the persons who should be appointed as puisne judges. Moreover, although the recommendation relating to the judges of the Court of Appeal and of the House of Lords—Lords Justices

and Lords of Appeal in Ordinary, to give them their proper titles—is under our constitution the function of the Prime Minister, yet it is obvious that he is bound to place the greatest reliance on the advice he derives from the Lord Chancellor; this would have been especially true in the case of a Lord Chancellor so universally respected as Haldane.

The importance of selecting the right men cannot be overemphasised. Haldane believed—and surely he was right in believing—that the strength of a democracy rests upon its administration of justice; and the administration of justice manifestly depends upon the ability, the personality and the character of its judges.

I suppose every Lord Chancellor has the same experience. The Chief Whip of his Party will come to see him. He will mention the names of certain Members of Parliament who practise the law and who have rendered yeoman service to the Party. He will ask the Lord Chancellor not to forget their claims to be selected as judges. He will state, and state truly, that service in Parliament has long been regarded as a road leading to the Bench, and he will point out that unless this principle is adhered to, the busy lawyer will not face the trouble and turmoil of political life.

To all such claims the Lord Chancellor must close his ears. He must recommend men solely on the basis of their merit, whatever party they may belong to, and he must be prepared to withstand the criticisms that may come to him for not giving preference to his own political friends.

He will inevitably make mistakes in his recommendations. Many a man who has been a good advocate will not prove a good judge: and the only material which a Lord Chancellor has to hand is his knowledge of the man as an advocate and the opinion of those judges who know him and can judge his legal qualifications.

I quote from Haldane's autobiography [page 253]:

"With Asquith's cordial assent we decided that in filling the vacancies we would appoint only on the footing of high legal and professional qualifications. The vacancies were filled on this basis, and my successors have adhered closely to the same principle. It is a principle of great importance for the administration of justice."

In those days there was a regular Cabinet on Wednesdays, on which day the House of Lords did not sit judicially. The Lord Chancellor would always preside at the judicial sittings on other days of the week. This enabled him to keep in close touch with the Bar. He would hear all the foremost advocates. He would be able to form his own view of their personality and of their legal acumen: and this knowledge would be of great assistance to him in making his recommendations for appointment to the Bench.

On the other hand, a day spent in presiding over a Court involves, as I can certainly testify, a tiring and exacting task. However dull the proceedings may be, the President of the Court cannot let his attention flag: he must keep himself at concert pitch throughout. When the Court rises he will generally be tired, and not seldom exhausted.

To ask the Lord Chancellor thereafter to transfer immediately to the task of presiding over the House of Lords during its legislative proceedings is to ask a great deal: more especially if he is expected to take a prominent

part in those proceedings.

Haldane was 56 when he first became Lord Chancellor, and 67 when he was appointed for the second time. He always maintained—alike in his public writings and in his private conversation—that the task was too great. No man, he said, could be at his best under such a strain.

It was no doubt for this reason that in the Report of the Machinery of Government Committee we find this recommendation relating to the duties of the Lord Chancellor:

“We think that he should, in the first place, be freed from the duty of daily or even frequent judicial sitting. There are cases which come before the Supreme Tribunals in which it is of much importance that the Judges should have that familiarity with constitutional usage which can never be acquired so well as in the school of long experience in Parliament. In appeals from the Dominions touching delicate questions in their constitutions this is peculiarly true; and for this and other reasons we do not think that the Lord Chancellor should be divorced wholly from the duty of presiding over the Supreme Tribunals although it is obvious that his time should not be absorbed by ordinary cases” [Paragraph 35].

That recommendation has in fact been adopted. As so often happens in the history of our constitutional development, it was adopted not deliberately but by the merest accident.

During the last war, owing to the difficulties of the black-out and so on, their Lordships started sitting at 2 p.m. for their legislative business. No doubt they were encouraged by their wives to lunch at the House so that they could have a meal off the ration: anyhow, once they acquired the habit of sitting at 2 p.m., nothing would induce them to go back to the old practice of meeting at 4 p.m.

Even the Lord Chancellor cannot be in two places at once. He cannot preside over the hearing of an appeal if he is to preside as Speaker over the political deliberations of their Lordships. In practice, therefore, since he has to give priority to the sittings of the House of Lords, he can only preside over the Court at times when the House is not sitting. In this way Lord Haldane's main recommendation has been carried out.

It has been said, whether truly or not I am not sure, that the Cabinet system owes its origin in large part to the fact that the early Georges spoke English with difficulty and were therefore not interested to attend meetings of their ministers. By such accidents have we developed.

Haldane and the Machinery of Justice

During my occupation of the Woolsack from 1945 to 1951 other changes were made, which Lord Haldane had recommended.

The House of Lords insisted that the Lord Chancellor should become responsible for the appointment of Recorders and of stipendiary magistrates, which had hitherto been a function of the Home Secretary. I never asked to be entrusted with this task—I was indeed anxious not to trespass on the Home Office's preserves—yet I confess that I think it is better so. This, too, is in accord with the recommendations of the Machinery of Government Committee. Further, the Judge Advocates of the Navy and Army have

come under the jurisdiction of the Lord Chancellor, as Haldane recommended.

The Machinery of Government report suggested also that, to assist him in his judicial appointments, the Lord Chancellor should have an advisory committee consisting of the Prime Minister, former Lord Chancellors, the Lord Chief Justice and the man who would have been appointed as Minister of Justice if this recommendation of the report had been carried out.

With this recommendation I should not agree so far as puisne judges are concerned: and if Lord Haldane were alive today, I do not believe he would agree. In the first place, the Prime Minister is far too busy to have this additional task thrust upon him; in the case of a puisne judge the Prime Minister would generally have no knowledge to enable him to express a useful opinion. Secondly, I would not prescribe the persons whom the Lord Chancellor is to consult.

I certainly never made a recommendation without very full consultations with those judges who, in my view, were best qualified to express an opinion. I never made a recommendation without discussing the proposal with, and obtaining the approval of, the President of the Division to which the new judge was to be attached—be he the Lord Chief Justice, the President of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division, or the senior judge of the Chancery Division. I feel fairly certain that my successors have adopted the same principle.

It must be remembered, however, that Haldane would have entrusted to the Lord Chancellor assisted by this committee (instead of to the Prime Minister) the appointments of the judges of the Court of Appeal and of the House of Lords.

I never had any difficulty in agreeing with my Prime Minister—on whom alone the responsibility rested—as to the persons who should be recommended for appointment to the appellate tribunals. In practice, the system worked admirably and it would, I suppose, always work well unless the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor were at loggerheads and did not trust each other. But as an abstract proposition I should agree with Haldane that the better system would be to entrust the appointment to the Lord Chancellor after consultation with the Prime Minister, rather than to the Prime Minister after consultation with the Lord Chancellor, which I assume would take place.

Haldane recommended that the Home Secretary should become Minister of Justice and that he should become responsible for all services connected with justice subject to the exceptions made in favour of the Lord Chancellor's Department. He would have transferred to other Ministries certain functions which then belonged to the Home Office.

In so far as the change is a mere change of title from Home Secretary to Minister of Justice, it is of course unimportant. But the report went further than this and recommended that the Home Secretary or Minister of Justice (by whatever name he may be called) should have a body of experts charged with the general duty of considering law reform.

I doubt whether this is practicable or desirable. Each Department knows—better than an expert sitting somewhere else—what law reforms are desirable in the matters with which it deals. If, for example, a question arises with regard to merchant shipping, the experts of the Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation will be better able to say what reforms are desirable than any

expert of the Home Office: and if the question relates to the laws of lunacy, the experts of the Ministry of Health will be those best qualified to express an opinion.

The problem of government today is not that the various Departments are slow and lethargic in bringing forward their proposals, but that they all claim so large a part in the legislative programme that they have to be rationed. This is done by a committee presided over by the Lord President of the Council. Had there been greater Parliamentary time available and had there been more Parliamentary Draftsmen, I confess that I should have introduced many more bills connected with law reform. These are the bottlenecks which exist in practice today. If they could be removed, there would be no lack of projects for improving our legislation.

Looking back over the last forty years, it is not difficult to criticise some of Haldane's recommendations: and I have no doubt that he would himself have reconsidered many of them had he seen—as we have seen—how the system has developed in recent years. It is right to record that an immense number of the reforms he advocated have been carried out, and that the structure of our governmental machinery today owes much to his wisdom and to his power of constructive thought.

Judicial Committee of the Privy Council

I have said nothing as yet of the work of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council: I must certainly do so, for it was in this field that Haldane made his most valuable contribution. Before I describe this contribution, however, it may be helpful to the lay reader if I indicate briefly the composition and jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee and of the House of Lords in its judicial capacity.

Such differences as exist between the Judicial Committee and the House of Lords are unsubstantial, and are a matter of historical accident. The Lord Chancellor, ex-Lord Chancellors, and all the Lords of Appeal in Ordinary (commonly called the Law Lords), both past and present, sit both in the House of Lords in its judicial capacity and on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. A few persons who are not Peers and who therefore cannot sit in the House of Lords are members of the Judicial Committee. We have been fortunate enough from time to time to have available the assistance of someone who, having held high judicial office in one of the Dominions or in India, has been appointed a member of the Judicial Committee, and at the present time in hearing cases from Ceylon, we have the invaluable assistance of a distinguished judge from that country. But it frequently happens that the Court which is hearing appeals in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is composed of judges all of whom are qualified to sit in the House of Lords.

In addition to these slight differences between the two Courts in the composition of the Bench, there are variations in certain matters of practice and procedure. The Judicial Committee meets in Downing Street and not in the House of Lords. It delivers only one judgment, which is the judgment of the Court, so that dissentient judges do not get a chance of recording their dissent, still less of expressing their reasons for it, whereas in the House of Lords any individual judge can deliver his own judgment.

In form the judgment of the Judicial Committee is a "humble advice" to Her Majesty, and the decision becomes effective by being approved by Order in Council, whereas the decision of the House of Lords is given in the form of a judgment and does not need the formality of an Order in Council.

There are other small distinctions. The Lord Chancellor, when presiding over the House of Lords, wears his wig, and in the Judicial Committee he does not—a good example of the nature and quality of the differences between the two Courts.

The real difference between the two Courts lies in the area of their jurisdiction, for whereas the House of Lords hears appeals from the Courts in England, Scotland and Northern Ireland, the Judicial Committee hears appeals from the other parts of Her Majesty's Dominions, excluding those self-governing territories which have abolished the appeal to the Privy Council. Today, therefore, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council hears appeals from Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon and the Colonies, and the House of Lords has no jurisdiction to hear such appeals. In Haldane's time the Judicial Committee also heard appeals from Canada and India.

The demarcation of functions between the provinces of Canada and the central government, and between the Australian states and the government of the Commonwealth of Australia, owes as much to Haldane as to any of the judges of my generation. Here was a task which exactly fitted his genius, and he was able to bring to bear upon it the vast experience he had accumulated in the course of his political life. In this particular task his hard training in the House of Commons was of immense value.

You will remember the passage I have quoted from the Haldane Report recommending that, although the Lord Chancellor should be relieved of the burden of presiding regularly over judicial proceedings, he should endeavour to sit in cases raising constitutional issues.

I think we have lost a great opportunity in our failure to develop the Judicial Committee. The members of the British Commonwealth were—at any rate until India became a republic—bound together by their common allegiance to the Sovereign. That was perhaps the sole link remaining, apart from history and sentiment. Might we not have hoped that through the institution of a Great Commonwealth Court of Appeal, to which all the member States made their contribution, we could have forged a second link?

The first step would have been a merger between the House of Lords in its judicial capacity and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Haldane contemplated that this would come about as a natural by-product of the reform of the House of Lords, then thought to be imminent; and he anticipated that this reform would result in the House losing its judicial function. It was, after all, only two years before Haldane first became Lord Chancellor that we had been told by Mr. Asquith that the reform of the House of Lords brooked no delay. The Haldane Report assumed that the reform of the House and the consequent loss of its judicial powers would soon come about. The way would then have been cleared for the new Court, which would have combined the functions of the House of Lords and of the Judicial Committee.

There would have been many difficulties. It by no means follows that one Dominion, though willing to submit its problems to judges drawn almost exclusively from the United Kingdom, would have been willing to submit them to judges coming from other Dominions. Perhaps the Court might have had to be peripatetic.

Lord Dunedin, in an appreciation of Lord Haldane's judicial work, said :

"Haldane would have liked to combine [the House of Lords and the Judicial Committee] in one Supreme Court ; but the difficulties were many, including the building of a new Court House, and though he held to his opinion firmly the matter never came within the range of practical politics."

Thus a great opportunity, which needed the drive and the inspiration of a Haldane, was lost ; and we no longer hear appeals from Canada, South Africa or India. This is a melancholy fact when considered in the light of the hopes that he entertained about the future of the Judicial Committee and the profound influence it might have in cementing together the component members of the Commonwealth.

He took infinite trouble to strengthen the Judicial Committee. He laid down the principle, which still prevails, that five judges should sit in appeals from the Dominions ; and he constituted the Court in such a way that its decisions would carry great weight amongst lawyers in all parts of the Commonwealth.

Haldane's Fame

Lord Dunedin—who, I would say, was the greatest judge before whom I ever practised—was on terms of close friendship with Haldane. I have heard each of these great men speak of the other in terms of warm appreciation. No one had a better opportunity to estimate Haldane's standing and capacity as a judge than Dunedin.

This is what Dunedin wrote about Haldane as a judge :

"It is a little difficult and a little invidious for a colleague who valued and enjoyed a close friendship with him to play the critic. It would be foolish to claim for him too high a place. He will not go down in lawyers' history as a Baron Parke or an Earl Cairns ; but I think it will be found, and more generally acknowledged as time goes on, that he was thoroughly sound in his judgments. He was, I think, very seldom wrong. In style he was perhaps too much of the philosopher, but he was very painstaking and not at all obstinate, and these two qualities generally lead to good results. Quite apart from personal affection for him, I found him always easy to deal with, for he would always listen if one had anything to say worth listening to. He was not abnormally quick, but he was very sure. I think his judgments will be found to wear very well."

Dunedin's prophecy was right. Haldane's judgments have been found to wear well.

There may have been greater judges ; but (from my own point of view) there has never been a judge before whom I more enjoyed conducting a case. He was the soul of courtesy, being ready to listen and willing to be convinced, and never jumping hastily to one side and then to the other.

Thus he brought about an air of informality without losing dignity. He never tried to display his cleverness or his superior learning, and in the result the Bar loved him ; and the Bar do not give their love easily.

He trusted the Bar and the Bar repaid his trust ; indeed in a very literal sense he fed them. When Haldane became Lord Chancellor there were no facilities for lunch on the premises of the Privy Council. Haldane arranged with Oddenino's to provide lunch on the premises for the Bar. This made a complete difference to the comfort of the Bar and gave them a chance to get to know each other ; this was especially valuable, as they frequently came from different parts of the world. Alas, Haldane has gone ; Oddenino's has gone—and the facilities for lunch have gone as well. A very small matter, you may think, to spend time on ; yet is it not sometimes true that very small things reveal a man's character ?

Haldane was a man who by his character and his achievements should have been held in very high regard by his fellow countrymen.

There were times in his life when—owing to party prejudices and unworthy propaganda—the recognition of his great services was not universally accorded to him. Looking back, now that political prejudices are forgotten, we have the satisfaction of knowing that his place in the temple of fame is secure and unquestioned.

Haldane and Education

By DR. JOHN F. LOCKWOOD

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IT is no distortion of truth to suggest that for a great part, probably the greater part, of the lifetime of Lord Haldane, politicians and Cabinets did not direct their attention with noticeable enthusiasm, except perhaps fitfully and even then not always from the right motives, to matters of education. These shortcomings I shall claim no entitlement here to analyse or to explain away. For me there is a pleasanter and a more positive task, since I am to write of one who was entirely free of such political myopia.

In his generation Haldane stood out as a man who not only understood the nature and extent of the national need for education but also was prepared to devote an abundance of his time, thoughts, and energy to the wholehearted purpose of satisfying the need. It would not be possible, I believe, to say with any assurance of certainty when the problem first attracted his interest. Possibly his year in Germany when in April, 1874, at the age of 17, following the advice of his Edinburgh professor he chose to study at Göttingen under the eminent philosopher Hermann Lotze, may have sown the first seed. But certainly by the year 1881 (he was now 25) a course of lectures which he delivered and a class which he took at the Working Men's College, Camden Town, show that his imagination had been captured. In the years which followed the seed developed and from then onwards for more than 40 years his interest grew and never wavered or faltered. In 1892, when a number of his friends in a Liberal Party group of which he was a member accepted office under Gladstone, Haldane would have declined office if it had been offered. Although in his *Autobiography* he modestly attributes his reluctance to the fact that he had taken silk in 1890 and was still uncertain about his future at the Bar, there can be little doubt that contributing factors were his fear that the Liberal Party and the Liberal Government were not more than lukewarm about education and other problems in which he was deeply interested and his desire to be able to pursue these matters unimpeded by the comparative apathy of ministerial colleagues.

In later years he spoke with a force and directness about his interests that reveals how profoundly his mind and convictions were engaged in them. In 1902 in an address at Edinburgh on "Universities and the Schools in Scotland" he said:

"I am interested in that subject" [education], "not merely because it is education, but for the reason that to me it appears the most important, without exception, of the great social reforms which await treatment at the beginning of the twentieth century. Educate your people, and you have reduced to comparatively insignificant dimensions the problems of temperance, of housing, and of raising the condition of your masses. These things solve themselves if you only get the right spirit into your people."¹

In a speech at the Manchester Reform Club in January, 1913, speaking of education as "the next and most urgent of the great social problems", he said:

"I long ago took off my coat to this business."²

Again in 1916 in the House of Lords he declared:

"For 20 years" [a modest understatement] "I have taken the deepest interest in education, and I have done all that I could, in and out of office, to advance the cause, often with very indifferent success."³

There speaks the man who, in the midst of other duties which in their range, seriousness, and complexity would have more than engrossed the intellect and industry of any other man, strove with a deeply ingrained rational and moral fervour to see his ambitions and ideals realised for the nation's good. And perhaps more striking still are the terms of a letter addressed in January, 1923, to Asquith in which he expressed his refusal to take part in a Liberal Party demonstration:

"There is a question of principle which for me is one of vital importance. My public life has for long been bound up with the cause of Education, more than with anything else. It is now so bound more than ever . . . I wish to see reforms of high quality carried out, and great standards maintained. Now I have observed for some time past that, with the vastly extended electorate, the inspiring power necessary for the attainment of these things is hopeless unless a systematic and far-reaching policy of enlightening the people and developing their minds is given a prominent place. . . . It was for this reason that three years ago I decided to work with whatever party was most in earnest with Education in its widest sense. . . . In the official programme, and even in your own speeches, I can find no response about the thing I care for before any other at this moment, and regard as the key to reform generally."⁴

In all his thinking on education, through practically all his working life several broad fields of interest are present. Sometimes one is dominant, sometimes another. At other times they appear inextricably joined together. It will be to four of these that my few pages will be devoted. First, higher education (especially University education); second, technical and technological education; third, adult education; and last, the wider aspect of education. I will end with a brief comment on his general educational philosophy.

National Need to Extend University Education

He had early come to a feeling of unease about the relatively weak position of Great Britain in the provision that it made for University education in comparison with other countries, particularly Germany. He was quick to see that in face of a period when commercial and industrial rivalry and competition in power were beginning to raise their heads and to hold out the threat of an unwelcome danger, the country should be vigorously developing its educational system, and above all should be extending University education and promoting the growth of Universities of the unitary civic type in the greater industrial cities. Only so could Great Britain begin to match the great work in science and its applications which Germany could show. The leaders of Germany, he observed, when she was at a low ebb last century "saw clearly that education was the key to all advance, and they set to work

to prepare for the education of the people. The work took 60 years to complete, but completed it was at last, with a thoroughness the like of which the world has hardly seen elsewhere."⁵ In what he knew to be the urgent national interest, from 1889 onwards he put his shoulder to a great wheel, which turned in time so well that, if we look now at the Universities of Bristol, Liverpool, London, Wales, Belfast, and the National University of Ireland (not to mention several others which might be regarded as his posthumous offspring), we can see the marks of his handiwork. I cannot tell the tale of all. Since I prefer to write of what I know best—London—I shall say only a word about some of the others. Of Bristol University he became the first Chancellor, of Liverpool he was often regarded as a parent. He presided over a Royal Commission on University Education in Wales, and the Report which issued from the Commission laid the foundation for a reorganised and revived University of Wales. Queen's University, Belfast, and the National University of Ireland have an odd link with London which will come out in telling London's story.

The University of London

In 1891 Haldane became a member of the Council of University College, London, serving until 1899. For some 20 years and more, talk, discussion, argument had been going on around the form of the University of London—then primarily in fact an examining body only. The core of the problem was the strongly felt desire in many quarters and especially among the professors and teachers in University and King's Colleges that "London should possess a teaching University with power to regulate higher education and the means of becoming a great seat of learning corresponding in its size and resources to the wealth and imperial position of the largest city in the world."⁶ But there was no agreement as to whether the problem should be solved by the establishment of a second University made up of the Colleges and their students, while keeping the existing University as an imperial degree-giving body which concerned itself only with the examination of candidates, or by some form of amalgamation of the two conceptions. The Government set up a Royal Commission under the Earl of Selborne which reported in 1889 that the case for a teaching University had been made out and expressed the opinion that the combination of the existing University with a new teaching University was not impossible. With some caution the Commissioners "recommended that a reasonable time should be allowed to the University to consider whether it would apply for a Charter extending the functions of the University to teaching on general lines suggested by them."⁷ As, owing to a conflict of view between Senate and Convocation (i.e., the graduates), no application was made for such a Charter, the Government in 1892 set up another Royal Commission under Lord Cowper. This Commission in its Report of 1894 was of substantially the same opinion as its predecessor. But it went a step farther in trying to effect a solution. It said somewhat wryly:

"In view of the failure of previous attempts to settle this question, and of the difficulty and delay which must inevitably attend an alteration of the constitution of the University through the action of the University itself, we are of opinion that, in accordance with the precedents followed in other cases of University reform, the changes which we recommend should be

effected not by Charter, but by legislative authority, and by the appointment of a Commission with statutory powers to settle, in the first instance, arrangements and regulations in general conformity with the recommendations which we are about to submit."⁸

The Government was slow to act. Haldane had been deeply impressed by the plea for a teaching University. He and Sidney Webb, who was then in charge of the Technical Education Board of the London County Council, joined forces. Two Bills were prepared and introduced in the House of Commons, but both failed. Before a third was presented, Haldane and Webb worked energetically to secure adequate backing.

"We laid siege to the citadel. We went round to person after person who was prominent in the administration of the existing University. Some listened, but others would not do so and even refused to see us. In the end we worked out what was in substance the scheme of the London University Act of 1898. The scheme was far from being an ideal one. It provided by way of compromise for a senate which was too large to be a really efficient supreme governing body for the new composite University, and it had other shortcomings of which we were well aware. But it did set up a teaching University, although Convocation, with its control of the external side, would remain unduly powerful. We saw that the scheme thus fashioned was the utmost we could hope for the time to carry, in the existing state of public opinion about higher education in London."⁹

He succeeded in enlisting the support of the Prime Minister, who undertook that the Government would introduce a Bill on the desired lines. However, the President of the Board of Education in introducing the Bill showed little enthusiasm. Speaker after speaker denounced it. Its prospects looked dark, when Haldane sprang to his feet, and, without a note, made what was probably his best speech in the House. "I spoke for once", he says, "like one inspired." I can quote only a short passage from the latter part.

"I know of no greater distinction that could be given to a man who has reached eminence in the profession of University teaching than to be marked as a professor of the great University of London, of that great metropolis, which has the largest number of students to draw upon, which has a scope and ambition such as is given to no other University, and which may be, and I believe will be, the greatest institution of its kind, if this Bill passes, in the whole world. . . . We feel that it is a Bill which is required and which is absolutely necessary, and a Bill without which University education in London can make no progress. We feel that it is a stigma upon this metropolis that it should, in this respect, be behind all the other great capitals of the world. We feel that we have no chance of reaching the vast public which is available for University teaching and training unless you put this instrument into our hands. Without it we feel that we can take no step forward. . . . We feel that we have got here a measure which in itself embodies the best tradition of the past and which completes the work of Bentham and Austin, of Mill and Grote, of the men who were the pioneers of University education in London; and that it is a measure which, if it is allowed to bear fruition, will place us in a position at least as good as that of any metropolis in the world."¹⁰

Haldane's speech was decisive and the Bill was given its second reading without a division. Asquith's glowing tribute gave Haldane keen pleasure, and he must have welcomed the comment that "the result must be some compensation . . . for months and years of unthankful work."¹¹ Everything seemed now to promise well. Balfour put him in charge of the Grand Committee stage. But an unexpected obstacle arose in a bargaining objection lodged by the group of Irish members. They expressed with some partisan vehemence, it would appear, the view that they could not support the measure while the problem of University education in Ireland remained unsolved. The bargain which they offered for the withdrawal of their objection and for the lending of their support was that Haldane should visit Ireland and bring about a reorganisation of the University structure there. Balfour was agreeable and Haldane accepted the proffered bargain, despite Morley's warning that he would find in Ireland "deep and troubled waters unlike the limpid pool of the University of London."¹² After preliminary study and consultations in Dublin and Belfast he began what he himself called "a remarkable set of negotiations."¹³ And remarkable indeed they were. In his diary he recorded the strange story of his almost cloak-and-dagger journey to Armagh to see Cardinal Logue. The clandestine nature of his movement would have done credit to an espionage drama. Education can rarely have ridden forward on an odder vehicle. The Catholic Archbishop, who was favourable to the proposed plan for two teaching Universities (besides Trinity College, Dublin), the one predominantly Catholic in Dublin, and the other mainly Protestant in Belfast, had insisted on this secret and, to all appearances, conspiratorial approach, and had suggested that the Cardinal would not favour the proposals for reform. The Cardinal, however, was both hospitable and ready to accept the scheme. Within a very short time a Bill and two Charters had been drawn up, and Balfour was to guide them through the Cabinet. To his surprise and dismay his colleagues pusillanimously rejected them; and it was not until ten years later, in 1908, that Augustine Birrell, when Secretary for Ireland, was able to bring forward with success a Bill on the Irish Universities, which was substantially the same as Haldane's, so that Haldane could claim the scalps of two more Universities for his belt. But what for him was of immediate importance in 1898 was that his University of London Bill could proceed without serious impediment. Unhappily for his hopes the drafting of Statutes produced compromises which prevented the immediate maturing of his full scheme for an Imperial teaching University. In 1909 he was to return to the formidable questions of the organisation and co-ordination of higher education in London. In the meantime, he had been able to follow up a suggestion of the Prince of Wales and to bring about the transfer of the University from Burlington Gardens to the Imperial Institute—a move which, while giving the University administration more room, helped to rescue the Imperial Institute from its financial troubles and so to relieve the Prince's anxieties. Further, he was much influenced by his share in the work of the Departmental Committee which was appointed in the spring of 1904 "to inquire into the working of the Royal College of Science (including the School of Mines); to consider in what way the Staff . . . may be utilised to the fullest extent for the promotion of higher scientific studies in connection with the work of existing or projected institutions for instruction

of the same character in the metropolis or elsewhere. . . ." Of this Committee Haldane was chairman during its second year and both the preliminary and the final report were in his responsibility. He had succeeded in the chair Sir Francis Mowatt, the Permanent Head of the Treasury, of whom he wrote in the *Autobiography*, "he was a man who never failed to take the bigger side of things into account, and to look to the future, even when considering questions of economy for the State"—a remark which might have been made of a later distinguished Permanent Head of the Treasury who wrote the last of these Centenary Essays. I shall refer again to certain aspects of the Committee's report. For the moment I mention only the suggestion that this new Imperial College of Science and Technology which was to emerge from the Committee's work should be associated with the University, and that a Royal Commission should be appointed to consider what changes would be necessary in order to produce an amalgamation. When the Royal Commission came into being in 1909 Haldane was made its chairman, and with these duties he began what was probably his major task in the field of education. It was four years before the Commission produced its Report; 81 days were spent in taking evidence, and the minutes of evidence, full of interest and of infinitely varied views and opinions, form the heaviest volume that I have ever handled for reading's sake. During these years Haldane was at the War Office, pursuing his immensely important reforms, and later was Lord Chancellor. At his suggestion the terms of reference of the Royal Commission had been widened from their originally limited scope. In their new form they clearly reflect Haldane's own attitude. The Commission was :

"to inquire into the working of the present organisation of the University of London, and into other facilities for advanced education (general, professional, and technical) existing in London for persons of either sex above secondary school age; to consider what provision should exist in the Metropolis for University teaching and research; to make recommendations as to the relations which should in consequence subsist between the University of London, its incorporated Colleges, the Imperial College of Science and Technology, the other Schools of the University, and the various public institutions and bodies concerned; and further to recommend as to any changes of constitution and organisation which appear desirable; regard being had to the facilities for education and research which the Metropolis should afford for specialist and advanced students in connection with the provision existing in other parts of the United Kingdom and of our Dominions beyond the seas."

The Report of the Commission (1913) is a document of wide and comprehensive scope, which still merits careful study. It not only investigates and analyses the whole complex of institutions and the formal structure of the organisation of higher education in London, but it contains many interesting and timely expressions of views, of a general nature, on many branches of education, full-time, part-time, technical and so on, and wise, though not perhaps exceptionally original or revolutionary, concepts of University education. Further, anyone who has the time and stamina to read the Minutes of Evidence has a treat in store. The war intervened to delay the execution of

the recommendations in the Report; but the University, as at present constituted, represents in some degree what Haldane hoped to achieve. In a speech in November, 1920, he went so far as to outline his conception of the way in which the University should develop as a close association of colleges. There is probably some element of rhetoric in some of the remarks in this speech. But they make abundantly clear what he believed to be the necessary ambition and object of the University.

"The University of London can be no mere teaching body. It can be no mere local institution in a great city. It ought to be what it is not today—it ought to be the chief centre of learning in the entire Empire, perhaps the chief centre of learning for the whole world. Here ought to be concentrated the highest talent, the highest level in that passion for excellence of which I have spoken, the highest atmosphere, such as only can come in a great capital at the heart of a great country."⁵

Even our native modesty in the University will not deter me from hazarding an expression of conviction that Haldane would have felt no disappointment if now, 36 years after that speech, he could see the University as it has grown and stridden ahead, not only in size and complexity, but in the high purposes of learning and of service to the country and Commonwealth. He would see the University headquarters a noticeable (in fact, it would be difficult not to notice it) part of Bloomsbury, where he had hoped a site could be found in place of the incommensurable home in the Imperial Institute.

But the work of the Royal Commission brought strongly to his attention not only the problems of the University, but a good deal more about the general educational situation. In his Manchester speech in 1913 he had said:

"I have been for four years chairman of a Royal Commission on University education, which has been a great education to me, because I have learned how utterly chaotic and backward is the state of education—elementary, secondary, and higher—in this country."¹⁶

University Grants Committee

Before I leave the subject of the Universities, I ought to interpolate a word of comment—a comment which can only be a grateful one from any member of a University in this country—on his part in the creation of the University Grants Committee. His initiative introduced a system for financing the Universities which is the envy of academic people in many another country. And rightly so. With the British capacity for doing the almost unbelievable, he devised this way of producing Treasury grants (which since his day have grown to an impressive magnitude; though do not let me leave with you the idea that we could not do with more—much more) without diminishing the freedom of the Universities to teach what and how they wish. True, in recent years there has been a critical interest on the part of the Public Accounts Committee in the way in which Universities expend their grants. Such an interest, if carried far, could endanger this precious principle of academic freedom and, at the worst, reduce us to disciplined servants of a government. The liberal-minded Treasury—and in this matter the Treasury has been extraordinarily liberal—has stoutly defended the principle. Haldane, I am

sure, would have been proud of his child which, under such a guardian, has grown into a thoroughly handsome and considerable figure.

Scientific, Technical and Technological Education

But I must not linger on this pleasant topic. For it is necessary that I should pass quickly to his contribution to the development of scientific, technical, and technological education. The insistent and justified clamour to which we have been subjected in recent years about the comparative backwardness in these fields is a reflection of what Haldane was thinking and saying half a century ago and what he continued to say with force and conviction. The spectacle of what Germany was achieving had deeply stirred him. It was more than obvious to him that unless we could vividly encourage the application of science on a much larger scale to industrial needs and potentialities, we should fall even more rapidly behind some of our most serious national competitors. It was not only from Germany that lessons could be learned, but also from Switzerland, America, Canada, France, and Belgium. Critics have sometimes blamed the relative inertia upon governments and the Civil Service. But industry must take its share of the criticism. In a speech late in life (1923) at Liverpool University, when he was officially opening new research laboratories, he pressed for a much closer link of co-operation between science and industry.

"We are face to face with a state of things in which scientific knowledge is going to be, as far as can be foreseen, at the very foundation of industry. Therefore it is not on the score of benevolence that we appeal to the great industrial world and its magnates. If they wish to ensure the future and to provide themselves against surprises, which are not only possible but are sure to come, in one direction or another, they had better regard gifts to such institutions as ours not as benevolences but as an investment of capital which would produce compound and more than compound interest."¹⁷

Today industry has to a not inconsiderable degree taken this message to heart. But there is still some lack of clear vision. Haldane's wisdom we can fully recognise in his insistence on the power of knowledge, of scientific knowledge, to stimulate and promote industrial activity and industrial capacity.

In the Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Science (1905), there are striking passages which have the ring of Haldane, who was its chairman in its second year. The first is not exactly parallel with the present-day scene, though the latter part of the quotation might have been said today:

"A survey of the whole field of technical education would show that England compared not unfavourably with other countries in the provision made for what may be called the lower and intermediate grades of technical education, as well as for the technical training for the learned professions obtainable at many of our Universities. The principal deficiency, whether the resources and needs of this country are viewed by themselves, or whether the rapid strides made by other countries are considered with them, appears to lie in the sphere of higher technological education."¹⁸

Two further passages—this time from the recommendations of the Committee—have a very topical sound :

“We have no hesitation in proclaiming this country’s urgent need of a greatly increased provision for education in the Sciences applicable to industry, of a University grade, and—so far as consistent with the predominant aim—of a University type, and education concerned with principles rather than with processes, and advancing to the highest planes of specialisation and research.”¹⁹

In his *Autobiography* he had been at some pains to stress a similar opinion. After study of Charlottenburg and of the separation of the great Technical Colleges in Germany from the Universities, he had been convinced that it was only in the larger atmosphere of a University that technical education of the finest kind could be attained. It would have been interesting to hear him on the Colleges of Advanced Technology which have been designated to meet an especially urgent need today. And now the other passage from the Departmental Committee’s recommendations :

“The present combination of conditions at South Kensington points to the desirability of so utilising the resources there available, and of making additions to these, as to form on that site an institution of the highest standing, an institution which, with the staff, equipment, and students that it will command, would go far towards remedying the above-mentioned defects.”²⁰

At this moment, the Government, as is commonly known, is in process of backing a vast expansion of this very idea of 50 years ago.

The production of highly skilled technologists and scientists in much greater numbers was then as now an urgent national need. Haldane saw behind that problem a situation which in some measure still faces us. The situation can best be put in the form of two questions. What is the best kind of education for the intending scientist or technologist before he begins his specialist training at the academic level? Are there enough teachers of the right quality available to provide them with this preliminary education? He had no doubts, I think, on the kind of answers which should be given to these questions. In the House of Lords 40 years ago in the middle of the war he replied to the first question in an unambiguous manner :

“Our problem is to make education, which is a tiresome word to most people in this country, interesting by showing its concrete nature and by showing what it means, not only theoretically but practically. . . . It means the training of the mind in the widest and most comprehensive sense, so that the youth of the country may be able, when the time comes, to turn, it may be to science, it may be to the other humanities, it may be to any of the thousand and one subjects which are covered by the field of knowledge in the twentieth century.”²¹

And more specifically of the would-be scientist or technologist :

“When boys wish to go forward to a career of industry and science, they may at least go with their minds so trained, so apt, that they are able to take up and absorb the scientific ideas which they are to put into practice in the industries which they undertake.”²²

Demand for Increase in Numbers of Highly Qualified Teachers

The gaps in the educational system of his time he vigorously castigated. The burden of his complaint is one which is not altogether dead even now, that education had been removed too much from contact with life, and that it had not been made to take its place in the whole of a great system of national training which should prepare not only for theoretical activities, but for practical activities that should aim at giving the very highest excellence and refinement, cultural, moral, spiritual, and physical, which it is possible for an educational system to attain. To the second question his response is given in some words from his House of Lords Speech in 1916 : “There is no worse economy possible than on education” (hence his grievous disappointment at the effects of the Geddes Axe in 1921) “. . . Speaking for myself, if I had a limited amount of money to spend, I would spend it first, not on special subjects, not on this or that branch of science, not on this branch of training engineers or the other ; I would spend it on improving the profession of teachers throughout the country, and particularly on improving the quantity and quality of the teachers in the secondary schools”.²³ He may have indulged in some exaggeration here, but he had seen to the heart of a problem which vexes us today. Unless teachers of real quality and distinction are forthcoming in large numbers for the schools, much of our effort to promote higher technological education may well not reach the success for which we hope and plan.

Day Continuation Schools

Haldane’s exploratory work over the entire range of national education had persuaded him that much could be done, markedly in the technical field, by making provision for the further training of those who were leaving school at the minimum leaving age. He won the sympathy of Lloyd George in 1916 for proposals which he had for (among other things) day continuation schools. The Fisher Act of 1918 embodied clauses which, if they had become fully operative, would have made compulsory, for every young person who had not received full-time education to the age of 16, attendance at a part-time school for 320 hours a year until reaching the age of 18. This was an encouraging beginning. But the Act was unsatisfactory in that there was no intention to bring the full scheme into force immediately. The scheme, even in its modified and much less exacting form, did not accomplish what its originators had expected. There were many reasons for the comparative failure—the reluctance of successive governments to fix an appointed day on which the full system could come into operation for the country as a whole or for each administrative area separately, the drastic economy measures of 1921, the shortage of suitable teachers, the inadequacy of buildings, and also the widespread industrial and popular objections to compulsory part-time education. In London, where compulsory attendance was tried, many difficulties arose to wreck the scheme. But the voluntary schools which survived from the scheme proved valuable. In 1927 an informal committee, of which R. F. Cholmeley was Chairman and Albert Mansbridge and Professor Nunn among its members, with Haldane as President, in a report on *The Next Step in National Education* said on day continuation

schools that the conditions of success would not be present until the country had experimented widely with a scheme of voluntary day continuation schools which would give an opportunity for creating an efficient teaching staff, for evolving a suitable curriculum, and for erecting buildings, and which, above all, would gradually accustom the public mind to the idea of part-time continued education, and which would demonstrate its advantages both to the pupils and to their employers. Had these schemes fully succeeded, some part of Haldane's hopes would have been realised. He had long ago set his heart on educational opportunity for all. Even as early as 1887 he had tried to interest his Liberal friends in his suggestion of free education up to the University age. Social and national needs had also induced him to include in the schemes for continued education some physical training, which was not unpopular, and training in a cadet corps with the necessary annual camp, which was received with less enthusiasm and with positive suspicion by Labour members. Much of what he had wished to do in providing further education for the adolescent was linked in his mind with post-war reconstruction in which a trained and educated people seemed an essential feature. To his regret the axe which struck the continuation schools, postponed also the improvement of secondary schools. And lastly it seriously affected for a while the development of Adult Education.

Birkbeck College

Haldane, in his firm knowledge that there were many who for one reason or another were missing the further or higher education which their gifts merited, was active in seeking a remedy. In his inquiry into higher education in London he had, for example, noticed the work of University character that was being done at Birkbeck College for part-time and other students. His Commission recommended that the College should be admitted as a School of the University for part-time and evening students—which meant the shedding of the work which was not of University standard. In 1919 he became President of the College and set about obtaining the financial support needed to make this change possible. The London County Council gave generous backing and he was able to effect the admission of the College as a School of the University in 1920. He remained President of the grateful and unique College until his death in 1928; and his portrait hangs in the Council Room of the College to recall one whom I may perhaps call its second Founder.

Adult Education

His interest in Adult Education of a more general type went back to his lectures in 1881 at the Working Men's College. But it was, as he says, in the years from 1915 onwards that the really striking progress was made. With Mansbridge, Tawney, and others he was able to concentrate on the solid business of extending the field and of arousing public interest. Higher education had somehow to grow out from the Universities in which it had been so excessively confined. The practical idealism and the enthusiasm which he and his friends showed were impressive. "If a sufficiency of industrial workers could be got together in industrial centres in the evenings, after the day's work was done, to take courses of systematic teaching, then the

Universities might well allocate highly qualified tutors who would devote themselves to this kind of instruction, while reserving the rest of the day to their studies and researches. If funds could be found to establish these posts, the positions would not be unattractive to public-spirited University graduates with the proper tutorial qualifications. Moreover, we knew that the Board of Education was beginning to look with favour on this addition to the national system of education, and to help as far as its limited resources would permit. It was hoped, too, that the L.E.As. would by degrees come in and support the scheme."²⁴ Their hopes were not disappointed. Official recognition came and L.E.As. and Universities gave strong support, and even residential colleges, like Coleg Harlech, Ruskin, and Woodbrooke, came into being. London was in the forefront and by the time of Haldane's death almost 200,000 students over 18 were attending classes of a specialist nature. This accomplishment had not come without much hard labour. He himself in a single year addressed upwards of 50 meetings about the country in the attempt to stir the imagination and active interest of the working man. In a period of 30 years he made more than a thousand speeches to assist the cause.

He had been particularly active in the development of the British Institute of Adult Education of which he was the first President. Having persuaded Sir Ernest Cassel to give half a million pounds to aid the promotion of adult education, and having undertaken at Sir Ernest's request to become Chairman of the Trust, he was able to obtain from the Trustees a considerable sum for the Institute. And it is significant of Haldane's enthusiasm for the cause of education that, when his health was failing, his last two public speeches should be educational, and that one of them should be his annual address to the Swindon branch of the W.E.A. Busy as he always was, yet he had never spared time or energy or his own gifts in this absorbing interest. I recall, as characteristic of all he ever did, the words which he wrote to Mrs. Humphrey Ward in 1890 after the cruel disappointment over his broken engagement: "After all has been said and done when the highest call has been discharged and we have done our duty to our neighbour, and are free to turn to ourselves, there is no satisfaction so deep and so lasting as that which comes from a sense of concentration in real work. It gives us all our deliverance even when we are dissatisfied with what we have accomplished."²⁵

The Secret of National Education

Haldane had no reason to feel dissatisfied with what he had achieved 38 years later. He had done real work for education, of which we are the fortunate beneficiaries. I have done but scant and wretched justice to it. Yet I have allowed you to read his own words in plenty. And it is fitting that I should end with other words of this man who could decline an invitation to a Chair in Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews and the offer of the post of Minister of Education, and yet could give himself up heart and soul to education and who could plead eloquently with young and old alike, in Universities and outside, to found their lives on the passion for excellence: "That," he said to the Working Men's College in 1913, "is the secret of national education: to ask the highest, to ask the best, and to base your movement upon nothing short of idealism."²⁶

- ¹⁴"Universities and the Schools in Scotland" in *Education and Life* (John Murray, 1902), page 39 f.
- ¹⁵*Lord Haldane's Education Proposals*, published by the Moral Education League, page 3.
- ¹⁶*Haldane 1915-28* by Sir Frederick Maurice (Faber and Faber, 1937), page 24 f.
- ¹⁷*Ibid.*, page 108 f.
- ¹⁸"The Dedicated Life" in *Universities and National Life* (John Murray, 1912), page 76 f.
- ¹⁹*University of London Calendar 1956-57*, Historical Note, page 75 f., section iv.
- ²⁰*Ibid.*, page 76, section iv.
- ²¹*Ibid.*, page 77, section iv.
- ²²Richard Burdon Haldane, *An Autobiography* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1929), page 125 f.
- ²³*Haldane 1856-1915* by Sir Frederick Maurice (Faber and Faber, 1937), page 83 f.
- ²⁴*Autobiography*, page 128.
- ²⁵*Haldane 1856-1915*, page 86.
- ²⁶*Autobiography*, page 129.
- ²⁷*Ibid.*, page 144 f.
- ²⁸Address on "The Nationalisation of Universities" to the Old Students' Association of the Royal College of Science, quoted in *Haldane 1915-28*, page 90 f.
- ²⁹*Lord Haldane's Education Proposals*, page 3.
- ³⁰*Haldane 1915-28*, page 125 f.
- ³¹*Final Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Science, etc.*, paragraph 27, page 9.
- ³²*Ibid.*, paragraph 72, page 22.
- ³³*Ibid.*, paragraph 77, page 24.
- ³⁴*Haldane 1915-19*, page 25.
- ³⁵*Ibid.*, page 29 f.
- ³⁶*Ibid.*, page 26.
- ³⁷*Autobiography*, page 293 f.
- ³⁸*Haldane 1856-1915*, page 54.
- ³⁹*Haldane 1915-28*, page 214.

Haldane and Defence

By CYRIL FALLS

Captain Falls was Military Correspondent of The Times from 1939 to 1953 and Chichele Professor of the History of War at Oxford and a Fellow of All Souls College from 1946 to 1953.

WHEN Richard Burdon Haldane became Secretary of State for War in December, 1905, it seemed to many an equally odd choice on his part and on that of the new Prime Minister, Campbell-Bannerman. From Haldane's point of view, however, there were good reasons why he should have done what he did. The best of all, creditable to himself, was that he looked forward with interest to working at the War Office. Then, he had to get into the Cabinet somehow, not so much for himself—though he was reasonably ambitious—as because he was deeply anxious that Grey should become a member, and Grey had told him that he would not enter a Campbell-Bannerman Cabinet unless Haldane did so too. Then, he did not want to be Attorney-General and could not hope for anything considered a plum. He was not in an easy position, less so than his Liberal Imperialist partner, Asquith, who was more cautious and accommodating. Haldane had made no secret of the fact that he hoped Lord Rosebery would become a member of the Government and was one of those who would have liked to see Campbell-Bannerman kicked upstairs into the Lords.

So he found himself in an office which virtually all other members of the Campbell-Bannerman Government, to their discredit, regarded with utter contempt. (One is tempted to ask whether this attitude had any connection with the fact that this first-class team, the most brilliant of modern times, proved a weak Government when it came to waging war.) Nothing much was expected of him. A typical piece of advice which Haldane received was to keep quiet, attempt no great improvements, and "cut the estimates." It is curious that anyone should have supposed him to be the sort of man to proceed on these lines, but everyone seems to have been surprised by what he did do, including the Prime Minister. "I had no idea 'Schopenhauer' would cut such a figure in the barrack yard," was his comment after watching Haldane at work.* The Prime Minister had been at the War Office and, being a shrewd man, had picked up extensive knowledge of that institution, though very much less about the Army.

Nothing could be more in the Haldane style than the literary preparation to fit him for his task. He had read Clausewitz, Bronsart von Schellendorf, Von der Goltz, and Yorck von Wartenburg. Bronsart was probably chosen because he was the Emperor's mentor. One Frenchman was admitted to this little group of German military intellectuals, Ardant du Picq, the remarkable student of the soldier's morale.

Haldane himself could not have known less than he did of the Army from

* There are two versions of this remark. That quoted by Lord Waverley on page 220 applied to the time before Campbell-Bannerman had seen the results of Haldane's work, while that given above applied to a time when he could appreciate them.

the technical point of view. It is said, I know not with what degree of truth, that at the start the simplest military terms, such as company, battery, and squadron, had only the most limited significance for him. On the other hand, he was a shrewd and patient observer. He had taken a deep interest in the South African War, in which he had been strongly opposed to the pro-Boer left wing of his party. Even before he entered the War Office—the old building in Pall Mall, which was then about to be demolished and to make way for the fine new one going up in Whitehall—he realised that some of the troubles in the South African War had been due to the indifferent organisation of the Army. He was disposed to believe that there was still a great deal of waste and misdirected effort.

As we think of his heavy steps clumping up the rickety stairs of the old War Office, so different from the lordly marble double stairway he was soon to use in the new, let us consider what reception he was to expect and what he was to find. It has been said that the soldiers were scared. That is completely untrue. He could not have had a better start. Everyone wished him well and was prepared to love him. An almost audible sigh of relief had gone up when his appointment was announced. The Army had, it felt, at least got a patriot. It might have got something very different, in its view, from among his colleagues. And this sentiment I find easy to understand. It was not the fact that these colleagues had opposed the war that upset the soldiers; it was the really abominable accusations launched against the conduct of the Army which they found galling.

Some of them were a little amused by him, this new chief who was said to be so deeply versed in German philosophy, who had an air of austerity but made champagne and cigars vanish at a startling rate, and who started off, in describing his own rôle and plans, with a jest of the broader sort, such as is popularly supposed to appeal to the military mind. In order to reassure the General Staff, in case it expected him to rush through a pet scheme, as his predecessors had done, he likened himself to “a young and blushing virgin just united to a bronzed warrior.” In such a case, he said, “it was not expected by the public that any result of the union should appear until at least nine months had passed.” That went down well from all points of view. How welcome was the sentiment may be divined from the reply of Colonel Ellison, when asked whether he would become his military private secretary and mentor in technical matters, which was to ask a question himself: Had the new Secretary of State a cut-and-dried plan for the Army? If the answer had been in the affirmative, Ellison would have declined the post. He had seen too much of cut-and-dried plans. Haldane paid him the high compliment of saying that Ellison never let him off anything.

Earlier Projects for Army Reform

It cannot be denied that since the South African War notable reforms of the Army had been projected and in some cases carried through under two Secretaries of State in the Conservative Ministry, both above the average: St. John Brodrick and Arnold-Foster. Brodrick, later Lord Midleton, had gone to the War Office, with which he was already well acquainted, in the autumn of 1900, when the war had still eighteen months to run. He had, I think boldly, devised a scheme which he adumbrated in the Estimates of

1901 to be brought into operation after the war. There were to be six corps, of which the first three, all of regular troops, would form an Expeditionary Force to be sent abroad in a European war. The other three, one half regular, the other two nearly all of auxiliary forces, would not be ready for foreign service, but the merit of the scheme was that he proposed to embody in them 60 selected battalions of Volunteers and Militia and ten regiments of Yeomanry. There is no space to go into the details of a plan which largely broke down because it was so much delayed by the dragging on of the war and because in the immediate post-war period troops and equipment could not be found for it. Its inherent weakness was that a clear principle was lacking, but it produced an idea taken into account by Haldane, the simple idea of forming out of an amorphous mass of troops an army suitable for war. There were positive achievements, too: the formation of Corps districts; the development of Salisbury Plain as an artillery centre and manoeuvre area, for which Aldershot was now too small owing to the increased range of guns; the 18-pounder quick-firing barrel-recoiling gun for the infantry's support, and the Royal Horse Artillery's quick-firing 13-pounder; the short Lee-Enfield rifle (one great advantage of which was that it would not only equip the infantry but in the cavalry would replace the indifferent carbine); and a practical active-service uniform.

When Arnold-Foster took Brodrick's place, the latter's work was allowed to lapse. Arnold-Foster was against the Cardwell principle of linked battalions in each regiment, one to serve at home and the other oversea. His aim was to establish General Service and Home Service Armies, the former with nine years' service with the colours. This again hardly went beyond the paper stage and was, I think, impracticable. But, though the findings of the celebrated Esher Committee were only a side issue for him, Arnold-Foster adopted its recommendations for the abolition of the post of Commander-in-Chief, for the formation of a General Staff at the War Office, and for the establishment of an Army Council to carry out and oversee administration (that is organisation, personnel, and armament), finance, and the non-effective votes such as pensions. It should be added that Colonel Ellison had been the Secretary of the Esher Committee. Lord Esher himself had contributed most of the constructive ideas; Sydenham Clark had done the financial work; and Ellison had put the report together, admirably. The other member, Admiral Sir John Fisher, had contributed little but *boutades*, a failing of that man of genius on too many occasions. Another Tory bequest was the Committee of Imperial Defence (Balfour), the seed from which the Ministry of Defence sprang many years later.

Organisation of Expeditionary Force

Haldane, I have said, started happily. At an early stage he reported: "My Generals are like angels." Before his own schemes had got beyond a rough note on general principles, he had a problem only indirectly connected with them to solve. In January, 1906, Grey warned him that he had information of possible hostile designs against France by Germany, to mature in the near future. They went to the Prime Minister to suggest Anglo-French staff talks. Campbell-Bannerman agreed, but with the proviso that they must involve no commitments. Within eight days of Grey's warning, General

Grierson, the Director of Military Operations, began conversations with the French Military Attaché, the then Colonel Huguet. I consider Haldane was justified here, though he has been criticised since, and Morley made much of the talks when he resigned. Haldane received a shock when he heard that there was an estimate that Britain would be able to provide only an Expeditionary Force of 80,000 men at the end of two months. This would never do.

Haldane's approach to his work was governed by clear thinking. He belonged to the "blue water" school; he believed that the defence of Britain was provided by the Navy and was not the primary rôle of the Army. Therefore the object should be: first, to put into the field for foreign service on the outbreak of war the largest and most efficient force compatible with peace-time expenditure; secondly, to maintain this force at full strength and efficiency. Then what to do with it? He went on to reason that its object should be to support the maintenance by a friendly power, France, of the Channel Ports, because, if the Germans occupied France, then, particularly in view of the fast-growing strength of the German Navy, British security against invasion would be endangered. A principle of internal politics, indeed politics inside the Cabinet, was no less vital. He must carry his colleagues with him, fighting opponents among them if necessary. Therefore he must make his scheme economical and save every penny possible to spend elsewhere.

He found an unwieldy and ill-balanced Army. The regular forces amounted to well over a quarter of a million, but with a wholly inadequate reserve. The Yeomanry and Volunteers amounted to 280,000, but were simply a mass of cavalry and infantry, with no higher organisation, no field artillery or engineers, no transport, no medical service. The Militia, numbering 100,000, was not available for foreign service. From a total of nearly 650,000 the country could mobilise immediately three divisions and a cavalry division of three brigades—the 80,000 men mentioned.

For the Expeditionary Force he decided on the divisional principle, and that he could make available just enough troops to provide six divisions. This was to be the strength of the Expeditionary Force, and he concluded, from examination of German, French, and other resources, that in a war in which the Central Powers and Russia were involved it might make the difference between initial victory and initial defeat.

I cannot go farther into detail, but I must relate one incident. He had to reduce the number of batteries of field artillery and could do so within the framework of his scheme. The object was, I need hardly say, to scrape up a little more money. Lord Midleton attacked him on this point. Haldane retorted that the new guns were splendid, but that of 93 batteries of field artillery then at home we could mobilise only 42 at once. Why? Then out poured the expert knowledge, doubtless not long acquired. Quick-firing batteries used far more ammunition than the old discarded guns. This involved larger ammunition columns, and he was cutting the batteries to provide trained men for these. How delightful it must have been to be able to crush an ex-Secretary of State for War who had military detail at his fingers' ends! Perhaps one can imagine, too, the military adviser sitting in the wings and sighing with relief when his Minister got it right. Haldane

also made ingenious use of unnecessary Garrison Artillery Militia for those Expeditionary Force ammunition columns.

He also envisaged the quick formation of a seventh division from troops in relatively near stations abroad, and some surplus in the country, including battalions of the Brigade of Guards.

At the same time he introduced the General Staff system, hitherto working only within the War Office, into the Army at large.

Formation of Territorial Army

Next the Volunteers and Militia. Haldane's friend Morley had remarked to him: "This is the first middle-class Cabinet, and I am far from sure that it is going to satisfy the people that the traditions of our constitution will be preserved." There was nothing middle-class about the committee of 1906 to study the future of these auxiliary forces. Of the four regular soldiers, two were peers; of the other seven members, five were peers or peer's sons with courtesy titles, and the other two, George Freeman-Thomas and John Seely, were both to become peers. Most of them were county magnates, patrons of the forces to be converted. However, the Territorial Force really sprang from the brain of Haldane himself.

It was formed from the Yeomanry and the Volunteers, with some minor elements, cadet corps and rifle clubs, thrown in. It consisted of fourteen divisions and fourteen mounted brigades, which were to be as complete in every detail as the regular formations. If a major war broke out this force would be mobilised. He was quite clear that it would require six months' formation training, but he believed that at the end of this time it would be far more efficient and level than the Volunteers were or were likely to become. He hoped it would generally volunteer for foreign service. Its equipment was to be very different from that of the regulars.

The landed magnates and others fought him tooth and nail over the fate of the Militia. The Cabinet was doubtful and many back-benchers of his own side were positively hostile. Late in 1907 he lost the aid of the Prime Minister. Campbell-Bannerman had become his backer and friend and the only Minister, certainly in the Commons, who understood what he was driving at. On the other hand, he was helped by the attitude of the Opposition. The only ex-Minister who campaigned heartily against him was Midleton. Balfour, and Lansdowne in the Lords, restrained others and the malcontents in general and never gave the conscriptionists any official support. It was very different when Balfour ceased to lead the Opposition.

It is commonly said that Haldane turned the Militia into the Special Reserve, which was to provide drafts for his Expeditionary Force. It is true that the Special Reserve units took the regimental titles borne by the Militia. Otherwise, however, it would be more correct to say that Haldane abolished the Militia because it would not co-operate and built the Special Reserve in its ashes. This could not be said at the time because the feelings of the Militia representatives, who were mostly influential peers, had to be spared.

Opposition to Haldane

Since whatever extra Haldane spent had to be found from savings elsewhere, it may well be imagined that his disbandments were extensive and even

ruthless. He could, as I have said, plead that they were not needed for the defence of Britain. They involved more than Volunteer and Militia units and the regular artillery already mentioned. Certain infantry regiments possessed extra regular battalions, several of them 3rd Battalions and in one or two cases 4th Battalions also. On these his shears were used. He actually dared, he a Scot, to get rid of the 3rd Scots Guards. His hand was held out over the 3rd Coldstream Guards, but this was too much of a good thing. Other influences intervened and the battalion was saved.

Some of the senior officers were attracted by the conscription campaign, but it must be emphasised that they remained loyal and dutiful. The trouble was in the Cabinet. Sir Charles Harris, a capable civil servant whom Haldane had got made head of the financial department of the War Office, writes: "A critical moment in the history of his main army reforms was when the Cabinet Committee, of which the leading lights were L.G. (Lloyd George), Winston, and Lulu Harcourt, challenged the whole thing as an extravagance."

He had, indeed, a long and arduous struggle with these three, who were known as the "economists." He could not have prevailed but for his savings. The Estimates of 1907-8 were two millions down—and that was two millions of real money, not the stuff we use today.

Further Reforms

These are the main features of what is known as the Haldane scheme, but they do not cover all the reforms associated with him. He was deeply concerned by the difficulty of finding a larger reserve of officers in war. This problem was solved, at least partially, by the creation of the Officers' Training Corps in the universities and the public schools.

Another step was less successful. Under his direction a young General named Douglas Haig, whom he had brought home from India and made his Director of Military Training, drew up for the Colonial Premiers, as they were then called, in April, 1907, a memorandum pointing out the need for uniformity between the British Army and theirs. The Prime Ministers agreed unanimously. They also appeared to favour a proposal for a General Staff for the whole Empire. That never eventuated, and the title of Chief of the Imperial General Staff, which Haldane brought in and which, so far as I know, was his invention, is today a misnomer. On the other hand, the plea for uniformity was answered. And up to the present moment that ideal has been kept well in the foreground.

I do not know whether I should mention the new Field Service Regulations, since it may be argued that such things are domestic and not to any great extent the concern of the Secretary of State. In this case, however, he was drawn in. Haig, his personal choice for Director of Military Training, had great talents for this sort of work, but he was not a tactful man. The General Staff side freely accepted all that Haig wrote. The Adjutant-General and Quartermaster-General, both considerably his seniors, were inclined to resent what they considered his dictation. Haldane saw him through.

Haldane's Supporters

At this point I should answer the question who were the real planners and who were the backers of the plans when drawn up. On the first point Haldane

himself is categorical. Afterwards claims were made for men who could not be considered as parents of the reforms. Those who could were five, two civilians and three soldiers: Haldane himself; Sir William Nicholson, Chief of the General Staff; General Ewart, Director of Military Operations; General Haig, later Director of Military Training; and Sir Charles Harris, head of the financial department. The task of putting the plans into action fell to Sir Charles Douglas, the Adjutant-General. Nicholson was described by Haldane as one of the cleverest men he had ever met, but not the type to make a first-class commander. Haldane used to say to him that he should have gone to the Bar, in which case he would have become Lord Chancellor. In a single service, the medical, Sir Alfred Keogh was invaluable. He drew some of the best surgeons and physicians into the Territorial Medical Service and organised hospitals which were brought into a state of activity on mobilisation.

In the background Lord Esher was a powerful supporter. Lord Crewe piloted Haldane's Territorial and Reserve Forces Bill through the Lords with skill and tact. Sir John French at Aldershot was a firm believer in the Territorial Force.

But the grand-scale backer was the King. The relations which developed between them were extraordinary, rare, I should say, in the case of any Minister not a Prime Minister and the Monarch, and even more curious in view of the difference in their tastes, outlook, and mental equipment. Edward VII was more than kindly and gracious to Haldane. The Secretary of State himself uses the word "affectionate." The King gave the young Territorial Force an enthusiastic send-off. In June, 1909, he presented colours to 108 Territorial battalions at Windsor.

"It was a curious experience," says Haldane, "to stand beside the King and watch the outcome of three years of strenuous days and nights of missionary enterprise; and of long hours of work in the War Office and in Parliament. I have had splendid backing and from no one more than the King."

The King invited him and his sister to dine and sleep at Windsor Castle. An invitation of the sort to a Minister was a commonplace, but Haldane was touched by the extension of the invitation to his sister, to whom he was devoted. In July he went to Knowsley and Worsley Park with King Edward, who presented colours to the West and East Lancashire Divisions. I think Haldane was developing a taste for society. On one occasion he induced Morley, of all men, to spend a week-end with him in what he called "the racing set." He was also a visitor at Taplow Court when the King was there. King Edward insisted that he should be photographed reclining on the lawn in front of their hostess, Lady Desborough, as if engaged in a conversation with himself. We nearly all find Edwardian house-party group photographs amusing, but this is exceptionally so. The King tried to make Haldane look comfortable, but failed. The Secretary of State recalls an embarrassed sea-lion.

Many men have been enthralled by royal confidence such as that bestowed by King Edward on Haldane. Personally, I detest the view that this is sycophancy. It seems to me laudable pride. Here there is no doubt that gratitude was genuine and warranted. On the King's death, Haldane wrote

with obvious sincerity :

" The relation between my King and myself was not a usual one as between Minister and Sovereign, and something personal is snapped. He was one of the few outside the professional soldiers who understood what I was trying to do for himself and his army, and without his constant support and advice I could not have done what I have done."

Haldane's Achievements

Let me run through the achievements. The General Staff system extended from the War Office to the Army ; a general development of the Committee of Imperial Defence and its value ; a well-prepared and well-found Expeditionary Force ; a Territorial Force with organisation similar to that of the Regular Army ; a draft-finding Special Reserve ; the Officers' Training Corps ; co-ordination between Home and Colonial Forces ; up-to-date Field Service Regulations ; a " War Book " kept up to date which instructed every Ministry and branch in its duties on mobilisation ; the Anglo-French staff talks. I have not mentioned, and can mention only in passing, the County Associations for the administration of the Territorial Force (an idea and title borrowed from Oliver Cromwell) and the Committee of Railway Managers formed to co-ordinate the railway traffic of mobilisation.

Haldane was not a magician. No scheme such as his could have shown a saving without also containing serious deficiencies. The old 15-pounder guns of the Regular Army were handed over to the Territorial Force Artillery, partly modernised, but remaining bad guns, with bad ammunition. Heavy and what we now call medium artillery were short. Many people thought the 1914-18 war would be short and open, so that there would be little call for such artillery. There was not much until the front had stabilised, but then the call was urgent and long unsatisfied. The supply of reserve ammunition was cut to save the cost of storage. There was little provision for the expansion of artillery and ammunition supply, and up to the end of 1916 many deaths were caused by "prematures." As the Army expanded there was not even cloth to make uniforms.

Some items which we may call in the slang of today " chicken feed " were banned by financial parsimony. This was the case with a third machine gun in infantry battalions, the steel screw picket for wire entanglement—valuable alike because it could be put into the ground without the noise of hammering and because it was less easily cut by fire than a wooden stake—and a mortar per battalion. No motor ambulance vehicles were provided, with the consequence that many wounded who might have been rescued were left behind in the retreat from Mons. Two of the six divisions of the B.E.F. lacked the mobile kitchens known as "cookers" so that the troops had to halt to prepare food, a very dangerous handicap. Artillery telephone apparatus was provided by officers. Haldane realised all this, but it finds little place in his writings.

I cannot enter into other questions which might be stretched to come under the heading of "Haldane and Defence." The visits to Germany and the negotiations which created so much prejudice against him are among these. So, too, is his deep interest in the Admiralty, his part in the formation of its

War Staff, and his feeling after his own scheme had been completed that he ought to go to the Admiralty and put that right, too. There was nothing much wrong with the Navy, but a lot with the Admiralty and the Admirals, whose doctrines were too numerous and not sound enough. Amusingly, when he found the young Winston Churchill pleading with Asquith to be sent to the Admiralty he was perturbed. He did not think Churchill fully appreciated the importance of the War Staff. In the end he sat in with the First Lord over its formation. He objected to him also with unusual acerbity, though he kept this to himself, because of his feeling that "only a year since he had been doing his best to cut down McKenna's Estimates and that the Admiralty would receive the news of his advent with dismay." In various other ways Haldane contributed to the development of the fighting services.

He was shamefully treated, virtually branded as a traitor. There is no excuse for this. It is almost a national shame. But it must be admitted that he sometimes chose his words badly. For a man of his position and in view of his association in the public mind with German literature and philosophy, it is hard to think of an unwise phrase than that about Germany being his "spiritual home."

All qualifications made, the final judgement must be that he accomplished magnificent work in the reform of the Army. And, whereas, even to many of his intimates, he appeared to be a man of ideas only, at home only in the abstract, he proved himself to be a man of action, at home in bringing to reality the ideas which flowed from his mind.

Today no War Minister could do what he did. The office is reduced in scope and its holder has ceased to be a Cabinet Minister because so much that concerns the War Office is done over his head. I think it is certain that Haldane would have made an ideal Minister of Defence. It is interesting to note that he had no ideological objection to conscription. He told a correspondent that it might be necessary in a great war and he actually drafted a Conscription Bill.

He combined imagination with industry and above all with a great gift for simplifying his problems before he started to solve them. Many able men are inclined to make their problems look more difficult than they really are. Haldane's lucid mind blotted out the inessentials while realising the value of what would have appeared to others unimportant items. When he had no unit on hand to fill a blank in his frame he converted another. He did not found new units. He wasted nothing. But he paid a price for this concentration on his task. He could take little part in other day-to-day affairs of the Cabinet and it was only after he had left the War Office in 1912 that he began to do so. Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith also to a lesser degree appreciated his value, but some of his colleagues felt impatient. Haldane was not permitted to undergo the test of acting as Secretary of State for War in war itself. I suggest that he is the greatest peacetime holder of that office in our annals.

Haldane and the Machinery of Government

By THE RT. HON. LORD BRIDGES, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.V.O., M.C.

Lord Bridges was Permanent Secretary to H.M. Treasury from 1945 to 1956.

THIS title may perhaps suggest nothing more than a close analysis of the Report of the Committee on Machinery of Government presided over by Lord Haldane in 1917-18.

But no one who has spent many years in the public service should take it for granted that the report of a committee is a fair reflection of the mind of even so eminent a Chairman as Haldane. All the more so when the Committee comprised such stalwarts as Edwin Montagu, Sir Robert Morant, Sir George Murray and Mrs. Sidney Webb. Nor need we rely on assumptions, since we have only to look at Mrs. Webb's diary. This is what she wrote on 8th December, 1918:

"The report embodies all the right ideas and follows closely the lines laid down in the Webb document. But these ideas appear in nebulously-phrased, hesitating propositions: a concession to Murray's vested prejudices and Sykes's vested interests and Haldane's incurable delight in mental mistiness."¹

Do not take me as accepting this judgment. I shall return to the Machinery of Government Report. For the moment all I want to establish is that the Report cannot be my starting point.

In the few short weeks since I regained my freedom I have familiarised myself with Haldane's life and work, and with the enquiries in which he took part. It is easy to see what he achieved in, say, defence or education, as has been so well shown by others.

But it is far harder for me to do in my allotted sphere what others have done in theirs, namely, to start by giving an account of what Haldane achieved in regard to the Machinery of Government, and to deduce from that the ideas which inspired his work.

I shall deal with my subject in exactly the opposite order. I shall start by describing the general ideas which dominated Haldane's thinking, his general approach to problems, and something of his methods of work.

Some may think this an odd way to proceed: for there is, or was, a popular view which represented Haldane as having a mind essentially metaphysical, and unfitted for the handling of practical affairs; with learning so great that his arteries of thought became clogged. I never met Lord Haldane. But this is not the impression made on me. Indeed, I believe it to be largely a delusion. His utterances may, on occasion, especially towards the end of his life, have been misty or prolix. But in essence I see him as a man whose approach to his work was dominated by a few large but simple ideas.

His first care was to establish principles. He then proceeded to formulate ideas for putting them into practice. The record shows that he could establish an effective partnership when working with men or women whom he

knew and with whom intellectual collaboration came easily. And it is significant that Haldane's highest praise for a colleague was that he looked for a clear principle before advising action.² But Haldane had some difficulty in understanding the mental processes and reactions of the common man. This may explain why his achievements as a tactician often do not match his quality as a strategist. It explains, too, his self-confessed inadequacy with a jury, and in cross-examination, contrasted with his supremely effective presentation of argument to a bench of judges.

I shall start then by describing the few large but simple ideas. Later, I shall show what use Haldane made of them.

The Search for First Principles

We start with the general tenor of Haldane's mind. Its strong emphasis was on systematic study. He tells us in his autobiography that he had come to the conviction that in philosophy as well as in science no systematic knowledge is sufficient in itself unless it leads up and points to first principles.³

This search for first principles led Haldane, when handling any question of organisation, to start by making up his mind about what was the object in view and what were the purposes aimed at. All else was then subordinated to finding means of carrying out these purposes.

Closely connected with this was his great interest in the careful differentiation of function between Departments and authorities.

It is not fanciful to see a link between Haldane's search for first principles and his deep interest in research, in science and in education. One cannot deal with any one of these three strands without finding oneself involved with the others.

To take research first. In civil matters Haldane's thought is expressed in its pithiest form in the sentence in the Machinery of Government Report, that:

"In the sphere of civil government the duty of investigation and thought, as preliminary to action, might with great advantage be more definitely recognised."⁴

This led to the emphasis which he put on research establishments of all kinds—using research in the widest sense and not limiting it to the physical sciences.⁵ It also led to his insistence on the separation of research from administration, since (in his view) without this separation, research could not be carried on effectively.

In science, Haldane had been much impressed by what Germany had achieved. He was a persistent advocate of more intensive and systematic study of scientific problems in this country, as the essential preliminary to any further advance.

Scientific study again is closely linked with education. No man of his generation did more than Haldane to promote the cause of education. His name is particularly associated with higher and technological education, but he also believed that the remedy for many social ills lay in better general education.

Given this broad approach, it is not surprising that Haldane saw the problems he handled far more clearly than most men against the background of the life of the nation as a whole.

Haldane's Methods of Work

So much for his ideas. As to his methods of work, two points deserve notice. The first is that Haldane showed a great capacity for private, off-stage, discussions with those who could give him first-hand knowledge, and for persuading people to work together, and to work with him. He was a first-class behind-the-scenes man.

The second, which follows from the first, is his complete disregard of the boundaries of party politics in matters affecting science, education or machinery of government. He worked readily with all who could help the task forward.

Haldane and the Army

So much for Haldane's approach and ideas. Now as to how he applied them. My first instance comes from defence. I have apologised to Captain Falls for making a raid on his territory. But defence provides much the best example of how Haldane tackled a difficult question of organisation by deciding first what were the objects aimed at.

Col. Dunlop in his *History of the Development of the British Army*, looking for a succinct title for the years 1900-05 (i.e., the five years before Haldane became Secretary of State), calls them "a period of attempted reforms."⁸ Much indeed was attempted in this period and very little was achieved, except the formation of the Army Council and the Committee of Imperial Defence. The reason was that the proposals made in this period were not based on any clear principle. They had no sufficient driving force to overcome the opposition in Parliament, among the Government's own supporters, to anything which might affect the local interests of Militia or Volunteers.

Contrast this with what Haldane achieved. No doubt a threatening foreign situation was a spur to action. But he soon saw that what was needed was an Expeditionary Force—a force complete with each type of unit in due proportions: a force fully equipped, and so organised that it could be mobilised and sent overseas at the shortest notice.

Haldane's scheme of reform was based on the complete acceptance of this principle and its thorough-going application to the whole organisation of the Army.

Moreover, since the strategists had agreed that any attempt at invasion could be dealt with by the Navy and by the Territorial force, organised as our second line of defence, a number of units were no longer required and could be abolished. Thus, efficiency was combined with economy.

There could be no more striking example of a situation being transformed by the application of clear thinking about purposes and first principles. In contrast with the previous Parliamentary stalemate, Haldane's reforms, although meeting with some opposition, were carried through; and the nation got a highly efficient Army organisation.

Haldane and Science

I turn to science: and I take first two instances which show Haldane using the opportunities which came his way to get science applied in a fundamental

way to Government business.

Haldane often spent the week-ends with Sir John and Lady Horner at Mells in Somerset. He tells how, travelling up by train from Mells to London one Sunday afternoon early in the time of the South African War, Lord Lansdowne, then (the Conservative) Secretary of State for War, got into the train at Chippenham.

"We began to talk" (I quote from the autobiography) "and I said to him, 'What we have been suffering from in the South African War is, among other things, that we have not given proper attention to our explosives. They have been eating out the guns and wearing out our resources.' He was struck, and asked me when we got to London to come to dine with him alone. I went, and he said, 'I have been thinking over this. It is evidently a subject which you have studied, and I want you to take the Chair of an Explosives Committee under the War Office and Admiralty which will look into this question.' So I said to him, 'We ought to do what the French have done. They had a Committee, the Chairman of which was their great chemist, Berthelot. You ought to appoint the English Berthelot to be Chairman.' 'Who is he?' said Lansdowne, and I said 'Lord Rayleigh.' He took the matter up, but insisted that I should go on the Committee. I sat on it, with the late Lord Rayleigh as Chairman. . . ."

It was due to this Committee that a Chemical Research Department was added to Woolwich Arsenal in 1903.⁹

The second example concerns the air. Many inventors came to see Haldane when Secretary of State for War. "I saw," he wrote, "that those whom I interviewed were only clever empiricists, and that we were at a profound disadvantage compared with the Germans, who were building up the structure of the air service on a foundation of science." So Haldane appointed an Aeronautical Navigation Committee with himself in the Chair. At the first meeting he pleaded for systematic scientific guidance: "Otherwise," as he added, "we may go pottering about and accomplish very little." But, finding himself too far ahead of his colleagues, he took the matter out of the hands of the War Office and appointed an independent advisory committee for aeronautics with Lord Rayleigh as Chairman.^{9 10}

He also had a section added to the National Physical Laboratory for experimental work on models, and appointed a new Head of what until then had been the Army Balloon Factory at Farnborough, with general instructions to act on the advice of the advisory committee. This series of fruitful measures was the origin of the Royal Aeronautical Establishment at Farnborough.¹⁰

These two instances are impressive. There must have been many other occasions when Haldane's influence was exercised in the same sort of way. But evidence is lacking. There is nothing to show that he had any part in the setting up in 1909 by the Government of the Development Commission, which had wide powers of research. Nor was he concerned with the setting up in 1911 of the Medical Research Committee, the precursor of the Medical Research Council. The reason may be that at the time he was so much engrossed in the reorganisation of the Army.¹¹

Haldane was out of office when the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research was set up in 1916. He was frequently consulted by those concerned

but had no formal part in its establishment.¹²

One asks, therefore, how much Haldane achieved in stimulating scientific research. Let me quote from Sir Henry Tizard's lecture, *A Scientist In and Out of the Civil Service*—I acknowledge with gratitude the help Sir Henry has given me. Sir Henry Tizard says that 25 years ago [i.e., about 1930] the principle was accepted by all political parties "that it was one of the duties of Government to promote scientific research in the interests of the nation" . . . "This was a revolution in political thought, mainly due to the influence of Haldane, reinforced by the experience of war. The chief change since then has been one of scale and range."¹³

I have no doubt that this is a true judgment, and that the real measure of Haldane's influence in science cannot be judged by the recorded achievements. Here, as elsewhere, much of his work was done in private discussions with those who made and influenced policy.

Haldane's Interest in the Machinery of Government

And now for the purely civil aspect of the machinery of government.

In 1905 when Campbell-Bannerman was forming his Government he offered Haldane the post of Attorney-General. This is how Haldane describes his feelings :

"Now the last thing that was likely to appeal to me was the position of a Law Officer. I had had the best that the Bar itself could give me. But that was not the main reason for rejecting anything short of office in the Cabinet. My whole soul had been for years in the effort to bring about reform in higher education and in other departments of administration."¹⁴

Haldane's interest in higher education is clear enough. But what had he done in the years up to 1905 to lead him to speak in these terms of reform of administration?

What is the evidence?

In 1894, Mr. Asquith, when Home Secretary, had appointed Haldane to serve on a Committee on Prison Administration.¹⁵ In 1898 he had been Chairman of a Committee on the organisation and method of working of the Legacy and Succession Duty Office.¹⁶

These two subjects sound pretty arid. Scrutiny of the records has not led me to alter this judgment—nor have I found anything in the work of these committees which bears the imprint of Haldane's mind.

He was also, in 1904, Chairman of a committee on grants to University Colleges.¹⁷ Dr. Lockwood mentions this Committee on pages 238-239. But it is also important from the point of view of machinery of government. The Committee recommended the setting up of a permanent advisory committee, which would not be bound to adhere to a rigid formula in the allocation of all the funds at their disposal. It also recommended that the grants should in future be made to the committee and not to the Colleges.

These recommendations, which were adopted, are two of the essentials of the system of University Grants as we know it today—a system which has worked very smoothly and is universally admired overseas.

No doubt, too, Haldane's work before the Judicial Committee of the

Privy Council had by now encouraged his interest in the conception of an Imperial Court of Appeal, and of a reorganisation of the functions and duties of the Lord Chancellor on the lines which Lord Jowitt describes on pages 228-230.

But all this taken together scarcely accounts for Haldane speaking of "his whole soul" being concerned with the reform of administration.

The explanation? I ask you to dip with me into Beatrice Webb's diaries.

Haldane and the Webbs

The relationship between Haldane and the Webbs is an intricate and fascinating subject. With reluctance I will confine myself to the light it throws on Haldane's interest in the machinery of government and on his methods of work.

Haldane's political ideas differed from those of the Webbs. Each recognised this: but Mrs. Webb tells us that in many ways their different aims could be pursued together or harmonised by compromise and that "whenever and wherever this has been the case Haldane and we" (the Webbs) "have worked together without enquiring too curiously about each other's instinctive aims."¹⁸

Despite occasional differences there was a long and close friendship. In *Our Partnership* Mrs. Webb refers to the absence of friendships in Sidney Webb's life and says that apart from "perhaps Bernard Shaw, and some way down the scale of frank intimacy Haldane, . . . I can think of no other but these two who have been lifelong friends as well as colleagues."¹⁹

And again in 1924 she records a dinner with Haldane. "One of these little confabs" (she calls it) "which we have had now for over thirty years with this fellow conspirator."²⁰

Over many years they worked closely together; they spent much time in each other's company, and the ideas of each must have been very considerably influenced by the other. Here are three extracts from Mrs. Webb's diary, to show how matters went:

August, 1892

"Sunday with Haldane was more remunerative. . . . Talked incessantly about the possibilities of reorganising the Home Office as the Ministry of Labour; perfecting the factory department. Ended in pressing us to write a memorandum for Asquith."²¹

20th June, 1906

"A useful little dinner here" (at the Webbs' house in Grosvenor Road) "last night to help forward Haldane's Territorial Army Scheme."²²

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little conspiracy of Mrs. Webb's about the Poor Law Commission.)

Then again, there are many passages in Mrs. Webb's diary which show her judgment at different periods of Haldane's ways of doing business.

Let me pick a few choice flowers from my anthology.

"Haldane is now an influential man : willing to stand in the background . . . to counsel the Ministers and act as a go-between " (1892).²⁴

"His career is interesting as combining that of a considerable lawyer, an education reformer and an intriguing politician . . . (though the intrigues are always to promote a cause and never to push himself)" (1902).²⁵

"The courtly lawyer with a great capacity for dealing with men and affairs, and a real understanding of the functions of an expert, and skill in using him " (1905).²⁶

"Haldane was as usual busy manipulating civil servants and Ministers to his way of thinking " (1924).²⁷

"He remained throughout his life a behind the scenes man. . . . He had a notable gift for manipulating his fellow-men and for the organisation of business " (1928).²⁸

These extracts go far, I think, to explain the contrast between Haldane's deep interest in the Machinery of Government, and the scanty evidence of positive achievement in this field till we reach the report of the Machinery of Government Committee.

He was never a man who cared about getting praise for what he himself achieved. And much of his best work went in exerting his influence in unseen ways, and in bringing together those who would otherwise have stayed apart.

The Haldane Report

The time has come to write of the report on the Machinery of Government.²⁹ I can only deal with it in the broadest way.

In his autobiography Haldane states that the Committee was appointed at his suggestion. It seems, however, that others had a hand in this. For Edwin Montagu, before becoming Minister of Reconstruction, had been Financial Secretary to the Treasury and the Treasury had given him a memorandum exposing the overlapping between Departments and suggesting a re-arrangement of their duties. In April, 1917, Montagu submitted a memorandum about this to the Reconstruction Committee : and the decision of the Government to appoint the Machinery of Government Committee took place not long afterwards.

The report owes something to many hands. I start by listing the passages in it which seem to me to derive from Haldane's ideas.

First, the Cabinet. Haldane had clear ideas about how the Cabinet should work, and in his autobiography he comments bitterly on the weakness, in this respect, of the Liberal Cabinet in the years before 1914.³⁰ The report defines the purposes for which the Cabinet exists, and sets out the conditions and organisation necessary if it is to do its job properly ; including its size, the need for a permanent Secretariat, and a properly organised agenda.

Second, the formulation of policy. Here the starting point is the phrase, already quoted, about the " duty of investigation and thought as preliminary to action " being more definitely recognised. The report recommended better provision for research, not only in Departments, but in a central Department of Government specially charged with these duties.

Third, a comprehensive scheme for a reallocation of duties between Departments, based on the principle of the nature of the service rendered to the community.

Fourth, improved methods of Departmental organisation and control, including better organisation for financial and establishment work ; and better arrangements for inter-departmental discussions and so forth.

Most of these passages, which seem to me to derive directly from Haldane's thought, occur in Part I of the Report. With the exception of certain passages including, in particular, the long chapter on justice, most of Part II does not seem to me to be so close to his mind.

The Webb Reconstruction papers in the British Library of Political and Economic Science contain a set of documents about the Committee. From this and other sources a certain amount can be inferred as to the *provenance* of various ideas.

The passages in the report about the Cabinet follow closely the line of Lord Hankey's evidence to the Committee : and Lord Hankey has authorised me to say this. Sir Maurice, as he then was, had of course worked closely for many years with Haldane on the C.I.D. and they had often discussed these ideas.

On *formulation of policy*, Montagu seems first to have suggested that the Privy Council should be the centre for all the research activities of Government. Haldane disagreed. He thought the Lord President would be too busy with other things. In Haldane's view the head of the Department ought to be essentially a trained thinker—an individual sufficiently detached from party politics to go on in one or two successive administrations and so bring about the continuity of work and knowledge which had proved itself in the 1914-18 war of vital importance in the Committee of Imperial Defence.³¹

It was Mrs. Webb who was the protagonist of some continuous organ of thought, initiative and criticism within each Department.

The passages in the report strongly critical of Treasury control are due to Morant. So perhaps we can attribute to Sir George Murray the more conventional view that " on the whole, experience seems to show that the interests of the taxpayer cannot be left to the spending Department."³²

The Committee papers dealing with the principle on which duties should be allocated between Departments were mainly the work of Mrs. Webb. But there is reason to think that the ideas in these papers were also held by Haldane and Morant.

Some writers seem to me to have over-stressed the importance of the principle of distributing duties according to the nature of the service to the Community. It is not original, since it occurs in the Politics of Aristotle.

" . . . Again, should offices be divided according to the subjects with which they deal, or according to the persons with whom they deal : I mean

to say, should one person see to good order in general, or one look after the boys, another after women, and so on?"³³

I shall not say much about this attribution of ideas. Given Haldane's methods of work and his long association with some members of the Committee and with others who gave evidence, too much weight should not be attached to who first broached an idea.

Influence of the Report

The Report was published on 7th January, 1919, ten days after the General Election. It was commented on in a leader of *The Times* of that day—one of those leaders which find a few things to praise, but convey a general impression of decidedly cold caution. It was also the subject of a long, glowing tribute in the *New Statesman* four days later.

There is little evidence that the report as a whole ever received close attention from Lloyd George's Government.

If one thinks in terms of specific recommendations, it is surprising how often in the ensuing years the machinery of government has developed on lines different from those proposed in the report. Yet it has had a great and continuing influence for 40 years.

How is this contrast to be explained? Like many other reformers, the Committee attempted too much. Perhaps some of them were afraid of being "nebulous." But it was surely a mistake to imagine that any Committee, in the time available, could devise a workable, detailed blueprint for recasting the whole organisation of Government.

The passages which have exercised most influence are those in Part I which derive from Haldane's own thinking. These have inspired people to look at the machine of government as a whole, and to think of it in terms of the broad simple ideas on which any such conspectus must be based. It has encouraged people to think about the fundamental problems of government. This is its title to fame.

And what did Haldane himself think of the Report? This is what he wrote in one of his daily letters to his mother.

7th December, 1918

"We signed yesterday afternoon the Report of the Great Reform Committee. We are unanimous and it is the first time that Labour has been brought into a common programme with moderate opinion."³⁴

He was clearly disappointed that so little attention was paid by the Government to the Report. And when he took office again as Lord Chancellor in the first Labour Government he tried to follow up one of the recommendations to which he attached importance. He submitted to the Prime Minister (Mr. Ramsay MacDonald) a plan "for a new Committee of Civil Research for investigating and solving problems which arose in connection with civil government, both at home and throughout the Empire." (I am here quoting from Lord Haldane's papers in the National Library at Edinburgh.) "This was exactly analogous to the Committee of Imperial Defence and the Prime Minister similarly was to preside over it. Unfortunately," Haldane continued,

"the Labour Prime Minister was little interested in such subjects."³⁵

But after the fall of the Labour Government, the paper which Haldane had prepared was circulated to Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet, and adopted.

A Committee of Civil Research, as it was called, was thus established in 1925, "charged with the duty of giving connected forethought from the central standpoint to the development of economic, scientific and statistical research in relation to civil policy and administration."³⁶

The Committee marked an important stage in bringing informed outside opinion, particularly economic opinion, to bear on the problems of central government.

That it did not achieve all that was hoped for it was because neither it, nor its successor the Economic Advisory Council, was in sufficiently close touch with the day-to-day work of administration. It was not thus able to bring its full influence to bear on those concerned with forming policy at the crucial early stages.

It was not until World War II, when the Economic and Statistical Sections were established in the War Cabinet Office, that this was remedied, and that economic and statistical research were given their proper place in the central thinking of government.

Haldane and the Institute of Public Administration

Lord Haldane's last contribution to the machinery of government was his connection with the Institute of Public Administration.

In his life of Haldane, Sir Frederick Maurice states that Haldane, finding there was little prospect of official consideration being given to the Report of the Machinery of Government Committee, determined to organise voluntary support for his campaign for the application of scientific measures to administration and, in consultation with Sir George Murray, Sir Robert Morant and others, founded the Institute.³⁷

I do not believe this to be entirely accurate. The first impetus which led to the founding of the Institute came from the Society of Civil Servants in 1918, i.e., before the publication of the Machinery of Government Report. The Society were joined later by supporters from the Association of First Division Civil Servants, representatives of other Civil Service staff organisations and of associations of local government officers. The first activities of this group were two series of lectures given in 1920 and 1921.^{38 39} Haldane's close connection with this movement is shown by the fact that he delivered one of the first series of lectures and wrote the foreword to the second series; while the first lecture of all was given by Sir Robert Morant, who was closely associated with him. Yet another instance of Haldane's unofficial ways of working.

When the Institute was founded in 1922 Haldane accepted the Presidency. He took an immense interest in its work. He delivered the first address ever made to it.⁴⁰

In this inaugural address, Haldane set out the purpose and scope of the Institute: what he said was an embodiment of the general ideas which inspired his work, and which I have sought to portray. In what follows I have tried to summarise it, using his own words, but taking many liberties with the order. I have also followed Haldane's practice of speaking of the Civil

Service when he had in mind all those who give civilian public service.

The Institute (he said) was not an organisation to further the material interests of a class. The best way of furthering its individual interests was for the Civil Service to concentrate on *excellence*.

It was a society formed on the basis of rendering fresh service to the public, by bringing to bear study which implies expert knowledge. Its primary purpose was scientific.

Knowledge can be obtained pretty rapidly but there is needed in addition continuity in policy. This is difficult of attainment in so far as Ministers change periodically. We come back, therefore, in the last resort to the Civil Service itself.

An ideal Civil Service supplies the factors necessary for continuity in administration: and this requires above all common faith in agreed-on ideals.

Efficiency is not an enemy of economy. Efficiency does not mean extravagant administration.

Requirements in personnel must be founded on exact reasons . . . fat must disappear and developed muscle must take its place. The Departments of Government must have their scope and boundaries clearly defined.

Finally, the source of strength of the Civil Service lies in establishing that it is a school of thought which will work in close contact with the universities—the more it develops as a school of thought the more it will appeal to people outside.

These are wise words which have stood the test of time. They recall the few large but simple ideas which I mentioned at the outset.

I have not found it easy to give a true appraisal of Haldane's work over the whole field of the machinery of government. But one thing is certain. The more one studies Haldane's life and work and his relations with his colleagues, the more one is left with a clear conviction of a very great man indeed; simple, unaffected and unselfish and whose fame is secure. A man, moreover, to whom all those who are concerned with the machinery of government owe a very great debt.

⁶*The Development of the British Army 1899-1914*, by Col. John K. Dunlop (1938), page 119.

⁷*Autobiography*, pages 164-65.

⁸*A Scientist In and Out of the Civil Service*: Haldane Memorial Lecture delivered at Birkbeck College, 1955, by Sir Henry Tizard, G.C.B., F.R.S., page 4.

⁹*Autobiography*, pages 232-33.

¹⁰*A Scientist In and Out of the Civil Service*, page 5.

¹¹*Ibid.*, page 5.

¹²Sir Frank Heath. Article on "Lord Haldane: His Influence on Higher Education and on Administration" (*Public Administration*, October, 1928).

¹³*A Scientist In and Out of the Civil Service*, pages 10-11.

¹⁴*Autobiography*, page 170.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, page 166. Also C. 7702.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, page 165.

¹⁷Report of Committee on University and Colleges (Great Britain) Grant in Aid and Treasury Minutes thereon (Cd. 2422, 1905). Also Sir Frank Heath's article already quoted.

¹⁸Beatrice Webb's Diaries, Vol. II, page 87.

¹⁹*Our Partnership* by Beatrice Webb (1948), page 9.

²⁰Mrs. Webb's Diaries, 1912-24, page 261.

²¹*Our Partnership*, page 32.

²²*Ibid.*, page 345.

²³*Our Partnership*, page 384.

²⁴*Ibid.*, page 32.

²⁵*Ibid.*, page 247.

²⁶*Ibid.*, page 325.

²⁷Mrs. Webb's Diaries, Vol. II, page 31.

²⁸*Our Partnership*, page 96.

²⁹This section makes use of the Webb Reconstruction papers in the British Library of Political and Economic Science.

³⁰*Autobiography*, pages 216-18.

³¹Memorandum by Haldane (paper 16) in the Webb Reconstruction papers.

³²Machinery of Government Report, Part II, Chapter I, paragraph 12.

³³Aristotle's *Politics*, IV, 15.

³⁴Haldane papers in the National Library at Edinburgh.

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶Cmd. 2440.

³⁷*Haldane 1915-28* by Sir Frederick Maurice (1939), Vol. II, pages 119-20.

³⁸"The Civil Servant and his Profession." A series of Lectures delivered to the Society of Civil Servants in March, 1920.

³⁹"The Development of the Civil Service." Lectures delivered before the Society of Civil Servants, 1920-21, with a Preface by Lord Haldane.

⁴⁰"An Organised Civil Service." Being the President's Inaugural Address to the Institute of Public Administration (*Public Administration*, Vol. I, No. 1).

¹Beatrice Webb's Diaries 1912-24 (edited by Margaret Cole), page 137.

²Richard Burdon Haldane, *An Autobiography*, page 184.

³*Ibid.*, page 30.

⁴Report of the Machinery of Government Committee, 1918. Cmd. 9230. Part I, para. 12.

⁵The wide meaning which Haldane gave to research is shown by a note of his in the Webb Reconstruction papers (see note 29 below). This reads "Research Department," as the title of the Central Department envisaged by the Machinery of Government Report, "is hardly adequate to the meaning which ought to be covered. What is implied is continuity in the development of conceptions and of accurate knowledge generally."

DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE COLONIES

The report has been published of the Conference on the Development of Local Government in the Colonies which was held by the Institute, with the co-operation of the Colonial Office, at Queens' College, Cambridge, from 22nd August to 2nd September, 1955. Single copies can be obtained from the Institute at the price of 7/6, to members of the Institute 5/6; for bulk orders the charge is 4/- per copy. Sir John Wrigley, K.B.E., C.B., who was Chairman of the Conference, contributes a foreword to this report, which includes several appendices.

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Administrative Adjustment of a Colonial Government to meet Constitutional Change

By A. A. WILLIAMS, O.B.E.

Mr. Williams's study was awarded the Silver Medal and the first prize in the Haldane Essay Competition, 1956. The author was Deputy Chief Secretary, Singapore.

I. INTRODUCTORY

IF politics be the art of the possible, administration is the art of converting the possible into the practicable. The practice of this latter art has been much in evidence in the Commonwealth in the past ten years, which have seen political developments call for the radical revision of colonial constitutions providing exercise for both the political theorist and the administrative planner, and the task imposed on the administrator to adjust his machine and way of thinking to the imagination of the constitution-maker has frequently called for no less a degree of ingenuity and improvisation, especially when the materials to his hand are less plentiful or less flexible than the ideas they are to serve.

The stages in constitutional revision in the Colonies have varied according to the separate circumstances of each Territory; in some the process has not passed beyond enlargement of the Legislature without corresponding substantial alteration in the nature of the Executive; in others the composition of the Executive has been modified by the introduction of what has been termed a Member or embryo-Minister system of government; and in others there has been progress to the introduction of an almost fully-fledged Ministerial form of government, with a party system in operation.

Each of these revisions has called for some greater or lesser measure of readjustment of the normal administrative machinery of Government. Such readjustment can perhaps best be illustrated from a Territory where the traditional Crown Colony system has given place to the exercise of power by Ministers drawn from the party or parties with a majority in the Legislature, and in recent years Singapore is probably the outstanding example of such a change having been made without the interposition of any temporary or preliminary stage of transition. The constitutional changes effected in Singapore in 1955 called for very considerable changes in administrative arrangements, and the purpose of this paper is to outline the revision which was made. It does not, however, deal with the important subject of finance, for reasons which will be apparent later.

II. CROWN COLONY CONSTITUTION

(i) Executive and Legislature

Until April, 1955, the constitution of Singapore was that of a Crown Colony of the traditional type. The administration was conducted by and in the name of the Governor, defined in Colonial Regulations as the single and supreme

authority responsible to and representative of Her Majesty¹ and the holder of an office created and specified by the Singapore Colony Order in Council.² In the performance of his duties he was assisted by the advice of an Executive Council, constituted under the same Order in Council and composed, under the terms of the Royal Instructions to the Governor, of the Governor as Chairman, four *ex-officio* members, two nominated official members, four nominated unofficial members, and two members elected by the Legislative Council from amongst its nominated non-official and elected members.³ But the members of Executive Council had not, as such, any individual or personal authority or responsibility for the acts of the Government; they were required to advise the Governor on matters brought before them, and the Governor was required to consult them in the execution of all powers and duties conferred upon him, except in cases which were, in his judgment, of such a nature that the Queen's service would sustain material prejudice by his consulting the Council, or were too unimportant to require their advice, or too urgent to admit of advice being obtained in the time available for action. The Governor was not required to take the Council's advice, but if he acted in opposition to it he had to report the circumstances to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Laws for the Colony were, in the terms of the Colony Order in Council, made by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council for the peace, order and good government of the Colony.⁴ The Legislative Council was defined to consist of the Governor as President, four *ex-officio* members, five nominated official members and up to four nominated unofficial members, and up to twelve elected members.⁵ (At the time of its dissolution in 1955 the Council did in fact consist of the Governor and 25 members.) The four *ex-officio* members of both the Executive and the Legislative Councils were the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Financial Secretary and the President of the City Council. The membership of Executive Council and the Legislative Council at the end of 1954 is illustrated in Table I.

(ii) *Governor in Council*

The range of business coming before the Governor in Council was very varied. Of the first class of importance were administrative decisions on matters of policy, and the consideration of any legislation necessary to give effect to such decisions. The Governor had, however, to consult his Executive Council (as has already been shown) in the exercise of all powers and duties conferred upon him, with certain exceptions, and these powers and duties, conferred by Ordinance, covered a very wide field and were not all of a uniform degree of importance. They covered the scrutiny and approval of the annual estimates of such major organisations as the Singapore City Council (almost a Government in its own right), and the Singapore Improvement Trust and the Singapore Harbour Board, and the making of all rules and regulations needed to implement and enforce the principal legislation of the Colony; but also included the prescription of scales of fees charged for services rendered by Government departments; the hearing of appeals from a variety of administrative orders which could be made statutorily by departmental officers; and a host of such comparatively minor matters as

TABLE I
Membership of Executive Council and Legislative Council

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL					EXECUTIVE COUNCIL	
FINANCIAL SECRETARY (<i>ex-officio</i>)	COLONIAL SECRETARY (<i>ex-officio</i>)	GOVERNOR (PRESIDENT)	ATTORNEY GENERAL (<i>ex-officio</i>)	PRESIDENT, CITY COUNCIL (<i>ex-officio</i>)	TWO NOMINATED OFFICIALS	
NOMINATED (THREE BEING ALSO MEMBERS OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL)	UNOFFICIALS	OFFICIALS	TWO MEMBERS FROM LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL			
FOUR NOMINATED UNOFFICIALS	SEVEN	OTHER	FOUR NOMINATED OFFICIALS			
ELECTED						
					LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL	
					EXECUTIVE COUNCIL	

the remuneration of auditors employed by public bodies, approval of forms of agreement for the crews of ships, prescription of the scale of medicines to be carried on ships, and notification of a description of poisons.

The Governor in Council was, in short, not only responsible for the determination of policy but was also the authority empowered to undertake a wide range of administrative acts, and it was a striking feature of the old Colonial constitution that one and the same institution was both a policy-making body and an instrument of routine administration.

The Executive Council had, however, no separate Secretariat or office, and was serviced only by a single Clerk who, with his subordinate staff of clerks and typists, was regarded as a member of the Colonial Secretary's office organisation, and was a comparatively junior member of the general administrative hierarchy. The Clerk was responsible for receiving papers approved by the Governor or Colonial Secretary for presentation to Council, for circulating them to Members of Council, for recording the minutes of Council proceedings, and for communicating the decisions taken in Council to the appropriate Secretariat officer. He was not himself charged with any duties of co-ordination or vigilance to ensure that action was taken, and was frequently employed on other Secretariat work in addition to his Council functions. Indeed, as in many other Colonies, his post had not long before been combined with that of Clerk of the Legislative Council, a body which met on the average for one day each month.

In the Executive Council itself there were no standing committees, although *ad-hoc* committees of Members of Council were occasionally appointed to examine particular issues. Generally speaking, it had been the duty of the Colonial Secretary's office to discern and review all aspects of a case requiring the Governor's decision, and to arrange for any necessary inter-departmental consultation.

(iii) *Administrative Organisation*

The general pattern for the Colony's administrative organisation was reflected in the form of its legislation. Where powers and duties were conferred by an Ordinance they were almost invariably conferred on the Governor in Council, the Governor or the Colonial Secretary, and only in respect of very minor functions were departmental officers named as the responsible statutory functionaries. When Boards or Committees were established by Ordinance to discharge particular duties many of their acts were specified as subject to approval by the Governor or Governor in Council, and the rules or regulations which they might frame to govern their proceedings frequently required the Governor's prior consent.

The main administrative organisation at the disposal of the Governor in Council consisted, for the purposes of this paper, of the Colonial Secretary's office and of the executive Departments. These Departments were the operative agencies for executing the policies and decisions of Government and were each constituted not only to deal with a technical or specialised subject or group of subjects, but also to provide and administer the actual services and institutions relating to those subjects. The Department of Medical Services, for example, provided and administered hospitals, clinics, and health services; the Department of Education administered and staffed a high

proportion of all the schools in the Colony. Such Departments were staffed at all administrative levels by technical and professional officers, with the assistance of only one or two lay administrators whose functions were generally confined to issues of establishment and finance.

In early 1955 there were 39 Departments in all (exclusive of the Judiciary, the Legal Department, Audit and the Public Services Commission), varying greatly in size, but each treated as a separate unit. They received the directions of Government from the Colonial Secretary, himself the principal executive officer in the Colony. This officer bore the dual burden of responsibility to the Governor for the efficient conduct of the administrative machinery, and of formulating policy proposals for consideration in Executive Council, of which he was himself the principal member. He was also generally the authority named by statute for the discharge of a number of administrative duties in every field of Government activity and the officer to whom many of the powers of the Governor were delegated. It was the Colonial Secretary whom the head of a Department addressed in seeking directions on policy or the settlement of an unresolved difference with a sister Department, and it was the Colonial Secretary who conveyed the decision on the point referred.

This combination of duties, both statutory and executive, also required of the Colonial Secretary that he be the principal spokesman for Government in the Legislative Council. In the broad division of Government's parliamentary business the Attorney-General would deal in the Council with legal issues and the Financial Secretary with financial and economic affairs, and when departmental officers such as the Directors of Education or Medical Services or the Commissioner of Labour were nominated to the Council as official members they would speak on the subjects within the purview of their own Departments. For all other matters, however, and even for the political implications of measures sponsored by his departmental colleagues, the Colonial Secretary was the representative and voice of Government in the legislature and his own final responsibility for accounting for Government's working was recognised and exemplified by the provision in the Legislative Council's Standing Orders that questions relative to public affairs, proceedings pending in the Council or any matter of administration were to be put to the Colonial Secretary.⁶ He could call upon an *ex-officio* or official member to answer the question, but in fact there were few answers not given by the Colonial Secretary himself.

It followed from all these factors that the Colonial Secretary's own immediate staff and office became the principal administrative organ in the Territory, supervising and co-ordinating departmental activity, processing and formulating proposals for the consideration of the Governor, conveying and interpreting policy to Departments, and preparing answers to parliamentary questions and briefs for parliamentary speeches. It was, in fact, a local and miniature but very concentrated and comprehensive Whitehall.

For convenience in handling business this single Whitehall was organised into branches or sections, staffed by officers of appropriate seniority, dealing with the correspondence of the various Departments. The organisation was functional in that the largest branch of the Colonial Secretary's Office dealt with establishment and service matters covering all ranks and ranges of the public service; its other divisions were by subjects, corresponding to the

activities of the various Departments and arranged by such groupings as the social and beneficent services, dealing with the Education, Health, Labour and Social Welfare Departments, or the communications and works subjects, dealing with Transport, Civil Aviation, Telecommunications, Public Works and the Meteorological Services. The officers in charge of these branches of the Colonial Secretary's Office dealt with the business coming to them to the extent of giving decision in the name of the Colonial Secretary wherever they judged it within their competence or implied authority by delegation to do so.

(iv) *Finance*

The funds required for conducting the Colony's administration were voted in the annual Appropriation Ordinance, after consideration of the Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure prepared by the Financial Secretary. These Estimates were discussed in detail by the Select Committee on Estimates of the Legislative Council, consisting of all the elected members under the chairmanship of the Financial Secretary, and each Head of Department could be called before the Committee to explain the items relating to his Department. If extra provision became necessary during the financial year, an Application for a Supplementary Vote was presented by the Financial Secretary to the Finance Committee of the Legislative Council (consisting again of all elected members), and the Committee's recommendations were placed before the full Legislative Council for approval. It followed, from the composition of the Finance Committee, that the approval of the full Legislature could be taken for granted.

(v) *Summary*

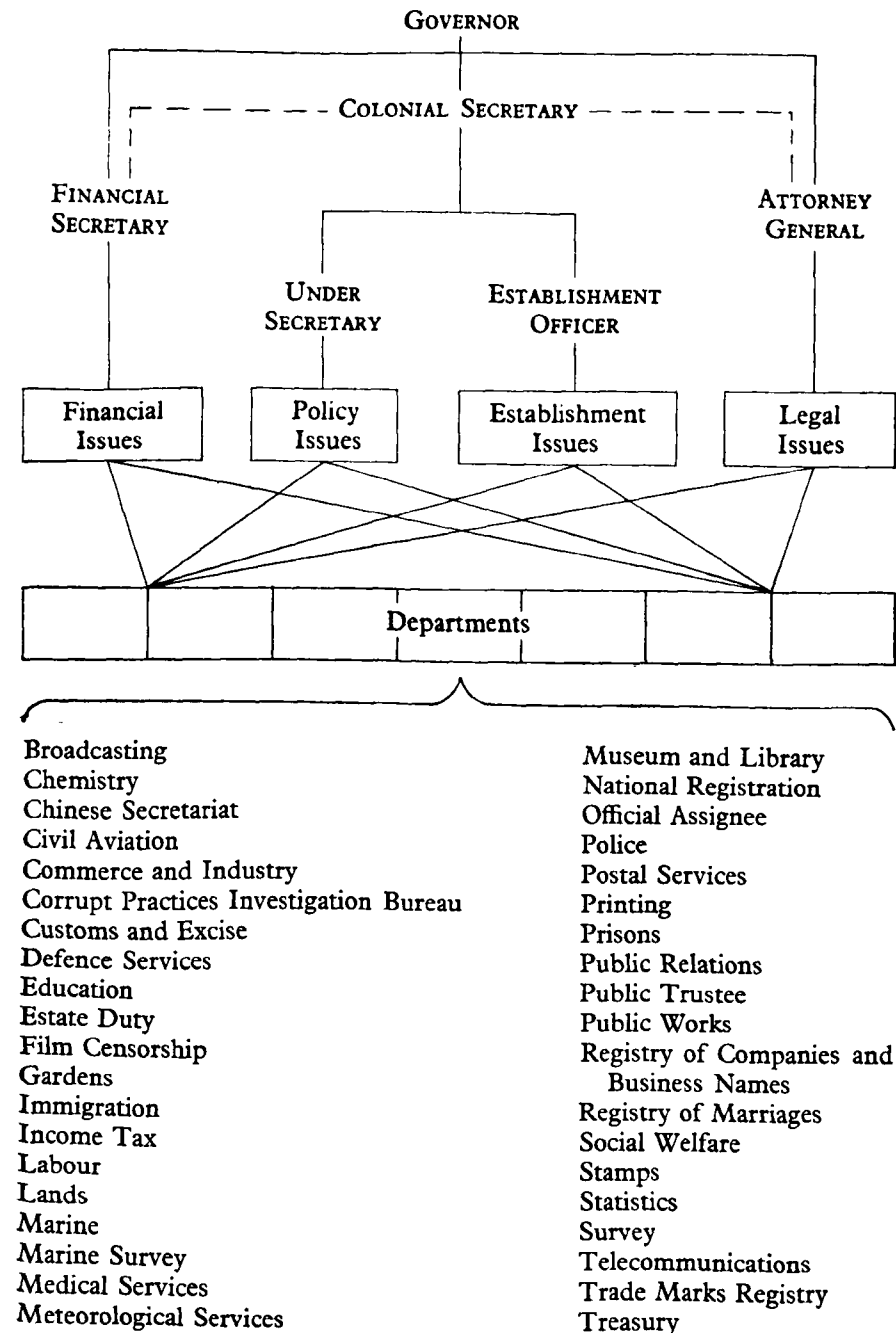
It can therefore in general be said that the general administrative pattern in Singapore at the end of 1954 was that of a closely integrated and highly centralised machine, with the proposing of policy and the general direction and co-ordination of executive action concentrated in the hands of the Colonial Secretary who was, in a very real sense, both the Prime Minister of the Colony and the executive head of its civil service. The pattern is set out in Table II, and was now very drastically to be changed.

III. CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

The constitution introduced in April, 1955, was based on the recommendations of a Commission appointed in October, 1953, with Sir George Rendel as its Chairman. The Commission made its report in February, 1954, and proposed the creation of a Legislative Assembly of 32 members, of whom 25 would be popularly elected, and a Council of Ministers of nine members, three of whom would be *ex-officio* Ministers and the other six would be drawn from the Legislative Assembly.⁷ The Commission contemplated that the leader of the largest political party in the Assembly would become the "Leader of the House," and as such would discharge many of the functions normally devolving on a Prime Minister in a fully self-governing State. The Governor would consult him on the filling of the Ministerial posts.⁸

The Commission's recommendations were given statutory effect in the Singapore Colony Order in Council, 1955, made on the 1st February, 1955.⁹

TABLE II
Chain of Administrative Command



A Legislative Assembly was created, to consist of 25 elected members, four members (not being holders of offices of emolument under the Crown) appointed by the Governor in his discretion, and three *ex-officio* members, being the Chief Secretary, the Attorney-General and the Financial Secretary. The Executive was a Council of Ministers, consisting of the Governor as President, three *ex-officio* Ministers (being the three *ex-officio* members of the Legislative Assembly), and six Ministers appointed from amongst members of the Legislative Assembly but not including more than one nominated member of the Assembly. The number of six Ministers from the Assembly was in February, 1956, raised to seven.¹⁰ Of these Ministers one, to be styled the Chief Minister, was appointed by the Governor in his discretion and the other Ministers were appointed after consultation with the Chief Minister.

The Council of Ministers was declared by the Order in Council to be "the principal instrument of policy," and Ministers were in the same Order declared to be "collectively responsible to the Assembly."¹¹ Each Minister was charged, by directions made by the Governor after consultation with the Chief Minister, with responsibility for certain departments and subjects, and provision was also made for the appointment, where need arose, of Assistant Ministers to assist Ministers in the discharge of their duties and functions. Assistant Ministers are not, however, members of the Council of Ministers. By April, 1956, after the constitution had been in force for one year, there were seven Ministers, including the Chief Minister, although the number was reduced again to six in June, and two Assistant Ministers drawn from the Legislative Assembly.

The Rendel Commission had, in proposing the establishment of a Council of Ministers in order to ensure that as much executive responsibility as possible be taken by elected representatives of the people, not only specified the size of that Council but also recommended an outline of the contents of each Ministerial portfolio.¹² The size of the Council was governed largely by the proposal to have three *ex-officio* Ministers dealing with defence, internal security, external relations, judicial affairs and finance, as this arrangement involved specifying a number of non-official Ministers of sufficient strength to ensure that the latter group would always be in the majority in Council. The figure of six was initially chosen and accepted, and was subsequently increased to seven as mentioned earlier. The contents of the six portfolios were recommended by the Commission as :

1. Commerce, Industry, Shipping, Agriculture, Fisheries ;
2. Labour, Immigration, Social Welfare ;
3. Education ;
4. Housing, Lands, Administration of adjacent islands, Town and Country Planning, Local Government ;
5. Civil Aviation, Communications, Public Works ;
6. Health.

The three *ex-officio* Ministers were to be the Chief Secretary (formerly the Colonial Secretary), the Attorney-General and the Financial Secretary. The Chief Secretary's portfolio was to include internal security, defence,

the Colony's part in external affairs (a not inconsiderable subject in a Territory where seven Commonwealth countries and 27 foreign States had diplomatic representation), and a variety of other subjects covering public relations and broadcasting, statistics and elections, as well as responsibility for all establishment policy and organisation and methods. The Attorney-General was to retain his general responsibility for legal advice, the drafting of legislation, and the conduct of prosecutions, and the Financial Secretary was to be the Minister in charge of Treasury and fiscal policy.

In respect of the actual administration of these portfolios the Commission observed : "To ensure that these departmental responsibilities will be carried out with the degree of efficiency which is desirable, we consider it important that each of the six Elected Ministers should be assisted by a senior and experienced official who would not sit in the Legislative Assembly but would hold a rank and perform duties corresponding broadly to those of Permanent Under Secretaries of State in the United Kingdom Ministries, i.e., would be responsible for the day-to-day administration of the Department, for formulating recommendations on policy for the Minister's consideration and for ensuring that policy decisions of the Minister and the Council of Ministers were put into effect."¹³ This recommendation was eventually embodied in the Order in Council, which prescribed that there should be for each Ministry a Permanent Secretary, being a public officer appointed by the Governor in his discretion and exercising, subject to the general direction and control of his Minister, supervision over the department or departments for which his Minister was responsible.¹⁴

IV. ADMINISTRATIVE ADJUSTMENT

The keynote of the initial process of adjustment of the Government machine to the new political circumstances was clearly to be decentralisation. It was essential that there be the fullest recognition of the fact that the advent of Ministers meant the creation of Ministries in the normally accepted sense, in complete contrast with the Nigerian experiment of 1952 when it had been sought to service nine elected Ministers, as well as three *ex-officio* Ministers, from the still completely unified Chief Secretary's Office. The physical problems of the office accommodation for Ministers and their headquarters staffs were the most obvious and in many ways the simplest to be solved, but the offices themselves had to be adequately organised and staffed, equipped with the experience and records to enable the Minister to master his subject, and armed with the authority to enable his constitutional responsibility to be reflected in executive action. These requirements could, broadly speaking, be met only by substantial transfer and devolution from the focal centre of the old constitution, the Colonial Secretary and his office. At a latter stage questions of co-ordination of the activities of the new Ministries were to assume greater prominence, but the cardinal need at the outset was taken to be the construction of the new framework of nine Ministry organisations. The constitutional recommendations of the Rendel Commission were published in February, 1954 ; these had to be discussed locally and with the Secretary of State ; the registration of an electorate with the franchise there proposed was estimated to take some six months, during which time the delimitation of electoral divisions' boundaries would also be

determined, and with April, 1955, eventually fixed as the time for the first elections a period of some twelve months was available for planning and effecting the administrative changes needed to match the new form of Government.

(i) *Accommodation*

The accommodation problems concerned the provision of new offices for the Council of Ministers and for each of the six Appointed Ministers. It was decided that the Council offices and Council room should be situated at Government House, as the Governor was President of the Council of Ministers and the building was sufficiently large to allow of space being found by internal structural alteration without any need to build new wings or separate office buildings. In the same way the six new Ministry offices were all provided within the buildings already housing the principal Departments of each portfolio.

(ii) *Organisation and Staffing*

The organisation of the new Ministries was a more difficult matter. The Rendel Commission had proposed the contents of each portfolio after considering the distribution of duties and volume of work existing at the time, but had pointed out that experience might show some different grouping of duties to be desirable. Their proposals were examined in detail and were found, having regard to all the circumstances, to constitute a very fair basis for the administrative planning needed to set up Ministries in advance of the Ministers taking office although it was, of course, always possible that when Ministers were first appointed some further re-adjustment might be required. In the event, however, the new Ministers accepted the proposed division of responsibilities in allocating portfolios, and the result, as at April, 1955, is shown in Table III.¹⁵

In planning the new Ministries there were two instances, those of Commerce and Industry and of Health, where little more was needed than the transformation and rechristening of two existing major executive Departments. An almost equally simple case was the Ministry of Education, constituted by adding to the existing Department of Education, which had dealt with secondary and primary education, the Government's responsibilities in respect of higher education and the new Singapore Polytechnic, and the small department of the Raffles Museum.

The circumstances of the other three Ministries were more involved. The Ministry of Labour and Welfare was constituted by grouping together under a small headquarters unit the three previously separate Departments of Labour, Social Welfare and Immigration, and in the same way the five Departments of Public Works, Civil Aviation, Meteorological Services, Posts and Telecommunications become divisions of the new Ministry of Communications and Works. The sixth Ministry, of Local Government, Lands and Housing, added to the two Departments of Lands and Survey all Government dealings with the two local government organs—the City Council and the Rural Board—and with the Singapore Improvement Trust, the instrument for town planning and housing. It also undertook responsibility for the administration of the small islands surrounding the main Island.

The Ministries of the three *ex-officio* Ministers called for adjustment also. The Chief Secretary's Office was contracted in proportion to the transfer of work to his elected colleagues, but an increase of work was involved for the other two official Ministries. It was decided that the revenue-producing Departments of Customs, Income Tax and Stamps should come into the Treasury portfolio, and the Attorney-General took into his charge the trust Departments of the Official Assignee and the Custodian of Property.

The Order in Council establishing the constitution prescribed that there should be a Permanent Secretary as the Civil Service head of each Ministry, responsible to the Minister for the working of the Ministry. An organisation for each Ministry was planned accordingly, with Deputy and Assistant Secretaries in the headquarters unit in such strength as seemed necessary in each case. The general pattern was not, however, one of superimposing an administrative headquarters over one or more executive Departments, as available staff had to be employed to the most economical advantage, and many of the less technical Departments were already headed by officers of the administrative cadre of the Service. Some Heads of Departments, such as the Directors of Education and of Medical Services, had indeed held nominated official seats in the old Legislative Council and answered there for the working of their Departments. It did not therefore follow that all Permanent Secretaries were to be laymen from the ranks of the Colonial Administrative Service, or that an extra tier, of Permanent Secretary grade, was to be imposed over all Departmental heads. In his published Despatch, commenting on the Rendel Commission proposals, the Governor, while welcoming the recommendation for the appointment of a Permanent Secretary for each Ministry, had observed that much would depend on the selection of appropriate officers and that the eventual choices would probably include both administrative and technical officers, each selected according to the particular circumstances of each case.¹⁶ Selection for the posts of Permanent Secretary was made on the basis of appropriate experience and seniority; in the event it was found that in four Ministries (Commerce and Industry, Education, Health and Local Government, and Lands and Housing) the head of the principal constituent Department became the Permanent Secretary, with some additional administrative strengthening provided at lower levels, and with no specific replacement as a departmental officer; and for each of the other two Ministries (Labour and Welfare, and Communications and Works) a new Ministry headquarters unit of a Permanent Secretary and Assistant Secretaries, all drawn from the Administrative Service, was set up over the combination of technical and professional Departments which had been grouped together.

It was, however, understood that where a professional or departmental officer had become Permanent Secretary the arrangement was not necessarily a permanent pointer to the future line of succession, and it might well be that on the occasion of a vacancy a Permanent Secretary drawn from a technical Service would be replaced by a layman, and *vice versa*.

There were in addition the three Ministries of the *ex-officio* Ministers—the Chief Secretary, the Attorney-General and the Financial Secretary. Here there was little to call for re-organisation; each of these Ministers had already, as a civil servant, been serviced by an office of well-established

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

ADMINISTRATIVE ADJUSTMENT TO MEET CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

TABLE III

CONTENTS OF PORTFOLIOS

<i>Minister</i>	<i>Departments</i>	<i>Subjects</i>
Minister for Commerce and Industry	Commerce and Industry : Agriculture Co-operative Development Exchange Control Fisheries Forests Imports and Exports Control Supplies Veterinary Services Marine Marine Surveys Registry of Companies, Business Names, Patents and Trade Marks	Trade Policy Commerce Industry Production Foreign Exchange Administration Shipping Port Services
Minister for Labour and Welfare	Labour Social Welfare Immigration	Labour Workmen's Compensation Social Security Welfare Public Assistance Immigration
Minister for Education	Education Raffles Museum and Library	Education including relations with Univer- sity of Malaya and Singapore Polytechnic
Minister for Local Government, Lands and Housing	Land Office Survey	Lands Local Government Town and Country Planning Housing Administration of adjacent islands

<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Departments</i>	<i>Subjects</i>
Minister for Communications and Works	Civil Aviation Meteorological Services Postal Services Public Works Telecommunications	Communications (excluding shipping and port services) Road Transport Railways Civil Aviation Works Telephones
Minister for Health	Medical and Health	Public Health
Chief Secretary	Police Prisons Chemistry Chinese Affairs Local Forces Public Relations Printing Broadcasting Film Censorship Gardens Statistics Registry of Marriages	External Affairs Pilgrimage Naturalisation Defence Internal Security Press Legislation Religious Affairs Ceremonial Elections Registration of Births and Deaths Establishment Organisation and Methods
Attorney-General	Legal Official Assignee Public Trustee Custodian of Property	Legal Affairs
Financial Secretary	Customs Income Tax Estate Duty Stamp Duty Accountant General	Financial Policy Banking Insurance Currency Exchange Control Policy

records and routine, capable of ready conversion into a Ministry by little more than change of nomenclature, and it remained only to designate the second most senior officer in each of these Ministries as its Permanent Secretary for the purposes of the Order in Council.

At the apex was the office of the Council of Ministers, headed by a Clerk whose post was specified in the Colony Order in Council, and who was also Secretary to the Governor, the President of the Council.¹⁷ The Clerk's functions were, at the outset, those carried out under the old constitution by the Clerk of Executive Council, but his office and staff were now a complete unit entirely separate from any other Government organisation and were clearly to assume increasing importance as time went on.

The expansion in staff requirements at the administrative level imposed a great strain on existing resources of officers of experience. It also provided further stimulus to the development of two features of personnel administration which had been planned in the period immediately preceding the new constitution—the institution of a system of regular staff training, and the establishment of an Executive Service. The staff training school had been started early in 1954 to meet a long-felt want in establishment organisation, and for the administrative cadet in particular training courses came to lay increasing emphasis on the machinery of government under a system of ministerial responsibility. Training could not of itself, however, add to the number of experienced administrators, and in Departments the task of many of these had been the heavier because of preoccupation with day-to-day routine in the absence of any intermediate grade of officer between the administrative and the clerical classes. A scheme for the introduction of an Executive Service had been prepared, but its implementation was the subject of long discussion owing to the conflicting claims and interests arising out of the existing complicated and far from uniform subordinate service salary structure and grading, and the new service had not taken shape when the constitution came into force. The need for it has, of course, become increasingly clear and is well appreciated on all sides; when practical difficulties have been solved and a class of executive officers has taken its place in the establishment framework, the relief to the administrative grade and the improvement in Ministry working should be substantial.

(iii) *Records and Procedure*

One of the more important physical preliminaries to starting the new constitution was the decentralisation of records. Existing departmental office records provided, on policy issues, a presentation of the case as the Head of Department had seen it and an intimation of the Government decision. The exact processes by which that decision had been reached and the interdepartmental and other consultation which might have been required, as well as the full range of precedents, were to be found only on the Colonial Secretary's Office files. It followed that practically all files held there dealing with subjects which were to be the responsibility of other Ministries had to be extracted and forwarded to those Ministries for providing the nucleus of their headquarters archives. The files so transferred were limited in the first instance to those in action in the last two years of the old constitution, i.e. 1953 and 1954, together with a detail of all others of older vintage which could

then be called by a Ministry if desired. The process was spread over some months, but by April, 1955, some 40 to 50 per cent of all files of the Colonial Secretary's Office of the years 1953-55 had been transferred to their new homes.

The assumption of office by Ministers naturally called for much reorientation of outlook by civil servants, and not least as regards administrative practice by those officers who now found themselves at or near the official headship of the new organisations. Material which had previously been passed to the Colonial Secretary with recommendations now required complete processing within the Ministry concerned so that the Minister could present a paper to the Council of Ministers as a self-contained statement, and if prior consultation with another Ministry was required it was for the originating Ministry to take the initiative in arranging this as the Colonial Secretary's Office no longer existed as a central clearing house for the purpose. A manual of administrative procedure had been prepared for the guidance of Ministry headquarters staff on the handling of Council of Ministers and Legislative Assembly business affecting their Ministries as well as on general secretariat routine, and the adoption of the new outlook was facilitated by the appointment to Ministry staffs of officers versed in the practice of the Colonial Secretary's office, in so far as sufficient of these were available for such transfer.

(iv) *Adaptation of Laws*

The process of reorientation of administrative outlook was reinforced by the adaptation of the laws of the Colony to the new constitutional circumstances. Previously the statutory powers enabling the general administration of Government to be conducted had been exercised, according to the specifications in the appropriate section of each Ordinance, by the Governor in Council, the Governor, the Colonial Secretary or (in a very few instances) a Head of Department. There had also been provision for the delegation to other officers of powers conferred on the Governor in Council or the Governor.

It was inherent in the new constitutional changes that when Ministers assumed office they should be vested not only with responsibility but also with the legal authority enabling that responsibility actively to be exercised. Provision had therefore been made in the Order in Council for transfer, by order of the Governor, of functions, powers and duties conferred or imposed on any person or authority by existing instruments to such other person or authority as might be specified in his order. This provision could remain operative for a period of one year from the date of the Order in Council coming into force.¹⁸

A review was accordingly made of all legislation governing subjects to be included in the portfolios of the Appointed Ministers and of the Attorney-General in order to determine the powers which could and should appropriately be exercised by the Ministers in future. The opportunity was also taken to seek relief for the Governor in Council from the large number of statutory routine references which were made for his orders under the then existing legislation, and which because of their routine nature tended to convert the Governor in Council into an instrument of everyday administration. It was desirable to keep the Council of Ministers as free as possible for the

consideration of issues of policy and major questions. The review of legislation therefore aimed both at constitutional propriety and at administrative decentralisation.

In making the review account had to be taken of certain specific reservations of authority to the Governor contained in the Order in Council, such as those dealing with grants and disposition of Crown lands, and of the likelihood that there were many powers which, even if transferred to a Minister as the competent exercising authority, would as a matter of constitutional practice probably be discussed in Council. The transfer of authority was to Ministers only, leaving it to them to consider at a later stage in the light of their own practical experience whether they would wish to have some of their powers delegated to permanent officials.

The review resulted in a series of Orders by the Governor, transferring to Ministers statutory powers under 93 Ordinances and 56 sets of Rules and Regulations made under the Ordinances.¹⁹

(v) *Membership of Statutory Boards and Committees*

An important feature of Singapore administration was the large number of statutory Boards and Committees. Some, such as the Singapore Harbour Board and the Singapore Telephone Board, had been established to render a vital service to the community or to control an important commercial undertaking; others, such as the University Council and the Singapore Polytechnic Board, were charged with the administration of a major institution; others administered certain trust funds; others, such as the Singapore Improvement Trust, acted as agencies for giving effect to general Government policy in a field such as that of housing; others again assisted, like the Education Board and the Hospitals Board, in the administration of major subjects without having the status of autonomous bodies charged with full responsibility.

The existence of all these statutory bodies, which were far from conforming to a general pattern in status, composition or objects, made the new administrative scene the more complicated because of two particular features of their membership. One was that in all cases one or more Government officers had been appointed to the Board, usually by office, in order to ensure close liaison with Government policy, especially in the field of finance (and the Colonial Secretary and the Financial Secretary were frequently specified for this duty); and the other was that in many instances places on the Board were filled by election by the Legislature, in order to obtain non-official representation on these bodies and to provide non-officials with experience of public administration.

Both features became at once out of date. It was clearly no longer appropriate that the Legislature should elect some of its members to seats on a statutory body when there was now an elected Minister responsible for the relevant subject. Legislation was accordingly necessary to transfer to the Minister the power of appointment to the seats in question.

It became even more anomalous that officers such as the Chief Secretary or the Financial Secretary, now *ex-officio* Ministers, should be members of bodies dealing with subjects for which one of their elected colleagues might be answerable in the Legislative Assembly. Their replacement by other

officers of more appropriate rank and department would still raise the question of how far the Minister could be held accountable for the action of an autonomous or semi-autonomous body because Government had a voice on the Board when that voice was in the minority and the Board's actions might well be such as the Minister did not approve. The approach to this problem was left to Ministers themselves to decide, and the first main decision, after rather more than one year's working of the constitution, was to replace the *ex-officio* Ministers who held seats on statutory bodies, leaving the issue of Government membership through serving officials for review in the light of further experience.

(vi) *Finance*

A still greater subject left over for further development was that of finance, as regards both provision of funds and public control of expenditure. A constitution providing for an *ex-officio* Minister in charge of finance was clearly only transitional, and it was felt that until a representative Minister was in charge of the Treasury that body should not exercise any of the discretion normally allowed under representative government. While Estimates and Budget procedure therefore remained much as before there was also little change in the arrangements for obtaining supplementary funds, and the Finance Committee of elected members of Legislative Council of the old constitution was replaced under the new régime by a Committee of Ministers, so that proposals submitted for the Legislature's approval would have the backing of representative members of the Government aware of the support on which they could count in the Legislative Assembly.

V. OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS

It was natural that the new administrative machinery did not immediately meet all the requirements of a new situation of which few people in Singapore could have had personal knowledge or experience elsewhere. In particular, the deliberate decentralisation and readjustment of a highly centralised and integrated organisation was bound to create almost as many problems as it sought to solve. It is not proposed here to enter into all the questions which were raised, but there were perhaps two major administrative outstanding issues to which, at the end of a year's working of the new constitution, satisfactory solutions had not been found. Of these one related to the general design of the machine, and the other to certain of its constituent parts, and neither was by any means peculiar to the circumstances of Singapore.

The first of these issues arose out of the decentralisation which was an essential feature of the reorganisation. The Crown Colony form of constitution had provided for an unmistakable point of co-ordination of all Government planning and activities in the office of the Colonial Secretary, no matter whether few or many of the executive Departments were involved. There had been no danger of a policy or a project being presented for the consideration of the Governor in Council without all appropriate and relevant views having been assembled and marshalled. This result might have been achieved by inter-departmental consultation or by discussion and correspondence in the Colonial Secretariat, but achieved it was before the Colonial Secretary agreed to put the issue forward for discussion and direction in Council. Under the

new system, however, the Colonial Secretariat had changed from a central co-ordinating office to a Ministry dealing only with certain specified subjects, and its function of co-ordinating administrative detail for the purpose of policy planning did not devolve on any visible successor.

The first requisite to meet this new situation was to insist on the absolute necessity of full inter-departmental and inter-Ministry consultation before an issue was presented to the Council of Ministers. The new code of procedure in fact laid down as a precept what had in the United Kingdom become a tradition of consultation arising out of practical necessity.²⁰

There was already a limited basis of practice to provide a background of example of the need for such consultation, as most references to the Executive Council of the Crown Colony days had had first to be cleared with the Financial Secretary's Office and with the Attorney-General on financial and legal issues respectively, and Permanent Secretaries were asked to see that this consultation was extended into other spheres. It did not, of course, follow that agreement between Ministries was always reached, and unresolved issues had then to be referred for the directions of Ministers themselves.

In specified fields of activity definite co-ordinating machinery at administrative level was prescribed. The main instance was in regard to public works, where a Standing Committee on Public Works had existed under the old constitution to review the public works building programme and expenditure; this was now charged with the duties of examining all proposals for development expenditure, of keeping the rate of such expenditure under review, and of reporting, where required, on the means of ensuring co-ordination in the execution of projects by different Departments or jointly by the Government and a statutory authority. Its membership was enlarged to include the presence of any Permanent Secretary who might be required to attend.

A second specific subject for co-ordinated planning and execution was the field of economic policy. In the general colonial pattern of administrative development the increasing importance of economic issues and of the need to plan for them had been met by various devices: in some Colonies by the creation of a post of Development Secretary, taking over from the Colonial and Financial Secretaries responsibilities for such subjects as the exploitation of natural resources and the promotion of trade and industry; in Singapore by the appointment of a Secretary for Economic Affairs, subsequently replaced by a Director of Commerce and Industry whose charge covered agriculture, forestry, fisheries, supplies, import and export control, general marine administration, foreign exchange transactions, trade relations, and industrial development. This Department had been converted into a Ministry dealing with the same subjects, but the subject of general economic policy was in the new constitution placed in the portfolio of the Financial Secretary, to secure close liaison with, and ultimate control by, the Treasury. The new Government, with socialist principles, did not find these arrangements satisfactory as a basis for the economic survey and planning on which their main policies were to be founded, and a new organisation was soon established in the shape of a small secretariat under an Economic Adviser to the Chief Minister, constituted as a section of the Chief Minister's Office. It was, however, understood that the services of the Economic Adviser were available to all

Ministries and Departments, who were to refer to him directly on projects on which they sought advice or consultation. His office soon became the organisation responsible for such general subjects as the planning of long-term capital needs and development and the co-ordination of departmental views and general planning of a new census, as well as the agency making enquiry into the basic factors governing the economy of Singapore. There ceased to be any special significance in the attachment of the unit to the Chief Minister's Office, other than the consideration that the Treasury, which was perhaps the obvious parent body, was still the charge of an *ex-officio* Minister, and when further amendment of the constitution sees the transfer of all portfolios to representative Ministers the Economic Adviser might well become an official of the Treasury. The need for his specialised functions was again emphasised in the Government's policy statement in the Governor's Address at the opening of the second session of the new Legislative Assembly.²¹

At a higher level a second line of development was the use of the Committee system amongst Ministers themselves. A number of special reports on major subjects had been called for by the new Government soon after taking office, and the recommendations in those frequently covered the activities of more than one Ministry. The Report of a Committee on Local Government, for example, dealt not only with the structure and jurisdiction of local government bodies to be considered by the Ministry of Local Government, but also proposed the assumption by the Colony Government of a number of functions exercised by the City Council, and these functions related to the portfolios of at least three of the other Ministries.²² A report such as this required the close consultation of the Ministers primarily concerned before a co-ordinated statement of Government policy could be evolved for presentation to the Legislature.²³

At one time it had indeed appeared that there might evolve an office clearly responsible for co-ordinating all policy planning and for keeping all administrative co-ordination under regular review. This development might have arisen out of the growth of the Chief Minister's Office, but its progress rested largely on the accident of personalities. The Constitutional Commission had, as already shown, envisaged the leader of the majority in the Legislative Assembly becoming Leader of the House and advising the Governor on the appointment of Ministers; the Secretary of State for the Colonies thought that the title of Chief Minister would be more appropriate,²⁴ and it was the title of Chief Minister which was used in the Constitution Order in Council. It seems to have been generally imagined during the framing of the constitution that the Chief Minister would also hold a departmental portfolio, and this was in fact the arrangement when the first new Ministry took office, as the first Chief Minister was also Minister for Commerce and Industry. In his conception, however, the functions of Chief Minister could be adequately undertaken only if the Chief Minister had no personal portfolio responsibilities, and the Order in Council was modified early in 1956 to allow of seven Ministers instead of six being appointed from amongst elected members of the Legislative Assembly.²⁵ The Chief Minister then transferred his portfolio of Commerce and Industry to a new colleague. The arrangement was one suited to the dyarchical feature of the constitution reserving certain subjects to *ex-officio* Ministers, for it was natural that these

would be at pains to shape the administration of their Departments according to the basic policies of the representative Ministers, and references to the Chief Minister would be frequent. It was also in keeping with, and perhaps partly the product of, other innovations in the system of administration; a special session had been arranged each week for petitioners from the general public to seek the assistance of the Chief Minister, and the reports and correspondence to which these meetings gave rise covered a very wide section of the whole field of Government activity and provided the occasion for review of existing policy as well as the means of redressing individual grievances. Continuance of these methods would very probably have led eventually to the emergence of the Chief Minister's Office as the chief point of co-ordination in the administrative machine both for the formulation of policy and for the supervision of the execution of decisions.

Later in the year there was, however, a change of Government, and the new Chief Minister found it practicable to limit the Council of Ministers to six elected members of the Legislative Assembly (including himself) with the three *ex-officio* Ministers, and to combine the duties of Chief Minister with charge of the portfolio of Labour and Welfare. The development of the Chief Minister's Office as a focal centre of administration accordingly found itself arrested for the time being. The way may become open for the possible alternative of strengthening the standing of the Council Secretariat, which already has the advantage of enjoying a central position by reason of specification of the Council of Ministers in the constitutional instruments as "the main instrument of policy." It remains to be seen whether this second development will take place; it has a sound constitutional and administrative foundation which might make for greater permanence than the influence of a Chief Minister's secretariat necessarily varying with the personal ideas and methods of successive Chief Ministers, and this foundation may be especially valuable for the time in the not far distant future when *ex-officio* Ministers will be replaced by representative Ministers and the need for a special link, outside the Council room, between the two classes of Ministers will disappear. It may be, of course, that there will eventually be combination, as in the Gold Coast, of the posts of Secretary to the Chief Minister and Secretary to the Council of Ministers.

The second main administrative question prompted by the first year's work of the Rendel constitution concerned the internal organisation of certain of the Ministries. Where a major executive Department of the Crown Colony days was to become the sole or major part of a new Ministry it had seemed reasonable to transform its Director into the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry, with some additional administrative support. But Departments such as Medical Services and Education had been concerned not only with policy on educational and medical matters and the supervision of its general application, but with the actual provision, maintenance and administration of the operative services themselves. The Head of the Department was therefore constantly required to deal with a host of departmental questions of an essentially technical and professional nature and he had been able to give by far the greater part of his attention to this task, being able to rely on the Colonial Secretariat for assistance in formulating the wider policy issues and dealings with the Treasury. The new changes gave him the additional

duties of Permanent Secretary, calling for the constant detailed briefing of his Minister for Council and Legislative Assembly and the periodic preparation of White Papers and other policy statements, and at the same time deprived him of the lay administrative assistance which the Colonial Secretariat had provided. It became increasingly difficult for him to continue to exercise the major control of the technical operations of his Department, and correspondingly clear that the duties of Permanent Secretary to a Ministry and professional Head of an executive technical Department could not be readily combined. The further development of this situation and its ultimate outcome are still to be clarified, but the issue has presented itself as a major question of organisation.

In the field of more detailed operation of the new constitution there was in addition a third problem, stemming in part from the old position of the Governor in Council as the principal instrument of executive administration but now constituting an obstacle in the development of Cabinet government. Ordinances had conferred on the Governor in Council appellate powers in respect of statutory orders made by departmental officers, and a peculiar position could result. A society seeking registration so that its operations would be lawful and refused registration by the Registrar on grounds of security (a vital matter in a territory of heterogeneous population and Communist neighbours) can appeal to the Governor in Council;²⁶ a teacher who has been refused registration as such by the competent education authority can not only appeal to the same august body but even exercise a right of personal appearance before it.²⁷ There are other examples, but these two serve to illustrate not only how matters of detail can consume time at Cabinet level but also how the Cabinet has to entertain individual cases (which might well be left to the Ministry concerned) of the application of policy. To prescribe policy in advance for the treatment of such cases can, however, be met by the legalistic view that where an Ordinance empowers an officer to make a decision and the Governor in Council to decide an appeal from his decision, the Governor in Council is precluded from giving directions on policy to govern the original decision because then the officer is deprived of the discretion vested in him by statute and the Governor in Council cannot consider the appeal with the requisite impartiality. Such a result might have been normal and acceptable in the old Crown Colony days when most of this legislation was drafted and colonial government was largely a matter of administration and seldom a matter of policy planning, but it is quite unsuited to the advanced constitutional development now in progress. It could hardly be cured in the process of adaptation of the laws mentioned previously as more is involved than the transfer of powers and functions, and a problem is presented both of the fundamental conception of the Council of Ministers and of the correct perspective for operating regulatory controls. The solution seems to lie in providing for the initial decision, in cases such as that quoted, being that of the Minister without specifying a right of appeal, and to leave it to the Minister to consider delegating his power in such circumstances and to such officers as he deems appropriate, indicating to that officer the policy to govern his actions and being himself accountable for those actions on the normal principle of ministerial responsibility.

The subjects just mentioned are only some of the more prominent issues

which have arisen out of the past 18 months' experience, and many others will no doubt soon arise. A new code of financial procedure, in particular, has still to be evolved. To seek, however, or even to attempt to define, perfection in administrative organisation is an undertaking generally held to be impossible of achievement. Stimulus in the search is none the less perpetually being supplied in the Colonies by the never-ending process of political change, and the constitutional experiment in Singapore certainly caused a radical departure from the old colonial conceptions and methods. With further constitutional advance already in view it would be presumptuous and premature to pass judgment on administrative changes so recently effected, but it is worth remark that as their very magnitude escaped public attention this is therefore perhaps a measure of their success, and it may not be unreasonable to hope that the general lines of development which have been followed will be found well capable of conformity with the political changes of the future.

¹Colonial Regulation 105.

²Singapore Colony Order in Council, 1946 (S.I. 464 of 1946), Section 4.

³Royal Instructions to the Governor and Commander in Chief of the Colony of Singapore, dated 27th March, 1946, as amended 24th February, 1948, and 23rd April, 1951.

⁴S.I. 1946 No. 464. Section 28.

⁵*Ibid.* Sections 16-17.

⁶Standing Orders of the Legislative Council of Singapore. S.O. 20.

⁷Report of the Constitutional Commission, Singapore 1954. Paragraphs 28 and 61.

⁸*Ibid.* Paragraph 68.

⁹Singapore Colony Order in Council, 1955. (S.I. 1955 No. 187.)

¹⁰Singapore Colony (Amendment) Order in Council, 1956. (S.I. 1956 No. 233.)

¹¹S.I. 1955 No. 187. Section 18.

¹²Report of Constitutional Commission. Paragraph 63.

¹³*Ibid.* Paragraph 67.

¹⁴S.I. 1955 No. 187. Section 31.

¹⁵Singapore Colony Order in Council, 1955 (Responsibilities of Ministers) Notification, 1955.

¹⁶Governor's Despatch No. 349, dated 11th March, 1954. Paragraph 15. (Singapore Legislative Council Sessional Paper No. 34 of 1954.)

¹⁷S.I. 1955 No. 187. Section 34.

¹⁸*Ibid.* Section 5.

¹⁹Singapore Colony Order in Council, 1955 (Consequential Provisions) (Council of Ministers) Order, 1955. Singapore Colony Order in Council, 1955 (Consequential Provisions) (Miscellaneous) Order, 1955. Singapore Colony Order in Council, 1955 (Consequential Provisions) (Council of Ministers) Order, 1956.

²⁰Sir Ivor Jennings, *Cabinet Government*, page 130.

²¹Singapore Legislative Assembly Debates. Vol. II, No. 1, Col. 17.

²²Report of the Committee on Local Government. Singapore Legislative Assembly Sessional Paper Command No. 10 of 1956.

²³White Paper on Local Government Policy. Singapore Legislative Assembly Sessional Paper Command No. 30 of 1956.

²⁴Secretary of State for the Colonies' Despatch No. 698, dated 23rd April, 1954, paragraph 11. (Singapore Legislative Council Sessional Paper No. 34 of 1954.)

²⁵S.I. 1956 No. 233. Section 3.

²⁶Section 4, Societies Ordinance. (Cap. 224, Laws of Colony of Singapore.)

²⁷Section 26, Registration of Schools Ordinance. (Cap. 203, Laws of Colony of Singapore.)

A Modern Approach to Management

By J. V. WOOD

This is the basis of a talk given to the Northern Group of the Royal Institute, 3rd May, 1957. Mr. Wood was Staff Director of the Northern (N. and C.) Division of the National Coal Board.

BEFORE we consider the problems of management, I think we must look at some of the problems brought about by the process of civilisation. The world is in the course of undergoing an industrial revolution of enormous magnitude. Whether we like it or not, we are all being subjected to the results of increased industrialisation which brings great benefits—and considerable disadvantages.

Industrialisation gives us more leisure because greater productivity leads to economic wealth. But, against that, it leads, for many of us, to more strain, more work and more responsibility. Men cannot work when they want to and go fishing when they do not. They must keep to the time-table or go on the dole. There is more luxury—and more slavery. Industrialisation leads to more comradeship. People are brought together in communities instead of leading isolated lives in the backwoods. But it also brings with it the great loneliness one gets in a big city.

Industrialisation brings more economic freedom. There is more freedom to choose the kind of job one wants. But livelihood is often more precarious because people are thrown out of jobs, or have to change their employment, because of world forces over which they have no control and which they probably do not understand. Industrialisation is an impersonal and almost inevitable process which is very hard to control. It brings great opportunities for good and for evil. It can make life much easier and it always brings great human problems.

The greater the rate of industrialisation the greater are these human problems. I consider that it is the duty of management to think in terms of these problems; the problems of the individual and also the problems of the community in which he lives. Unless managers try to appreciate personal problems they will never fully understand the problems of a pit or a factory or an industry. I do not think it exaggeration to say that under the skin of the civilised man there is the savage and that under the skin of the adult there is often the questioning and bewildered child. Industrialisation has changed the world more in the last 100 years than it has changed in the previous two thousand. Most people have not kept abreast of the change, do not understand it and feel helplessly caught up in something that is too big for them. As Housman said:

“ I a stranger and afraid
In a world I never made.”

There are many worries that beset people in our industrial society, e.g., the conflict of loyalties between home and work and between trade union and employer. The anomalies brought about by rapid industrialisation—skilled men made redundant by machines and young typists earning more than their craftsmen fathers. The boredom of mass production—and mass

everything else. The fear of world events that seem uncontrollable. The changes in class—events lifting some people up in the social scale and pushing others down. These difficulties are often the underlying causes of industrial troubles that are laid at the door of “bad management” or “Communism” or “the modern spoon-fed generation.”

I want to look at some of the problems of management today, but hope I will not give the impression that I know all the answers. I am only too well aware of the fact that, even when I think I know some of the answers, I find it very difficult to follow my own advice.

The Problems of Full Employment

It is now no use saying “You must do what I say or you will get the sack.” The big stick is no use any more. The sack is no hardship if a man can get another job across the street and the opportunity for organised labour to press their demands is much stronger than in the past.

Apart from giving an attractive wage, management has to encourage people to work for their organisation. This may be brought about by bonuses, etc., and also by welfare schemes of one kind or another. But welfare must not be overdone. It used to be that “paternalism” was a delightful idea. But we have now come to realise that paternalism also has its dangers—it can destroy the initiative and dignity of the workpeople. However, management must play its part in the community which serves the factory or the pit or the office. They must do that, not only as individuals, but also as employers. To some extent industry is today filling the role of the patron which used to be filled by a responsible aristocracy of the past.

There is the greater emphasis on personnel management. This is seeing that the individual's problems are dealt with, not as a side issue of management, but as things of importance in themselves. Seeing that people get the kind of training they really need; that working conditions are right; that grievances are handled effectively by (for example) ensuring that price-fixing schemes and promotion policy is working properly; and that there are suggestion schemes, provision for invention awards and the like.

Then there is the necessity for sheer efficiency. If management cannot get enough workpeople they may have to reorganise a department, or the whole organisation, to do the same job with less people. This means Organisation and Methods and Work Study; logical studies of the job to make sure that unnecessary work is cut out.

Economic Conditions

Again there is Method Study and the like to make the organisation as efficient as possible. Only in that way can one meet competition from others. But management also has some responsibility for the cost of living. This is not a function of the Chancellor of the Exchequer alone. Any fool can agree to higher wages and try and get his money back by higher prices. Not only will he, sooner or later, price himself out of the market, but he will be adding to the inflationary trend. In a very large industry, or one which is a monopoly, a responsible management must be very careful that they are not encouraging inflation. They must have, amongst other things, a progressive and a sensible wages policy and adequate ways of dealing with wage problems. This means

a conciliation machinery that really works; with arrangements for a final recourse to an independent arbitrator whose decision will be acceptable to both sides.

They must also tackle the problem of shortage of materials. If economic conditions are bad, materials will almost certainly be scarce. They will almost certainly be expensive as well. One tackles this by ensuring that materials are saved by better design, by substituting less scarce materials and by reducing stocks. Both in the management's own interests, and in the interests of the country, it is obviously their job to see that stock levels are kept low, that other people's craftsmanship is used and not left on the shelf; and that they help their own and the country's finances by reducing capital stocks (and thus interest payments).

Problems Associated with the Growth of an Industry

This is a problem which we in the coal industry have encountered. We have come from 800 odd companies to one enormous organisation and the teething problems have naturally been considerable. We have had to develop the technique of controlling, and living together in, a large organisation.

There is first the use of management control techniques which are necessary in any business but essential in a large organisation. There must be forecasting. Management must know where they are going. They must have the best estimates on future results and requirements so that the capital may be available, so that they can plan production, obtain the necessary labour, and get the materials needed. Allied with this there must be cost control; what it is costing to do a particular job, why particular costs are high and so on. And increasingly there must be methods such as budgetary control and standard costing. Forecasting, budgetary control and cost control are really different aspects of the same method; deciding what can or should be done and finding out why it has not happened that way; measuring efficiency and having quick ways of finding out where there is inefficiency.

There is room for enormous improvement in statistical control in many industries. There are often so many statistics that it is hard to understand anything at all. What one must do is to reduce the number of returns and produce statements that really tell the management what is happening. The number of types of figures collected must be kept to a minimum—this requires ruthless action. Figures should be presented in a simple form—and compared with the standard or forecast—and it should not be left to each senior man to work out the difference between actual and forecast. The aim must be to provide figures which give quick pointers to the things that management consider vital—and have in reserve other figures to enable those particular things to be further analysed if necessary. If the statisticians work out all the figures available, and serve them up to management, they are ensuring that management will never know what is going on.

Another big problem, which is acute in a large organisation, is the problem of letting people know how the organisation works—the problem of communications generally. This is one of those problems where most of us know the disease, but few know the remedy. The disease is often that people are working too much in watertight compartments and do not know enough

of what is going on outside their own door. Alternatively, they may think they know what is going on and, with scant knowledge, spend much time complaining that the fellow who is designing the policy does not know his job. In fact the problem of communications is the problem of ignorance. The problem of how to tell people the facts—of explaining to them not only what the policy is, but also why.

I think the main method of attack must be in training generally. Special training schemes to help the individual to see his position in an organisation. Induction courses so that when a man comes into the organisation he is told who does what—what the various departments are for, what their main functions are, and so on. When a man has been with the firm for a period he is ready for more. This need can be met by background talks—by people hearing senior officers describing their jobs, describing the policy and so on—and, indeed, also by giving people an opportunity to ask their seniors questions.

There is, of course, also the most important problem of training on the job itself. In a small firm one can, perhaps, appoint a new clerk and he can pick up the job as he goes along. But in a large organisation that is much more difficult and it is essential that he should have training on the job. All too often one finds people filling up forms that they do not really understand and sending them on to other people—having no idea what those people are doing with them. If that is happening, the management are failing because a man can never do a job very well if he does not know why he is doing it.

Rapid Development

There are the problems of rapid development—new skills to be learnt and new processes to be developed. Not only technical development, but also organisational changes brought about by events such as nationalisation. Here we meet the full force of man's traditional resistance to change. All I can say on this is that management must let the people concerned know what is going on, and why. It takes up a lot of time—but it is well worth it.

In this country we have developed joint production committees and consultative committees—which mean discussing with representatives of the workmen the day-to-day problems of management. It does not mean passing responsibility for management to the consultative body. One of the basic principles of management is that, if you give a man authority, he must also be responsible; and, if he is responsible, he must have authority. If, therefore, management are responsible for something they must have power to make decisions; and that power cannot be passed to any outside body such as a consultative committee. But that does not say that the consultative council is a mealy-mouthed body which has no function. A great deal of good can come from discussions about problems. A good manager is not the man who says "I have decided to do so and so"; he is the man who gets the consultative committee to suggest a solution to a problem—perhaps the one he has planned all along.

To some extent the effectiveness of a committee is determined by the personalities of the men on the union side; but to a far greater extent it

rests on whether the management are trying to make consultation work or whether they think it is a waste of time.

The Psychological Approach

Many people seem to react against the word "psychology" as the late Field Marshal Goering is said to have reacted against the word "culture" and for the same reason—they do not know what it is. Much of it is common sense; thinking about a situation with your head and not letting your emotions do the thinking for you. Psychologists try to take a balanced and sympathetic view of industrial problems. They are not long-haired cranks; or shall we say not all of them are?

For example, Elton Mayo did valuable work in Chicago on morale. He did not assume that the workmen he was dealing with were idle boneheads. He tried to improve working conditions and showed that he was trying to help and asked for advice from the men. The reaction was marked. Whether or not he did anything for them perhaps did not matter greatly; he treated the men as though they mattered and were not just cogs in the machine. That lifted their dignity and their morale—and their productivity.

People matter and their relations with each other matter. A happy but badly organised factory may produce more than a streamlined modern factory where there is jealousy and bickering. And any amount of exhortation or "pep" talks or method study will not really cure the unhappy factory. Only improved morale will do that. We have all heard of and condemned restrictive practices—but have we looked at them objectively? When we were at school we complained of the boy at the top of the class—he was a "swot" as he showed up the others. A factory with poor morale can react in this way too.

I think it was Professor Mace, of London University, who expressed the opinion that, when management said about workmen "the more we do for them the less they do for us," this showed nothing except that management had been doing the wrong things. That is a point of view worth thinking about. Indeed, management will find that a study of much industrial psychology and social anthropology is worth while—Elton Mayo, Mace, Mary Parker Follet and others. But they will also find that there is little new about it and that the teachings of Christ, Buddha and many others have a great bearing on these problems.

The Ideal Manager or Administrator

Having looked at some of these problems of management, let me try and describe what I consider to be the qualities of the ideal Administrator or Manager:

- (a) The Manager or Administrator must be able to organise. He must lead his team. Very often the art of leadership is in not letting men know that they are being led. Leading by example is usually better than imposing every decision. If a man is doing a job because he thinks it is right, he will do it much more effectively than he will if he has only been told to do it. The Administrator or Manager must also be able to handle committees because they are a very necessary tool of manage-

ment. Do not think any fool can run a committee ; the art of chairmanship is well worth studying.

- (b) He must be able to use specialists. The whole process of civilisation is getting so complicated that one man cannot know all the answers. A hallmark of the Administrator is that he knows how to use his specialists and co-ordinate their services. He must have sufficient knowledge of human nature, and the overall problem, to know when to accept a specialist's advice and when not. He must be able to bring these various specialists together and make them work as a team ; a tricky job needing tact and patience.
- (c) He must have judgement to know when to lay down a standard procedure ; he must often introduce "red tape." "Red tape" is only designing a procedure which you know will suit most circumstances so that a lot of day-to-day decisions can be taken at a fairly low level. The good Administrator will see that these procedures are introduced ; but he will also see that he does not keep rigidly to those procedures and nothing else. He must be flexible.
- (d) He must be able to sort wheat from chaff. He must be able to pick out points that matter and ignore those that do not. He must be able to look at the problem in the round and not from one narrow aspect. And he must be able to do all this quickly—getting to the essentials of a paper rapidly.
- (e) The Administrator must be able to create conditions in which policy can be decided. That is to say, when a major point is to be settled he must prepare a case giving the facts and showing the pros and cons to enable higher management to reach a sensible and balanced decision. In doing so he must be able to distinguish between true policy questions and questions of day-to-day practice. When he has got a policy decision he must be able to turn it into detailed instructions that are not ambiguous and are workable.
- (f) He must learn to delegate. This is one of the biggest failings of so many Managers and Administrators ; they try to do all the work themselves. Not only must he decide when to delegate and when not to delegate, he must ensure that, when he is intending to delegate something to a man, that man is able to discharge the function it is proposed to delegate to him and has both the ability and resources necessary. And the Manager must also check from time to time that his subordinate is correctly discharging the responsibilities delegated to him. This is vital. On the one hand management must delegate—and not interfere. On the other hand they must not delegate a function and forget about it—they must hold their subordinates to account. The balance between these two extremes is not easy to find—and what is right for one job or man may not be right for the next.
- (g) The Manager must appreciate that he will not always be a Manager—he must provide for his own succession.
- (h) A senior man must have good health—and see that he keeps it. The rate of coronary thrombosis has increased tenfold in the last 30 years ; the

reason for this is not established but the number of senior executives who are knocked out of the running in their forties and fifties by one disease or another is causing increasing concern. This is a problem of our modern society and therefore a problem for management ; but it is the problem of management more than anyone else as it affects them most.

- (i) Finally, an Administrator or a Manager must have integrity. If he really means what he says he will find that men respond to his exhortations. If he is really genuine in saying "yes" and "no," his work will be accepted. If he is to administer a public service he must have that integrity which pays full regard to the interests of the public.

It is, of course, clear that I am not talking about Managers or Administrators but about Archangels. The harsh fact is that, with the increasing complications of industrialised society, the job of a senior Manager or Administrator is getting more and more difficult. And the qualities required are increasing. That is one of the reasons why there is much more training and education now than there used to be. It is one of the reasons why we find it so hard to find suitable men for senior management. They must be tough, they must have integrity, and they must have darned good brains. But, above all, they must have regard to the personal and other problems that beset their fellow men.

THE CORPORATION OF SECRETARIES, LTD.

Founded
1922

Incorporated
1923

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Security Precautions in the British Civil Service

ON 23rd November, 1955, the Prime Minister informed the House of Commons that a Conference of Privy Councillors had been set up with the following terms of reference:

"To examine the security procedures now applied in the public services and to consider whether any further precautions are called for and should be taken."

The Conference consisted of the following Privy Councillors:

The Lord President of the Council;
The Lord Chancellor;
The Secretary of State for the Home Department;
The Lord Jowitt;
The right hon. Member for Lewisham, South (Mr. H. Morrison);
The right hon. Member for Vauxhall (Mr. G. R. Strauss);
The Permanent Secretary to Her Majesty's Treasury.

In March, 1956, the Government issued a White Paper (Cmd. 9715) indicating the substance of the report of the Conference and the Government's views on its recommendations. In the words of the White Paper:

4. The report starts by an analysis of the general nature of the security risks with which this country is faced today. The Conference point out that, whereas once the main risk to be guarded against was espionage by foreign Powers carried out by professional agents, today the chief risks are presented by Communists and by other persons who for one reason or another are subject to Communist influence. The Communist faith overrides a man's normal loyalties to his country and induces the belief that it is justifiable to hand over secret information to the Communist Party or to the Communist foreign Power. This risk from Communists is not, however, confined to party members, either open or underground, but extends to sympathisers with Communism.

5. At one time the Fascist ideology also presented considerable security risks. Although today the chief risk is that presented by Communism, the security arrangements instituted in 1948 were directed, and will continue to be directed, against Communism and Fascism alike. In this paper for convenience and brevity the term "Communism" is used to cover Communism and Fascism alike.

6. One of the chief problems of security today is thus to identify the members of the British Communist Party, to be informed of its activities and to identify that wider body of those who are both sympathetic to Communism, or susceptible to Communist pressure and present a danger to security. Thereafter steps must be taken to see that secret information is not handled by anyone who, for ideological or other motives, may betray it.

7. Her Majesty's Government agree with this broad analysis and will

continue to base their policy on preventing persons of this nature from having access to secret information.

8. Against the background of this general analysis, of which only a very brief outline has been given, the Conference address themselves to an examination of the Government's security arrangements. Their main conclusion is that there is nothing organically wrong or unsound about those arrangements. They make, however, certain recommendations, the purpose of which is to strengthen the system in some respects. Her Majesty's Government propose to give effect to all the recommendations which the Conference have made.

9. The Report of the Conference deals with the public services generally. But it is implicit in the Report that the Conference recognise that in certain areas of the public service—notably in the Foreign Service, the Defence field and the Atomic Energy Organisation—the need for stringent security precautions is greater than elsewhere. Her Majesty's Government accept this view.

10. Some of the recommendations of the Conference deal with what may be called the relation between security risks and defects of character and conduct. The Conference recognise that today great importance must be paid to character defects as factors tending to make a man unreliable or expose him to blackmail, or influence by foreign agents. There is a duty on Departments to inform themselves of serious failings such as drunkenness, addiction to drugs, homosexuality or any loose living that may seriously affect a man's reliability.

11. There is a natural reluctance to make adverse reports on colleagues and nothing could be worse than to encourage tale-bearing or malicious gossip. Nevertheless, it is important to impress not only on Heads of Departments but on supervisory officers generally that it is their duty to know their staff and that they must not fail to report anything which affects security. This covers both evidence which suggests Communist associations or sympathies, and also serious defects or failings which might jeopardise the security of the section of the public service in their charge. The Government accept this recommendation, although they recognise that the measures necessary to give effect to it will require very careful consideration.

12. While confining themselves to the security aspect of these defects of character and conduct, the Conference also record the view that in individual cases or in certain sections of the public service, a serious character defect may appropriately be the determining factor in a decision to dismiss a particular individual or to transfer him to other work.

13. The Conference also recommend that it should be recognised that the fact that a public servant is a Communist not only bars his employment on secret duties, but may also in some Departments have an unfavourable effect on his prospects of promotion.

14. The Conference also make a series of recommendations which turn on the risk presented by those in regard to whom there is no evidence that they are themselves members of the Communist Party, but evidence exists

of Communist sympathies or of close association with members of the Communist Party.

15. The Conference is of the opinion that in deciding these difficult and often borderline cases, it is right to continue the practice of tilting the balance in favour of offering greater protection to the security of the State rather than in the direction of safeguarding the rights of the individual. They recommend that an individual who is living with a wife or husband who is a Communist or a Communist sympathiser may, for that reason alone, have to be moved from secret work, and that the same principle should be applied in other cases of a like nature.

16. The Conference recognise that some of the measures which the State is driven to take to protect its security are in some respects alien to our traditional practices. Thus, in order not to imperil sources of information, decisions have sometimes to be taken without revealing full details of the supporting evidence. Again, it is sometimes necessary to refuse to employ a man on secret duties, or in those cases where no alternative work can be found for him in the public service, to refuse to employ him at all, because after the fullest investigation doubts about his reliability remain even although nothing may have been proved against him on standards which would be accepted in a Court of Law. The Conference agree regretfully that these counter-measures, although they are distasteful in some respects, are essential if the security of the State is to be ensured. But they recognise that it is also important to convince public opinion that the measures taken and the procedures in force will not be exercised unreasonably. For this reason the Conference approve the Tribunal (commonly known as the Three Advisers) set up in 1948 to hear appeals from civil servants threatened on security grounds with transfer from secret duties or, when that is not practicable, with dismissal from the Service. This machinery should continue; and the person whose continued employment in Government Service is called in question on account of Communist association or sympathies will be able to have his case considered by it. The Conference also recommend that the terms of reference of the Three Advisers should be widened so as to enable them to present a fuller report to the responsible Minister.

17. The measures necessary to carry out these recommendations will involve alterations in existing procedures. These alterations will be notified to the staff associations concerned and an opportunity given for representation to be made before the alterations are promulgated in full. This paper is therefore confined to giving the broad details of the decisions reached on those recommendations which can be properly made public.

18. Two other matters should be mentioned. The first is that the Conference considered whether additional statutory powers should be sought to enable the Government to detain suspects or prevent them from leaving the country.

19. The Conference point out that, while an individual can be arrested on suspicion that he is about to attempt to convey secret information to a foreign Power, he must be brought before the courts on a charge without delay. The time required to collect evidence upon which a charge can be

based is often long, and the Conference dismiss any suggestion that power should be sought to detain persons for an unlimited period without preferring charges against them, on the grounds that this would run counter to this country's traditional principles of individual freedom, and would be most unlikely to be approved by Parliament in time of peace. They also come to the conclusion that legislation which would permit arrest and detention, without a charge being preferred, for a short specified period, say, fourteen days, would not be much help. The Conference also consider that the withdrawal of a passport could not be relied upon to prevent a United Kingdom citizen in connivance with a foreign Power from leaving the country.

20. For these reasons the Conference recommend that no additional powers should be sought to detain suspects or prevent them leaving the country.

21. The second matter is that the Conference reviewed the existing procedures for the security of secret Government contracts involving persons outside Government employment. The Conference have considered whether persons subject to these procedures should be given the same right as is enjoyed by persons in the public service of having their case considered by the Three Advisers. The Conference recognise that this is a difficult matter, but are in favour, if suitable arrangements can be made, of access being given to the same tribunal in certain types of cases. They recommend, however, that in the first instance this matter should be discussed with the National Joint Advisory Council. Arrangements for such discussion to take place are being made.

Thus states the White Paper.

The White Paper was debated in the House of Commons on 21st March, 1956. Consultation with the staff interests then took place. On 29th January, 1957, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, in a written answer to a Parliamentary Question, announced a new procedure to give effect to the recommendations of the Conference. It was in the following terms.

STATEMENT OF PROCEDURE TO BE FOLLOWED WHEN THE RELIABILITY OF A CIVIL SERVANT IS THOUGHT TO BE IN DOUBT ON SECURITY GROUNDS

1. The Minister¹ will have before him information on which to decide whether the reliability of the civil servant is *prima facie* to be regarded as in doubt on security grounds. A civil servant will be so regarded if:

- (a) He is, or is to be, employed in connection with work the nature of which is vital to the security of the State; and simultaneously:
- (b) He is or has recently been a member of the British Communist² Party, or in such a way as to raise reasonable doubts about his reliability, is or has recently been sympathetic to Communism, associated with Communists or Communist sympathisers, or is susceptible to Communist pressure.

No statement of general application can be made as to what constitutes sympathy or association under (b) above. Each case will be assessed in the light of the particular facts.

2. If the Minister rules that there is a *prima facie* case, the civil servant is at once to be so informed and will normally be sent on special leave with pay, care being taken as far as possible not to disclose the reasons for his absence to his colleagues.

3. The civil servant will at the same time be given any particulars, such as the date of his alleged membership, or the nature of the alleged sympathies or associations, that might enable him to clear himself. There will, however, have to be limits to the information given for he cannot be given such particulars as might involve the disclosure of the sources of the evidence.

4. At the same time the civil servant will be asked to say whether he accepts or denies the allegation. If he accepts the allegation he will be dealt with as described in paragraphs 9 and 10 below. If he does not admit the allegation he shall have fourteen days in which to make written representations to the Minister if he so wishes.

5. The Minister will reconsider his *prima facie* ruling in the light of any representations the civil servant may make. If the Minister decides that there is no reason for varying it, the civil servant shall be so informed and shall then have seven days in which to decide whether to ask for a reference to the Three Advisers. If he does not ask for such a reference he will be dealt with as in paragraph 8 below. If he does ask for a reference to the Three Advisers the latter will be asked to consider the case as soon as possible.

6. The function of the Three Advisers is set out in their Terms of Reference. Where there is no suggestion of Communist or Fascist associations or sympathies, cases of character defects will not be referred to the Tribunal, and appeals will be dealt with under the normal disciplinary procedure of Departments.

7. In discharging their functions the Advisers will take into account the representations made by the civil servant. They will hear him in person, if he so wishes. He may also ask third parties to testify to them as to his record, reliability and character, but he may not be accompanied and/or represented by a third party before them. In the special circumstances of these cases the proceedings must be governed by the requirement that neither sources of evidence nor evidence which might involve the disclosure of sources can be given to the person concerned. The Advisers will therefore count it as an important part of their functions to see that anyone appearing before them can make his points effectively and will adapt their procedure in such a way as to give him the best possible opportunity of bringing out the points which he wishes to bring to their notice.

8. On receiving the report of the Three Advisers, the Minister will reconsider his *prima facie* ruling and if he decides to uphold it, he will give the civil servant an opportunity of making representations to himself or his representative before action is finally taken. Similar opportunity will be given when the civil servant does not wish his case to go to the Advisers.

9. If the *prima facie* ruling is finally upheld, a civil servant will be posted to or retained in a non-secret branch within his own Department, or, if this is not practicable, will be posted to a non-secret branch in another Department. If he belongs to a category which it is impossible to employ in any other than a secret branch, or if his qualifications or experience are such that no alternative employment elsewhere in the Government service can be found, he will have to be dismissed unless he accepts the option, which should always be afforded in such cases, of resigning.

10. Before a decision to re-post, or in the last resort, to dismiss (with resignation as the alternative), is made effective, the civil servant's staff association should be afforded an opportunity of suggesting any alternative re-posting that it may think more suitable, or of suggesting a possible re-posting as an alternative to dismissal or resignation.

11. If a civil servant resigns or is dismissed the existing Superannuation Acts provide automatically for certain consequences in his superannuation benefits. These consequences are set out in the attached Annex (which follows).

APPLICATION OF THE SUPERANNUATION ACTS

Established Civil Servants

1. Dismissal or resignation of officers under age fifty entails the loss of benefits under the Superannuation Acts.

2. Officers aged fifty and upwards may resign voluntarily and receive at sixty the pension which had accrued to them at the time of their resignation.

3. Officers of any age who take up employment in another public service to which the Transfer Rules and Public Office Rules apply, would be eligible for the arrangements which may be made under those Rules. It should be noted that, if they are to be applied, the prior consent of the head of the Department is required to the change of employment.

Unestablished Civil Servants

4. Officers who have completed seven years' service and who resign or are dismissed will receive the benefits to which they are entitled under the Superannuation Acts.

TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE THREE ADVISERS³

1. It is the policy of Her Majesty's Government that no one who is or has recently been a member of the British Communist Party or of a Fascist organisation or who, in such a way as to raise legitimate doubts about his reliability, is or has recently been sympathetic to Communism or Fascism or associated with Communists⁴ or Communist sympathisers or is susceptible to Communist pressure, should be employed in connection with work the nature of which is vital to the security of the State.

2. You have been appointed to advise Ministers in any cases referred to you whether in your opinion their *prima facie* ruling that an individual comes under paragraph 1 has or has not been substantiated. In doing so you should answer the following questions :

- (i) Are there or are there not reasonable grounds for supposing that the individual has or has recently had Communist sympathies or associations of the type described in paragraph 1 above?
- (ii) If you are in doubt about the answer to (i) above, how do you assess the evidence whether presented to you or elicited at the hearing before you?

3. In answering these questions your aim should be to give the Minister the utmost help in deciding himself what course to take.

4. If you agree with the *prima facie* ruling you should specify your grounds. If you do not agree with the *prima facie* ruling or do not reach a firm opinion in any instance you should assess the evidence for the Minister reporting the weight which you have attached to particular factors.

5. You should in all cases take precautions to safeguard any very secret sources from which any of the information bearing on the conclusions has been obtained.

6. In the appreciation of a case defects of an individual's character should be taken into account when they bear upon his reliability in the general context of Communist associations or sympathies. (Where no question of such associations or sympathies arises, cases of character defects will not be referred to you, but appeals will be dealt with under the normal disciplinary procedure of Departments.)

7. A decision on what employment is to be regarded as involving "connection with work the nature of which is vital to the security of the State" is not one for you, but for Ministers in charge of Departments. Your functions do not extend beyond advising Ministers as set out above.

EFFECT OF THE CHANGES

The most important change in procedure is the new definition of a security risk. Under the previous definition a risk was defined as broadly a Party member or a person associated with the Party in such a way as to raise legitimate doubts about his reliability. The new definition brings in the person who is sympathetic to the Party's beliefs or who associates with those holding such beliefs or sympathies and in addition those who are susceptible to Communist pressure.

The second main change involves more emphasis on the part to be played by the Three Advisers in helping the Minister to reach the final decision whether or not the risk is to be removed from a secret post or if necessary from the Service. The Three Advisers are asked in cases of doubt to assess the evidence and to provide the Minister with all the help possible to enable him to reach his decision.

The Three Advisers at the time of the announcement were :

Sir Alexander Little, K.C.B. (Chairman), Director-General, General Post Office, 1949-55.

Sir Frederick Leggatt, K.B.E., C.B., Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Labour, 1942-45.

Sir William Bowen, C.B.E., formerly General Secretary, Union of Post Office Workers; Chairman, London County Council, 1949-52.

With Sir Maurice Holmes, G.B.E., K.C.B., Permanent Secretary, Board of Education, 1937-45, as the Reserve Member.

Sir William Bowen has since resigned and his place has been taken by Mr. G. A. Stevens, formerly Deputy General Secretary of the Union of Post Office Workers.

ATTITUDE OF THE STAFF SIDE

Though the National Staff Side were consulted and their views taken into account before the Government announced the new procedure, the Financial Secretary made it clear that the Staff Side were not parties to the new procedure and dissented from it on certain points. An account of discussions that have since taken place between the Official and Staff Sides is given in the *Whitley Bulletin* for April, 1957. That issue also gave the following figures of dismissals and transfers on security grounds provided by the Official Side in a letter dated 8th March, 1957:

Transferred to non-secret work	..	..	81 (a)
Dismissed	..	..	24 (b)
Resigned	..	..	23
Reinstated	..	..	30
Special leave pending decision	..	..	1

			159

(a) Including 20 industrial.

(b) Including 17 industrial.

¹That is, the Minister responsible for the Department to which the civil servant belongs.

²In this Statement of Procedure, for convenience and brevity the term "Communist" is used to cover Communist and Fascist alike.

³The previous Terms of Reference were announced to the House of Commons on 7th June, 1948.

⁴In these Terms of Reference, for convenience and brevity the term "Communist" is hereafter used to cover Communist and Fascist alike.

Interest in Local Government

The N.A.L.G.O. Survey

BETWEEN 1st and 6th April, 1957, more than 10,000 members of the National and Local Government Officers Association visited, in their spare time, 195,000 householders in all parts of England and Wales, and put to them ten questions. Of the total, 9,700—5 per cent.—refused to be interviewed, and 5,300—3 per cent.—were not at home.

The remaining 180,000 who answered the questions included 140,600 men and 39,400 women. Of these, 67 per cent. lived in homes with a rateable value of £30 and under, 31 per cent. in homes valued between £31 and £75, and 2 per cent. in homes valued at £76 and over.

The questions, and the answers they gave, are set out below, the answers being shown as percentages of the householders questioned.

1. Do you think that local government is important in your daily life?

Yes	..	..	86
No	..	..	7
Do not know	..	..	7

Of the men questioned, 88 per cent. said "Yes" and 5 per cent. did not know; of the women, 81 per cent. said "Yes," 12 per cent. did not know. Proportions saying "Yes" increased from 86 per cent. in the lowest to 92 per cent. in the highest income groups.

2. Did you vote at the last

	Local Council Election?	County Council Election?	General Election?
Yes	73	57	91
No	25	38	6
Do not know	2	5	3

In the local council election, more men (75 per cent.) voted than women (71 per cent.) and more men and women in the highest income group (92 per cent.) than in the lowest (73 per cent.). The proportions who claim to have voted in all three elections are higher than the proportions of the population who actually voted. This casts some doubt on the truth of the answers, but may be partly explained by the fact that the questions were put only to *householders* and not to any other members of the family.

3. Do you pay your rates

	In your rent?	Direct to the Council?
Yes	44	48
No	48	44
Do not know	8	8

Do you know how much you pay?

	All	Those who pay in rent	Those who pay direct
Yes	75	55	92
No	25	45	8

The breakdown is significant, showing that nearly half those who pay

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an inclusive rental do not know how much of it goes in rates, whilst only 1 in 12 of those paying their rates direct did not know the amount.

4. Which of these services are run by local government?

(All are, except labour exchanges, post offices, and driving tests, which are run by central government departments)

	Labour Exchanges	Swimming Baths	Fire Brigades	Post Offices
Yes	14	86	71	11
No	65	6	20	83
Do not know ..	21	8	9	6

	Child Welfare Clinics	Libraries	Driving Tests	Repair of Roads
Yes	79	91	23	92
No	13	5	60	5
Do not know ..	8	4	17	3

Wrong answers were given by 51 per cent. of women and 30 per cent. of men in respect of labour exchanges, by 27 per cent. of women and 14 per cent. of men in respect of post offices, and by 50 per cent. of women and 38 per cent. of men in respect of driving tests.

5. Do you follow Council affairs by	Yes	No
Attending Council meetings?	6	94
Reading newspaper reports of Council meetings? ..	81	19
Belonging to a ratepayers' or similar organisation? ..	17	83

Would you like to know more about what the Council is doing?

Yes	67
No	25
Do not know ..	8

Eighty-three per cent. of men said that they read newspaper reports of Council meetings, compared with 74 per cent. of women: 69 per cent. of men want to know more, compared with 62 per cent. of women. Eighteen per cent. of men belong to ratepayers' and similar organisations, compared with 15 per cent. of women.

6. Are you generally satisfied with your local government services?

Yes	65
No	29
Do not know ..	6

If the answer is "No," what are your main reasons for dissatisfaction?

	Per cent. of dissatisfied	Per cent. of questioned
Too costly	50	15
Not efficient	38	11
Unsympathetic	13	4
Too much ordering about ..	12	3
Other reasons	20	6

INTEREST IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Of those who said that they voted at the last local council election, 66 per cent. were satisfied, 29 per cent. were not satisfied, 5 per cent. did not know. Of those who did not vote, 57 per cent. were satisfied, 32 per cent. were not satisfied, 11 per cent. did not know.

7. Are you satisfied with these particular services?

	Yes	No	Do not know
Schools	70	18	12
Health centres or clinics ..	77	7	16
Housing	53	33	14
Libraries	83	7	10
Parks	80	14	6
Roads and streets	54	43	3
Collection of refuse	81	18	1

More men than women expressed satisfaction with schools, health centres, housing and libraries, but more women than men were satisfied with parks and roads. More in the lower income groups than in the higher were satisfied with schools (70 compared with 54 per cent.), more in the higher income groups than in the lower were satisfied with parks, roads and refuse collection.

8. Have you had any dealings with a Council official in the past 12 months?	If you have, were you satisfied with the manner in which he dealt with your problems?
Yes	34
No	65
Do not know ..	1

82 } percentages of
18 } those saying "Yes"
— } to first question

9. Are you, or have you ever been, employed full time by a local authority?

Yes	15
No	85

Of the total, 8 per cent. were present, 7 per cent. were former, employees.

If you are or have been employed in local government, do you consider the pay and working conditions generally

	All answering	Present employees	Past employees
Good?	18	17	19
Average?	46	49	43
Bad?	36	33	38

The percentages are of those to whom the questions applied. Of the men answering, 17 per cent. thought pay and conditions good, 36 per cent. thought them bad; of the women, 27 per cent. thought them good, 24 per cent. thought them bad.

If you have been, but are no longer, employed in local government, why did you leave?

Retirement or marriage	19
For higher pay	33
For better conditions	9
For better prospects	17
Dissatisfied with conditions ..	9
Other reasons	20

Some gave more than one reason.

10. *Would you like your son or daughter to have a job at the town hall or Council offices?*

Yes	..	..	..	43
No..	..	..	..	39
Do not know	..	..	..	18

Commenting on the enquiry, the May, 1957, issue of Public Service, the journal of the National and Local Government Officers Association, says:

It would, of course, be foolish to attach too much weight to the exact figures. Many people, faced with a sudden inquiry of this kind, will give the answer they think is expected of them, rather than the honest answer; whilst, as every reader of law reports knows, a straight "Yes" or "No" can cover many shades of meaning and unstated qualifications.

Nevertheless, allowing for these distorting factors, the results are both significant and revealing. What are their main lessons?

The first, surely, is to underline the need for more and better public relations by Local Authorities themselves. Local government prides itself on being democratic—the nearest we have yet reached to Lincoln's famous definition: "Government of the people, by the people, for the people." But can it be government by the people when up to one-quarter of the people have only the haziest notion of what it does, when two-thirds want to know more, and when between one-quarter and two-fifths admit to taking no part in the process by which they are supposed to control it? Can it be government for the people when more than one-quarter are dissatisfied with the services it provides? More information about how local government works, what it does, and why it does it, is clearly needed: and since four-fifths declare that they follow Council affairs in the press, that is the obvious medium. If Local Authorities and newspapers will take this lesson to heart, increasing their supply of information about local government, another quiz in a few years' time should give different and more encouraging answers.

And not the Local Authorities alone. N.A.L.G.O. too, it is clear, must improve and expand its own public relations service for and about its local government members. In general, officers came well out of the inquiry, with four-fifths of those who remembered having dealings with them expressing satisfaction. But they have no cause for complacency. Though most citizens come into direct contact with local government officers many times every year—if only when they change their library books—no more than one-third realised that they had done so and, of those, one-fifth were dissatisfied. Though only one-fifth of those who are, or have been, employed in local government consider its pay and working conditions good, two-fifths of all householders think of it as a good career for their children. Here is another ripe field for more information.

Thirdly, the inquiry underlined the profound dissatisfaction with the service felt by its employees. Eleven years ago, the Local Authorities emblazoned their ambition to be in "the first flight of good employers."

Yet today, only 17 per cent. of their present and 19 per cent. of their past employees describe their pay and working conditions as good, whilst 33 and 38 per cent. respectively think they are definitely bad: of those who have left, two-thirds did so for better pay and conditions.

These are perhaps the most significant of the lessons of the inquiry: many more will be apparent to all who study the answers carefully—and particularly when they compare them with the results published in local areas, some of which show striking and intriguing differences from the national average.

INSTITUTE NEWS

The President

At a recent meeting the Executive Council unanimously decided to invite Lord Waverley to continue as the Institute's President for the next three years. Lord Waverley accepted this invitation and assured the Council that he was glad to place his services at the Institute's disposal. Members will have learnt with regret of Lord Waverley's recent illness involving an operation and will be glad to know that he is now well on the way to recovery. He hopes to visit Canada in the autumn.

Members in the Birthday Honours List

MR. W. E. DUNK, Chairman of the Australian Commonwealth Public Service Board and founder President of the Canberra Regional Group, received a knighthood in the Birthday Honours List, and Mr. R. S. McDougall, County Treasurer of Hertfordshire and a member of the Executive Council, was awarded the C.B.E. Mr. McDougall is to take up a new appointment in the autumn, when he will become General Manager of Stevenage New Town.

Appointments in the Nationalised Industries

SIR HENRY SELF, one of the Institute's Vice-Presidents, has recently been appointed Chairman of the Electricity Council which has been set up under the recent Electricity Act. The Minister of Power also announced at the same time that Mr. Ernest Long, one of the Institute's Trustees and a former Chairman of the Executive Council, was to be a member of Central Electricity Generating Board. Mr. J. V. Wood, Staff Member of the Northumberland and Cumberland Divisional Coal Board and until recently Chairman of the Institute's Northern Regional Group, has been appointed Director-General of Industrial Relations in the National Coal Board and takes up his appointment in November.

Sir Charles Cunningham's New Appointment

SIR CHARLES CUNNINGHAM, Secretary to the Scottish Home Department and since 1953 Chairman of the Edinburgh and East of Scotland Regional Group, has been appointed Permanent Under Secretary of State at the Home Office in succession to Sir Frank Newsam. The Edinburgh Regional Group held a complimentary dinner for Sir Charles on Wednesday, 25th September, to mark their appreciation of his service to the Group. Among the principal speakers were Sir David Milne, who proposed a toast to the Institute, and Mr. S. G. Williams, Chairman of the Executive Council, who responded.

Visits Abroad

MR. D. N. CHESTER, Professor S. E. Finer and Dr. R. T. McKenzie, were at the round table on Pressure Groups of the International Political Science Association, held at Pittsburgh early in September.

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Mr. R. S. McDougall, to whom reference has already been made, visited the Fiji Islands during April to July to conduct a survey of the system of Fiji provincial finance, with particular reference to the relationship between the Fiji Administration and the Central Government.

Mr. G. M. Stephens, Chairman of the Birmingham Regional Group, has recently spent four months in Nigeria on secondment to the Electricity Corporation there.

Mr. A. H. Hanson, Reader in Public Administration in the University of Leeds, spent a month in Nigeria, organising a Summer School on the Public Corporation at the University College of Ibadan, and in visiting a number of the nationally-owned enterprises in the various Regions.

Overseas Appointments

DR. L. C. HILL, one of the Institute's Vice-Presidents, recently took up an appointment as Senior Administrative Officer, Local Government, to help implement the scheme for developing Local Government in British Guiana, recommended by Dr. A. H. Marshall in 1953. Dr. Hill hopes that it may be possible to start a Regional Group of the Institute in British Guiana and that this Group may form a nucleus for the Caribbean area.

George Lach, who was the Institute's Director from 1947 to 1949, has accepted an appointment with the Canadian National Railways. On leaving the Institute, Mr. Lach joined British Road Services, and more recently has been Assistant Personnel Manager with B.E.A. In his new post he will work with the Vice-President (Personnel).

University Lecturer's Work in Civil Service

ANDREW DUNSIRE, a Lecturer in Public Administration in the University of Exeter and until recently Secretary to the Institute's Regional Group there, is among the first persons to take part in an interesting new arrangement whereby university teachers, particularly those in the field of Public Administration, are given an opportunity to work in Government Departments for periods of two years. Mr. Dunsire took up duty with the Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation in September. In the United States teachers of Public Administration are not infrequently invited to serve for periods of several years in senior governmental positions. It is unlikely that this British development will go so far, but it should provide a useful background of practical experience for those engaged in the study and teaching of Public Administration in the universities.

A New Diploma in Government Administration

THE R.I.P.A. co-operated with N.A.L.G.O. in the 1920s in securing the introduction of Diplomas in Public Administration in the University of London and in other British universities. Since the end of the War the situation has been greatly altered by the decision of the University of London to raise the standard of its D.P.A. to the post-graduate level and by the introduction of the Diploma in Municipal Administration under the aegis of the Local Government Examinations Board. The Institute has been investigating the possibility of providing a facility similar to the D.M.A.

for civil servants. It has now secured the introduction of a new Diploma in Government Administration which derives from the D.M.A. and will be organised by the L.G.E.B. Details of this new Diploma can be obtained from the Institute. In order to ensure its suitability for civil servants, the Board will be advised by a Civil Service Examinations Committee on which the Institute is represented by Sir Albert Day and the Director.

I.A.S. Round Table in Opatija, Yugoslavia

SIR ALBERT DAY, a Vice-President of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, and Mr. S. G. Williams represented the Institute at this Round Table, which took place from 20th to 25th June. Miss E. M. Foster, who is a member of the Brighton Group and a former member of the Institute's Executive Council, also attended. All reports suggest that the 150 delegates from 29 nations received a very friendly welcome in Opatija—an attractive resort on the shores of the Adriatic—which afforded an ideal setting for the discussions. It was satisfactory to learn that leading roles were taken during the Round Table by F. J. Tickner, a former Assistant Secretary in the Treasury, and now Deputy Director, Public Administration Division, United Nations Technical Assistance Administration, and by Dr. Brian Chapman of Manchester University, who distinguished himself as Rapporteur of the Study Group concerned with "Present trends in connection with the transfer of power from greater authorities to lesser authorities separate from them and *vice versa*." J. Dunkley of H.M. Treasury, who also attended the Round Table, made an important contribution to the session devoted to "Automation and the relevant problems in Public Administration Agencies."

The social activities arranged by the Yugoslavs included a reception by the Mayor of Opatija on a boat cruising in the Gulf of Kvarner, a visit to the Postojna Grotto, and, on the last evening, a banquet arranged by the Executive Council of the Peoples Republic of Croatia. The Institute's official delegates felt therefore that not only had an enjoyable Round Table taken place, but that Great Britain had been able to make positive marks on the study sessions.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Organization of British Central Government, 1914-1956

Edited by D. N. CHESTER, written by F. M. G. WILLSON. George Allen and Unwin for Royal Institute of Public Administration, 1957. 32s. (25s. to members of the Institute ordering direct).

THIS book—presenting the results of a survey by a Study Group of the R.I.P.A. of the changes which have taken place in the broad organisation of central government in Britain between the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 and the end of 1956—is the product of a planning and supervising group (with perhaps thoughts in mind of the Haldane Committee of forty years ago) encouraged initially by Sir Henry Self and then "chaired" by Mr. D. N. Chester, with an obviously efficient and enthusiastic Secretary in the person of Mr. F. M. G. Willson, a holder of the Gwilym Gibbon Fellowship at Nuffield College. The other members of the Study Group were eight senior serving or retired public officials, with two academic members.

The first thing to be said about the book is that throughout there is a pronounced air of authority and exactitude: the membership of the Group would doubtless produce and account for such an air in any book that they jointly sponsored, but the foundation of their work in this instance was the outcome of a noteworthy measure of active co-operation on the part of the principal Government Departments. In the first place, each major Department contributed a memorandum on the changes which have taken place in its own field during the period since 1914: then the drafts of the various sections, after undergoing revision, were in many cases sent to the Departments: and, meanwhile, departmental liaison officers were available for consultation. It is pleasant to see that the Institute has in this way received the encouragement of the official world. The Group were able also to consult freely "other knowledgeable persons" and it clear from the copious notes (including an extensive bibliographical one) that the authors had before them a very large amount of material with which to conduct

their survey.

The book is well planned. An introduction explains what is meant by "central government" (broadly, the Ministers who form Her Majesty's Government and the administrative and executive Departments over which they preside) and by "organisation" (the number of Departments and the distribution of functions between them). Then follows a useful chapter giving three "panoramic" views of the central administration—in 1914, 1935 and 1956—with tables giving at each period a list of the Ministers and of their Departments. Next come seven chapters dividing between them in appropriate groups the various fields of governmental activity. Each of these chapters is prefaced by a helpful and very pleasantly written introductory describing and expounding in general terms the governmental relationship to the matters which form the subject of the chapter itself. They are followed by a description and examination of the development of "co-ordinative devices and institutions" in a chapter with the significant title "The Central Co-ordination of Government." In the tenth and final chapter, which is "neither part of the narrative nor an appraisal of administrative growth and organisation," the group—with, no doubt, appropriate relish—move out of the departmental atmosphere and, with encouragement derived from Aristotle and Haldane, proceed to discuss the factors which influence the distribution of functions, to reflect on the way in which problems of governmental organisation can be handled, and to construct an analysis which, while drawing upon the earlier narrative, "introduces more general theoretical considerations."

A study of the three "panoramic" views shows that the significant periods of change were: (a) from the outbreak of war in 1914 to 1922, a period marked by a great and for the most part hurried

expansion of governmental organisation and activity during the war (the outstanding example is the throwing together early in 1915 of a number of people—civil servants and “outsiders”—to form the Ministry of Munitions, with far-reaching powers over industry, destined soon to become “an administrative colossus”), followed by very rapid contraction as soon as war ended and by a number of changes enforced by the emergence of greater governmental interest in and responsibility for the national economy (for example, separate Departments for Mines and for Transport) and for national welfare (for example, the creation of a Ministry of Health and great enlargement of the functions of the newly-formed Ministry of Labour); (b) a period of tranquillity from 1922 to 1939; and (c) the war-enforced expansion and development from 1939, followed by some tidying-away of some war creations (but not to the same relative extent as after the First World War) and then by further expansion as a sequence to the policies of the Labour Government of 1945.

Of the seven chapters dealing with particular functions or groups of functions, that dealing with “Finance, Trade and Industry” is—as would be expected from its very wide scope—by far the largest. It traces the changes in organisation brought about by the movement away from *laissez faire* towards ever-growing contact between government on the one hand and financial, industrial and commercial interests on the other hand. The rate at which the extent and degree of contact have grown is shown to have varied throughout the period under review: omitting the war years and the immediate post-war relaxation of controls, etc., the growth has been continuous, the pace increasing considerably during the 30s (due mainly to the effects of labour unrest after 1919, the deflationary influences in the early 20s and the severe unemployment which followed the general strike and miners’ strike of 1926) and increasing again in the years following the Second World War.

The greatly increased interest of government in the national economy has not resulted in marked changes in the structure of the Treasury (except at the top, where recently Joint Secretaries have been appointed—an experiment whose

degree of success or failure cannot yet be measured) or of the Boards of Inland Revenue and Customs and Excise, despite the vast increase in government expenditure and in the taxation required to meet it. There have, of course, been large increases in staff. It may well surprise many of the general readers of the book to find that, out of 84 pages devoted to “Finance, Trade and Industry,” only four are devoted to “Finance”: it must be remembered, however, that the book is not concerned to assess or to explain the theory (still less the practice under contemporary conditions!) of Treasury control and the authors are able comfortably to proceed to other matters after recording that “in few other areas of British central government have there been more determined or more successful efforts to cope with a tremendous change of scale without altering the shape of the Departments concerned.”

The “economic” Departments in which the greatest changes have occurred since 1914 are those grouped under Trade and Industry. Of these, the Board of Trade has undergone the most development, and, despite the creation of separate Departments for Transport and Power, it remains the *doyen* of the Trade and Industry Departments and its responsibilities have steadily become more extensive and important.

In the introductory to the “Finance, Trade and Industry” Departments (a piece of masterly exposition and good draftsmanship), the view is expressed that what evolved during the Second World War—due to close relationship between government and the national bodies representative of both sides of industry—and what, despite all political changes, has continued and is likely to continue, “was a mutual realisation of the benefits which might accrue to the nation by a partnership between government and industrial interests.” This, apart from moving somewhat away from governmental structure, seems to be a non-historical judgment upon something that has not yet stood the test of time or adequate experience: it seems too soon, for example, to assume that the “mutual realisation” will necessarily result in the measures of agreement needed to correct the present disequilibrium in the national economy. The organisations established by employers

and by the trade unions, including the two very representative bodies—the National Productive Advisory Council on Industry and the Minister of Labour’s National Joint Advisory Council—do indeed provide ample facilities for discussion and consultation, but there seems to be little evidence so far that the “mutual realisation” is likely to result in the active steps needed, for instance, to create conditions in which the problem of inflation can be solved.

The chapter on Social Services shows how the central governmental organisations (with their regional and local offices) have been adapted to provide and maintain the conception of the Welfare State. Numbers of staff are not necessarily a precise measure of increased scope or additional functions, but the growth of the numbers employed in the Social Service Departments since 1914 (9,500 in 1914: 41,000 in 1935: 83,000 in 1956) can be taken as a reasonable measure of the increase in the contact between government and the citizen. It is the extent and intensity of this nation-wide day-to-day contact between the agencies of government and the people that distinguishes the end of the period from the beginning. The machinery of government has been expanded and rearranged to provide for this contact and for its supervision, and the increased size of the Civil Service as compared with 1914 is largely due to the requirements of distributing the benefits of the Welfare State and collecting the revenues needed to provide for them.

Omitting the Cabinet itself and the Committee of Imperial Defence, but remembering that the Treasury (if only because of its control over the finances of the other departments) has always had a special “central” position, the first important step towards the effective “central co-ordination of government” was the creation of the small War Cabinet in the First World War. The Cabinet was aided by the establishment at the same time of the War Cabinet Secretariat, and although after the war normal Cabinets became the rule, the Secretariat remained a permanent part of central government. Contact between the Treasury and the Cabinet Secretariat has, both by necessity and by choice, been of the closest nature and the combination of the two—the one in many respects the complement of the other—has provided the Prime Minister

with an effective instrument for use in relation both to policy and administration. The recent rearrangement combining in one person a Joint Secretary to the Treasury and Secretary to the Cabinet has not yet been in operation long enough to show its value as a co-ordinative factor.

The developments in the field of co-ordination in regard to both civil affairs and defence are admirably recounted in the chapter on co-ordination and the recital shows the great extent to which the Cabinet of the day is served in all the main spheres of governmental activity by inter-departmental Ministerial and other Committees and sub-committees, all of which seem to have been fitted easily into the government machine and to show once more how flexible the British constitution has always proved to be. These co-ordinative arrangements have become of ever-growing importance owing to the great increase of business with which modern governments are called upon to deal and the much more rapid way (much too rapid, in fact) in which Ministers travel about, to and fro, between the various capitals of the world, conferring and consulting, with—one suspects—all too little time in between for reflection.

In their last chapter the authors proceed to analyse the main factors influencing the distribution of functions under two headings—(a) the number of Ministers and (b) the grouping of functions. As each function of the central government must be the responsibility of some Minister responsible to Parliament, it follows that all the functions must be distributed among a group of Ministers. Any thought about the over-all organisation must take into account the desirability on the one hand of not adding to the number of Ministers (if only in order to avoid an unwieldy Cabinet) and on the other hand the need to avoid overburdening any given Minister or his senior staff. One conclusion is that “on the whole, in view of the great increase in governmental activity during the last forty years, it is remarkable that the number of Ministers has been kept so low.” The impression, which is general, that recent lists of Ministers are much longer than used to be the case is no doubt due to the modern practice of appointing “Ministers of State” to assist some of the more senior Ministers and of duplicating Parliamentary Secretaries in many

Departments. As regards the grouping of functions, the constitutional requirement that each function must be the responsibility of a Minister answerable to Parliament has as a corollary that the distribution of functions between Ministers must as far as possible be such as to make it clear—to Parliament, the public, and the Cabinet itself—who is responsible for any major issue of governmental policy. Of the two main alternative ways in which governmental powers and activities may be grouped for administrative purposes ((1) by class of persons dealt with and (2) by major purpose or particular service rendered) the conclusion offered is that distribution according to purpose or particular service rendered "gives on the whole a greater unity of work at the policy level than any other criteria."

In practice decisions as to redistribution of functions or assignment of responsibility for new functions have often been influenced as much if not more by such apparently irrelevant factors as political and personal considerations, or pressure of public opinion or sections of it, as by careful study of alternative niches within the general framework. Advice upon these matters has been, and is, available to the Prime Minister from the Treasury, but it is likely that in future, as in the past, consideration of that advice, even if it should incorporate the views of the non-official element suggested by the present authors, will not be unaffected by advice from other quarters. Meanwhile, however, there has been developed within the Treasury and elsewhere a more definite acceptance of the need for conscious consideration of the adjustment of the machinery of government from time to time, over and above what might be needed to provide for any new functions.

One would like to think that the changes described in this book by Mr. Chester and his colleagues were the result of ordered consideration and conscious planning, led by and watched over by successive Prime Ministers, anxious only to secure a smooth-running governmental machine: but the fact is, as their narrative shows, that the changes throughout the period have for the most part been brought about by the inter-play of varying factors, political stresses and strains, sometimes by personal influences. Those students of the history of the British Constitution

who remember being told that an important characteristic of that constitution is its flexibility will find ample support for that view in this story of the changes in the last forty years. While in some cases there were differences of opinion, and much argument, as to ways and means, the record shows that each fresh function and each new demand was in most cases promptly met by its appropriate organisation or reorganisation, without any obvious subsequent friction. All seem to have been fitted into the structure of the central government with remarkable ease. While making this plain, the survey (perhaps because of the modesty of the majority of the Group, perhaps because it was not thought to be within the scope of the survey) omits any tribute to those senior civil servants upon whom fell the responsibility and burden of devising the organisation, or adapting an existing one, needed to put into operation some new function decided upon by Ministers of the day. Many personal and other problems must have arisen out of the need to ensure the smooth working-out of the very numerous changes: the list of them, in a useful appendix, occupies 36 pages.

The book is, of course, of interest and value principally to the teacher and student of public administration, and care has been taken by means of copious notes, supplemented by a bibliographical one, to provide material for further investigation by any who may be interested in particular developments or in special branches of government policy. The general reader, however, over and above the pleasure and profit derived from the introductory passages to the various chapters, will be helped by the method of classification adopted—e.g., Finance, Trade and Industry, Social Services, Defence, External Affairs, etc.—which will enable him to trace the development of those spheres of government in which he is interested. The chapters discussing "central co-ordination" and "handling administrative change" deal with subjects of current interest, frequently mentioned in the press and elsewhere, and will well repay reading. But few general readers and perhaps equally few students will have enough knowledge of the period covered, especially its earlier part, to be able always to appreciate the significance of the factual statements made, many of

which relate to events which, at the time, were felt to be of considerable importance but which are described in only a sentence or two. Thus the description of the developments and changes in relation to the establishment of the Ministry of Health—nearly forty years ago—seems to take it for granted that the reader knows who Robert Morant was and what were the controversies of which he was an important element. It is not easy to see how this could have been avoided if the book was to remain of manageable size and the inquisitive reader must have

recourse to the bibliography. In any event, the present authors can fairly say that this side of affairs is more a matter for the social historian. Meanwhile, the Institute and the Group and all those who helped in the survey are to be congratulated on having produced a valuable and interesting and most readable historical document and one from which many teachers and students of the future will quarry material for lectures and essays on the working of the British Constitution.

HORACE WILSON

The Growth of Public Employment in Great Britain

By MOSES ABRAMOVITZ and VERA ELIASBERG. Princeton University Press, Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. xiii + 151. 30s.

THIS American work is part of a wide investigation being carried out by the National Bureau of Economic Research to provide information in quantitative terms about the recent growth of governmental activities in various countries. The authors' intention in this volume is relatively narrow. They examine "the number of persons directly employed by government agencies" in Britain between 1890 and 1950—data which, as they admit at the outset, is "only one measure of the size of government." The "meat" of this book is thus hard statistical material, drawn mainly from census reports and from various departmental and other official publications. The Appendix bears witness to the scrupulous care which has been given to the interpretation of those sources. The text contains many formidable tables and diagrams, all admirably executed.

After some account of nineteenth-century developments, central government, local government and nationalised services are dealt with in separate chapters, and the figures given are broken down by governmental function rather than by department, type of authority, or board. This may be somewhat disappointing to those particularly concerned with public administration and its growth, but the special public for whom the work is mainly intended is that of the economists and economic historians, whose interest in administrative structure is under-

standably marginal. It should be hastily added that the book is none the less well worth perusal by administrators and students of government organisation. The data contained in it is an essential part of the historical perspective needed for an understanding of the present position and problems of the public services.

As a statistical source, therefore, this is an invaluable book. In presenting statistical material of this type, however, the problem of striking a satisfactory balance between figures and commentary is very difficult. The authors have not, perhaps, been completely successful in this connection. A considerable number of pages is devoted to explanation and to explanatory hypotheses of a rather commonplace character. Surely the numerous tables and diagrams are sufficiently eloquent to be allowed to carry their messages with a minimum of literary assistance. Chapter 6 is particularly tiresome in this respect—one table of the number of persons employed by the nationalised industries and services in 1950 is accompanied by a potted twelve-page history of our public corporations. In the final chapter, however, where the authors make a brief but stimulating comparison of government employment in this country and in the U.S.A. since 1900, an admirable balance is achieved.

F. M. G. WILLSON

Law and Orders (Second Edition)

By SIR CARLETON KEMP ALLEN. Stevens, 1950. Pp. 474. 42s.

THE first edition of this enquiry into executive powers appeared in 1945 on the eve of the General Election. The book reflected the author's right-wing leanings and not unnaturally touched off heated political discussion. In the preface to the second edition the author denies the charge that the book is a piece of political polemic, and it would certainly be unfair to describe it in such terms. It is a lucid and highly competent examination from the lawyer's viewpoint of delegated legislation and executive powers in English law. The author has been most diligent in bringing the work up to date, and mistakes are few and trivial. It is particularly useful to have in an appendix an extract from the unreported case of *Odum v. Stratton*, a striking example of an unreasonable refusal by the Crown to produce in litigation documents which would help the citizen's case.

In the main the work is rather a careful

assimilation of existing published sources than a piece of research or original comment. The author does, however, raise the interesting question why the Crown Proceedings Act of 1947, which seems so replete with textual ambiguities, has given rise only to one reported case in the ensuing ten years, and that on a small point. He suggests that a committee similar to the Scrutiny Committee should be set up to examine Ministerial circulars, as distinct from delegated legislation to be laid before Parliament, in order to discover legislative or "dictatorial" examples.

For a public administrator seeking a detailed, but not excessively technical, and attractively written survey of the problems of delegated legislation, there is nothing superior to Allen's *Law and Orders*.

HARRY STREET

The Organisation of Science in England

By D. S. L. CARDWELL. Heinemann, 1957. Pp. 204. 18s.

THE scope of this book is much wider than its title suggests. It sets out to answer the question: How did it come about that pure science, which in its early days two centuries and more ago was an affair of brilliant amateurs, gave birth to the "applied science" which is now the very life blood of modern industry? It is a commonplace that the union between science, applied science, and industrial practice has created a host of entirely new industries, such as nuclear energy, plastics, and electronics: industries which have decisively shaped our social life today and which promise (or threaten?) an ever-increasing tempo of change in the future. But little attention has hitherto been given to the social process which brought all this to pass.

A book dealing with this development in our national life is specially welcome at the present time. Once again we are faced with the need to speed up technical advance, and to overcome resistances to technical innovation. Dr. Cardwell has provided just the right kind of social

history to enable the lessons of the past to be brought to bear upon present problems.

He sets about answering the question—how was applied science born?—by considering the social setting within which its evolution took place. Science, he states, "is a variable of society and a very complicated one too; for, while many different societies have evolved advanced systems of law and philosophy and refined forms of art, only one society—our own—has possessed those vital elements which made possible the systematic and widespread development of the advanced sciences, and has succeeded, moreover, in utilising science in the solution of problems in industry and the arts."

The book sketches briefly the eighteenth-century background, and then describes in some detail the several lines of progress during the nineteenth century and up to the beginning of the 1920s. The changing pattern of education rightly figures largely in his account. Looking back now, one

is struck by the great changes which were brought about in education during the nineteenth century, always against formidable resistance to change from many quarters. In tackling our comparable task today of increasing the output of graduates and technologists, we can take comfort from the fact that, though present difficulties may be formidable, there is now a more widespread sense of purpose and a greater measure of agreement on how to make progress than there was in those days.

Students of Dickens will remember the interest he took in Mechanics' Institutes. Dr. Cardwell has an interesting section on this movement, which was rising into prominence about the same time as Mr. Pickwick started on his immortal travels. It is interesting to speculate whether the Mechanics' Institute movement might have developed so as to give birth to the applied scientist. The primary aim of the Institutes was to increase the scientific element in technology at the expense of empirical, rule-of-thumb, or traditional skills. Maybe in the fullness of time the movement might have covered more and more of the ground between traditional skills and pure science. But an event elsewhere intervened, and in fact the applied scientist came on the scene earlier, and probably in more satisfactory guise than would have been the case if he had been the end-product of the technological education movement of the early eighteenth century.

This event was the discovery in 1856, by a young English scientist working at the Royal College of Chemistry, of the first of the aniline dyes. He had the courage and enterprise to exploit this by manufacturing the dye on a commercial scale. The really significant thing was that he died a rich man, thus giving a striking demonstration that science could pay, and pay handsomely. This Englishman, W. H. Perkin, can be numbered among the first few applied scientists of the breed with which we are now so familiar.

The story, starting so creditably for English science and enterprise, has a well-known continuation in which we can take little pride. The union between research and industry pioneered by Perkin was not taken up and extended by his fellow countrymen. Then, and too often since, English initiative was lost to the

more enterprising foreigner. It was in Germany, not in England, that the aniline dye industry forged ahead. This industry needed more and more research workers capable of tackling a host of specific problems. And the great majority of these research workers needed no more than average ability to achieve the purposes set them. Given a sound grounding in the basic sciences and an interest in using his knowledge and ability in prescribed directions, the average man could form a unit in a team which became admirably adapted to bridge the gulf between the industry and science. It was by this route rather than via the Mechanics' Institute that the applied scientist became a force of growing significance in national life.

We in England were slow to respond to the situation. But early in the first world war the facts became disconcertingly clear. We then manufactured only one-tenth of our requirements for dyestuffs; we relied on Germany for magnetos, for drugs, for tungsten, for zinc, and for many other products of industries served by applied scientists—industries which had forged ahead in Germany, but not here.

In this situation, government intervention in a big way became imperative. In 1914 the Government created the British Dyestuffs Corporation. A year later a Committee of the Privy Council was formed with the object of instituting specific researches, establishing special institutions for applied science, and establishing research studentships and fellowships. From this came the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research and many educational developments.

Dr. Cardwell has produced an interesting and stimulating study, and he whets the reader's appetite for more. Not for more about the period up to the 1920s, for the book covers that period with satisfying completeness. But the study needs to be carried forward to the present day, with the aim of clarifying the issues on which depend whether or not we are to get, in the ever-increasing numbers needed, the applied scientists on which our standard of living (or our atomic death?) so decisively depends.

It is to be hoped that the Nuffield Foundation, which enabled Dr. Cardwell to undertake this work, will see fit to sponsor the writing of a worthy sequel.

K. T. SPENCER

T.V.A. The First Twenty Years—A Staff Report

Edited by ROSCOE C. MARTIN. University of Alabama Press and University of Tennessee Press, 1950. Pp. xiii + 282. \$4.50.

THE Tennessee Valley Authority is perhaps the most original administrative achievement of the twentieth century. It has attracted universal interest, and received the flattery of widespread imitation. In almost every region where a river valley is capable of multi-purpose development, something equivalent to a T.V.A. has been established or is being projected—Damodar and Mahanadi in India, Gal Oya in Ceylon, Niger in French West Africa, Snowy Mountains in Australia, Papaloapan in Mexico, Sao Francisco in Brazil, Caroni in Venezuela. Every year the list of T.V.A.-type projects grows longer. It might be longer still if river valley development was not so often frustrated by political conflicts, as with the Jordan and the Nile.

The prototype authority is now 24 years old. The volume here reviewed is based on a series of lectures, delivered at the Florida State University, to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of its foundation. "Celebrate" is indeed the operative word, for those who seek an objective appraisal of the Authority's record will have to go elsewhere. All the lecturers have been associated with the T.V.A. in an official capacity, and display that dedicated enthusiasm for the project which we have come to regard as typical of the T.V.A.-man—a quality very largely responsible for the T.V.A.'s outstanding success and also for a tendency, well illustrated here, to dismiss all criticisms of the Authority's record as ill-informed when not ill-intentioned. In view of the fact that much criticism *has* been of this kind, one can sympathise with their determination to justify the ways of T.V.A. to men. It requires doing, particularly in view of the fact that Congressional appropriations towards T.V.A.'s still very considerable capital construction costs "have come more and more grudgingly with the passing of time." Hence, as Mr. Harry Curtis says in his introduction, we have here "no impartial on-the-one-hand-but-then-again-on-the-other account of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Here, on the contrary, is an analysis by a devoted group of men who participated responsibly in the forging

of T.V.A."

Unfortunately, the "analysis" turns out to be little more than another success-story. There is, admittedly, a great deal of useful information, particularly of the statistical sort, which gives the book value as a work of reference. But all the lecturers are saying things that we have heard many times before—from the same sources. These things, one may agree, are worth saying, but they can hardly bear indefinite repetition. Not until we reach the last chapter, specially contributed by the Editor, do we begin to make contact with the problems that confront T.V.A. today, and then we find ourselves left with a series of very pertinent questions, most of which are not answered even in a tentative way. What is the T.V.A.'s future as a power-producer, now that the hydro-electric productivity of its dams can be no further developed? Should it continue with "resource-development," or is this side of its activities to be "further diminished or eliminated"? Is fertiliser-production by the T.V.A. to remain "a basic element in the total regional program," or should the Authority, as some of its critics demand, "divest itself of its fertiliser plants and disclaim further responsibility in this field"? What, if anything, should the T.V.A. do to continue to promote the industrialisation of the region, which still lags behind the rest of the country in industrial development and *per capita* income? Is this agency, which has virtually completed its original assignment, to be regarded as a permanent part of the governmental set-up, offering an example of new forms of federal-state-local co-operation? Is it to remain a public corporation? Is it to continue to attempt to give unified leadership to the developmental efforts of the region? One wishes that questions of this sort had been clearly posed at the *beginning* of the book and that the various experts had been mobilised to answer them. The answers would certainly not have been impartial, but they would have been no less interesting for that.

On the administrative aspects of T.V.A. there are three chapters, well written but tantalisingly short. That on

"Financial Administration," by John H. Clark, is the most informative. Those on "Administrative Foundations" and "Personnel Administration" do little more than explain T.V.A.'s already familiar administrative "philosophy" and summarise its administrative practices. The gospel of Mary Parker Follett, as interpreted by Gordon Clapp, is very much to the fore. We are told, for instance, that T.V.A. believes "in the inherent dignity and worth of the individual employee and in his capacity to carry responsibility for the advancement of the program," and that "the practical application of such a belief leads management into deliberate efforts to decentralise responsibility to the lowest possible levels; to diffuse the sources of initiative; and to give first importance to education and persuasion as the basic method of supervision." The General

Manager, we are assured, does not "give orders or make operating decisions," but simply sees "that the right minds and the right information come to bear in the right sequence." This is excellent; and if the T.V.A. has really succeeded in the incredibly difficult art "of letting facts persuade men" it has done a tremendous job, and its offices and establishments ought to become a Mecca not merely for would-be river valley developers but for all kinds of administrators. But *has* it? And, if so, how? Until the answer to these questions is developed with less verbiage and more attention to actual situations, the T.V.A.-man must not be surprised if the case-hardened administrator reacts to his preaching with a certain amount of scepticism and reserve.

A. H. HANSON

New India's Rivers

By HENRY C. HART. Orient Longmans (Calcutta), 1956. Pp. xiv + 301. 25s.

OPINIONS have varied about the extent to which government schemes were responsible for raising India's agricultural production by 15 per cent. during the course of the First Five-Year Plan. Those who, like Dr. John Matthai, are sceptical about planning give the main credit to "successive good monsoons." But as crop production has not subsequently slipped back to its pre-planning *per capita* level, in spite of a deterioration in the weather, it is obvious that some virtue must be ascribed to such things as the government-promoted adoption of the Japanese method of paddy-cultivation, the provision of government-manufactured fertilisers from Sindri, and the progress of government-organised irrigation schemes. No one knows how to arrange the government's various measures for the improvement of agriculture in order of importance, and probably such an exercise would be futile, as agricultural obstacles to economic development rarely yield to anything short of a concerted, many-pronged attack. But the contribution of irrigation must be considerable, and it will undoubtedly increase as present schemes mature and new ones are started. Even the critics of planning, when they contemplate the 2.4 million hectares which have benefited

from major works and the 4 million which have benefited from minor ones, have to admit that the progress of irrigation has had something to do with the 15 per cent. increase in production.

Anyway, the Indian government is clearly convinced that irrigation should have one of the most urgent calls on its limited resources for economic development. Since Independence, it has spent some £600 million on this service—about four times as much as was invested in it during the whole period of British rule. Irrigation and power together (and it is difficult to separate them) were scheduled for 28.1 per cent. of total expenditure under the First Plan, and are scheduled for 19.0 per cent. under the Second, which is more than twice as big as the First. Some of the expenditure goes into minor schemes, such as the provision of tube-wells, but much of it is absorbed by the great multi-purpose T.V.A.-type projects, such as Damodar and Mahanadi.

These are the subject of Professor Hart's new study. As a political scientist who served for 15 years in American river projects (including seven with the T.V.A.), he is very well qualified to deal with it, and he has produced a book which is informative without being overloaded and inspiring

without being starry-eyed. He combines scholarship, experience and journalistic flair—a rare combination and a very welcome one.

For students of public administration, his most interesting chapters are those which take up the question whether multi-purpose schemes should be organised by public corporations, as with the Damodar Valley Project, or by government departments, as with Mahanadi. By good fortune, the two schemes provide an excellent opportunity for comparison, because, as the author says, "although there is an essential contrast between the two rivers, the jobs these agencies tackled are so nearly the same that their success can be measured by a common yardstick." Here, therefore, "is an opportunity no other nation possesses: to put the alternatives side by side, and select those governmental arrangements for future rivers which have turned the resources of the Damodar and Mahanadi to best account."

(pp. 145-46). One might expect Professor Hart, as an ex-T.V.A. man, to come down heavily on the side of the corporation, but his treatment of the subject is a model of scholarly caution, giving short shrift to the well-worn clichés which now clutter up the controversy about public enterprise organisation. No firm conclusions are reached, but the critical working-over of India's experiences in this field, which provides the main substance of three chapters, should henceforth be compulsory reading for all who wish to speak or write about public enterprise in under-developed countries.

In this respect, as in many others, *New India's Rivers* is a pioneer work. It will be of great value, not only to students of public administration, but to the politicians, administrators and technicians who are trying to change the face of the under-developed parts of the world.

A. H. HANSON

Youth at Work

By M. E. M. HERFORD. Max Parrish, 1956. Pp. xvi + 159. 18s. 6d.

In Their Early Twenties

By T. FERGUSON and J. CUNNISON. Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. vi + 110. 12s. 6d.

ARE you tired of hearing about the Needs of Youth? If you read these two books you will lose your boredom. Ferguson and Cunnison have set themselves a tremendous task in following the tracks of a group of people as they pass from boyhood to manhood. Their latest book is packed with information, comparing a group who were rejected on medical grounds by the National Service authorities with a group who chose to do their National Service as soon as possible. The authors point out that the groups are not really comparable, since those who do National Service early include a number who break apprenticeships to do so. This leads to an important finding which some workers in the field have suspected, but for which evidence is meagre: that is, that there is a decline in skill. The book shows that less than 65 per cent. of those who were in skilled work at 17 were still in such work at 22. A more thorough analysis of the reasons for entering National Service early among those who broke apprenticeships would have been useful. Clearly, overcrowding

in the home and a desire for adventure play a big part, but how much is attributable to instability of temperament?

Many long-established trends are confirmed, such as the lifelong advantage enjoyed by children from happy homes. Teachers, psychologists and Youth Employment Officers will be interested in the relationship between school assessments and retention of the status of skilled worker.

The authors were unable to produce convincing evidence that National Service has a generally harmful effect, but as a by-product, showed clearly that the selection methods used by the R.A.F. are sound.

The group who were unfit for National Service did well and rather more of them had skilled status at 22 than in the other group. This is, however, only to be expected as one-third of the "Service" group gave up apprenticeships on entry to the Services. Resumption of apprenticeship after early National Service is exceptional (in England and Wales at any

rate). Disquieting but familiar is the way so many of poor physique are forced into heavy manual work, even today and despite the Disabled Persons Act and other helpful measures.

One immediately valuable practical result of this book ought to be to provoke a national enquiry into the retention of skilled status by those who have been trained. If we are really short of technicians and engineers, surely we should try to retain those who have been trained?

Dr. Herford's book, on the other hand, arises from concentrated personal experience in the two specialised fields of Appointed Factory Doctor and Assistant School Medical Officer in Slough which he has held as joint appointments. Acute detached observation and careful recording is automatically expected of medical research workers, and Dr. Herford does not depart from the standards in this most interesting study despite his strong belief in the need for institutional reform.

Dr. Herford's findings emphasise the great importance in the getting and holding of employment of the physical characteristics of the worker. Criteria of occupational success are notoriously hard to establish and progress in work is difficult to assess. Clearly, some apparently inexplicable changes of employment might be elucidated with medical help and this aspect may introduce an additional element in follow-up studies.

There are some findings which suggest that the Youth Employment Service is not providing real vocational guidance, but only helpful placing. In some areas this may be so and will continue to be so until Youth Employment Officers are better trained, have fewer pupils to advise and are encouraged to use aptitude tests in collaboration with schools. If this criticism, like that of Jahoda mentioned in the text, implies that the Youth Employment Service is failing in its task, then it follows that it is the duty of the Youth Employment Service to be the prime influence on the choice of occupation of boys and girls. This has never yet been claimed by those responsible for the Service. It would be more generally agreed that the prime responsibility rests on parents. The Service assists parents in the discharge of their responsibilities and helps pupils in exercising their right to choose. How far it goes in this depends on the resources in skilled staff, time and finance accorded to it. In any case, studies based upon

the boys' and girls' own recollections as to who advised them are suspect, unless official records are compared with the statements and Dr. Herford does not actually make clear whether he did this.

Institutional changes in regard to youth welfare are needed. Dr. Herford has provided valuable confirmatory evidence and many useful and practical suggestions. One could be taken a short step further. He suggests a link between the Youth Employment Service and the Appointed Factory Doctor. Since many factories give better working conditions than many offices and shops, why not combine the Review of Progress invitation with an invitation to see a Medical Officer who would provide for all young workers the kind of service Dr. Herford has been giving to factory workers in Slough? Progress Review is one of the most difficult, yet most potentially rewarding, duties of the Youth Employment Officer. County Colleges, it is said, will make it easier, but they are a long way off. Meanwhile, the cost of ill health rises and inflates taxes. Dr. Herford clearly shows that some of this could be avoided by intelligent partnership between those working with youth.

Dr. Herford's proposals for closer collaboration with the Youth Employment Service are sound and practicable and would result in a considerable improvement in the health and thus in working efficiency of the population. They would help to increase the efficiency of the Youth Employment Service and would ensure compliance with factory law which, in one particular instance, seems to be ignored on a massive scale, if this study is typical of the rest of the country. Lack of industrial knowledge was found to be a handicap by the School Medical Officers working with the Youth Employment Officers in the early days of the Birmingham experiments in scientific vocational guidance. Dr. Herford's suggestion for joint appointment with the School Medical Service therefore certainly merits examination.

These studies provide the essential stimulus for institutional changes. Students of public administration will be interested in them as examples of the background for changes in policy. And both books will be essential reading for Youth Employment Officers in training.

An index would have been helpful in Dr. Herford's book.

H. HEGINBOTHAM

Local Government in New Zealand

Edited by R. J. POLASCHEK. New Zealand Institute of Public Administration, 1957. Pp. 122. 15s. in New Zealand, 16s. elsewhere.

IN recent years much has been written about the difficulties of exporting the English system of local government to the African colonies. Such a policy is, however, as old as the British Empire. Since the colonial period of American history the contemporary system of English local government has been introduced into nearly every colony and island which the British have administered. The Caribbean still retains in general its adaptation of mid-nineteenth century English rural government, with parish vestries, *Custodes Rotulorum*, and overseers. Towns in every corner of the world have been endowed with municipal charters, carefully modelled on the English pattern, with Mayors, Town Clerks, and maces. New Zealand, in the nineteenth century, acquired hundreds, municipal corporations, county councils, and a general confusion of *ad hoc* authorities. Attempts to simplify the system have consistently failed, and today the country has over 900 Local Authorities, including 126 counties of which five have less than 1,000 people.

It is apparent that there is a general demand for reorganisation; for this purpose a Local Government Commission was established by statute in 1946, but its powers were so circumscribed by plebiscites, appeals and restrictions that it has been unable to achieve any substantial improvement. The financial structure also is complicated, with each of these authorities levying its own rates, some on capital, and some on annual value, some on improved, some on unimproved values.

It is not surprising, therefore, that New Zealanders should regard their local government systems critically, and should study the experience of England, which has so many of the same problems, and so much in common in its history. Such questions arise as whether a system of grants-in-aid should be introduced; is a local income tax possible? In the constitutional field, the question is raised whether the present single-tier system should be replaced by something more like the English model (though, confusingly, the term "county borough"

is used for what, in England, would be called a non-county borough); and should the number of counties be drastically reduced?

In May, 1956, the New Zealand Institute of Public Administration organised a conference to discuss the problems of this complicated and hampering system. Administrators, academic observers and councillors met, and heard papers read by six highly qualified experts on the subject. These papers are now reprinted, with an introduction by Mr. R. Polaschek, of Victoria University College.

The reader who is not familiar with the present situation in New Zealand would be helped by the inclusion of a short factual statement of what the existing Local Authorities are, and what they do. But apart from this, the essays give a very clear picture of the problems which arise from the present multitude of councils and boards. Of particular interest to the stranger are the chapter by W. B. Sutch on the history of local government in New Zealand, and that on its future by A. A. McLachlan, the Chairman of the Local Government Commission. It is in these particularly that one sees the general picture, and can compare the past and present problems of New Zealand and of England.

It is interesting that, in a country with so highly developed a system of social services, it is accepted with but little challenge that the burden of local taxation should fall on those who use, or benefit from, the services, rather than on those best able to pay. Here in England the Poor Law Act of 1601 established the principle of assessment according to ability to pay, rather than according to benefit received. Both principles have played their part in the development of our present system, but today the rates bear little if any relation to the use that the ratepayer makes of the local government services. Yet in New Zealand it is accepted, as Sir Bernard Ashwin says in his paper on "Financial Problems of Local Government," that "as far as practicable, services should be paid for by users in proportion to the use they make of them."

The book is a by-product of the conference, but a very valuable by-product. The papers read were all of a high standard, and were each well worth reprinting. The New Zealand Institute of Public

Administration has done a most useful service, both in convening the conference and in publishing this symposium.

B. KEITH-LUCAS

Civic Ceremonial: A Handbook of Practice and Procedure (Second Edition)

By J. F. GARNER. Shaw and Sons, 1957. Pp. xi+154. 19s. 6d.

MANY a harassed Clerk to a Local Authority, confronted by a question of procedure or precedence, must have cause to be grateful to the late Mr. F. G. Garner and his son, the present Town Clerk of Andover, for this book. Here may be found, not only the rules laid down by authority, but existing civic practice, ascertained by extensive inquiry. It can safely be said that any relevant questions that go unanswered here can be resolved by the ordinary considerations of courtesy and good manners.

It is not surprising that the book, which was first published in 1953, has gone into a second edition; and as in due time there will no doubt be a third, it may be worth while to respond to an invitation contained in the preface, to make a few suggestions with particular reference to the choice of historical authorities. Mr. and Mrs. Webb were not, and never claimed to be, learned in the early history of boroughs; and to select, as they do, the possession of a separate commission of the peace as the distinguishing mark of a borough is not very satisfactory; for though most if not all boroughs had a separate commission, there must have been a number of liberties having a separate commission which were not boroughs. The Soke of Peterborough, for example, had a separate commission before the town became a municipal borough. There is more of value in Professor Tait's *Medieval English Borough* or, for a short introduction, in Lady Stenton's Pelican volume, *English Society in the Early Middle Ages*. The claim that Thetford was the first Mayortown, quoted from elsewhere, cannot be taken seriously. On page 74 the long quotation from *The Manual of the Mace* seems to me to derive from Jewitt and Hope's *Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office* (whether with acknowledgments I do not know), and Mr. Garner could

make a better summary himself.

But these matters do not affect the usefulness of the book. It raises many points of interest which it might be worth while to collect. As a contribution I note a few which have arisen in my own city of Lincoln. The city is a county corporate, with its own Sheriff and its own assize, deriving from a charter of Henry IV; and it has not abandoned its right to impanel its own jury to try its own crime. Some counties of towns, among them I believe Hull and Poole, do not assert such right, and in practice it is not so easy to do so where the county corporate is not an assize town. Until a few years ago the judge named in the commission of assize was escorted to the Lincoln city court by the Sheriff of the county at large, who accompanied him on the bench. Clearly this could not be admitted as a claim of right: the Sheriff of the county at large has no right of entry into the county of the city, and it has now been established that the City Sheriff calls on the judge at his lodgings, attends him to the city assize, and then escorts him to the Castle, where the Sheriff of the county awaits him. The "High" Sheriff is only so called by custom and perhaps for social reasons. Even the great authority of John Stow will hardly support the statement, quoted on page 91, that the Borough Sheriff is not in the same position as the Sheriff of the county, because, he says, the Borough Sheriff is subordinate to the Mayor, whilst the County Sheriff is responsible only to the Crown. Whatever the position may be in the City of London of which Stow (who was not a lawyer) wrote, it is submitted that all other Sheriffs have the same powers and duties on behalf of the Crown, the only difference being that whilst in the county at large the sovereign personally "pricks" the Sheriff, the borough enjoys by royal charter the right to appoint its own.

But he is not subordinate to the Mayor; his duties, set out on page 92, relate to matters in which the Mayor has no right to interfere.

Is the Mayor "the official representative of the Crown"? (see page 9). It may be true in the sense that all authority derives from the Crown, but the Mayor is not a royal servant in the way that the Lord Lieutenant or the Sheriff is a royal servant. These officers are chosen by the Crown directly or under powers granted by the Crown. Unlike their offices the mayoralty is of popular origin. The point is illustrated in the first days of the mayoralty in Lincoln when the senior bailiff (the predecessor of the Sheriff) held also the office of Mayor. In 1216, King John appointed certain citizens to be bailiffs, and in 1217 he confirmed the senior of them as Mayor; he was to be *your* Mayor and *our* bailiff, said the King to the citizens.

A few years ago the incoming Mayor of Lincoln, who by custom is invited to

submit a nomination to the office of Sheriff which is almost always accepted, nominated the City Coroner as Sheriff. The question whether the two offices could be held together was a nice one, and was much discussed. It seemed that any clash of function could be avoided if the Coroner did not personally conduct any inquest which was likely to be followed by criminal proceedings at assizes; and even if he did the clash would be more theoretical than real. The Home Office was consulted, and replied that the appointment was to be deprecated; but by the time that the advice was received the year of office of the Coroner-Sheriff was well advanced. The oddest exercise of the Mayor-elect's privilege of nominating the Sheriff that I recall was the proposal by one gentleman of his wife as Sheriff; but it did not seem to the City Council necessary to consult anybody before declining the nomination.

J. W. F. HILL

BOOK NOTES

Statistics for Government

Political and Economic Planning, 1957. Pp. 27. 2s. 6d.

THIS pamphlet surveys the statistical information at present available to the Government as a basis for assessing the state of the economy and forecasting future developments. The emphasis is now on the study of broad trends rather than on the collection of detailed information about individual commodities. In this context the pamphlet makes certain suggestions for further improvements in coverage and presentation.

Public Authorities' Stores, Small Plant and Tools Accounting and Control

I.M.T.A., 1957. Pp. vi+117. 15s.

A RESEARCH group of the I.M.T.A. is responsible for this comprehensive study of the problems of stores accounting in the public services. Throughout the study the emphasis is on reconciling economy in administration with the need for adequate control over materials. The appendices contain a description of a mechanised stores accounting system in a large public works department of a county borough, and the text of a detailed questionnaire which was completed by the finance officers of Local Authorities of various types, of gas and electricity boards, and of hospital authorities.

Recent books on public finance

THIS year has witnessed the publication by Shaw and Sons of two important new manuals on internal audit and of a second edition of a standard work on housing finance. All three are written by Mr. W. L. Abernethy, either alone or with the assistance of other contributors.

Internal Audit in Local Authorities and Hospitals (pp. viii+379, 37s. 6d.) provides a practical guide for all who are responsible for controlling receipts and disbursements in these types of public authority. After setting out the relevant statutory provisions, the book deals in some detail with the various matter to be covered by internal audit, such as receipts and

payments, stocks and stores, wages and salaries, and contracts. A chapter on mechanisation is followed by others devoted to the internal audit of hospitals and of the main services for which Local Authorities are responsible.

Internal Audit in the Public Boards (pp. vii+189, 27s. 6d.), for which Mr. Abernethy had the collaboration of Mr. E. N. Judge and Mr. F. W. Johnson, forms a companion to the previous volume and follows the same plan. Chapters on the main aspects of audit work are followed by two on audit in the electricity and gas industries by Mr. Judge and Mr. Johnson respectively.

In the second edition of *Housing Finance and Accounts* (pp. xi+264, 30s.), Mr. Abernethy and Mr. A. R. Holmes provide an authoritative and up-to-date account of the financial and accounting requirements relating to the construction and management of Local Authority housing estates. As well as dealing with subsidies, rents, rates and taxes, the book covers the problems of housing management and accounts, of capital finance, and of negotiating contracts. The chapters on new and expanded towns have been brought up to date.

The Welfare State

By WILLIAM A. ROBSON. Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. 19. 2s. 6d.

IN this twenty-sixth L. T. Hobhouse Memorial Trust Lecture, Professor Robson describes the basic assumptions and history of the welfare state, and its achievements to date. In conclusion, he poses a number of questions, the answers to which will determine its future development.

Le Fonctionnement des Entreprises Nationalisées en France

By M. BOITEUX, etc. Librairie Dalloz, 1956. Pp. 415. No price shown.

IN June, 1955, the Faculty of Law at Grenoble held a colloquium on the French nationalised industries. Some 18 papers were presented and discussed by

professors, representatives of the various industries and trade unionists. This volume contains both the papers and a resumé of the discussions. Legal, management and economic problems of the industries are covered in this most useful work.

Rochester: The Quest for Quality
1890-1925

By BLAKE MCKELVEY. Harvard University Press, Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. xiv+432. 48s.

THIS is the third of the series of volumes chronicling the history of Rochester, New York. It forms an impressive record both of industrial advance and of civic and cultural achievement during an epoch which witnessed the impact of the internal combustion engine, the assimilation of the second-generation Americans, and American participation in a world conflict.

Public Administration

Journal of the Australian Regional Groups (Sydney). 5s. per copy.

THE March, 1957, issue is a special number concerned solely with public enterprise in Australia. Three of the articles deal generally with the public corporation. The other four deal with electricity, water, the rural bank of New

South Wales and the National Airlines Commission.

Administration

Dublin. 15s. for four issues.

AMONG recent numbers of this journal, the one for Winter, 1956-57, deals solely with Organisation and Management in the Public Service. There are articles on Fayol, Follett, Barnard and Simon, and much about Urwick. A most useful number.

Public Service Board—
Commonwealth of Australia

Thirty-Second Report, 1955-56. Canberra.

As usual the Board's report is a most interesting and readable document and to the stranger at least provides a great deal of information on all the aspects of the Commonwealth Civil Service and, in particular, on the work of the Board. Of the staff of the Board, 26 per cent. of its time is concerned with inspection, 22 per cent. with recruitment, and 14 per cent. with arbitration and conditions of service.

There is information about O & M work carried out by the Board in various Departments and some interesting data about recent changes in salaries and conditions.

RECENT GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

The following official publications issued by H.M.S.O. are of particular interest to those engaged in, or studying, public administration. The documents are available in the Library of the Institute.

ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNALS AND
ENQUIRIES, COMMITTEE ON

Appendix I to the minutes of evidence. Memoranda submitted by persons and organisations who did not give oral evidence. pp. 124. 1957. 4s. 6d.

Appendix II to the minutes of evidence. Supplementary memoranda submitted by witnesses who gave oral evidence. pp. 128-87. 2s. 6d.

ADMIRALTY

Explanatory statement on the Navy estimates 1957-58 by the First Lord of the Admiralty. Cmnd. 151. pp. 23. 1957. 1s. 3d.

AGRICULTURAL LAND COMMISSION

Accounts 1955-56. H.C. 114. pp. 15. 1957. 9d.

AIR MINISTRY

Air estimates 1957-58. H.C. 137. pp. 248. 1957. 9s. 6d.

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Air to accompany Air Estimates 1957-58. Cmnd. 149. pp. 9. 1957. 8d.

CENTRAL HEALTH SERVICES COUNCIL

Report for the year ended 31st December, 1956, and Statement by the Minister of Health. H.C. 161. pp. 19. 1957. 1s. 3d.

CENTRAL TRANSPORT CONSULTATIVE
COMMITTEE FOR GREAT BRITAIN

Annual report for the year ended 31st December, 1956. H.C. 123. pp. 14. 1957. 9d.

CHARITY COMMISSIONERS

One hundred and fourth report of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, 1956. pp. 9. 1957. 8d.

CIVIL APPROPRIATION ACCOUNTS,
SESSION 1955-56

Appropriation accounts of the sums granted by Parliament for Civil Services, Classes VI-X, for the year ended 31st March, 1956. H.C. 24. pp. xlviii, 260. 1956. 12s.

CIVIL ESTIMATES 1956-57

Revised supplementary estimate of the further sum required to be voted for the year ended 31st March, 1957, for agricultural and food grants and subsidies: fifteen million six hundred thousand pounds. H.C. 98. pp. 5. 1957. 6d.

Statement of excesses. Sums required to be voted in order to make good excesses on certain grants for Civil Services for the year ended 31st March, 1956: thirty pounds. H.C. 99. pp. 3. 1957. 4d.

CIVIL ESTIMATES 1957-58

Class I: Central government and finance. H.C. 88-I. pp. 108, xvi. 1957. 6s.

Class II: Commonwealth and foreign. H.C. 88-II. pp. 110, xiv. 1957. 6s.

Class III: Home Department, law and justice. H.C. 88-III. pp. 143, xvi. 1957. 6s.

Class IV: Education and broadcasting. H.C. 88-IV. pp. 97, xvi. 1957. 6s.

Class V: Health, housing and local government. H.C. 88-V. pp. 155, xvi. 1957. 7s.

Class VI: Trade, labour and supply. H.C. 88-VI. pp. 118, xvi. 1957. 6s.

Class VII: Common services (works, stationery, etc.). H.C. 88-VII. pp. 105, xvi. 1957. 6s.

Class VIII: Agriculture and food. H.C. 88-VIII. pp. 154, xvi. 1957. 7s.

Class IX: Transport, power, and industrial research. H.C. 88-IX. pp. 111, xvi. 1957. 6s.

Class X: Pensions, National Insurance and National Assistance. H.C. 88-X. pp. 58, xvi. 1957. 4s. 6d.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

RECENT GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

- CIVIL ESTIMATES AND ESTIMATES FOR THE REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, 1957-58**
Memorandum by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury and Tables. H.C. 88-Memo. pp. 43. 1957. 2s. 6d.
Index. H.C. 88-Ind. pp. 36. 1957. 2s.
- CIVIL SERVICE NATIONAL WHITLEY COUNCIL**
Reorganisation Committee: final report. pp. 13. 1921, reprinted 1956. 2s.
- COAL INDUSTRY NATIONALISATION ACT, 1946**
Account 1955-56. H.C. 145. pp. 9. 1957. 8d.
- COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION**
Report and accounts for 1956. H.C. 151. pp. v, 57. 1957. 3s.
Report includes details of eight new projects—Amalgamated Engineering Co. Ltd., Nigeria, Coastal Hotels Ltd., Kenya, etc.—with an index to these.
- COLONIAL OFFICE**
Appointments in Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service and other appointments in Colonial and overseas territories. pp. 83. Bibliog. 1957. 3s.
The East Africa High Commission. Annual report 1956. Colonial No. 331. pp. 87. Illus. 1957. 6s.
Colonial No. 329—Malta: interim report of the Economic Commission. pp. 37. 1957. 1s. 9d.
Colonial No. 332—Malta: report of the Economic Commission. pp. 35. 1957. 1s. 6d.
Colonial No. 330. Report of the Federation of Malaya Constitutional Commission, 1957. pp. 112. 1957. 8s.
Report of the Singapore Constitutional Conference held in London in March and April, 1957. Cmd. 147. pp. 19. 1957. 1s.
- COMMISSIONERS OF CROWN LANDS**
Abstract accounts, 1955-56. H.C. 65. pp. 9. 1957. 8d.
- CORONA**
March-June, 1957. 1s. 6d. monthly.
- COUNCIL OF EUROPE, CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY**
European conference of local authorities: documents and texts adopted. First session, 12th-14th January, 1957. pp. iii, 64. 1957. 3s. 6d.
- DEFENCE, MINISTRY OF**
Defence: outline of future policy. Cmd. 124. pp. 10. 1957. 9d.
Defence statistics 1957-58. Cmd. 130. pp. 7. 1957. 6d.
Ministry of Defence estimate 1957-58. H.C. 87. pp. 19. 1957. 1s. 3d.
- DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE FOR SCOTLAND**
Agriculture in Scotland. The report of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland for 1956. Cmd. 145. pp. 106. 11 illus. 1957. 5s.
- DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH FOR SCOTLAND**
Housing return for Scotland, 31st March, 1957. Cmd. 156. pp. 15. 1957. 1s.
National Health Service Superannuation Scheme—allocation of pension: explanatory memorandum with tables prepared by the Government Actuary. pp. 25. 1957. 1s.
Report of the Department of Health for Scotland 1956. Cmd. 140. pp. 147. 1957. 5s. 6d.
- DEPARTMENT OF SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH**
Report of the National Physical Laboratory for 1956. pp. vii, 104. Illus. 1957. 5s.
- DEVELOPMENT FUND**
Accounts 1955-56. H.C. 66. pp. 13. 1957. 9d.
- DIGEST OF COLONIAL STATISTICS**
March-April, 1957. 6s. monthly.
- DIGEST OF SCOTTISH STATISTICS**
April, 1957. Monthly. 4s.
- ECONOMIC TRENDS**
February-May, 1957. 2s. 6d. monthly.
- EDUCATION, MINISTRY OF**
Memorandum on the Ministry of Education estimates, 1957-58. Cmd. 99. pp. 8. 1957. 6d.
The supply and training of teachers for technical colleges. Report of a Special Committee appointed by the Minister of Education in September, 1956. pp. xiv, 67. 1957. 4s.
- ESTIMATES FOR REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, 1957-58**
Estimates for revenue departments for the year ending 31st March, 1958. H.C. 88-XI. pp. 75, xvi. 1957. 4s. 6d.
- FOREIGN OFFICE**
Miscellaneous No. 8 (1957)—First annual report of the Council of Association between the U.K. Government and the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community (with annexes), 17th November, 1955, to 31st December, 1956. Cmd. 116. pp. 23. 1957. 1s. 3d.
- FORESTRY COMMISSION**
Report on forest research for the year ended March, 1956. pp. vii, 172. Tabs. 1957. 6s.
- GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE**
Statistical review of England and Wales for the year 1955: Part II. Tables. Civil. pp. x, 191. 1957. 7s. 6d.
Statistical review of England and Wales for the year 1954: Part III. Commentary. pp. xii, 227. 1957. 8s.
- HEALTH, MINISTRY OF, AND CENTRAL HEALTH SERVICES COUNCIL**
Interim report of the Committee on Hospital Supplies. pp. 15. 1957. 9d.
- HOME OFFICE**
Inquiry into certain allegations made by the Civil Service Union relating to the Carlisle and District State Management Scheme. Report by Mr. C. S. Burt, Q.C. Cmd. 168. pp. 18. 1957. 1s.
Prisons and Borstals. Statement of policy and practice in the administration of Prisons and Borstal Institutions in England and Wales. pp. 99. 16 illus. Revised edition, 1957. 5s.
- Third edition of report published in 1945. Mr. Herbert Morrison's original foreword is printed as an introduction to this revised and expanded edition. A very full account of prison and Borstal conditions is given.
Royal Fine Art Commission. Fourteenth report for 1955 and 1956. Cmd. 70. pp. 19., 1957. 1s.
- HOSPITAL ENDOWMENTS FUND**
Account for the year ended 31st March, 1956. H.C. 94. pp. 11. 1957. 8d.
- HOUSE OF COMMONS, STANDING COMMITTEE B**
Minutes of proceedings on the National Insurance Bill. H.C. 140. pp. 5. 1957. 6d.
- HOUSING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT, MINISTRY OF**
Housing return for England and Wales, 31st March, 1957. Cmd. 155. pp. 7. 1957. 6d. (Appendix, 3s.)
Local government. Functions of County Councils and County District Councils in England and Wales. Cmd. 161. pp. 8. 1957. 8d.
Model bylaws series IV: buildings (1953 edition). pp. 80. 1953. Reprinted 1957. 3s.
Model bylaws, series XIV: cemeteries. pp. 4. 1957. 4d.
Public cleansing: refuse collection and disposal: street cleansing: costing returns 1955-56. pp. 56. 1957. 5s.
Publicity for local government. Final report. pp. 16. 1950. Reprinted 1956. 1s.
- JOURNAL OF AFRICAN ADMINISTRATION**
April, 1957. Quarterly. 2s. 6d. each issue.
- LABOUR AND NATIONAL SERVICE, MINISTRY OF**
Industrial Courts Act, 1919. Report of a Court of Inquiry into the dispute between employers who are members of the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation and workmen who are members of Trade Unions affiliated to the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. Cmd. 160. pp. 26. 1957. 1s. 3d.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Industrial Disputes Tribunal Award No. 963.—Observance of recognised terms and conditions of employment in respect of their Town Clerk by the Newcastle upon Tyne Corporation. pp. 5. 1957. 6d.

Report of a Court of Inquiry into the causes and circumstances of a dispute at Briggs Motor Bodies Limited, Dagenham, existing between the Ford Motor Company Limited and members of the Trade Unions represented on the Trade Union side of the Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee. Cmnd. 131. pp. 35. 1957. 1s. 6d.

Report of a Court of Inquiry into the causes and circumstances of a dispute between the British Overseas Airways Corporation and the Merchant Navy and Airline Officers' Association. Cmnd. 105. pp. 18. 1957. 1s.

LEGAL AID AND ADVICE ACT, 1949

Report of Law Society on legal aid under the Legal Aid and Advice Act, 1949. pp. vi, 201. 1956. 7s. 6d.

Account, 1955-56. H.C. 146. pp. 8. 1957. 6d.

LOCAL LOANS FUND

Accounts, 1955-56. H.C. 106. pp. 9. 1957. 8d.

LORD CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE

Sixth report of the Law Society on the operation and finance of Part I of the Legal Aid and Advice Act, 1949, and the comments and recommendations made by the Advisory Committee. pp. 58. 1957. 3s.

LORD PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

Forestry, agriculture and marginal land. A report by the Natural Resources (Technical) Committee. pp. v, 67. 1957. 4s.

MENTAL ILLNESS

Royal Commission on the law relating to mental illness and mental deficiency, 1954-57. Report. Cmnd. 169. pp. x, 306. Folding table. 1957. 10s. 6d.

Commission examines attitude to mental illness and to certification, administrative organisation of mental health service. Recommends abolition of Board of Control and of Board-

appointed Visitors. Draws attention to need for new legislation in this field.

MONOPOLIES AND RESTRICTIVE PRACTICES COMMISSION

Report on the supply and exports of electrical and allied machinery and plant. H.C. 42. pp. vi, 353. 2 folding tabs. 1957. 11s. 6d.

MONTHLY DIGEST OF STATISTICS

February-April, 1957. 5s. monthly.

NATIONAL COAL BOARD

Report and accounts for 1956. Volume I—Reports; Volume II—Accounts and statistical tables. H.C. 176-I, 176-II. 1957. 5s. and 7s. 6d.

NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE ACTS, 1946 to 1952

Accounts, 1955-56. H.C. 130. pp. vii, 41. Folding tabs. 1957. 3s.

NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE (SCOTLAND) ACTS, 1947 to 1952

Accounts, 1955-56. H.C. 131. pp. iv, 27. 1957. 2s.

NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT, 1946

Sixth interim report by the Government Actuary for the year ended 31st March, 1956. H.C. 172. pp. 6. 1957. 6d.

NATIONAL PARKS COMMISSION

National Park Guides, No. 1—Dartmoor. pp. xi, 67. Illus., folding map in pocket. 1957. 5s.

NATIONAL RESEARCH DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

Report and statement of accounts for the year 1st July, 1955 to 30th June, 1956. H.C. 107. pp. 16. 1957. 1s.

NAVY APPROPRIATION ACCOUNT

Appropriation Account of the sums granted by Parliament for the year ended 31st March, 1956. . . . (In continuation of H.C. 172 of 1955-56.) H.C. 67. pp. ix, 46. 1957. 2s. 6d.

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1957-58

H.C. 138. pp. 318. 1957. 11s. 6d.

RECENT GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

NEW TOWNS ACTS, 1946 and 1955

Accounts, 1955-56. H.C. 171. pp. vi, 317. 1957. 13s.

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANISATION, INFORMATION DIVISION

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. pp. 76. Charts. Fifth edition. 1957. 2s.

NORTH OF SCOTLAND HYDRO-ELECTRIC BOARD

Report and accounts, 1st January, 1956, to 31st December, 1956. H.C. 77. pp. 71. 1957. 4s.

ORGANISATION FOR EUROPEAN ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION, PARIS

The training of workers within the factory: survey of industrial in-plant training programmes in seven European countries. Project No. 179. pp. 90. 1957. 6s.

POWER, MINISTRY OF, AND SCOTTISH OFFICE

Capital investment in the coal, gas and electricity industries. Cmnd. 132. pp. 10. 1957. 8d.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS, COMMITTEE OF

First report from the Committee, session 1956-57—Excess votes. H.C. 93. pp. 3. 1957. 4d.

Second report from the Committee, session 1956-57—Virement between votes of Service Departments, session 1956-57. H.C. 190. pp. 3. 1957. 4d.

ROAD FUND

Accounts, 1955-56. H.C. 68. 1957. 6d.

ROYAL NAVAL PRIZE FUND

Account, 1955-56. H.C. 113. pp. 2. 1957. 4d.

SCOTTISH EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Education in Scotland in 1956. A report of the Secretary of State for Scotland. Cmnd. 162. pp. 144. 1957. 5s. 6d.

SCOTTISH HEALTH SERVICES COUNCIL

Report of the Scottish Health Services Council, 1956. pp. 18. 1957. 1s.

SCOTTISH HOME DEPARTMENT

Criminal statistics, Scotland, 1956. Statistics relating to police apprehensions and criminal proceedings for the year 1956. Cmnd. 157. pp. 55. 1957. 3s. 6d.

Industry and employment in Scotland and Scottish roads report, 1956. Cmnd. 125. pp. 54. 1957. 3s.

Report of Her Majesty's Inspector of Fire Services for Scotland for 1956. Cmnd. 152. pp. 16. 1957. 9d.

Return of rates in Scotland, 1955-56 and 1956-57; rateable values, 1956-57; population and area, 1956. pp. 15. 1957. 1s.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ESTIMATES

Development Areas. Third special report. Session 1956-57. H.C. 135. pp. 9. 1957. 8d.

Works and buildings of the service departments—Observations of the Secretary of State for War on the third report of the Select Committee . . . ; Ministry of Works, Directorate General of Works—Observations of the Lords Commissioners of H.M. Treasury and the Minister of Works on the fifth report of the Select Committee on Estimates in Session 1955-56. Second special report. H.C. 102. pp. 9. 1957. 8d.

Index to the second report. Session 1956-57. H.C. 34-Index. pp. 6. 1956. 9d.

Index to the third report. Session 1956-57. H.C. 60-Index. pp. 10. 1957. 1s. 3d.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON PROCEDURE

First report from the Committee. H.C. 110. pp. x, 63. 1957. 4s.

SOUTH OF SCOTLAND ELECTRICITY BOARD

Report and accounts, 1956, including the report of the Electricity Consultative Council for the South of Scotland District. H.C. 104. pp. vi, 49. 1957. 3s. 6d.

TRADE, BOARD OF

Monopolies and Restrictive Practices Acts, 1948 and 1953. Annual report for the year ending 31st December, 1956. H.C. 97. pp. 30. 1957. 1s. 4d.

TRANSPORT AND CIVIL AVIATION, MINISTRY OF

Report on the administration of the Road

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Fund for the year 1955-56. pp. 25. 1957. 4s. 6d.

TRANSPORT USERS' CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE FOR SCOTLAND

Annual report for the year ended 31st December, 1956. H.C. 124. pp. 9. 1957. 8d.

TRANSPORT USERS' CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE FOR WALES AND MONMOUTHSHIRE

Annual report for the year ended 31st December, 1956. H.C. 125. pp. 8. 1957. 8d.

TREASURY

Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom and Export-Import Bank of Washington dated 25th February, 1957, providing for a line of credit not to exceed \$500,000,000. Cmnd. 104. pp. 10. 1957. 8d.

Disabled persons in government employment. Cmnd. 90. pp. 2. 1957. 3d.

Financial statement (1957-58). H.C. 134. pp. 30. 1957. 1s. 9d.

Preliminary estimates of national income and expenditure, 1951-56. Cmnd. 123. pp. 12. 1957. 9d.

Public income and expenditure for the year ended 31st March, 1957. H.C. 160. pp. 8. 1957. 6d.

Staffs employed in government departments . . . on 1st January, 1957. Cmnd. 89. pp. 3. 1957. 4d.

Staffs employed in government departments . . . on 1st April, 1957. Cmnd. 184. pp. 2. 1957. 4d.

United Kingdom balance of payments, 1946-56 (No. 2). Cmnd. 122. pp. 55. 1957. 2s. 3d.

University Grants Committee. University development: interim report on the years 1952 to 1956. Cmnd. 79. pp. 25. 1957. 1s. 3d.

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS

Account of all sums received from and paid to the trustees during the year ended 20th November, 1956. pp. 4. 1957. 4d.

UNESCO

International bibliography of political science: Vol. IV. pp. 309. 1957. 30s.

Publications from more countries have been included in this fourth volume than in previous volumes. Classification has been revised, and titles grouped according to subject rather than country.

International bibliography of sociology: Vol. V. pp. 293. 1957. 30s.

Bibliography is one item in the general programme of the Internal Committee for Social Science Documentation which was set up in 1950 with help of U.N.E.S.C.O. to encourage development of "all bibliographical and documentary activities relating to the social sciences." Special attention is paid in this volume to official government publications.

UNITED KINGDOM

ATOMIC ENERGY AUTHORITY

Balance sheet of the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority as at 31st March, 1956. . . . (In continuation of House of Commons Paper No. 283 of 1955-56.) H.C. 170. pp. 7. 1957. 6d.

WAR OFFICE

Memorandum of the Secretary of State for War relating to the Army Estimates, 1957-58. Cmnd. 150. pp. 19. Folding map. 1957. 2s.

WORKS, MINISTRY OF

Building Apprenticeship and Council. Final report. pp. 93. 1957. 4s.

Do We Need Government Information Services?

By T. FIFE CLARK, C.B.E.

This talk was given on 11th March, 1957, in the Institute's series of lecture-discussions on "Basic Questions in Government To-day." Mr. Fife Clark is Director General of the Central Office of Information.

THE title I have been given for this talk is "Do We Need Government Information Services?" I accept this under protest! It seems to me that in 1957, after more than ten years with a Central Office of Information and almost a whole generation of experience of Departmental Press and Public Relations Divisions, the question is not whether, or even why, but how and how much. I will try to explain *why*, and say something about *how*; but hope that no one will expect me, at a time when the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in his new capacity as co-ordinator of Government Information Services is carrying out an enquiry into the volume and disposition of overseas expenditure in this field, to be very definite about *how much*.* As a preliminary to discussion, I will offer a few generalisations and give a brief history of information work as a specialised function of government both at home and abroad, and some account of principles and practices as I see them, and of the current organisation of this work in a Government Department and for the Government as a whole.

The Growth of Government Information Services

What we are concerned with tonight is a deliberate, sustained, and comprehensive effort to collect and issue official news and explanation. Giving and getting information has, of course, always been a part of government—a normal function of Departments at home and of diplomatic missions abroad. The growth of specialised machinery for this purpose has been due to a tremendous increase in people's need for information and capacity to imbibe it—due largely to the widening impact of public schemes and to universal education—coinciding with intensive expansion of the means of dissemination. We have seen, in the last 35 years, the birth of radio and of sound films, the development of colour photography and other techniques of visual reproduction, newspapers and magazines with greatly increased circulations finding more "news value" in public affairs, and generally an immense growth in the producing and distributing mechanisms of publicity

White Paper on *Overseas Information Services* (Command 225) published in July, 1957, following a Ministerial inquiry, concluded: "Britain's full influence can be exercised only if we are prepared to devote enough effort and resources to ensuring that the peoples of other countries have every opportunity to understand our ideas, our policies and our objectives. Furthermore, we shall strengthen our economic position only if our efforts include vigorous salesmanship overseas." The White Paper announced an expansion of the order of 15 per cent. in terms of annual revenue expenditure—i.e., a total of £15,000,000 a year compared with £13,000,000 currently expended—as "necessary to maintain Britain's Information Services at a level consistent with our world-wide responsibility and to ensure the necessary reinforcement of our national policies and our associations in the defence of the free world."

culminating in the arrival of television with its still only partly developed power of combined appeal to eye and ear. Now we stand on the threshold of an age of colour television. This growth in the media of mass communication has been accompanied by a vast increase in the size and complexity of the units of Industry and Government and an ever advancing pace of central and local government machines.

In short, as the public's need for information has increased, so have the means of both stimulating and satisfying it.

The first use by Government of a specialised information service was probably in 1912 after the passing of the National Insurance Act when, on the instructions of Mr. Lloyd George, the Insurance Commission organised a corps of lecturers to explain the new legislation to employers and workers in all parts of the country. Mr. Lloyd George accepted, as Sir Kingsley Wood did at the Post Office and the Ministry of Health more than 20 years later, that the provision of information to the public is an integral part of modern administration and that every large organisation serving the public needs a public relations policy and machinery to carry it out. If you look at later history, two points stand out:

- (1) The first Departments to have Information Officers were the Social Departments which had daily contact with the general public—e.g., the Post Office, the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Labour—and the last were the Departments concerned with trade and finance.
- (2) The organisations set up in the first place were Press Offices to deal with enquiries but these later developed, in the 30s and still more the 40s, into what were usually called Public Relations Divisions, trying not only to meet the needs of Press and B.B.C. but also making use of other forms of publicity as a means of implementing departmental policy.

The Ministry of Health set up a Housing Information Office in 1919. By 1939, before the outbreak of war and formation of a Ministry of Information, there were Public Relations Divisions in almost all the Social Service Departments and a Chief Press Liaison Officer at 10 Downing Street. In the meantime there had been the very interesting experiment, between 1926 and 1933, of the Empire Marketing Board which used part of its Government grant of £1,000,000 a year for publicising the Board's aims and the Empire's resources through films, posters and exhibitions. One of the most lasting efforts of the Empire Marketing Board was the creation of the Central Film Library which is now run by the Central Office of Information; but the E.M.B. Film Unit, after a very productive life under that name and later as the G.P.O. Film Unit and the Crown Film Unit, died in 1952.

Sir Stephen Tallents, the Secretary of the Empire Marketing Board, was an administrator whose great achievement was that he made use of publicists and creative artists of high talent to make the work and scope of the Empire Marketing Board "come alive" in the minds of the public. He continued this policy later while Public Relations Officer of the Post Office in the middle '30s, collecting together a number of pioneers of the documentary film movement, including John Grierson, Cavalcanti, Basil Wright and Len Lye. You will remember that it was in this period that *Night Mail*, with commentary

by W. H. Auden and musical sound-track by Benjamin Britten, was produced; and both then and later as the Crown Film Unit this organisation made a tremendous contribution to the documentary film story. Some of these films are still being regularly shown in many parts of the world.

The Ministry of Food is the only Department which was born with a full-scale Public Relations Division. Popular education played a fundamental rôle in the schemes prepared by Sir Henry French's Food Defence Plans Department in 1938, even before Lord Woolton took charge, and in securing public confidence in rationing and food policy generally when the war came.

The Post-War System

The post-war system established when the Ministry of Information came to an end is founded on the statement made to Parliament announcing the formation of the Central Office of Information in 1946, that information services had an important and permanent part to play in the machinery of government under modern conditions. This declaration went on to say—and here in this sentence are the objectives of our official information services:

"It is essential to good administration under a democratic system that the public shall be adequately informed about the many matters in which Government action directly impinges on their daily lives and it is, in particular, important that a true and adequate picture of British policy, British institutions and the British way of life shall be presented overseas."

Three years later an official committee under the chairmanship of Sir Henry French which enquired into the working of the home information services confirmed this conclusion. "The justification for some Government information services is beyond question," said the report. "The citizen has a right to be told, and the Government has a plain duty to tell him, what it is doing in his name, and with his money, and why."

Then in 1949 came the Treasury's decision to set up a new class of the Civil Service, the Information Officer Class. This was an important event, resulting in the establishment of some 250 men and women—Press officers, artists, book editors, film, advertising, exhibition and other specialists. The Information Officer Class has been adopted by all Home Departments and all the Overseas Departments except the Foreign Office.

The Overseas Information Services

Overseas, the effect of the development of mass communication had been that governments—the British certainly not among the first—no longer limited their interest to the small official world with which their diplomatic representatives overseas were in personal contact but began to try to influence public opinion in other countries towards understanding and supporting their foreign policies. A powerful machine established in the later stages of the first world war was scrapped as soon as the fighting was over; but in the 1920s, just about the time when the first press officers had started work in Whitehall, the Foreign Office appointed one or two press attachés to the more important Embassies and established the British Library of Information in New York.

Not until the 1930s were any serious steps taken to compete in a field in which other countries, notably Germany and Italy, were already active. In 1932 the Empire Service of the British Broadcasting Corporation was started and this was the core around which the External Broadcasting Services were built; in 1934 the British Council came into being and on the outbreak of war in September, 1939, a fully fledged Ministry of Information was created.

The report of the independent committee under the chairmanship of the Earl of Drogheda which made a thorough investigation of the overseas information services in 1952-53 was on the same lines as those of other enquiries into the official information services. "At first," said the members of the Committee, in their report published in 1954 "we were inclined to be sceptical about the value of activities which are still comparatively new and have been the subject of much criticism. Moreover, we could not but feel suspicious of this invasion by Government of a field which in the not very distant past could be left to non-official agencies. Nevertheless, we have found it impossible to avoid the conclusion that a modern Government has to concern itself with public opinion abroad and be properly equipped to deal with it."

Thus through the Drogheda Report, the principles of which were accepted by Sir Winston Churchill's Government, overseas information services were formally confirmed as part of the normal apparatus of modern diplomacy, with the triple objectives of helping to support the nation's foreign policy, strengthen the Commonwealth and increase our foreign trade.

So much for the *why* of this information business. I submit on the evidence I have quoted that for some years now it has been agreed—yes, even, by a large majority vote, in Fleet Street—that every Government has both a need and a duty to give out information as fully, promptly and regularly as possible, abroad as well as at home, and that this cannot be done without special organisation and staff.

How Government Information Services Work

I would like now to make a few observations on the question of *how*, with particular reference to the home services.

On the general principles of governmental and departmental public relations, the object must be threefold—to:

- (1) Supply the day-to-day needs of the Press, the B.B.C., I.T.V. and other normal news channels as fully and promptly as is practicable.
- (2) Ensure that every official announcement is considered before issue from the point of view of how it will look to press and public. The administrators and executive officers concerned with the statement know what it means, because the whole matter is very familiar to them already—but will the public understand it? Are the facts plainly stated? What questions will the newspapers ask?
- (3) Use paid-for publicity when this is clearly essential for administrative purposes—e.g., press advertisements, posters, films, leaflets and so on, to recruit men and women for the Regular Forces and Civil Defence;

for health education; to teach road safety; to explain new legislation such as the National Insurance, National Health Service, Housing and Planning Acts.

It is necessary to organise a flow of information out of and into the Department for two reasons. The first is that information oils the wheels of administration—it is easier and more effective to deal with reasonably well informed people. The second is that the Press and the radio and television corporations are always seeking news and some of this only official authorities can supply. Press and broadcasting are free agencies—free in two senses: their space and time costs the Department nothing but they are free to use official information or not use it and to publish it in a form which they themselves decide. Members of the general public for their part need information—which they can get either individually and directly or through mass publicity channels—in two capacities: as householders, traders and consumers who have to find their way around a complicated world, and as citizens who need facts so that they can understand what is going on and form their own opinions.

Any problem of publicity, whatever its size and nature, can best be approached by first getting clear answers to three questions—and these questions must be discussed with the Information Division in good time by the officers responsible for policy and its execution:

- (1) What has the Department got to say—i.e., what is the *Message*?
- (2) To whom do you need to give this information—i.e., what is the *Audience*?
- (3) How can you get that Message to that Audience most quickly, clearly and cheaply—i.e., what *Media of Communication* should be used?

There is also the very important question of timing. Too often the Administrator tells the Publicist that it must be "Today" or "Tomorrow." The timing should be carefully discussed. It ought to be the best possible for Department, newspapers and public but the rights of Parliament may be involved also, and account must be taken of the fact that some kinds of publicity take a little time to arrange. Then when these questions have been answered, decisions can be taken about the general lines and details of presentation in the various forms of publicity which are to be used.

It follows from this, I think, that there are three Golden Rules for the Information Officer:

Know Your Message—all about the Department, its business, its officers, their problems and policies.

Study Your Audience—what and where it is, its way of life, its troubles and worries, what it needs to know, how much it knows already, how much more it is likely to be able to absorb. Of course the audience for a particular message may not be the whole population but a section of it—the farmers, factory workers, motorists, house- or landowners, parents, employers or school-leavers.

Understand the Media of Publicity—the information man must be master, though still student, of the technology of his business. There are the newspapers, radio, television, and the publicity you must pay for such as

press advertisements, posters, films, exhibitions and leaflets. I would say myself that taken together newspapers, magazines, radio and television probably account for more than 80 per cent. of the knowledge of current affairs among ordinary men and women in this country; but when a Department has an important message which ought to reach people throughout the country, it may not be enough to make use of the free agencies. In a publicity campaign it is necessary to play every instrument in the orchestra—advertisements, films, posters, exhibitions and so on. These make it possible to repeat information which does not keep its news value long enough to be sustained in the editorial columns. Paid-for publicity also enables the Department to present its message in full and in its own way.

Organisation of an Information Division in a Government Department

In an average Department of the Government the Information or Public Relations Division—either name is used—is divided into three sections headed by a Chief Information Officer.

The first is the Press Office, which supplies news and explanation to the newspapers, magazines, specialist journals, cinema newsreels, radio and television at home and to the Overseas Departments for use abroad. It arranges distribution of summaries of White Papers and other Parliamentary documents, Departmental reports and statements and answers the questions which come in almost every minute not only from national and provincial newspapers in this country but also from the London representatives of newspapers in the Commonwealth, the United States and other parts of the world. It also arranges facilities for reporters and photographers to get their own stories—through visits to Government establishments and interviews with experts—and organises occasional press conferences at which the Minister or a leading official makes a statement and answers questions.

It may be asked—one newspaper has often raised this point and it is a fair one—whether it is really necessary to have a special office to deal with press enquiries. Could we not go back to the good old system of direct access to the official responsible for the subject in which the journalist is interested? This is of course the right system for small organisations, and it was the only one which existed in some parts of Whitehall in the peace of the early 30s. Then it was usually possible for a journalist during a personal call at a Department to identify and secure access to the officer who could answer his questions: but this process took most of an afternoon and in that time a Press Officer now answers at least a score of enquiries made by telephone.

It was newspapermen themselves who asked for the canalisation of press inquiries, because as Government became at once more complicated and more newsworthy, they found it increasingly difficult to get the information they wanted in the time they could spare. The single-channel system is the only one which is workable in modern conditions but it is the Department's duty to see that information flows constantly along it. The Information Officer must also open direct channels between the Press and "top management" as often as he can. In fact officials in central and local government, as in industry, are having to devote a large and increasing amount of time to press,

broadcasting and publicity matters, even though they are unable to handle 40 or 50 journalists and a few camera crews every time their organisation hits the headlines.

It is not an easy job to run a Press Office—to stand exposed to questions on any subject within the field of the whole Department, from any journalist at any time of the day or night, seven days a week. His is work which moves at the speed of news. At every hour there are editions hurrying to press and radio bulletins being prepared.

Moreover, a Press Officer is subject to certain occupational risks, including the lingering tendency to confuse spokesman with announcement—you will recall how, in the Middle Ages, kings ordered the execution of heralds who brought bad news! This is never a job which can be done comfortably. Certainly it cannot be done efficiently unless the Press Officer's internal and external relationships are right. He must know most of the press men personally, appreciate their needs, habits and way of looking at things and be known to them as a man who does his best to get the information they want even if he does not always succeed.

What the Information Division asks of the rest of the office is that they should understand and sympathise with the needs of the Press Office; forgive it for making mistakes and for being a nuisance at busy times; and remember that above all else the Press Officer needs warning in good time about action likely to be taken and policies being changed. Discussion—confidential and provisional—ought to start well in advance of the time when a situation will be reached enabling a public statement to be made.

The second section of the Information Division is the Publicity Section, handling films, posters, leaflets, press advertising and other paid-for material. It works in close co-operation with the Central Office of Information and in many cases with Local Authorities.

The third section of the Division is usually an Intelligence or Briefing Section, which collects information in and about the Department and feeds it in a roughly processed form to the Press and publicity sections and to the Reference Division of the C.O.I. for use overseas. In some Departments, the Public Relations Division also has charge of the Public Enquiry Rooms, and in at least one, of the General Library.

In short, the Information Division offers a common service of publicity advice and machinery which can be used not only by the Department as a whole but also by particular sections of it. For instance, publicity techniques can often help in internal relations, which are the responsibility of Establishments Division. We have done something at the Central Office of Information to help the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance to explain how the detailed work of a Clerical Officer at the Newcastle Headquarters fits into the national scheme. And of course external publicity influences staff attitudes. Every postman walks with a lighter step after seeing *Night Mail*.

Overall Organisation of the Government Information Services

Since information is an integral part of each Department's policy and activities for which the appropriate Minister is answerable to Parliament, each Minister must have responsibility for information policy. The execution

of information policy is carried out in this way—each Ministerial Department whether home or overseas, is responsible for its dealings with the national press and the broadcasting authorities, but for paid-for publicity of all kinds and for regional services it looks to the Central Office of Information, which has its own Vote of funds from Parliament. Information work is thus carried out from the Department's own base but assisted and supplemented by a common service of publicity advice and production. In this country the C.O.I. also provides a distribution service, Photographs Library and Central Film Library. Abroad, it delivers daily radio press services and a wide range of other material to about 100 information posts in the major Embassies, High Commission Offices and Colonies throughout the free world. Here the material is handled and distributed in accordance with local judgement and opportunities by Information Officers who are employed by the Foreign Office, the Commonwealth Relations Office, the Colonial Office and Colonial Governments.

The role of the Central Office of Information

The External Services of the B.B.C. and the British Council also have most important parts to play in the projection of Britain overseas. It is not for me to describe the activities of these two great organisations; and I can do no more than give a very brief account of the organisation and work of the C.O.I. as the non-Ministerial Department which provides information material and services for all other Departments of the Government.

The advantages of centralised production, as set down by a number of committees of enquiry during the past few years, are that not only is it more economical but it also ensures a high standard of quality over the whole range of Government Departments (the C.O.I. has more than 40 customers, of varying types and sizes) and better control and accounting of total expenditure. This does not affect the staffing of Press Offices—the pooling of press services is rarely a practicable proposition, although in a few countries all Departmental information staffs are outposted from a Ministry of Information—but it means that the publicity sections of Whitehall Departments do not need to be staffed by highly specialised officers but are headed in nearly every case by a general publicity man. The C.O.I. on the other hand is organised on a craft basis and staffed by specialists grouped in divisions. These are responsible for films—made for television as well as cinema and special showings—press material for overseas, exhibitions, photographs and photographic displays, reference material, books, magazines and pamphlets, press and poster advertising and leaflets. In addition there are the Regional Offices and the Welsh Office which provide a common service for Departments in the provinces. Then there is the Social Survey Division, a research unit which supplies Government Departments with social facts and figures obtained on a sampling basis direct from the public; and a Tours and Facilities Section which, with the help of the Regional officers, Local Authorities and industrial managements in all parts of the country, takes care of official parties of visitors (usually local government leaders, government officials, journalists and trade unionists) brought here by the Foreign Office, Commonwealth Relations Office and Colonial Office to see Britain and its

people for themselves. A Distribution and Shipping Section despatches to Embassies and Commonwealth Posts all over the world not only all the publicity material produced by C.O.I. but also supplies of British newspapers, periodicals, and industrial publications. The Colonial Office, Commonwealth Relations Office and C.O.I. staffs devote a great deal of time to the training of Information Officers from overseas, particularly Africa and Asia where—as I am sure members of the Royal Institute of Public Administration will agree—it is of great importance that the young information services should grow up with a knowledge of British principles and practice.

The Central Office of Information supplies material and services of all kinds other than for sound broadcasting from the United Kingdom—which is the responsibility of the B.B.C. External Services—and covers all subjects except the purely cultural (the responsibility of the British Council). Thus the overseas information services consist of three agencies working with four Ministerial Departments (Foreign, Commonwealth Relations and Colonial Offices and Board of Trade). In 1954 the Drogheda Committee commented:

“For anybody who approaches the Information Services from outside the first impression is likely to be one of bewilderment at the complexity of the organisation and its lack of any central direction. One seeks in vain for any individual or Department in a position to lay down an overall policy for our propaganda overseas or able to decide in what manner the resources available for propaganda can be deployed to best advantage. In fact, there is nothing which constitutes a ‘High Command’ for overseas propaganda. With the existing pattern of Ministerial responsibility in which a number of Ministers have some responsibility for different aspects of the work, no such overall control over policy and its execution is possible, except ultimately at Cabinet level. The existing system of decentralised control is based on the principle, which we believe is sound, that since propaganda is an instrument of policy, responsibility for it must be separately vested in the Ministers responsible.”

In Lord Attlee's Government of 1945-50 the Lord President of the Council had a general responsibility for the co-ordination of information services; and under Sir Winston Churchill, Lord Swinton was charged with co-ordination of home information. The first appointment in peace-time, however, of a Cabinet Minister responsible for the co-ordination of Government Information Services overseas as well as at home, and devoting most of his time to that work, was that of Dr. Charles Hill, appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in January 1957. Responsibility still rests with individual Ministers for the information policy, expenditure and output of their own Departments.

Some Criticisms—Are They Justified?

At this point, having given a brief account of the *how* of the official information services, I would like to deal shortly—there will be further opportunity when we come to the debate—with the main criticisms which from time to time are flung at the system. The first is the question of direct access of the press to officials, which I have already mentioned. Another that it is wrong to have specialised and therefore presumably skilled

Information Officers, because their job is to white-wash the Department. This complaint usually comes from a newspaper which is busily engaged with a bit of black-washing and not at that stage very sensitive to the argument that there are two sides to every case. Of course the object of the Department must be to present a true picture of its policy and actions. The only information worth giving is full and frank information. I say this not simply on ethical but also on practical grounds. Concealment or unnecessary delay in issuing information causes so much more difficulty for the Department, as well as others, than an open and co-operative policy. Whenever they can, people test what they read and hear against what they know from their own evidence and experience, and assess the credit of their informants accordingly. All our home Departments are subjected to this test. The press itself must try to be reasonable—it cannot be given facts which are not available or told about decisions not yet taken—but there is no doubt that far better relations can be founded on a history of honest endeavour to study and meet the newspapers' needs than on a reputation for disinterest and delay. "Publish and be damned!" says the *Daily Mirror* but equally it is possible to publish and be saved.

Then there is the old point about the P.R.O. and Politics. It has been suggested that it is wrong to have specialised Information Officers, because if they do their work well, this redounds to the credit of the Government of the day and so boosts a particular Minister and a particular political party. It has always seemed to me that in this respect an Information Officer is in precisely the same position as any other Departmental officer. His problem is no different from that of every Private Secretary and Permanent Secretary. Years of experience have drawn a clear line—Ministers know it, as well as their officers, and respect it—between official information and party propaganda, between the Departmental occasion and the political platform.

As to the suggestion that a man who competently performs a function which is now agreed to be an essential part of modern administration is doing something which redounds to the credit of the Government of the day and therefore something improper—why, no one suggests that a skilled administrator should not put his best work into a Bill because if it goes well in Parliament and in operation it will be to the credit of the Minister and the Government; or that professional and scientific officers should withhold or dilute their advice for the same reason. Of course the policy which a Department administers and the legislation which it drafts, are bound to have some association with the personality of its Minister and the political ideas of the party in power. But the Information Officer can now rely on the same safeguards as every other Civil Servant. He is a permanent officer, serving successive Ministers and Governments impartially to the best of his ability, sustained not only by his own integrity but by the tradition and practice of the Civil Service as a whole.

Information or Public Relations?

I have mentioned earlier that the Whitehall divisions are sometimes called "Information" and sometimes "Public Relations." Is there any difference between the two terms? The objectives of giving out information are to

meet a demand, and to supply information which the Department wants the public to have. The public relations man, however, would say that the basis of every information policy ought to be a desire to create and maintain goodwill. I am going to assume that very few civil and local government servants, and none in this audience, share the view of William Vanderbilt—"The public be damned"—and that you have a desire to earn goodwill as far as possible and without breach of principle or statute. Therefore you will not disagree with my definition of public relations as an attempt, by continuously providing information and explanation, to get the best possible relationship between an organisation and the public with which it is concerned. Public relations must be a bridge with two-way traffic—helping to provide information to Departments about the public as well as the other way round.

Every Department is different and needs to work out its own information or public relations policy. A few Departments are in the happy position of having no problem at all, because they have no relations with the public. I imagine the National Debt Office is one case. Others have no direct and personal contacts, yet their policies and activities have persistent impact on the whole of the population. In these cases indirect contacts through the channels of mass communication are obviously much more important. In others the relationship is almost exclusively direct—for instance, the National Assistance Board, with its high reputation resting on the friendly as well as efficient way in which its officers deal with old people and others in need; and Customs and Excise, which come into the news only when there is some question about the duty on a gift brought back to this country or a public tantrum by a ballet dancer. Departments with local offices, such as the Post Office, the Ministry of Labour and National Service, and the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance have of course an immense problem of direct public relations but they also figure prominently in the press, radio and publicity picture.

The primary or direct contacts—what our American colleagues call person-to-person—cover a vast area of correspondence and individual dealings which are an integral part of administrative, executive and clerical work. The onus of keeping these contacts as smooth and effective as possible must rest firmly on the officers who make them.

You will remember that in the 30s when the Post Office was reviewing its sales policy and relations with the public, it found that what annoyed most fiercely the customer who came to send a telegram was that usually the pen had a crossed nib and there was no ink in the inkpot; so the first act of the new public relations unit was to take steps to see that in every Post Office the pens and ink were regularly checked. (This was before the age of ballpoints!) Telephone arrangements at switchboard and extensions are obviously among the most important of the primary contacts. An enquirer's mood and memories of a Ministry largely depend on how courteously and quickly he is given his answer, or switched or directed to the officer to whom he needs to speak. In some Departments—they include the Ministry of Housing and Local Government and the Ministry of Labour and National Service—the Public Enquiry Rooms are part of the Public

Relations Division, and these offices sort out telephone calls to branches as well as receive personal callers; but the rest of the great area of contact between staff and public is the responsibility of the Department as a whole, not the Information Officer.

In the same way the "inward" action in the two-way process of public information cannot be a specialists' preserve. Almost every civil servant has his own contacts with the public and with authorities which are able to give him evidence of what people are doing and saying. The Chief Information Officer can offer supplementary intelligence; and it is his duty to keep the rest of the Department promptly informed of what is appearing in newspapers and periodicals, including the correspondence columns and—much more difficult—what is being said and shown on sound radio and T.V.

In quite a few Departments he does more than that. His is the voice which keeps reminding the Department that even if it has a good press and publicity staff, it will not have an effective information service unless it is a good Public Relations Department—and public relations is a spirit and an attitude which ought to run right through the organisation and ensure that a special effort is made to look at things through the customers' end of the telescope.

So my submission to this meeting, Mr. Chairman, is that the provision of information to the public at home and to the people of other countries is now accepted as an essential function of government requiring, in all except small Departments, a specialist staff; but no service of information or public relations—call it which you will—can be effective without the understanding and co-operation of civil servants of every grade.

The Franks Report on Administrative Tribunals and Enquiries

By GEOFFREY MARSHALL

The Report of the Committee on Administrative Tribunals and Enquiries was published in August, 1957 (Cmd. 218, 5s.). Mr. Marshall is now Tutor and Praelector in Politics at The Queen's College, Oxford.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE REPORT

A MODERN DeLolme, innocent of sophistication and coming fresh upon the British constitution in 1957, might be expected to note down two distinct attitudes towards governmental activities. One attitude could be expressed by the propositions that the public interest is best judged by Ministers responsible to Parliament, and that where disputes occur between private and public interest, administrative methods of resolution, subject to a political control, are more apt than judicial methods. As a recent proponent of this view has put it: "The Government must always get its own way if it thinks the matter is sufficiently important, or cease to be the Government: that is a shocking doctrine to Americans and Frenchmen and their camp followers, but it happens to be our system."¹ The other attitude, reduced to its simplest terms, is that despite the existence of Parliament, there are clashes between public and private interests in which it is legitimate to demand as a matter of principle the interposition between responsible ministers and individuals of an independent process of adjudication, and sometimes to make it possible that administrators need not, even if they think it important, have their own way. Our innocent might find the limits of the public interest argument difficult to see. Its logical endpoint (to which he would be unlikely to hear it pushed) might seem to be that where a public authority pursuing public purposes is involved in a dispute it is only as a matter of expediency that an administrator, responsible to a Minister and therefore to Parliament, does not decide the dispute out of hand, and without appeal. Since Parliament has, in fact, provided for many kinds of question to be decided by independent tribunals, whose decisions are binding on Ministers, such a view could hardly be supported. Not, of course, that there are not strong arguments for policy issues to be subject to ultimate governmental decision, but it cannot be right to assume *a priori* that the only avenue for the expression of the public interest is that of ministerial responsibility.

The tension between administrative decision and adjudication and the search for principles of accommodation had already become accepted themes of academic discourse when the Committee on Ministers' Powers was appointed in 1929. As early as 1915, A. V. Dicey, writing in the *Law Quarterly Review* on "The Development of Administrative Law in England,"² had acknowledged the necessity for judicial proceedings and administrative hearings to be governed by different rules. The management of the business of a government department, he said, is not the same thing as the conduct of a trial. In *Arlidge's* case (1915)³ the House of Lords,

reversing the Court of Appeal, had held that in an appeal to the Local Government Board against an order made under a Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909, an objector was not entitled to argue his case orally or to see the inspector's report. The Donoughmore Committee, though it favoured the publication of reports,⁴ did not basically disagree with the philosophy of *Arlidge's* case. Nevertheless the Committee was faced with the task of elucidating the circumstances in which parts of the transaction of business by government departments might be regarded as raising judicial or quasi-judicial disputes to which legal maxims of "natural justice" might apply. The principle which the Committee's report laid down was that where a decision of this kind turned upon the application of administrative policy it ought to be taken by a Minister.⁵ Nevertheless there were certain disputes between departments and individuals in which it was appropriate for decisions to be taken by tribunals since the Minister and the department might appear to have an interest in the outcome of a determination of a quasi-judicial nature. The Committee, it will be remembered, also essayed some definitions of "judicial," "quasi-judicial" and "administrative" which raise further debatable questions. They formulated the distinction between the judicial on the one hand and the quasi-judicial and administrative on the other as turning upon whether the ultimate determination of an issue is made according to rules or by the application of policy. But the problem of defining "policy" and its field of application is merely a way (perhaps the simplest way) of rephrasing the difficulty for the legislator implied in Dicey's contrast between the management of administrative business and the conduct of a trial. Fortunately the Franks Committee has attacked the problem frontally in this way by attempting to delimit "policy" and ignored both the vocabulary of its predecessor and the refinements which litigation has thrown up around the concept "quasi-judicial."

A Departmental Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Oliver Franks, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., C.B.E., was set up on 1st November, 1955. The other members were :

Lord Balfour of Burleigh,
 Roderic Bowen, Q.C., M.P.,
 J. C. Burman,
 Dame Florence Hancock, D.B.E.,
 Douglas Johnston, Q.C., M.P.,
 Sir Geoffrey Stuart King, K.C.B., K.B.E., M.C.,
 The Marquess of Linlithgow, M.C.,
 Major John Morrison, T.D., M.P.,
 Miss K. M. Oswald,
 Lord Justice Parker,
 H. Wentworth Pritchard,
 Charles Russell, Q.C.,
 Lord Silkin,
 Alan Symons,
 Professor Kenneth Wheare, C.M.G.

Its Terms of Reference were :

"To consider and make recommendations on :—

- (a) The constitution and working of tribunals other than the ordinary courts of law, constituted under any Act of Parliament by a Minister of the Crown or for the purposes of a Minister's functions.
- (b) The working of such administrative procedures as include the holding of an enquiry or hearing by or on behalf of a Minister on an appeal or as the result of objections or representations, and in particular the procedure for the compulsory purchase of land."

THE EVIDENCE

Tribunals

On the first part of the Committee's terms of reference the most interesting evidence was given by the Ministries of Education, Agriculture, and Health and by the Treasury-Solicitor. There are clearly a number of ways in which the tribunal field can be mapped or classified. One kind of distinction might be between tribunals deciding issues between citizens (Rent Tribunals or Reinstatement Tribunals, for example) and tribunals deciding issues between citizens and government departments. Another type of grouping might be according to subject matter, e.g., all tribunals dealing with land, or with compensation. A third type of classification might be by status and function. The Treasury Solicitor, in his evidence to the Committee,⁶ attempted a classification of this kind. A tribunal, he conceded, was not always easy to distinguish from a body appointed to inquire on behalf of a minister and conducting itself in a judicial manner. There were nevertheless a group of "characteristic" judicial tribunals in the fields of Rent, Valuation, Insurance and Compensation. Here the Minister ought to have no interest in the outcome of individual determinations beyond his interest in seeing that the relevant Acts are properly administered. But a second group of tribunals might be distinguished in which a standard or discretion is being applied with which the Minister may properly concern himself. Thus in road transport licensing, the Minister may give directions and hold conferences with the chairmen of tribunals at which policy is discussed.⁷ This sort of distinction is not unimportant. Evidence by some departments approached the other extreme of dissociation from tribunal activities. The Ministry of Labour and National Service (according to the memorandum submitted by the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors) refused even to circulate reports of the decisions reached by the appellate tribunal to local tribunals on the ground that the practice would encroach on their independence.⁸ It may be that the differences between tribunals provide an entirely adequate justification for each of these attitudes. But the difficulty of making generalisations about the proper working of tribunals flows directly from the fact that none can be chosen, except by arbitrary choice, as typical. There has, in fact, been some objection to the title "administrative tribunal" on the ground that the adjective under-emphasises independence and suggests ministerial influence.⁹ This is clearly true of the most judicial of the tribunals, but a thorough mapping of the statutory provisions indicates that constitutions of the bodies normally called tribunals could be arranged on a sort of slide. At one end are to be found (1) decisions which are judicial in the strictest sense, which merge

by way of (2) decisions which involve the application of variable standards or discretions, and tribunal decisions which may be conclusive as to fact, but which are completed by a ministerial determination for which a Minister can be held responsible, to (3) mere informative inquiries by persons who are delegates of a Minister and who do not in one sense "decide" anything. A glance through the evidence of the Ministries of Agriculture and Health provides some examples of these differences. For example, under the General Medical and Pharmaceutical Services Regulations (Reg. 10 (4)) the Minister appoints one or more persons to hear an appeal. But this body, as the Ministry of Health witnesses emphasised, is constituted as a way of organising the Minister's work and not for the sake of an independent adjudication. Similarly Agricultural Executive Committees, though they make supervision orders, were said to be "the *alter ego* of the Minister."¹⁰ They exist because he cannot deal with each case personally. Agents of the Minister presumably apply the Minister's policy. An Agricultural Land Tribunal, on the other hand, is composed of persons appointed by the Lord Chancellor and, if it applies policy at all, applies "public" policy or the policy of the Statute under which it is constituted. Again, although the Minister of Education has the duty of supervising the educational system, the Education Act of 1944 provides for the setting up of tribunals (though none had in fact been set up by July, 1957) to decide upon the fitness of the teaching provided by independent schools. Here, as the Committee noted, a decision which might have been expected to be taken by a Minister has been "parked out" on a tribunal. From the moment the Minister refers a matter to the tribunal he is *functus officio* and his responsibility to Parliament on that issue is removed. The difficulty of applying the Donoughmore Committee's principle here (that issues turning upon administrative policy should be decided by ministers) is plain. What is the test for a policy issue? Whether a question involves not only a suit between parties but also the public interest is one test. Whether it involves actions which ought to be defended in Parliament is another. But they do not necessarily give the same answers. "Of Parliamentary interest" is an extremely vague description. Given the chance, Members of Parliament will talk about anything. Yet another test turns upon the possibility of "crystallising" ministerial or statutory policy into a set of regulations capable of being applied by a tribunal. For example, the "unfitness" of property for the purpose of clearance schemes is defined in fairly objective terms in the Housing Repairs and Rents Act, 1954.¹¹ But though the Minister has no interest in any particular determination he is responsible for slum clearance and may want to retain a degree of flexibility in the general standards of fitness applied from time to time, which a string of independent decisions of a particular kind might not permit. Under both sections of the terms of reference a strong difference of opinion on this type of policy versus adjudication issue emerged between the unofficial evidence and that of the Departments.

Appeal and Review

Dicey, despite his delineation of the growth in the number of departmental powers of a kind previously exercised by the courts, remained optimistic

about the guarantees of the common law. In the article already referred to he wrote :

"It is probable that in some form or other the English Courts will always find the means for correcting the injustice, if demonstrated, of any exercise by a Government Department of judicial or quasi-judicial authority."¹²

The opinion is not one which Dicey's fellow lawyers have found themselves able to share. For many of them the *facilis descensus averno* dates from the decision in *Arlidge's* case, which it has been suggested was "an opportunity for the House of Lords to place much of our administrative law on a sound basis—an opportunity not only lost but thrown away with both hands."¹³ In the years between the two inquiries into ministerial powers, and particularly since 1945, the academic journals have bristled with criticism (which it would be uncharitable and slightly inaccurate to call politically conservative) of the arrangements for reviewing the actions of administrators in the courts. Our hypothetical, naive observer of the British political scene might almost be forgiven for assuming that judicial failure to check administrative discretion was entirely self-motivated and that Parliament had had no hand in the matter. On procedural issues, at least, the voice of the comparative lawyers has been raised with some justification. From a technical point of view much of the mechanism of English common law by which review can be obtained of administrative action is overburdened by precedent and contains elements of hazard for the litigant. As a result of a recommendation by the Donoughmore Committee the procedures for obtaining the prerogative writs of *certiorari*, prohibition and *mandamus* were simplified, but an order for *certiorari* has certain limitations. It will not lie to review a decision which can be held not to be "judicial" and it cannot be used to quash for an error of law where a tribunal does not give reasons which appear on the face of the record.¹⁴ The action for a declaration, of which increasing use has been made in the last few years, is not subject to either of these restrictions, but cannot be combined with *certiorari* or prohibition in the same proceedings and cannot therefore be thrown in by an appellant as a form of insurance. The Franks Committee heard a good deal of legal evidence on the possibility of remodelling the machinery of judicial review. A memorandum from Mr. S. A. de Smith¹⁵ advocated abolition of the prerogative orders and the institution of a single form of action with procedure similar to that for obtaining a declaration. More radical schemes were put forward by Professor W. A. Robson¹⁶ and by the Inns of Court Conservative and Unionist Society.¹⁷ The latter organisation advocated the establishment of a new division of the High Court to be called the Administrative Division. Professor Robson favoured a separate general administrative appeal tribunal. Both memoranda took the view that the tribunals suggested should hear appeals not only from administrative tribunals and from ministerial decisions under the second half of the terms of reference, but also from allegedly unfair decisions in the general field of administration (consideration of which really fell outside the Committee's terms of reference). The General Council of the Bar proposed a system of appeal to a Parliamentary Select Committee on the merits of administrative decisions, the appeals being sifted by a further

committee to discover those appearing to disclose "a substantial ground of objection."¹⁸

Two recent decisions in the Court of Appeal suggest that in one respect the scope for review of tribunal decisions may be wider than was assumed when some of the memoranda of evidence were drawn up. In *Taylor v. National Assistance Board* (1957)¹⁹ it was said that the remedy of declaration to insure that the decision of a tribunal was made in accordance with the law was available even when the determination of the Board was made "final" by Statute. Parliament, it was said, "only gives the impress of finality to the decisions of the board on condition that they are reached in accordance with the law." In *R. v. Medical Appeal Tribunal ex parte Gilmore* (1957),²⁰ *certiorari* issued to quash a decision for an error of law though the relevant Act (the National Insurance (Industrial Injuries) Act, 1946) provided that the tribunal's determination should be final.

Enquiries

Under this heading of its terms of reference the Committee was faced with a major decision of principle. There are, as the Chairman formulated it in discussion with witnesses, two views of the public enquiry which precedes a ministerial confirmation of compulsory purchase or designation orders under Housing and Town Planning legislation. One view is in terms of the final end of the process—the Minister's decision. Everything which takes place en route is (on this view) a step by his servants to help him make the best decision. Inspectors who preside at enquiries are the Minister's eyes and ears. The other view is that of the objector who wishes to dispute what is going on. He is not content to regard the process merely as an opportunity for the administration to reflect upon its conduct, but wants the decision taken to be based upon and to follow from the evidence presented by the parties at the enquiry. He wants also to know what the authority in question is proposing—what case he as an objector has to meet; and in order to meet it he wants to be able to dispute by argument and cross-examination the case of the ministry or Local Authority and to see the inspector's report. Much of this description—"knowing the case one has to meet"—or reference to "the parties" or "evidence" assumes what is in question, namely that the enquiry is to be viewed in a judicial light, as a confrontation of two cases. On the other hand phrases such as "eyes and ears of the Minister," or "hearing objections," or the statement that the inspector's decision should be that which the Minister would reach if he heard the case himself, beg the question in the other direction. Superimposed on this difficulty for the Committee was the more formal principle which has emerged in litigation that the courts will regard a Minister as having a quasi-judicial function and a corresponding duty of impartiality when he gives a final decision between an objector and a Local Authority, but as having no such duty when action is initiated by a government department.²¹ Ought legal metaphysics about the distinction between a *lis*, a *quasi-lis*, and administrative action to be regarded as fundamental? This was the Committee's major problem and it was put in one form or other to all the departmental witnesses. The Ministry most closely concerned with

the type of inquiry under review put up a hard fight for the "administrative" view, for departmental inspectors and confidential reports. Dame Evelyn Sharp (Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government) argued before the Committee that advocacy of an independent inspectorate was incompatible with ministerial decision. It was necessary to keep the inspectorate expert in the department's work and in touch with policy. An inquiry was only part of the process by which a Minister arrived at a decision. To publish merely a part of the scaffolding (the inspector's report) might be misleading. Identical cases might need to be decided differently. Particular disputes again might be overtaken by larger policy issues. In one case, for example, a proposal to buy a piece of land to accommodate overspill population from London had turned into a whole review of the overspill problem, and the particular proposal had been turned down, not for reasons brought out at the inquiry, but for policy reasons which were fought out afterwards in the department. The publication of reports, it was argued, would be embarrassing. The Minister ought not to be put in the position of being publicly in disagreement with the advice given to him by a civil servant.²² A similar situation arose over the question of cross-examination of departmental witnesses, especially if different departments were involved. The Ministry of Housing and Local Government suggested little more than inconvenience and embarrassment. The Treasury Solicitor, however, felt higher constitutional principles to be in danger, since to have departments controverting each other at inquiries was, he thought, contrary to the rule that the Government is one and speaks with one voice.

A number of witnesses were pressed to say whether they could formulate tests for distinguishing issues which raised matters of "policy" and issues which did not. The "advice" given by an inspector is clearly made up of elements which do not all resemble the policy advice given by higher civil servants in the course of administration, and publication of the factual elements of his recommendation or even the recommendation itself in cases where one is made would arguably not raise constitutional issues at all. It is clearly open to doubt whether even advice on matters of fact, sought afterwards by a Minister within his own or another department, is necessarily to be thought of as automatically under the umbrella of ministerial secrecy. What can be considered as "factual" is, of course, itself open to dispute. Lord Justice Parker at several points suggested to witnesses that questions which they were treating as questions of policy were of a type which courts decide every day as questions of fact. (But when lawyers talk about questions of fact they usually mean what a layman would call matters of opinion.) Several of the lawyers who submitted evidence shared an implicit major premise that the policy of ministers should wherever possible be made as much like a system of case law as possible. Planning policy, it was suggested, for example, should grow more and more explicit and be formulated in a series of more and more concrete generalisations.²³ The Inns of Court Conservative and Unionist Society took a somewhat different line, however, on the "concretisation" of policy. They conceded the difficulty of drawing a distinction of principle between policy and matters to which judicial review could be

applied since, it was said, a Minister might, if he wished, apply policy to an individual case. It was nevertheless important to have a clear line of demarcation and to get Ministers to draw some line in particular cases between those matters which they regarded as falling within the policy pale and those falling outside it.²⁴ "Policy," on this view, would act as a kind of departmental strategic deterrent, but with no guarantee that it would not be used for tactical purposes—a position which seems to be hovering on the brink of capitulation to the "administrative" doctrine of the public inquiry.

THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT

In all the Committee held 27 formal sessions, considered written and oral evidence from 112 sets of witnesses, recorded more than 1,100 pages of minutes, spent £21,216 and made 95 recommendations.

Tribunals

The Committee considered that two standing Councils on Tribunals²⁵ should be set up (one being for Scotland) to keep the constitution and working of tribunals under continuous review. They should be appointed by and report to the Lord Chancellor and the Secretary of State for Scotland. The main function of the Councils should be to advise on the detailed application to the various tribunals of the general principles of constitution and organisation laid down in the Report. The Councils should consist of nine or ten persons, being partly lay members and partly having legal experience, but with lay members in the majority. Some place should be found for members with experience of agriculture and industry and (amongst the legal members) for an academic authority on administrative law or administration. The Councils should be charged with the appointment of all members of administrative tribunals. The chairmen of the tribunals should be appointed in England by the Lord Chancellor and in Scotland by the Lord President of the Court of Session or the Lord Advocate. In general, the Committee thought, service on tribunals should not be whole-time or salaried. No single code of procedure could be laid down for tribunals, but detailed rules of procedure ought to be drawn up by the Council on Tribunals, designed to meet the particular circumstances of each tribunal. The aim should be to combine an orderly procedure with an informal atmosphere. Hearings should be in public except in cases involving public security, intimate personal or financial details or preliminary investigations into professional capacity. Legal representation should be permitted before all tribunals except in the most exceptional circumstances. If an appellant did not employ a lawyer a government department should not be permitted legal representation in the particular case. Legal aid should be extended at once to the more formal and expensive tribunals. Reasons should be given for decisions in all cases.

Surveying the working of particular tribunals the Committee concluded that the constitution as adjudicating bodies of Agricultural Executive Committees was in conflict with the principle of impartiality. The Committees combined the functions of detective, prosecutor and judge; they did not give adequately reasoned decisions, and no provision existed for appeal from a supervision order made by them. Their adjudicating functions ought to be

transferred to tribunals independent both of the Minister and the County Committees. Rent Tribunals also, the Committee stated, were deficient in their membership and procedure. Legally qualified chairman should be appointed as soon as possible (something less than a half, it was said in evidence, had legally qualified chairmen) and an appeal tribunal should be set up consisting of a County Court Judge sitting with a qualified valuer. The appellate procedure of Conscientious Objectors Tribunals needed to be reviewed, since local applications of the National Service Act were seriously inconsistent and no decisions of appellate tribunals were circulated.²⁷

The Committee's general conclusion about tribunals is significant for its rejection of the view that tribunals should be regarded as part of the machinery of administration. "Tribunals," the Report states, "are not ordinary courts, but neither are they appendages of Government Departments."

"Tribunals should properly be regarded as machinery provided by Parliament for adjudication rather than as part of the machinery of administration. Although the relevant statutes do not in all cases expressly enact that tribunals are to consist entirely of persons outside the Government service, the use of the term 'tribunal' in legislation undoubtedly bears this connotation, and the intention of Parliament to provide for the independence of tribunals is clear and unmistakable."²⁸

Much of the official evidence (the Report states), including that of the Joint Permanent Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Norman Brook), appeared to reflect the view that tribunals were parts of the administrative machine for which the Government must retain responsibility. The comment gives a misleading impression of the official evidence as a whole. That evidence certainly showed no general tendency to assume that the tribunals with which the Committee was concerned were departmental appendages, whatever responsibilities Ministers might have in matters of appointment. Indeed some witnesses revealed almost hypersensitive resistance even to suggestions from Committee members that a department might give guidance to tribunals on procedural matters. No evidence was given to the Committee of any departmental influence being exerted upon tribunal members.

Appeal and Judicial Review

The Report is notable here for what it has not recommended. The proposals both for an Administrative Division of the High Court and a General Administrative Appeal Tribunal have been rejected fairly summarily. Each was considered only in relation to tribunals and enquiries where the Committee concluded that any single appellate body would be relatively inexpert. The proposers of the Administrative Division were not, in any event, so much concerned about appeal provisions in this sphere as in advocating a procedure for reviewing complaints from persons adversely affected by decisions taken in the ordinary course of administration, so did not press their scheme at the point where the Committee was willing to consider it. (The Report concedes that disquiet about departmental discretion and "the celebrated case of Crichton Down" were "widely regarded as a principal reason for our appointment." Since a simple amendment to the terms of reference would have allowed the Committee to consider whether further tribunal procedures

were called for in this field, one is forced to conclude either that the remit was drafted with Machiavellian insight or that too little thought was originally given to its scope.) A separate administrative court was also said to be undesirable in that it would involve the creation of two separate jurisdictions, each containing provision for final determinations of points of law. The logic here is somewhat puzzling. The subordination of inferior courts and tribunals to the jurisdictional control of the superior courts is undoubtedly a central feature making for unity in the legal system. But if the arguments for expert administrative adjudication in some fields are sound, then the arguments for final determination and limited appeal on points of law in these fields are at least cogent. The Committee recognised this in recommending that no appeal should lie from decisions of the National Insurance Commissioner, the Industrial Injuries Commissioner, or National Assistance Appeal Tribunals. When Parliament has attempted (despite the courts) to provide for decisions to be "final" it has in fact envisaged a separation between different agencies of justice. Whether evils are attendant upon this course or not needs more argument than is involved in the incantation "dichotomy" and references to the "fundamental importance" of legal unity. With the exceptions mentioned, however, the Committee recommended that besides a general appeal from a tribunal of first instance to a second or appellate tribunal, appeal should lie on a point of law from all tribunals. The Divisional Court of the Queen's Bench Division would in general be the most appropriate forum and there should be one further appeal on law, by leave of the court. The existing possibility of a challenge to jurisdiction by prerogative order should remain and no statute should in future contain words purporting to oust these orders.

Enquiries

Several major departures from existing practice have been recommended. The main body of inspectors in England and Wales should be placed under the control of the Lord Chancellor as a separate and independent inspectorate (though departments responsible for enquiries might keep them "in contact" with policy developments). A code of procedure for public enquiries should be formulated by the Council on Tribunals and made statutory. The deciding Minister should make available before the enquiry a statement of the policy relevant to the particular case, but should be free to direct that the statement be wholly or partly excluded from discussion at the enquiry. An initiating authority, whether a ministry or Local Authority, should be required to explain its proposals fully at the enquiry and support them by evidence (including that of departmental officials where a proposal is initiated by a Minister.) Inspectors' reports should be published in full with the Minister's decision.²⁹ Reports should be divided into, first, a summary of evidence, findings of fact and inferences of fact; and secondly, reasoning from facts, including application of policy and (normally) recommendations. Objectors should be allowed to propose to the inspector corrections to the first part of the report (which they should see) within 14 days. Ministers should be required to submit further factual evidence (including expert evidence obtained after the enquiry) to the parties for their observations. A Minister's letter

of decision should set out his findings and inferences of fact and the reasons for his decision.

The recommendation that Ministers should be required to provide policy statements and to determine the extent to which they should be excluded from discussion at an enquiry is one whose application is difficult to foresee. It might in practice reduce to very little that was of any aid or comfort to the Minister's opponents. It could be so framed, in some cases, as to remove teeth from objections and to state them out of court. On the other hand, it could in many cases consist in a generalisation so vague that no final decision could be perceived to follow from it. Where, as the Committee conceded, policy might change after an enquiry, the requirement could amount to no more than that of giving a reason (whose cogency could not be tested) for the decision. If (to quote the Report) "the appearance is what matters," it may not be unimportant that one or two additional, but easily negotiable, hoops should be placed in the Minister's path and that the process of objection should become more discursive. As Sir Oliver Franks remarked to one of the witnesses: "The amount of time that people are willing to waste in hearing each other talk is a very important constituent of our political life."³⁰ The Committee has done its best to translate this Parliamentary philosophy into administrative terms.

The recommendations under the second section of the terms of reference lean unmistakably away from many of the conclusions presented in the official evidence. The Report formulates the Committee's task here as that of rejecting the choice between a "judicial" and an "administrative" view and of addressing themselves directly to the task of "finding a reasonable balance between the conflicting interests"—applying the principles of "fairness," "openness" and (qualified) "impartiality" on the way. Despite the protestation that neither of the opposing views of the nature of the public enquiry should be emphasised at the expense of the other, the Committee has in fact aimed as many backhand blows at the administrative school of thought as were compatible with maintaining its equilibrium astride the balance of interests and its determination to tilt one arm of the balance towards the individual whilst simultaneously keeping its hind quarters firmly athwart the opposite beam of ministerial responsibility.

¹R. M. Jackson, "Ministerial Tribunals," *Manchester Guardian*, 22nd April, 1955.

²(1915) 31 *Law Quarterly Review*.

³(1915) A.C. 120.

⁴Cmd. 4060, pp. 100 ff.

⁵Ibid., p. 93.

⁶Minutes of Evidence, Day 8, pp. 221-275.

⁷Minutes of Evidence, Day 8, p. 229.

⁸Minutes of Evidence, Day 23, p. 1067.

⁹R. M. Jackson, *The Machinery of Justice in England* (2nd ed. 1953), pp. 320-21. Cf. Minutes of Evidence, Days 11-12, p. 449.

¹⁰Minutes of Evidence, Days 3-4, p. 89.

¹¹Sect. 9 of the Act lays down eight criteria:—repair, stability, freedom from damp, natural lighting, ventilation, water supply, drainage and sanitary conveniences, and facilities for storage, preparation, cooking of food and disposal of waste water.

¹²31 *L.Q.R.* at p. 151.

- ¹³Sir C. K. Allen, *Law and Orders* (2nd ed. 1956), p. 278, n.
¹⁴*R. v. Northumberland Compensation Appeal Tribunal, Ex parte Shaw* (1952), 1 K.B. 338.
¹⁵Minutes of Evidence, Appendix 1, p. 8.
¹⁶Minutes of Evidence, Days 13-14, pp. 491-5.
¹⁷Minutes of Evidence, Days 9-10, pp. 279-309.
¹⁸Minutes of Evidence, Days 17-18, p. 677.
¹⁹(1957) 1 All E.R. 183.
²⁰(1957) 2 W.L.R. 498. C.f., however, the interpretation given to the words "shall not be questioned in any legal proceedings whatsoever" in *Smith v. East Elloe Rural District Council* (1956), A.C. 736.
²¹*Franklin v. Minister of Town and Country Planning* (1948), A.C. 87.
²²Minutes of Evidence, Days 3-4, pp. 66-86, Day 5, pp. 115-46, and Days 25-6, pp. 1138-70.
²³J. A. G. Griffith and Mrs. Ruth Glass. Day 21, pp. 974-88. C.f. the Committee's conclusion at p. 90 of the Report: "Every effort should be made to express policy in the form of regulations capable of being administered by an independent tribunal."
²⁴Minutes of Evidence, Days 9-10, pp. 283-4. C.f. The Society's pamphlet "Rule of Law" (1955), p. 58.
²⁵The proposal for the Council on Tribunals owed much, the Committee stated, to the evidence of Professor Robson (Days 13-14, pp. 496, 499, 509) and Mr. H. W. R. Wade (Days 13-14, pp. 551-561).
²⁶Between 1949 and 1955 the percentage of applicants granted unconditional exemption was 0.6 per cent. for the London tribunal and 18 per cent. for the Scottish tribunal.
²⁷Certain decisions were circulated during both the First and Second World Wars, but the practice was discontinued in 1943.
²⁸Cmnd. 218, p. 9.
²⁹Lord Silkin dissented from this recommendation and from the Committee's conclusion about the publication of reports. In a separate note of reservation he suggested that the departmental inspectorate should be appointed by and retained under the Minister of Housing and Local Government, and that, with the exceptions of the findings of fact, the reports of inspectors should remain confidential.
³⁰Minutes of Evidence, Days 11-12, p. 463.

Whitley Councils in the Health Services

By GLYN PICTON

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The Guillebaud Committee

ON 5th July, 1948, some half a million workers in the health services became subject to terms of employment which were uniform throughout Great Britain. In order to determine the conditions of service and rates of pay, negotiating machinery was set up comprising a General Council and nine Functional Councils, of the Whitley Council type, defined by the Guillebaud Committee¹ (para. 680, note) as "a joint negotiating body comprising two Sides, one representative of employers and the other of those employed."

The Guillebaud Committee, concerned with the cost of the National Health Service, devoted only a relatively small part of their report to the working of the Whitley Councils. They recommended a substantial increase in hospital representation on the Councils and a review of the arrangements for the provision of information to the Management Sides by the people directly concerned with the hospital service. As to the agreements reached by the Councils, it was recommended that they should be more flexible so as to provide a certain measure of elasticity to meet variations where the need arises. The Committee noted as a major cause of concern the long delays frequently experienced in reaching decisions both in the Functional Councils and also in the Ministry. These they attributed partly to the initial immense burden of work but also in part to "defects in the Whitley machinery" (para. 697).

The recommendations of the Committee imply certain criticisms of the Whitley machinery, but otherwise there is no indication of the nature of the defects the Committee had in mind. In expressing the view that provision in the national agreements for local variations will help to make the machinery more efficient, they indicated that this will also make it "more acceptable to the people operating the Service than it has been in the past" (para. 734 (4)). By implication, therefore, it would seem that there was dissatisfaction with the negotiating machinery on the part of the large body of employees in the Health Service. This view is reinforced by consideration of a formal expression of discontent made by the staff side of the General Council in 1955 and of a debate in the House of Commons on 8th February, 1956.

"Wage Policy and the Health Service"

The publication, therefore, of a study of these Whitley Councils is both timely

¹Cmnd. 9663. January 1956. Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Cost of the National Health Service.

and welcome. In their book on *Wage Policy and the Health Service*,* H. A. Clegg and T. E. Chester set out to answer two questions: "Can the Whitley system of the National Health Service be improved?" and: "Does the centralised system of determining wages and salaries in the National Health Service shed light on the possibility and desirability of a national wage policy for Britain?" In dealing with the second, the authors find the results disappointingly small; they are led to conclude that the Health Service has no valuable lessons for the conduct of a national wage policy. This conclusion is based upon a detailed analysis of the Health Service Whitley machinery which they make in their approach to the first question. The major portion of the book is devoted to this analysis, which is an important contribution to the discussion not only of the working of the Health Service but of the more general subject of the relationships between employers and employed.

The authors briefly trace the development of collective bargaining in the Health Service from the early days of the National Asylum-Workers Union, founded in 1910, to the involvement of the Government during the Second World War in the administration and finance of hospitals, which foreshadowed ultimate central control. In the process of nationalisation, the Government undertook to set up "some machinery of the Whitley Council type." In the event, a General Council was established, confined to general conditions of service other than remuneration, the latter being reserved to nine Functional Councils, each autonomous in its determination of rates of pay for the grades of staff with which it is concerned, e.g., Administrative and Clerical Staffs; Ancillary Staffs; Medical; Nurses and Midwives. Each Council comprises two Sides, the Management consisting mainly of representatives of hospital authorities, Local Authorities and the Government Health Departments, the Staff consisting of representatives of organisations catering for the respective grades of staff. It may be noted here that Staff Sides include both trade unions and professional associations, whilst the composition of Management Sides provides for the full and direct participation of Ministerial representatives although the contracting employers in the Health Service are not the Government but the Regional Hospital Boards, the Boards of Governors of Teaching Hospitals and Local Authorities. To preside over its deliberations each Council elects annually a Chairman and Vice-Chairman from the membership of the Sides, neither of which is notable for homogeneity.

The course of the negotiations in the various Councils is described in considerable detail for the period 1948-54. The results of the negotiations are then illustrated by a number of comparisons both within the Health Service, and between the Health Service and employment elsewhere. The results of the comparison are summarised as follows: "Within the Health Service from July, 1948, to December, 1954, rates for nurses increased by about 60 per cent., for ancillary staff by about 45 per cent., and for most other groups by between 20 per cent. and 40 per cent. Only nurses received increases larger than the increase in the cost of living and the index of general wage rates. Ancillary staff roughly kept place, and other groups fell behind.

"Ancillary staff earn considerably less than the average for manual workers in British industry, for longer hours. It is not clear whether

or not they fell further behind the national average over this period.

"Amongst salaried Health Service employees it seems likely that only nurses have done as well as salaried workers in the country as a whole, and that other salaried groups in the Health Service have fallen behind." Added to this is a later comment that taking hours of work into account, the nurse is amongst the lowest paid of professional workers; it is not surprising therefore that "Health Service workers complain that the results of collective bargaining do not give them as much as is gained by others."

Determining Factors in the Negotiations

From a consideration of the results of negotiations the authors are led to a discussion of the factors influencing the determination of wages and salaries in the Health Service. They review these in logical sequence before concluding that political pressures are more decisive than any other factor: "they [political pressures] certainly cannot explain all the awards and settlements that have been made; but they cover more instances with greater plausibility than any other explanation." The authors are at pains to distinguish between party and political pressures. It is not the former they have in mind; all Governments are subject to public criticisms, for their expenditure and for their behaviour as employers. It is observed that the British Medical Association advances the case of its members to whatsoever Government is in power, and an outcry over a shortage of nurses can come from either Party, or from both, or from outside. It is in the response of Governments to forces of this kind that the main determinant is seen of wages and salaries in the Health Service.

As to the other factors, the principle of fair comparison with comparable employment is applied as part of a general policy on wages and salaries in government employment, but the application is not consistent, nor is it the result of direct action by Management Sides; it is more the result of arbitration awards. A fairly constant high proportion of arbitration awards is evident: of the 53 major settlements in the Health Service from 1948 to 1955, 26 were the result of decisions of the Industrial Court, the National Arbitration Tribunal or the Industrial Disputes Tribunal. The authors advance as the most likely explanation the need of the Ministry of Health and of the Treasury for political protection: for example, at a time of general wage restraint, by taking recourse to arbitration, the Government avoids the responsibility for granting an increase which in any case it considers justifiable, but which if conceded directly would have embarrassing repercussions. In somewhat similar fashion, considerations of labour shortage are rejected unless the financial consequences are insignificant or unless they constitute a live political issue. As to movements in the cost of living, the arguments are used in so many ways to justify so many proposals that it is impossible to discern in such movements a consistent determining factor.

The preponderating influence of political pressures is a surprising feature of negotiating machinery which purports to be of the Whitley Council type. It calls for consideration of the means whereby the influence is applied. It will be recalled that the Management Sides include representatives of the Government Health Departments, although the Government is not an

*Blackwells, Oxford 1957. Pp. & 142.

employer in the Health Service. The reason is obvious, in that the financial responsibility rests upon the Government. The departmental representatives, although in a minority, carry special authority, armed as they are with the views of the Treasury, obtained in prior consultations. This is inevitable, and there can be no quarrel with the view of the Guillebaud Committee that the Departments cannot divest themselves of the requirement of such consultations since the Health Service is financed from moneys voted by Parliament. It nevertheless remains true that the Management Sides cannot function as independent employers' sides. The major influence in negotiations must be the view of the Treasury and the authors aptly describe the Management Sides as advisory bodies, with the non-departmental members having the opportunity of modifying the official proposals.

Criticisms of the Whitley Councils

The process of negotiation is therefore unusually complex and it is not surprising that it has given rise to criticism. The Guillebaud Committee had noted (para. 694) the weak representation on Whitley Councils of the employing authorities in the Hospital Service and this has now been strengthened by an additional seat for the Regional Hospital Boards, another to the Association of Hospital Management Committees and for the first time a seat has been given to the Scottish Boards of Management. These additions were made at the expense not of the over-represented Local Authorities but of the Government Departments. The authors discuss also the criticism that there are not enough Management Side representatives with direct and full-time acquaintance with the details of hospital working; they suggest that personnel officers be appointed for each Regional Board and that from their ranks would be found representatives of the Regional Boards on the Whitley Councils. The introduction of personnel officers into the hospital service might well yield valuable results,¹ although the authors recognise that there would be many difficulties, significantly among these being the salary which could be offered. As far as the Whitley Councils are concerned, however, it seems to be unnecessarily pessimistic to assume that there could not be found from existing senior full-time officers a sufficient number with the right qualities who could somehow find time to contribute their special knowledge to the work of the Councils.

The Guillebaud Committee had observed (para. 696) the absence of any formal machinery in the Whitley system for ensuring that the people directly concerned with the management of the hospital service are consulted by the Management Sides when major salary claims are considered. This might have been noted by the authors in their discussion of the availability of practical hospital knowledge on management sides. The Guillebaud recommendation was that the Health Departments should review the arrangements for consultation with Regional Hospital Boards and that the latter should review their own arrangements with Hospital Management Committees. This recommendation must surely commend itself if, as the Guillebaud Committee implies, there is any doubt that management sides are not as fully aware as

¹But see G. A. Phalp: "Staff Management in the Hospital," a paper presented to a conference of the Royal Institute of Public Administration, 20th May, 1957.

possible of the views of these authorities before decisions are taken on matters affecting them.

Another criticism presented often by those closely concerned with hospital administration is the inflexibility of the Whitley system. In the discussion of this, the authors dismiss very briefly the Guillebaud recommendation (para. 693) that the Whitley Councils might profitably explore the methods used by other large-scale undertakings to introduce flexibility into national agreements; it is not clear to them what profit the Councils would draw from such an exploration, for the flexibility enjoyed by private undertakings in this respect arises mainly from their freedom to pay wages and salaries in excess of agreed rates—a practice debarred by regulations in the Health Service. They comment favourably upon the use made by the Minister of the power to authorise variations from approved terms and conditions of service, but the point made by the Guillebaud Committee was that the provision for flexibility, for example to meet local variations when the need arises, should be built into the national agreements themselves. It is true that the Guillebaud recommendation was in the nature of a counter to the suggestion of discretionary power to individual managing bodies, but it clearly reflected the view that Whitley agreements need not always be rigid and inflexible in their terms. Ministerial variations are indeed valuable but they are no substitute for flexible provisions in the Whitley agreements. In the hospitals themselves there is much concern about the delays involved in appeals to the Minister, the time and energy devoted to them by administrators and members of committees, and the strain on the patience of the employees concerned. Indeed it is with this in mind that there is still much support for the plea, rejected by the Guillebaud Committee, for some discretion for the employing authorities. The authors do not discuss this point, but they applaud the use of ministerial variations as avoiding a large volume of discontent which could follow one instance of an individual unfairly treated by national rules in each of a few hundred hospitals. Equally it could be claimed that much goodwill could be gained with staff if a small discretionary sum were available in the hospitals for the prompt reward of outstanding efficiency or for bonus payments in exceptional circumstances.

In their discussion of the criticism of delay in the conduct of negotiations, the authors observe that this is a common complaint against most negotiating bodies. In the Health Service there are special grounds for grievance in that it uses arbitration more than most industries, and arbitration necessarily involves delay in the preparation of the cases, their presentation and the promulgation of the awards. Moreover, Government policy imposes two special causes of delay in the collective bargaining of the Health Service: sensitivity to public criticism of the cost of the Service induces a particularly cautious approach to a prospective increase in expenditure, whilst the principle of following action in comparable occupations involves waiting for the decisions in those occupations. The hope is expressed that the recent report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service may lead, not only to more generous comparisons, but also to overt agreement on what are comparable occupations so that delay may be reduced by the automatic extension of changes in their wages and salaries to the Health Service.

The remaining proposal made by the authors for reducing delays is that the Councils should consider choosing an independent chairman, or independent chairmen. They have in mind avoiding an excessive number of arbitration cases by providing an alternative means of political protection for the government. The proposal is put only briefly, but it is worthy of much more extensive examination as it may well be the only major change in the present system which is within practical range.

The authors recognise that their conclusions are limited and are not likely to impress those critics of Whitleyism who feel that it has not achieved anything like what was expected of it, and could only give satisfaction if there were radical and wholesale change. They point out, with justification, that possible changes in the system of collective bargaining in the Health Service are confined within relatively narrow limits "unless the constitutional position of the Minister is changed, or the function of the Treasury is radically altered, or the Health Service adopts a system of full-time governing boards, or the structure of British trade unionism is completely overhauled, or the Health Service is made financially independent." Accepting this as the inevitable framework, it is possible that independent chairmen might make a valuable contribution to the working of the Councils.

Independent Members in Industrial Negotiations

The authors hold the view that independent chairmen have not elsewhere made an outstanding contribution to the improvement of industrial relations. Nevertheless they have surely played an important part in industrial negotiations. This may be traced from the time of the pioneer work done by the Committee on the Relations between Employers and Employed set up in 1916 under the chairmanship of Mr. Speaker Whitley. This Committee, concerned with the development of formal means of negotiation in industry, gave consideration to the situation arising when the two sides fail to agree. Their principal recommendation was the formation of Joint Standing Industrial Councils composed of representatives of employers and employed in the various sections of the industries concerned. On the subject of arbitration and conciliation, the Committee recommended the establishment of a permanent arbitration authority to which disputes might be submitted voluntarily. They had in mind differences of general principles and differences affecting whole industries or large sections of industries, which would be referred to arbitration in cases where the sides had failed to come to an agreement through their ordinary procedure on the Joint Industrial Council. It was this recommendation which resulted eventually in the present Industrial Court.

Reference to external arbitration, however, is the consequence of a breakdown in normal negotiations. Before that stage is reached it may be possible to effect a conciliation between the sides. The Whitley Committee seem to have had this in contemplation when proposing the composition of the Joint Industrial Councils. Although they suggested that the appointment of chairman should be left to each Council, they indicated that the choice might be :

1. A chairman for each side of the Council ;

2. A chairman and vice-chairman selected from the members, one from each side ;
3. A chairman chosen by the Council from independent persons outside the industry, or
4. A chairman nominated by a person or authority determined by the Council, or failing agreement, by the Government.

This still remains part of the model constitution of Joint Industrial Councils published by the Ministry of Labour and National Service. Initially, however, the Ministry considered it essential that Joint Industrial Councils should consist exclusively of representatives of industrial organisations. It may be surmised that this view was in large measure a response to the current sensitivity of trade unions and employers' associations, anxious about the possible element of State interference in what they wished to be autonomous bodies, making possible a larger degree of self-government in industry.

In spite of this official disapproval, early examples may be quoted of the use of the services of independent members on negotiating bodies. The Railways Act of 1921 provided for a National Wages Board with an independent chairman chosen by the Minister of Labour. Concurrently with the Whitley deliberations the builders were setting up a Building Trades Parliament, later their Industrial Council, with an independent chairman. In stipulating that he should be advisory only, they clearly had in mind the function of conciliation rather than arbitration. Another notable example of that time is provided by the Pottery Industry. Here again, conferences were already proceeding, and the formation of a National Council owed much to the efforts of three independent persons, Rowntree, Wethered and Clay. These gentlemen became honorary members of the Council and in 1924 acted as mediators in a dispute.

As Joint Industrial Councils developed in various industries, different techniques were devised involving the services of independent members. In Electricity Supply, provision was made, in the event of a threatened stoppage, for representatives of the National Joint Council to meet as a Conciliation Committee under an independent chairman. In Quarrying, disputes were settled by a panel of arbitrators drawn from the two sides of the Council under an independent chairman who, in the event of failure to agree, would give the ruling decision. Joint Industrial Councils were formed in several sections of the retail distributive trades, all, with the exception of meat, having an independent chairman. In the retail co-operative service a National Conciliation Board includes an independent chairman chosen from a panel ; he may, with the consent of the parties, give a binding arbitration. Cotton Weavers provide for an independent chairman of a Conciliation Committee, chosen to act for a period ; failing agreement he must make a recommendation after consulting two other independent members, but only by consent may he give an award. A somewhat similar arrangement prevails in the London Theatre Council except that in this case it is the independent chairman of the whole Council who acts.

Examples could be drawn from other industries. London Passenger Transport and Coal would provide instances. In the Civil Service at one time there was the conception of "persons of standing," not necessarily

Civil Servants, who could be members of either side of the National Council. In Local Government, the Council for the Administrative, Professional, Technical and Clerical Grades has an independent chairman.

Up to this point in the analysis, the pattern is one of a greater or less remoteness of independent members from the early stages of negotiation. At one extreme, there may be, in effect, simply an *ad hoc* umpire nominated by an impartial external authority. Intermediately, there may be separate conciliation boards, *ad hoc* or standing, with varying degrees of authority given to independent members. More closely involved in the early detailed work will be the independent members or chairmen of the main standing councils, again with differing powers of intervention.

Wages Councils

There remains for consideration the outstanding example of continuing detailed participation of independent members in negotiations between two sides. This is provided by the Wages Councils,¹ the modern successors to the Trade Boards of the early part of this century. Originally confined to the "sweated industries," the emphasis now is upon those industries in which there is no adequate voluntary machinery for the effective regulation of the remuneration of the workers to a reasonable standard. It may be objected that negotiating machinery devised upon such a principle can have no relation to the Health Service. There are certain points of similarity, however, which are worthy of attention.

The Wages Councils, of which there are some 60 in active operation, now cover over three million workers in industries varying from the small Key and Drum, and Fustian Cutting, to large industries such as Road Haulage, Baking, Clothing, Stamped and Pressed Metal Ware, and Rubber Manufacturing. They are not to be dismissed therefore as being concerned only with insignificant sections of industry.

The Wages Councils are statutory bodies set up under the Act of 1945. The Whitley Councils of the Health Services are not so constituted, but the history of their formation may perhaps fairly be described as officially induced. Be that as it may, the powers of the two kinds of Councils are worthy of comparison. Wages Councils are empowered to submit to the Minister of Labour proposals for the fixing of minimum remuneration, length of normal working day and/or week, rates of payment for overtime, and associated matters. Although they are statutory bodies, it is the Minister who makes the Wages Regulation Order, which will have the force of law; he may object, and in some, but very few instances, has declined the proposals submitted to him. In the Health Service, agreements of the Whitley Councils are submitted to the Minister of Health and the Secretary of State for Scotland, who have the right of withholding approval. When the Ministers have approved an agreement, the rates of remuneration are binding on all employing authorities, which must pay the precise rates. In both cases, therefore, although for different reasons, there are the elements of Ministerial approval.

¹I acknowledge with gratitude the help I have received, in describing the work of Wages Councils, from reading the work, shortly to appear, by Mr. C. W. Guillebaud on *The Wages Councils System in Great Britain* (Nisbets).

enforcement and complete application to the employers concerned. Indeed, it is possible to argue that the Councils of the Health Services are more akin to Wages Councils than to the original Whitley conception. The latter clearly defined a form of negotiating machinery which was voluntary, with an absence of any state intervention, the decisions being without legal force and not necessarily applicable to the whole area of a trade. It may be noted that it was originally intended in the Health Service to set up regional joint committees subordinate to the Functional Councils, but as the latter laid down national standard rates there would be little scope for regional committees, and indeed, in the event, they were not established. Decentralisation would have been typical of the Whitley conception; its absence and the element of direct participation of ministerial representatives call in question the use of the term Whitley in the title of the Councils of the Health Services.

Wages Councils consist of equal numbers of representatives of employers and workers together with not more than three independent members, two of whom are appointed as Chairman and Vice-Chairman. All appointments are personal and are made by the Minister, who is required to consult appropriate organisations before appointing representative members. The independent members, once appointed, are not responsible to the Minister for their actions and are not subject to any ministerial influence in the exercise of their powers.

The independent members attend all meetings of the Council. The two Sides may be in agreement, in which case there is no effective contribution required from the independent members. It is in the event of a difference that they exercise their influence, this being done, not so much in full formal Council, as by a series of private consultations with the Sides. In that process, the independent members confer separately with the leader and secretary of each Side with the intention of narrowing the gap between them and, if possible, arriving at an agreed settlement. If the private conciliation efforts have been successful, the full Council meets again and an amended motion is carried by the votes of the two Sides; the independent members abstain, thus, after an arduous day, finding their reward for well doing, in accordance with the highest precepts, not openly with the sound of trumpets before them, but secretly in their own closets.

If a settlement cannot be induced, the independent members may use their vote. This may be for the support or rejection of the original motion before the Council. Alternatively they may have indicated to one Side after lengthy private negotiations, that support will be forthcoming if a concession is made, in which case that Side will move an amendment embodying the new offer which will then be carried by the independent vote. If dissatisfied with all proposals from both Sides, the independent members may refrain from voting, in which rare case deadlock and inaction ensues until the Council meets again. There may be cases also where the independent members refrain from voting on the ground that in the absence of agreement between the Sides it is undesirable that a provision should be imposed upon the industry by independent vote.

It will be evident that the independent members may find themselves acting in an arbitral capacity. Nevertheless they are far from being arbitrators

in the sense of being empowered to impose awards upon the Council. They are members of the Council, but they give their vote only for a motion moved by one or other of the Sides ; indeed, in the face of a joint motion from the Sides, they are powerless. It is the influence as conciliators which is the important contribution that they make. In a large proportion of cases, their efforts result in agreed motions. Moreover in some cases, even when the independent members use their vote, it may be less unwelcome to the opposing Side than would appear on the surface ; privately convinced, the members of that Side may yet publicly oppose, knowing that the motion will be carried in a way which leaves them free to explain to those whom they represent that the responsibility rested on the other Side and the independent members.

Independent Members for the Whitley Councils

The Whitley Councils for the Health Services may now be considered in relation to their composition and procedure. They consist of some 50 members in two Sides, representing Management and Staff, the chairman being appointed alternately from the two Sides. By their constitution, decisions are to be reached by the concurrence of both Sides, every effort being made to accommodate differences of opinion in order to reach an agreed decision: otherwise arbitration may be sought externally. The two Sides usually meet separately before coming together in full Council where considered views are exchanged and elaborated. In the absence of agreement, the Sides withdraw for private review ; there may be some exchanges at that stage between the leaders of the Sides, but they are likely to be of a limited nature. The full Council will then reconvene, for presentation of modified views or reiteration.

The negotiations therefore take place in the full Council, with the result that there is a lack of the flexibility which could be introduced privately. Moreover the chairman of the Council has to bear the strain of guiding his own Side, which is by no means homogeneous, during its separate meetings, and also presiding impartially over the full Council, this sequence being repeated frequently during the course of protracted exchanges. It may well be suggested that this is too great a burden on one person. The result tends to be that the Chairman of the Council is inhibited from acting as an impartial guide of, and stimulus to, discussion. This is a loss to any body of persons engaged in discussion, and particularly so when they are organised as in the Health Service, in the form of two Sides who are enjoined by constitution to reach decisions by concurrence of views.

The services of an independent chairman would therefore be helpful in the formal discussions of the Council. Even more valuable, however, would be the conciliatory function he could discharge. It is for this purpose that additional independent members would be desirable. The task of conciliation is a delicate one, calling for skill and judgment ; it may be assigned to one person, but a combination of persons would bring into play a wider range of experience and opinion. The process of conciliation might well be similar to that operating in Wages Councils, the independent members consulting the leaders of the Sides separately with the intention of reducing the difference. This would have the result of increasing the speed of negotiations, as the

Sides respond more quickly to private suggestions of modification than they do in full formal Council. Quite serious difficulties have been resolved by Wages Councils in one meeting. Even if no other purpose is served, independent members, without voting, can therefore facilitate negotiations by providing the opportunity for each Side privately to test the strength of the positions taken and to make modifications accordingly. It is a process of inducing agreement by substituting informal adjustments for the formal collision of Sides in full Council.

Important consequences flow from the fact that the independent persons are members of the Council. They gain an intimate knowledge of the work of the Council and become familiar with the personalities of representative members. They themselves, if they are to be successful, must gain the respect and confidence of both Sides ; when they embark on the process of conciliation they do so partly as impartial assessors but also as known, accepted and knowledgeable participants. If, possessing votes, they are compelled on occasion to use their powers, then, even conceding the assumption in some measure of arbitral authority, it still remains that the decision is one of the Council, reached quickly, the arbitral element having been introduced by participants in the negotiations. This may be contrasted with the submission of disputes to external arbitration, the justice of which will not be in question, but which will involve delay and the promulgation of an award by persons who have not participated in the negotiations and who make no disclosure of their approach to the matters in dispute.

The Health Service Councils differ in one important respect from Wages Councils : the consequences of their decisions fall upon public funds and not upon private industrial resources. It has been evident throughout the discussion of the functioning of the Health Service Councils that they present an unusually complex problem as a result of the unavoidable element of ministerial responsibility. There can be no doubt about the necessity for ministerial representatives to participate nor for their prior consultations with the Treasury for the clearance of the financial proposals. Nevertheless, in the field of industrial negotiations, the apprehensions and fears of employees, irrational though they may sometimes be, play a part of considerable importance. It is perhaps significant that Clegg and Chester feel it necessary to refute the idea that "there sits in the Treasury a sinister figure who pulls the strings to make puppet representatives on the Management Sides dance to his tune." It might well be that the introduction of independent members would help to allay suspicions of this kind, which must be all the more powerful in circumstances where the employees are complaining that they are not negotiating with their real employers. There need be no consequential interference with the necessary process of co-ordination by the Treasury. A single independent chairman, or a very small group, acting for all the Councils might conceivably build up a position of great influence but even this could hardly challenge the position of the Treasury. It is in any case unlikely that such a development would occur. Here again the experience of the Wages Councils may be helpful, the practice there being to have a relatively large number of independent members, each serving on a relatively few Councils. In the case of the Health Service, it might be that each inde-

pendent member would serve at the most on say two Councils, including their autonomous committees. It may be argued, certainly, that an independent arbitral element would thereby be introduced into the Councils, but the experience of the Health Service indicates strongly that the principle of arbitration has already been conceded in handsome measure; in any case, there still remains the final check of ministerial approval of the decisions of the Councils.

In their discussion of the proposal of independent chairmen, the authors express the view that it would not be easy to find a sufficient number of persons of the necessary ability and personality, and with sufficient time to spare even to provide each Council with a separate chairman. This surely is unduly pessimistic. Suitable persons* are found for the Wages Councils, whilst hundreds of Hospital Management Committees have been able to call upon the services of voluntary members. The appeal of hospitals and of the health services generally is certain to call forth a sufficient number of people with the right qualities and a sense of public service.

Conclusion

The authors of *Wage Policy and the Health Service* close with a discussion of the relevance of experience in the Health Service to the possibility of a national wage policy. They find again that the conclusions are necessarily small because of the framework in which the negotiations are conducted. Because of the close Treasury control, the use of Ministerial regulations, the adoption of the doctrine of comparable occupations and the frequent resort to arbitration there is little evidence to be offered on the problem of enforcing a wage policy on private industry.

They give expression also to what might have been hoped for from the amalgamation of the various elements of the pre-1948 health services into one public national service. It might have given the opportunity to plan a new wage and salary structure on principles designed to satisfy the needs of the service, to provide labour of the right quality and the right quantity in each place and in each grade, and to offer adequate incentives for each employee to give of his best. But they find no such principles in their examination of the record of collective bargaining in the Health Service.

The book will indeed be disappointing to those who have at heart the interest of hospitals and the health services generally, and who perhaps have in mind the constitutional function of the Whitley Councils: "Securing the greatest possible measure of co-operation between the authorities responsible for the nation's health and the general body of persons engaged in the health services . . . with a view to the increased efficiency in those services and the well-being of those engaged in the services." The Guillebaud Committee, using the results of the researches of Abel-Smith and Titmuss, had already disproved (para. 23) the widespread popular belief that there had been an increase of vast proportions in the cost of the Health Service; on the contrary, they had shown a steady fall in the proportion of the national resources (para. 20) devoted to the service. As to capital expenditure, the Committee

*See F. J. Bayliss: "The Independent Members of British Wages Councils and Boards," *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, March 1957.

noted (para. 64) that this was three times as high at the end of the 1930s as it had been during the operation of the service and were moved to make the recommendation (para. 319), as yet not implemented, that the annual rate be increased to £30 million merely to restore the equivalent of the 1938 rate. The present authors now show that in the Health Service, the third largest employing organisation in the country, many grades of the half million employees are paid less than the broad class of workers to which they belong in the country as a whole. This is depressing reading but the fault is not that of Mr. Clegg and Professor Chester, to whom we are indebted for a meticulous and penetrating analysis.

Institute Staff Changes

MR. GEOFFREY BRUNT, the Institute's Publications Officer since 1951, left the Institute at the end of September to become Editor of the monthly journal of the British Hotels and Restaurants Association. During his service at Haldane House he was responsible for much of the work involved in the production of the Journal and in the issue of the Institute's other publications. The Executive Council regret the loss of a good officer and the staff the departure of a friendly and helpful colleague. His place has been taken by Mr. Richard Hewlett, who returned to this country recently after a period of service in Northern Rhodesia in the Oversea Civil Service.

At about the same time, Mr. J. H. Holl, the Institute's Membership Officer left to take up an appointment with the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons, and his place has been taken by Miss Shirley Fisher, a graduate of the London School of Economics, who specialised in Government, and has just returned from a year's post-graduate study at the Ohio State University.

ROYAL INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

STUDY COURSES

Organisation and Methods Officers

The next available course will be held from 28th April-23rd May, 1958, and a few vacancies remain to be filled by officers who should be nominated by their employing authority. Detailed syllabus on application. A further course will be held in October.

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Graduates in the Public Services A Comparative Study of Attitudes

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This essay was commended by the adjudicators for the Haldane Essay Competition of 1956. Mr. Subramaniam is at present a Scholar of the Australian National University.

IN April, 1955, the Government of India appointed a Committee to examine the question as to how far and at what levels the possession of a university degree is necessary for recruitment to the Public Services. About the same time the Australian Commonwealth was acknowledging the need for more graduates in its public service directly and indirectly. The evolution of these differing attitudes, starting as it were from exactly the opposite end in both countries, has many lessons for students of public administration. In this brief essay an attempt is made to study the interplay of social and economic forces on the problem of graduate recruitment in two different environments. India was a country burdened and ennobled by long traditions and was forced to face the modern west and problems of modern government under a process of conquest and subjugation. Australia was an empty continent, "the last sea thing dredged by Sailor Time!" It started free from the crippling bondage of ancient traditions, but with the heritage of western industrial technique and government taken directly over there by its first and successive waves of immigrants. To make the study more broad-based, comparisons are made with New Zealand, which resembles Australia in many respects, and also with Ceylon, which in some respects is a part of the traditional East which took on the superficial aspects of the West more eagerly than India. The plan of this study is first to set out briefly the facts regarding the problem, secondly to compare and contrast the developments in each country, and lastly to explain them on the basis of the operating socio-economic forces and to draw the lessons.

India

The first statutory recognition of the usefulness of university studies in a modern public service was given in the Charter Act of 1853 in connection with the recruitment to the East India Company's Covenanted Service.¹ Centuries earlier, the use of learned clerics in the service of the state was common practice in Europe, and the elaborate process of study and preparation at the university for serving the king was well established in contemporary Prussia. India had its learned Brahmins in advisory positions for centuries. But Macaulay's introduction of competitive examinations of university honours standard for the East India Company's Covenanted Service set in motion a definite scheme of recruiting young men fresh from universities.

It is worthwhile to recount Macaulay's arguments and his scheme briefly since after more than a century the same arguments and similar schemes are used in the main even today. In his (now famous) speech in the House

of Commons in 1853, and in an earlier speech in 1833,² Macaulay recounted all the arguments in favour of the young trained mind with general education for administrative positions. His contention in 1833 that whatever be the subjects at an examination, the men at the top would be superior, was elaborated by his dramatic reference in 1853 to the leading lights of the House, and outside it, and the promise and brilliance of their scholastic career. It was characteristic of Macaulay that he should turn the tables on Lord Ellenborough, who opposed the validity of such examinations, by referring to the latter's brilliant scholastic career. His statement: "It seems to me that there never was a fact proved by a larger mass of evidence or a more unvaried experience than this, that men who distinguish themselves in their youth above their contemporaries almost always keep to the end of their lives the start which they had gained," is still widely quoted on the subject. His insistence on general education as opposed to early departmental specialisation was equally dogmatic. "Men who have been engaged up to one and two and twenty," according to him, "in studies which have no immediate connection with the business of any profession and the effect of which is merely to open, to invigorate and to enrich the mind, will generally be found in the business of every profession superior to men who have at eighteen or nineteen devoted themselves to the special studies of their calling." In defence of the literary nature of the examination, Macaulay suggested that study of dead languages facilitated the study of modern ones, and that the safeguards against the smatterer would secure only the basically best men. The argument that examinations were no test of character, Macaulay countered with his affirmation that self-denial and application to study in youth instead of pleasure was a proof of character and ability.

The Macaulayan arguments were advanced in defence of competition as against patronage and hence the question of recruitment of graduates in preference to young school-leavers (within the framework of competition) was not directly dealt with, nor was the question of having an administrative class, directly recruited (as against filling such positions by promotion from the ranks recruited at school-leaving age). This was so, for the very simple reason that to Macaulay as to his brother-in-law, Trevelyan, these questions were interrelated. Nevertheless, it is possible to disentangle the serious arguments for recruiting graduates (of honours standard) with a general education in the Classics and Humanities, from the merely subtle arguments³ for competition only, at some level. His specific reference to two and twenty as against eighteen or nineteen, and his preference for studies which merely "open, invigorate and enrich the mind," make it clear as to what he is driving at, even apart from the whole tenor of his speech. Secondly the syllabus and the list of subjects which his committee drew up were meant for an examination at honours level.⁴ It is necessary to emphasise that in Macaulay's mind, graduate recruitment and competition were interrelated—since many of his arguments for competition have been employed for competition at school-leaving level, for example, in the early annual reports of the Commonwealth Public Service Commission, and some of his sonorous sentences have been repeated in other contexts.

Macaulay did not find it necessary to say anything particular about an

administrative class for the simple reason that it was the only class he was talking about. In the early days of the East India Company, English boys with little school education were recruited as factors and writers. As the territories of the Company expanded, as their political responsibilities overshadowed their commercial, the practice grew up of employing Indians for all subordinate clerical work and Englishmen for the superior positions. The practice of excluding Indians from the latter had grown up from the time of Lord Cornwallis—in spite of a Munro and an Elphinstone and clauses in the Charter Acts.⁵ Moreover some Governor-Generals had already objected to having very young men from England thrust upon them.⁶ Things had so shaped themselves that the only class Macaulay could talk about for recruitment in England was the administrative class. He could graciously omit the elementary distinction between intellectual and routine work and recruitment at two levels which Trevelyan and Northcote found it necessary to dilate on.

In a sense competition, graduate recruitment and the administrative class are the triple gifts of the Indian Empire to Britain. The vivid feeling of Imperial responsibility definitely hastened the realisation of the triple ideals—even more than the revolutions of 1848, the Romillian tracts on Civil Service Reform, or the fear of an efficient Prussian bureaucracy. The ideal, tried and found workable in India, was taken back to the mother country fully fledged in 1870, when the Northcote-Trevelyan proposals were finally implemented. The Macaulayan scheme was left unchallenged, since few people were interested in Indian administration either way. It was possible for Macaulay and Jowett to make their convictions the basic principles of Indian personnel administration, and thence by a devious route of British administration. The objections raised against competition or the university man or a literary examination were voiced two years later against similar proposals in the Northcote-Trevelyan Report. Some of these objections were raised again, against admitting Indians to the Superior Services in India, in later years.

The exclusion of Indians from the higher services was nearly a century old in 1857. The holding of the Indian Civil Service examinations in London made a mockery of the clauses in the Government of India Acts (of 1833, 1853 and 1858) assuring that no native shall be excluded from any office on the grounds of race.⁷ The fortuitous timing of the establishment of the Indian universities to coincide with the virtual monopoly of the superior posts in government to the products of Oxford and Cambridge—and the bitter racial feelings engendered by the rising of 1857—had disastrous political and social consequences in the long run. These consequences gave a turn to the history of India entirely different from (her close neighbour) the island of Ceylon.

The very first consequence of university education in India seems to have been educated unemployment,⁸ which has been always with India since then. While the lawyers could practise a profession, the Arts graduates depended largely on posts in Government Service. They were denied the posts in the Superior Services (as the administrative class was called in India). Many of them entered the lowest rungs of the clerical service, while others

found even such posts difficult to get. As a result early Congress politics had two significant features. The legal profession became the only one in which the products of the Indian universities could attain the full height of their stature, and lawyers were in the forefront of national life. Gaining the right of entry for Indian university graduates into the Indian Civil Service became an important plank in the Congress platform. S. N. Banerjee's country-wide agitation for simultaneous examinations for the I.C.S. in India preceded the inauguration of the Congress. Almost every Congress Session till the First World War passed a resolution demanding simultaneous examinations. "Indianisation" of the Superior Services became an obsession with all Nationalists till 1920, when Gandhian Satyagraha threw it into the background.

The value of graduates as such to fill administrative positions was not seriously disputed in India. India had a long tradition of an organised bureaucracy, based to some extent on the caste system, and it was the members of the traditional bureaucratic castes which supplied the large rank and file of the administrative hierarchy in British India.⁹ India also had a tradition of respect for learning as such and the use of learned men in administration. If an outlet had been provided for the best products of the Indian universities of those days in the Indian Civil Service along with their compeers from Oxford and Cambridge, it would have been welcomed as the natural corollary of the establishment of university education on western lines. The opposition voiced in Britain to literary examinations would not have been encountered in India at that time. It might have changed the course of India's history not only in her administrative development but also political progress and the evolution of university education.

Let us summarise the disastrous consequences. The cream of the Indian universities met with a double rebuff. They were denied the natural employment of their talents in administration and they found no outlet for them in representative institutions either. Secondly those of them who found in the practice of law a means of self-expression were humiliated by English racial arrogance, a poisonous remnant of the rising of 1857. There are indications that the cumulative frustration of the educated might have taken dangerous forms of expression but for the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885.¹⁰ But the attitude of inveterate opposition to "bureaucracy" (into whose portals Indians were not admitted in practice) left a lasting scar on Indian political thinking. Years after the grant of representative institutions, the Congress men used them only to heap abuse on the bureaucrats, and even in power they could not easily learn to treat their secretaries with confidence as subordinate advisers.¹¹

A detailed account of the political ramifications would involve an analysis of Indian political history till the First World War. But an idea of the damage done can be gained from the pages of Valentine Chirol, who cannot be blamed for extreme sympathy with the Indian viewpoint. According to him—"for many years the Congress mainly reflected the growing estrangement between the official world and the Western-educated classes." The bureaucrat from Oxford or Cambridge was by tradition and example at home with uneducated rural India in paternal governance and not with his compeers

from the Indian universities. He called them a pack of talkers, "making up for lack of practical experience by unpractical displays of pompous or even truculent oratory." But the bureaucrats' obsession for the "voiceless millions" was equated in Oriental hyperbole to the tears of the crocodile.

Some English observers were not unaware of this dilemma created by "education but no part in administration."¹² But the governing bureaucratic class saw a way out in a set of arguments, which they repeated till the early 20s of this century. They were used to damn both the literary education at the universities and the competitive examination based on it. It is interesting to compare them with the arguments advanced against the Northcote-Trevelyan Report by its critics.¹³ Sir James Stephen's criticism that the prizes to be won were not worthy of the foremost competitors for academic honours was disproved by the fact that till the First World War some of the best Oxford and Cambridge men were eager recruits to the Indian Civil Service. It became operative in England when the Indian Civil Service began losing its glamour. But in India the Civil Services have not lost their position as the prime magnet in the employment field even now. The trite *dicta* about the unfitness of academic men for administration were repeated later in India by the very men who would not have been Indian administrators if such *dicta* had been accepted in 1855. Lord Brougham saw in the Northcote-Trevelyan Report the schoolmaster abroad, while Lewis was against an examination in Classics. Drummond, Member for West Surrey, summarily declared—"of all classes of human society, literary and scientific men are the least competent to manage men and things." The Marquis of Salisbury cited the failure of Newton at the Mint, while Wilson, a former Financial Secretary to the Treasury, feared that the system had already led to cramming.

The reasons advanced to keep the Indian graduate out of the Superior Services were less honest and more complicated. The critics in some cases had deceived themselves into believing in these arguments, while in other cases it was just rationalising a position which was convenient to themselves. The British rulers as a class were not willing to part with power either in the form of representative institutions or a share for Indians in the higher administrative positions. Since the demands for these came from what they called the "new literary class," they damned their "literary education" in many ways. They secondly discovered virtues in the non-literary feudal aristocracy. Lastly they found that education was monopolised by castes and groups and eagerly met the demands for communal distribution first of administrative posts and then of education as well. A brief summary of the three classes of arguments is attempted without much regard to their chronology.

- (a) The plain anti-literary arguments briefly amount to this: The graduate in Britain is assumed to have certain traits of character. Such an assumption cannot be made of the Indian. He is just clever. His apparent intellectual prowess is the result of "cram." He cannot govern the manlier races of India nor deal with simple village folk. The Indian university cannot now provide the atmosphere to manufacture the English product. The Indian must go to British universities and compete

in Britain to get the proper trade mark of governing ability. Sir John Strachey set out these arguments with brutal frankness while the Public Service Commission of 1886 embroidered them.¹⁴ The argument was since then repeated by Englishmen of varying eminence, till the establishment of a Public Service Commission in India in 1926. But by sheer repetition it has left an alluvial deposit of ill will against the graduate. But more of this later.

- (b) The pro-feudal-cum-anti-literary arguments were advanced by the despoiled feudal Muslim nobility mainly, though a few Hindus joined the chorus later. Evidently they found the graduate of low origin in power over them galling indeed;¹⁵ to many Muslims doubly galling since often he was a Bengali Hindu. They described the virtues of birth and family connection in petitions.¹⁶ Sir Syed was honest in his contempt of the B.A. and M.A.¹⁷ Some early Viceroys had a genuine illusion that the British institution of the Justice of the Peace based on local landed gentry could be worked in India.¹⁸ Lord Lytton even instituted a Statutory Civil Service to which were nominated the scions of noble families.¹⁹ But later the feudal argument was taken more seriously, since at some point of time near the turn of the century, the British rulers of India executed a somersault. They were alarmed at the results of their Macaulayan mission of breaking up feudalism; the products of their work challenged them, while the feudalists seemed their natural allies in sticking to power. Hence their new solicitude for Zamindars and Princes. But this policy was a resounding failure. The Statutory Civil Service died unlamented. The Princes and Zamindars could not sweep back the tides of Nationalism. The decaying Indian feudal castes had nothing in common with the more progressive leisured classes of Britain, who sent their sons to Oxford and Cambridge, or sought entry into the Foreign Service or Parliament.²⁰
- (c) The communal argument partly flowed from the feudal argument. The first vociferous feudalists were the Muslim Taluqdars of Oudh and the Tiwanas and Malkanas of Punjab, and they transposed their argument for consideration as the landed aristocracy to consideration as representing the Muslim community. The transition was gentle. A proportion of the posts were in a way reserved for Muslims in Punjab and the United Provinces by executive *fiat* with extensive resort to nomination early in the century.²¹ In 1917, the non-Brahmins of Madras organised the Justice Party to get a fair share of government posts for non-Brahmins. The proportions for the various communities in Madras was fixed by a legislative resolution called the Communal G.O.²² Other Provinces followed suit.

These arguments were used at first to decry the Indian graduates' entry into the Superior Services and later to decry written competitive examinations. But as time passed, the feudal classes shrank in importance, and the rising tide of Nationalism made recital of the early arguments about the lack of "certain traits of character" in the products of Indian universities impossible. All communities were flocking to the universities and nomination was slowly

given up. The communal claims were adjusted within the framework of competition.

While the arguments and the political conditions that produced them disappeared, they left an alluvial deposit of evil, first on university education, secondly on graduates themselves, and thirdly on the general attitude to both.

- (a) The first universities of India were based on the model of London University, which in 1857 was an examining body. While this placed stress on examinations, the stress was multiplied by the prevailing conditions. The economy of the country was then largely agricultural and the only outlet for the graduates was in government service or the professions. Since the latter got crowded, the pressure for government posts with their security and pension rights became intense. If the Indian universities had started as teaching residential universities, producing a limited number of graduates, and if the Indian graduates had been admitted from the early days to the Superior Services, Indian political history would have been different. In fact this was in effect the thing that was done in Ceylon and turned the course of her history. But the tide once it started flowing could not be stemmed at all. While the bureaucrats pointed the finger at the universities as cram shops producing routine clerks, the new *literati* thought that a foreign government was intent on denying them education to keep their minds in slavery. Many early efforts at university reform were doomed to failure due to this subconscious battle of attitudes, and men like Lord Curzon had a way of mixing the good of reform with the evil of official control and the heavy hand that simply ensured failure.²³
- (b) The Indian graduate in and outside the government service was collectively demoralised. In the Service he started as a clerk and plodded on, under a variety of discouraging conditions. Out of it, he spent a lot of time trying to get into it before he set his hand to anything else. In India it was never a question of lack of sufficient general graduates to man the higher administrative positions. It was a profusion of them, filling the meanest clerical jobs. Indianisation of the Superior Services opened the way to the best of them to get directly into the administrative class, and for some hardworking men in the Service to climb up. But the excess of supply over demand has always complicated the situation. When the minimum qualification necessary for a Provincial Public Service examination for clerks like that of Madras was the school-leaving certificate, a good number of graduates within the age limits were found competing. The same was the case with many other classes of posts in the Central Services and the Services of other Provinces. This in fact slowly led to the prescription of a degree as the minimum qualification for many clerical positions. It was not unusual for a graduate competitor who got (say) the twenty-first rank in the examination for the administrative class, when twenty were selected, to plump at once for a position in the clerical ranks. The position has improved considerably since the dark days of the depression of the 30s. There is a dearth of the proper type of recruit in the clerical services and many graduates are

leaving the Service quickly, but the quality of personnel available for the administrative class has not shown any conspicuous decline.²⁴ There has been much industrialisation, and more ambitious graduates are turning to careers in business and industry. But the increased output of graduates, too many of them in the Arts and Humanities, has kept graduate unemployment at the usual level.

- (c) The general attitude to graduates was that they could be had for the asking. Quite a few Secretaries of Government, in those days, passed unkind remarks on the cheapness of graduates. Profuse advice was given to them to go into business on their own, to go back to the villages or to do social work. The late 20s and early 30s witnessed the depth of contempt into which graduates could be sunk. The craze for white-collar jobs was partly a corollary of the caste system, since the upper castes who did not usually do much manual work flocked to the colleges and chased clerical stools in Secretariats. Miss Mayo drew a picture of it in lurid colours.²⁵ An instance has been given of a son of a large landowner hankering after a clerk's post and such instances could be multiplied. The 30s no doubt left a deep scar. The fact of there being too many graduates with too bookish an education, and with nothing to do, was perverted by many into the strange assumption that a non-graduate can always do things better than a graduate. The late Sir P. C. Ray equated the price of a graduate with a bowl of soup in the 30s. The Gandhian Congressmen were approaching the problem in two ways. Gandhiji had often said that the educated man in India was divorced from his fellow countrymen. He had denounced Western university education in very strong terms and had called upon all students to leave their schools and colleges. Even the cultured Jawaharlal Nehru confessed that he sent his daughter to Cambridge, since he felt that Indian universities were then too slavish. The Indian press in the 30s was full of ridicule and contempt for the poor graduate.²⁶

The present move to investigate whether the government could lower the qualification for entry into the clerical ranks owes something at least to the penumbra of anti-graduatism of those days. Many Congress leaders have not broken their umbilical cord with the 30s and their simple half-truths. The other strand of thought—that education must be more national, and more craft-centred—with its Wardha scheme has also some bearing on the present trend. There is, however, one substantial argument advanced to discourage graduates from clerical ranks. It is a waste of talent and training—where the actual requirements are just a knowledge of book-keeping and patience and minimum intelligence for routine work. But the present impasse is the result of a century of misdirected effort. Namely too many not keen about university education as such flocking to “cram shops” to get their degrees as passports to jobs in the public service. The attempt to lower the qualification for clerical entrance looks like putting the cart before the horse. The root of the problem is somehow to limit university education only to those who can benefit by higher learning and research.²⁷ There will then be no graduate frustration in clerical ranks, the university-trained mind having its due place in the administrative class only.

Ceylon

Ceylon, like India, faced Western civilisation through conquest. But there was no 1857 rising with the aftermath of racial bitterness. Indeed the conquest of Ceylon was in easy steps. The changeover from a feudal to a plantation economy of cash crops was again patently smooth. All this encouraged a member of the Colebrooke Commission to see in Ceylon a centre of Western culture radiating it to the East.²⁸ These facts made for a difference between the later history of Ceylon and India. But the educational development and the policy of recruitment to Government Service contributed even more to the result.

The Colebrooke Commission in 1832 recommended that the Higher Civil Service be thrown open to the natives, and this was done in slow stages.²⁹ There were two Ceylonese in the Civil Service in 1844. Between 1870 and 1880 identical papers were set in Ceylon and London. Even as early as 1891 a lower division of the Civil Service was created with posts reserved for the Ceylonese, and later some posts in the regular service were reserved as the local division. It would be seen that in Ceylon the rulers were granting a share of the higher administrative services to educated Ceylonese from the very early days. On the other hand, a local University College was not established in Ceylon till 1924 to enable local aspirants to qualify for London degrees.

* The few graduates available in the island had graduated in British Universities with scholarships or in Indian Universities. The most fertile source of strong discontent and of ardent recruits to anti-British agitation—namely an insulted and unemployed intelligentsia—did not exist in Ceylon. It was typical of Ceylon that one of the chief sponsors of the Ceylon National Congress, Sir P. Arunachalam, took the simultaneous examination for the Civil Service in Ceylon and served for long in its ranks. It was typical of India that the main sponsor of the Indian National Congress, S. N. Banerjee, went to London to compete and get into the Indian Civil Service, and was dismissed from service in India at the earliest opportunity.

The lack of an angry unemployed *literati* based on local universities made all the difference between the course of political history in Ceylon and India. The new middle classes in Ceylon had ample opportunities in Government Service and plantation economy. While missionary effort had spread schools and secondary education very widely all over the island, a local university was established only in 1947, ninety years after the first Indian universities were established. The University College of Colombo was producing a hundred or so graduates of London University each year from 1924 onwards. The best among them competed for the local examination for the (Ceylon) Civil Service, while the rest were easily absorbed in other semi-government jobs.

Graduate unemployment on any considerable scale was practically unknown in Ceylon except during the 30s. The institution of the administrative class was accepted by a people accustomed to caste. The almost deliberate delay in establishing a local university helped to match the level of employment in the upper rungs with the rate of graduate production. Conditions as regards graduates in Government Service approximated more closely to Britain than to India, on the surface.

The new Ceylon University too seems to be following the policy of matching graduate production with employment at proper levels. This is achieved by limiting entrance to the University itself by a competitive examination called popularly university entrance examination. The average annual turn-out was 300 (including about a hundred doctors and engineers) and has now increased to 475, of which 147 are doctors and 31 are engineers. Of the general graduates the best are taken by the Ceylon Civil Service (Administrative Class) and quite a good number go into staff officer grades, which are higher in status than the Executive Class in the United Kingdom. The rest are easily absorbed in commerce or in teaching. The plan of matching supply to demand has been elaborated more than once by the first Vice-Chancellor himself.³⁰

Ceylon presents a picture in a way akin to Britain of the nineteenth century, minus her industrial revolution. A few families sent their sons to Oxford and Cambridge, and many of these found their way into the Home or Indian or Colonial Civil Services by competition.

In Ceylon the old feudal aristocracy has converted itself into the middle class and has nearly monopolised Western education and the higher rungs of the Government Service and professions. This has conduced to the natural acceptance of the idea of an administrative class all the more easily. The difference with India is worth repetition. India accepted the idea of an administrative class selected by competition due to her tradition. But it was not the feudal classes that constituted the new middle classes, but classes like Kayasthas and Brahmins kept under by the feudal classes before British rule. The new middle class accepted the idea of an administrative class based on graduate-competition since they would gain by it, and demanded simultaneous examination and Indianisation. The old feudal classes and the alarmed British had therefore to invent arguments against the new middle class and its demands.

Australia

It is worthwhile starting with a few commonplaces of Australian history and Australian background.³¹ The continent was peopled mainly by immigrants of the British race in successive waves throughout the nineteenth century. Before the turn of the century the two important traits in Australian history had emerged. The first was that egalitarianism noted by Westgarth as early as 1853 and by Anthony Trollope some years later. The Australian press and literature of the last quarter of the nineteenth century were full of it. David Syme, of *The Age*, thundered against the oligarchy of Britain, while *The Bulletin* of Sydney was fostering the legend of "mateship," through the writings of Henry Lawson and Collins. The young democracy wanted to see the rich and educated "educated down." There was a growing bourgeoisie, the new rich, but they had no traditions though they tried to imitate the externals of the upper classes in Britain. But the "wealthy lower orders" never enjoyed political power. The politicians, like everyone else, stuck to the myth of "egalitarianism."

Closely related to this was the note of pragmatism. The first settlers as well as the later immigrants had to develop the resources of the continent

as quickly as possible. This they did in spite of some periods of stagnation. The Government was called in to aid as well as initiate development. This facing the bare realities of nature contributed a note of pragmatism to Australian public life. The politicians and public men in general had not much use for the imponderables. There was no substantial "leisured class" to indulge in them. There were universities before the end of the century, but even university education assumed a utilitarian aspect. The lawyers, doctors and engineers were needed by the country. Some graduates in the Humanities were needed by the teaching profession at all levels.

These facts dictated the attitude to public service and graduate recruitment in the crucial 80s and 90s of the last century. It was not as if the Australian statesmen were faced with the clear alternative of recruiting graduates straight to an administrative class or having young lads from the base grades of the public service work their way up by sheer experience. On the other hand all the conditions that brought about the administrative class based on university education were absent in Australia; no leisured class with sons at Oxford and Cambridge getting a liberal education; not many general graduates commanding respect in commerce or journalism to exercise any political pressure; no Indian Empire to evoke pride and unload the Oxonians on to, in the first instance; no dons from the universities in Parliament, like Macaulay, to bite the ears of top statesmen who themselves came from "Oxbridge"; and no subtle method of doing things like the Order-in-Council away from the vulgar gaze. It was typical of Australia that nobody paid any attention to a lone English journalist who described a future Australian Public Service based on the British model.³² The Australian politicians and ministers were then mostly men with no university education, who, of course, could not see, like President Jackson, any virtue in what they did not have. A democratic country concentrating on the immediate mundane task of development could not see any virtues in the non-professional graduate in the Humanities, "the effect of which is simply to open, invigorate and enrich the mind." It was his own business if he opened his mind instead of opening up the outback. The tasks of government were comparatively simple and there was no Foreign Office calling for a knowledge of history or the classics. The Australian colonies were granted self-government about the time of the Northcote-Trevelyan Report. The pipe line, thin as it was, through which might have flowed the idea of a university-centred administrative class, was cut. And since the Commonwealth took over its big departments in 1901 from the States, there was no opportunity to institute such a class since all the possible posts in it were already filled by the state officers.

This state of affairs tended to perpetuate itself by sheer force of inertia. Attempts were made in the States of Victoria and New South Wales, however, to institute stiff promotion examinations of a broad general type before a clerk could become eligible for higher administrative work.³³ The Victorian examination provisions were not observed in practice. It was quite characteristic of Australia that the New South Wales Public Service Board, though envisaging the need for an administrative class early in the century, thought only in terms of recruiting from inside the Service, through a staff

higher grade examination which they hoped would reach honours standard. By 1938 the examination was given a more liberal content and exemption was accorded to graduates and others with equivalent qualifications. The in-service examinations in the other States seem to be more departmental in nature. In the Commonwealth Service there were many promotion examinations, mostly departmental.

There were many criticisms of this policy of recruiting only at the base in the post-war period. Evidence before the Mason-Allard Royal Commission tended to show that the best boys were going on to the university through scholarships instead of entering the public service. The state of affairs was best summed up by Sir Keith Hancock in these words:³⁴

"Australian Governments insist generally upon the rule that everybody must enter the public service at the age of 16 or thereabouts. At the same time, by means of an excellent system of scholarships, they cunningly entice the cleverest boys to the universities. When they have been enticed thither, these boys discover unless they have entered on a strictly technical training, that there is nothing for them to do except teach. So they return to school and encourage other clever boys to win scholarships. In this way the State has most ingeniously contrived that its system of democratic education shall not embarrass the public services by introducing into them resplendent talents."

But in spite of criticisms, and even some definite proposals for graduate recruitment at a higher level, by both the New South Wales Public Service Board and the Allard-Royal Commission, nothing came out of all this due to the pressing problems of the war and the stark reality of veteran preference in the after-war period.

A left-handed acknowledgment was made of the value of university education in the various states and the Commonwealth in the late 20s and early 30s. "Time off" was given by some services to their officers to attend lectures and take their degrees. The Commonwealth Public Service Board since 1928 found a limited number of free places for some of its promising officers in the universities. The Victorian system was similar. This less than halfway house, however, gave rise to the smug assertion that this part-time graduate was as good as, or even better than, the full-time university man with his mind "opened, invigorated and enriched" particularly by lack of preoccupation with any professional duties. Public Service Commissioners during the 30s especially were found to take this attitude in the face of criticism. The attitude of the New South Wales Board—in response to a suggestion of Mr. H. B. Turner in 1937 for recruitment of university graduates to an administrative division—was just typical of the general attitude. The assumption that "the man who graduated through the Service rather than the man who graduated through the university was the more efficient administrator" was accepted by the Public Service Authorities and Associations.

The dearth of officers with broad general education in the administrative division was not made evident through any disastrous failures in administration. The Commonwealth was safeguarding itself exactly as the pre-Northcote-Trevelyan Civil Service of Britain did. Sections 44 and 47 of

the Commonwealth Public Service Act were used liberally not only to recruit professional experts but men with a good university education and proved ability. For example, the first three officers and the permanent head of the newly-started External Affairs Department were university graduates brought in from outside the Service. So were the special appointments to the Defence Department, the Post Office, the Taxation Branch and the Public Service Board.³⁵

The first provision for admitting the general graduates as such into the public service was Section 36a of the Commonwealth Public Service Act.³⁶ The amendment passed in 1933 was the occasion for focusing the arguments on both sides. The Public Service Associations condemned this new form of "privilege" and some Labour members were suspicious that university education was still restricted to the upper classes. The universities had been pressing the issue for some years. But the final acceptance of the idea by the Board and Government was rather in a "why not try" spirit. Criticisms like that of the British Economic Mission had started some soul-searching and the deterioration of the service as a result of the influx of ex-Servicemen was a stark reality. The Section provided for 10 per cent. of the total annual recruits to be recruited from university graduates. Initially they had no special increments and received the salary for the same age as the clerk recruited at school-leaving age. The amendment, taken all in all, looked like an invitation to the prodigal who chose to enter the university instead of the public service at 18 or 19, by just raising the age limit, but "Gad sir, no fatted calf." In 1948 the Board raised the minimum commencing salary three increments above the leaving certificate appointee of the same age. Surprisingly, the response to this half-hearted invitation was quite good; 67 out of 204 applicants were selected from 1934-41. Their progress in the Service was faster not only than that of the normal clerical recruits, but also than that of the free placeholders in the Service.

The Second World War gave a shock treatment to the traditional thinking on the subject of recruitment. The Public Services of the Commonwealth and the States failed to face up to the tremendous problems of a war economy. The expanding departments and the new agencies pressed into their service qualified personnel wherever they could find them from outside the Service.

But the period of reconstruction after the war called for even more administrative talent. The situation was met in two ways by the Commonwealth. The first was an increased resort to Sections 44 and 47 to get men of proved merit from outside. The Public Service Board felt that this was more a palliative than a solution, while the Service Associations protested vehemently. Partly because of this the Board began revising its recruitment policy indirectly. In the first place all efforts were made to obtain the full quota under Section 36a. Pamphlets giving the prospects for graduates in the public service were produced and closer contact with universities was maintained. Secondly, most graduate ex-Servicemen were found a place through Section 159, though the importance of this avenue has decreased of late. Thirdly more use was made of Section 47, not so much to get mature men, who had already made their mark, as to recruit young promising graduates. The Diplomatic Cadets, the Personnel Cadets and Assistant

Research Officers come under this category, though graduates in the Service can also be promoted to the last-mentioned. Indeed the Research Officer cadres with longer salary spaces seem to have been made a distinct career avenue for graduates. The influx of graduates from in and outside the Service to proper career avenues seems to have been also due to the wider discretion given to departmental heads in describing duties of posts and prescribing qualifications. Lastly the free place schemes and time off concessions seem to have been used by a large percentage of officers, at least in Canberra, while some new Australians, who have graduated from foreign universities, have entered through the Extended Leaving Examination, thus enriching the Service.

The following table gives an idea of the position in the post-war years.

Year	Graduates recruited under Section 36a or Regulation 153, i.e., as ex-service men					External Affairs Cadets	Personnel Cadets (d)	Assistant Research Officers (e)
	Men	Women	Total	Less those who left	Net Recruitment			
1949	26	16	42	14	28	0	48(a)	0
1950	74	50	124	46	78	7	62(b)	0
1951	82	61	143	57	86	0	0	0
1952	45	56	101	27	74	9	10(b)	0
1953	27	18	45	5	40	0	18(b)	0
1954	18	18	36 (16h) (c)	4	32	0	12(b)	0
1955	17	39	56 (9h) (c)	0	56	6	0	1

(a) In training.

(b) Recruited for the year.

(c) h means Honours graduates out of the total number.

(d) Personnel Cadets are given training in the university for four years after selection.

(e) Assistant Research Officers in this table include only those appointed as Cadets directly.

Source: Annual Report of the Commonwealth Public Service Board.

Some comparative figures for pre-war years are as follows.³⁷ During 1934-1941, 67 were admitted under Section 36a. Thirty-six of these were general Arts graduates, of whom about a quarter had obtained academic honours. One was a Rhodes Scholar, four were winners of post-graduate scholarships, four were first-class honours, one second, and two were M.A.s. In 1936, 39 per cent., and in 1953, 55 per cent., of the I and II Division officers were graduates. A survey made by the Commonwealth Public Service Board in 1956 showed that out of 1,743 officers drawing £2,000 per annum or more, 810 were graduates.

Graduate recruitment has been the subject of many recent discussions and articles. From the facts, figures and discussions, some significant common points emerge:

- (a) The failure or at least the inadequacy of the free place scheme and time-off concessions.

- (b) The good results in general of graduate recruitment and the rapid progress of graduates in the Service.
- (c) The inadequacy of the present methods of probation and training for the graduate, many of whom waste time in early years of dull routine.
- (d) The failure to distinguish between the brilliant and the plodding graduate, "the man with the first- or second-class honours, the f.a.q. pass-graduate, and the leaving-certificate entrant who has gained a degree by scraping through nine or ten of the simplest subjects he can find" being lumped together as graduates.
- (e) The need to have a better planned recruitment and better use of graduates. (One writer has suggested recruitment of bright cadets at leaving stage to be trained in universities; another the use of the probation and departmental competitive examination for graduate recruits.)

The main point of difference is whether the graduates' advancement is due to their general administrative ability or specialist qualifications in such subjects as Economics.

The legislative as well as extra legislative action has been *ad hoc*, consequent on the comparatively rigid nature of Public Service Legislation (except re Section 47) and the need to submit every measure experimental or long-term to the crucible of popular and parliamentary discussion. Hence every amendment of the Public Service Act is conceived only years after its need had been demonstrated. It is pruned to make it look acceptable even to strong opponents. Crises are met by makeshifts. Backstairs legalistic methods are preferred—e.g., more graduates get in as ex-Servicemen or Section 47 Cadets. The need for new skills is accommodated within the old departmental framework itself. As a result there is a paradox of widening opportunities for higher education in the 3,000 Commonwealth scholarships, but no direct acknowledgment of its utility in public service legislation.

New Zealand

New Zealand had much in common with Australia in her historical and social background. Responsible government coincided with increasing "development" of the country and the use of the State machinery for it. Again starting like Australia with no "ancient injustices" to be rectified, there developed the key note of egalitarianism in public life. The results were broadly similar; pragmatism, which recognised the value of the professional and the technician as against the intellectual with general culture, and egalitarian sentiment, which would not lightly accept differential recruitment.

Her acknowledgment of her public service philosophy was, however, both frank and self-conscious. Her public services were reorganised under the first Public Service Act as late as 1912. The New Zealand Public Service Commissioner could therefore recognise the alternatives of differential or base grade recruitment more clearly than the Australian legislatures and employing authorities of earlier days. In his second report, the New Zealand Commissioner, commenting on the Report of the Macdonnell Commission, realised that in the United Kingdom "a lad progressing from the primary

to the secondary schools and thence to the university was more worthy of consideration for a higher post in the public service than an officer who spent a similar time in the junior or senior class." He was also convinced "that any arrangement under which promotion to a higher class would be debarred to officers already in a lower one would be difficult if not impossible to apply in a country such as New Zealand where the public service and the education system have had to adapt themselves to altogether different conditions than exist in Great Britain, and where so many public servants do credit to themselves and the service by university work done by them after their appointment."³⁹

The Commissioners from then on have laid their emphasis on in-Service graduation. In 1930 their Eighteenth Report (p. 4) commended the New Zealand system as more democratic than the English. Their Twenty-first Report (1933) elaborated this: "New Zealand is essentially a democratic country and no practice which might be inferred to give an undue advantage to those men who can afford to continue full-time studies at a university is likely to meet with general approval. Due consideration must be given to the claims of those already in the service who in their spare time attend a university college and graduate therefrom" (p. 4). The Twenty-sixth Report (1938) reiterated that "the Commissioners do not subscribe to the opinion that because they qualified before entry they are necessarily better equipped than those who graduated after entry into the service" (p. 13). Part-time studies were encouraged by time off, subsistence allowances (for professional studies), special increments and increased chances of promotion. Special emphasis was again placed on professional studies' particularly law and accountancy. The result has been a mass of all types of degrees and diplomas among the officers.⁴⁰ The accompanying table of holders of degrees in the New Zealand Public Service (Clerical Division) gives an idea of the trends.

Degrees	1913	1923	1933	1938	1954	1955
Arts	17	75	108	174	222	185
Science	19	63	133	256	Nil	Nil
Law	47	135	222	282	161	140
Accountancy and Commerce and Insurance	22	150	348	665	663	514
Professional examination in Public Administration	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	50	53

(The table excludes the very large number of engineering students in the professional and general division.)

The effect on the university itself seems to have been regrettable. The pressure of the public service through staff associations to permit part-time study led in the pre-war period to a preponderance of part-time students, a result not very desirable to the academic staff.

Unlike Australia, there has been no statutory hurdle against the entry into the service of full-time graduates. Section 41 of the New Zealand

Public Service Act prescribes an upper age limit of forty for its clerical and general divisions, extendable to fifty. This element of flexibility has avoided the need for amendments like Section 36a and the extensive use of reserve powers under Section 47 as in Australia. But the practice has been to recruit clerical cadets below 21, most of them having passed University Entrance or its equivalent, and the rest with school or higher school certificates. The poor recruitment of graduates resulted from the lack of any special inducements to them. The Commissioners, however, claimed in 1938 that the public service was a "prolific employer of the products of our universities," and gave a list of 451 graduates who had joined the service in the preceding ten years, of which 94 were Arts graduates (12 Ph.D.s, one D.Litt., and one M.Litt.), 36 were law graduates, 16 commerce graduates, and the rest engineers, doctors and other professionals.⁴¹ It is evident from the figures that the service did not set much value by cultural degrees as a potential source of administrative ability.

After much pressure from the University, the Government appointed a Committee on "University graduates and the Public Service," composed of the Public Service Commissioner, the Solicitor-General, the various heads of departments, officers of Public Service Associations, the Vice-Chancellor of the University and representatives of colleges and schools. The composition of the committee seems to have ensured lack of agreement even on basic issues. A series of six sub-committee reports were produced setting out the differing viewpoints.⁴² The report of the Public Service Commissioner said in effect that in the services there is an excess of degree- or diploma-holders, whether earned as full-time or part-time students; that after eliminating from the list of the university graduates who went straight to the university those who had deliberately chosen other avenues of employment, really little was left for the public service. The question in effect, he said, boiled down to this: "Is it preferable to admit young men after their university training or to take them before they begin or while they are still at the university, give them opportunities to learn the rudiments of their department's activities, and at the same time pursue their academic studies?" He felt that it had not been shown that the graduate appointee would be better than the officer who has graduated whilst a member of the public service. He added that the English administrative class has undergone many changes, that in the competitive examinations many in-service candidates did better than "Oxbridge" men, that New Zealand had too small an administrative division and no big Consular and Diplomatic Services, and that preferential recruitment would be against the spirit of the national feeling of New Zealand as a whole. The University Men's Committee, headed by Professor Hunter, said that while the public service had many graduates, they missed all the best of them, who went overseas for post-graduate work, that they felt the educational results of part-time study were unsatisfactory, that the consensus of opinion of successive Royal Commissions in Britain was that the administrator must be recruited after university study and set to work straight on higher administrative problems, and lastly what discouraged the best graduates in New Zealand from entering the service was not so much a low salary as the practice of setting them up to

do routine work instead of learning to form policy. Both parties agreed to disagree.

But the discussion seems to have had at least some indirect effect on recruiting policy. In the post-war period, the Commission set out to attract some of the best graduates with higher salaries and better prospects under a scheme of two years' probation in the various departments.⁴² The measure of success of the new drive has not been assessed so far.

While there are similarities in the tales of graduate recruitment in New Zealand and Australia, important differences are noticeable. The flexibility of the New Zealand Act enabled slight changes of policy to be effected more easily. Secondly the issues at stake have been faced squarely and stated clearly in the discussions in New Zealand. Lastly in a small country with a single university, part-time studies seem to have had more effect on university education.

Conclusions

- (a) The attitude to graduate recruitment in all the four countries seems to have been governed by two primary forces; the class structure and the stage of "development" of the resources. These two are themselves interrelated. When a leisured governing class was interested in university education, an administrative class based on university education seemed just the thing. This was so in the United Kingdom, but even there the part played by accident is rather large. In India the new middle classes flocked to the universities and supported graduate recruitment because they were likely to benefit by it more than the feudal classes, even though the events showed that it was not the royal road to power. In Ceylon the new class structure corresponded more with nineteenth century England. In Australia and New Zealand the politically powerful classes did not correspond to the middle classes of Britain with leanings towards Oxford and Cambridge, but more with the new commercial classes, and to them graduate recruitment never suggested itself as a wheel of the state.

The stage of development accounts for the smooth acceptance of the idea for over a century in England, and for graduate unemployment in India. The new middle classes in India flocked to universities, but foreign rule and the slow breakdown of feudalism made development of the country slow. Bookish education and even technical education outstripped development and the opportunities for employment. In England the leisured and middle classes, having created the administrative class based on Oxford and Cambridge, were not slow in admitting the commercial and later the working classes into the portals of both. There was thus the surprising spectacle of an idea hatched by the Liberals and carried on by the Conservatives being enthusiastically acclaimed by Labour in later times. In Ceylon educational opportunity was in a way deliberately pegged down to keep pace with development in the interest of the new middle classes. In Australia and New Zealand a certain stage of development stratified certain notions of pragmatism and egalitarianism and telescoped them into succeeding stages of development.

- (b) The part played by accident, inertia and pressure groups is next in importance. The value of administrative class and university training were never widely discussed before acceptance. They became *fait accompli* at a peculiar stage of Indo-British history. Macaulay's sonorous periods did not make any serious impression in the House and Macaulay himself was not satisfied with his performance in 1853. His scheme was accepted since nobody was sufficiently interested in India. The Northcote-Trevelyan scheme was put into effect because of the peculiar machinery available in England at that time. The Order-in-Council of 1854 took it out of the forum of public discussion and step by step it was implemented by 1870. This was possible at a stage in English history when the ruling classes felt the impact of urgency and enlightenment, but before a fresh young *demos* got power.

The importance of inertia is illustrated better in Australia and New Zealand. The state originally kept out graduates because their value was not demonstrable and they came from the upper classes. But the arrangement continued long after the state itself acknowledged their value by backstairs recruitment (Section 47) and educational opportunity has been widened considerably by the state itself. This was in part ensured by the entrenched pressure groups of Public Service Associations.

- (c) The lesson for new countries evolving their Civil Services is evident, viz., the need for development of the resources and of higher education to keep pace with each other. The way to do it without creating other problems is the task of the statesman. In Ceylon this has been done, in the writer's opinion, at too great a cost. In Malaya the same mistakes are being repeated. Again in the writer's opinion, a sound administrative class, even if it were based on limited opportunity and privilege, produces more good than evil in the long run under proper conditions. This has been demonstrated in Britain, in Ceylon and India. The challenging tasks faced by Britain during the two world wars and depression, and the tasks undertaken by the new democracies in India and Ceylon, would have staggered any other service without a *corps d'elite* in a country of limited resources. They cannot afford the muddles which new isolated unexploited countries can.

¹*Indian Constitutional Documents* by A. C. Banerjee (A. Mukherjee and Company, Calcutta), page 266, Vol. I, for the Act. See also *The British Civil Service* by Herman Finer, pages 38-40, and Chap. V, *The Growth of the British Civil Service* by E. Cohen.

²*Speeches—Parliamentary and Miscellaneous* by the Rt. Hon. Thomas Babington Macaulay (Clarke, Beeton and Co., London, 1853), page 185, Vol. I for the speech of 1833, and pages 267-273, Vol. II for the speech of 1853.

³E.g., "The effect of competition is to keep up the standard . . . but the moment you say to the examiner not 'Shall A or B go to India?' but 'Here is A, is he fit to go to India?' the question becomes altogether a different one. The examiner's compassion, his good nature, his unwillingness to blast the prospects of a young man, lead him to strain a point in order to let the candidate in if he possibly can." (*Op. cit.*, p. 272.)

⁴*Indian Constitutional Documents* by A. C. Banerjee, pages 284-285, Vol. I for the Report of the Committee.

Lord Salisbury lowered the age for competition to 19 in 1879. But the candidates after selection spent three years in the universities taking a degree.

For the close relation between the British universities and the competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service see Stanley Leathes's remarks in pamphlet of Imperial Co-operation League, London—Private Discussion Dinner of 22nd June, 1910.

⁵See *Indian Constitutional Documents* by A. C. Banerjee, pages 183-185, Vol. I for Munro's Minutes on employment of Indians in higher positions. Also page 218 for Clause 87 of the Charter Act of 1833.

⁶*Op. cit.*, page 165 for objection of Lord Wellesley, and page 107 for Edmund Burke's remarks.

⁷*Op. cit.*, page 218. See also *History of the Congress* by B. P. Sitaramayya, pages 30-31.

⁸*Modern India and the West* edited by L. S. S. O'Malley (Oxford University Press, 1942), page 662.

⁹*A Survey of Indian History* by K. M. Panikkar. First Edition, 1947, page 261.

¹⁰*The History of the Congress* by B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, page 8, Vol. I.

¹¹See the *Hansard* reports of the Indian Legislative Assembly particularly in 1923-24, Debates on the Lee Commission Reports, etc. Also see *India* by Valentine Chirol, 1926, pages 274-276, particularly his chapter "The Tangle of Western Education" for further details. See also *Report on Administration* by A. D. Gowala (published by the Gokhale Institute of Politics, Poona).

¹²E.g., Munro's Minute referred to in note 5 above.

¹³Summarised from *Public Administration*, Vol. XXXII, pages 30-44, in "Civil Service Reform 1853-55" by Professor Edward Hughes.

¹⁴*India—Its Administration and Progress* by Sir John Strachey. The P.S.C. Report is quoted therein. Two excerpts are given from these pages:

"Not the least important part of the competitive examination of the young Englishman was passed for him by his forefathers who as we have a right to assume have transmitted to him not only their physical courage but also the powers of independent judgement, the decision of character, the habits of thought and generally those qualities that are necessary for the government of men and which have given us our Empire" (p. 544).

"No assumption of the possession of such qualities can be made in the case of natives whose education and training have been entirely Indian. They may be thoroughly competent for many important offices but we cannot depend on their possessing the habits of thought, the sympathy with English principles of administration, the vigour and energy which are necessary qualifications for employment in a comparatively small service constituting the *corps d'elite* entrusted with the highest functions of government" (p. 94).

See also *Dilemma in India* by Sir Reginald Craddock—chapters on administration—and *The British Impact on India* by Sir Percival Griffiths, page 192.

See also L. S. Amery's remarks. (Imperial Co-operation League Private Discussion Dinner. London, 22nd June, 1910. Pamphlet for private circulation only.) E.g., "If you held the examination on a single list I think you would be bound to hold it in India as well and you might then have the whole of your Indian Civil Service flooded by clever young Babus who were able to cram up. That would be a disastrous result to the efficiency of Government in India."

¹⁵*Indian Constitutional Documents* by A. C. Banerjee, page 179, Vol. II (Presidential address to the Congress 1896 by R. Sayani). See also pages 165, 169 and 174 for a typical Hindu aristocrat's view, see *India of Today* by Meysey Thompson, 1913.

¹⁶Quoted in *Administrative Problems of British India* by Joseph Chailley. See the last chapter, pages 546-553.

¹⁷Quoted in *History of Nationalism in the East* by Hans Kohn.

¹⁸*Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India* by Thompson and Garratt (1934), page 496.

¹⁹*The Indian Civil Service* by L. S. S. O'Malley (1931), pages 213-215.

²⁰*A Survey of Indian History* by K. M. Panikkar, page 271.

²¹*Speeches of G. K. Gokhale* (G. A. Natesan and Company). Speech of 17th March, 1911, on Subba Rau's resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council.

²²For a concise history of communal representation in Madras see Special Annual Number 1953, *Sunday Observer* (Madras). See also M.L.C.P., Vol. II, page 425.

²³*Modern India and the West* by L. S. S. O'Malley, page 183.

²⁴*Report of Revenue Administration* (Madras Government Publication, 1955) and Union Public Service Commission (India), *Annual Reports*.

²⁵*Mother India* by Katherine Mayo (Jonathan Cape, London, 1929). See Chapter "Give me office or give me death," pages 165 onwards. For a more factual and less lurid account see *Modern India and the West* by L. S. S. O'Malley, pages 181-183 and 662-664.

²⁶*Collected writings of Mahatma Gandhi. To Students.* The volumes of *Modern Review* (Calcutta) and *Indian Review* (Madras) from 1930-35, give a summary of the contemporary Press reactions.

See also Sir P. C. Ray's *Memoirs of a Bengali Chemist*.

²⁷The number of Indian graduates (non-professional) rose from approximately 10,000 in 1921-22 to 20,000 in 1939 to 25,000 in 1941-42 and to 32,000 in 1946-47. (From the graph on page 742 Report of the University Education Commission (India) (1952), Vol. I.)

The committee on recruitment qualifications placed its report before the Indian Parliament in August, 1957. The majority report recommends insistence on a degree for only the highest grades and attempts to keep graduates out of lower grades by low age limits. The dissenting members feel that even this would not go far in relieving the pressure on Universities.

²⁸*Report of the Colebrooke Commission*, 1832 by Mr. C. H. Cameron. "The peculiar circumstances of Ceylon, both physical and moral, seem to point it out to the British Government as the fittest spot in our Eastern Dominions in which to plant the germ of European civilisation whence we may not unreasonably hope that it will spread over the whole of these vast territories."

²⁹*Public Administration in Ceylon* by Sir Charles Collins (Royal Institute of International Affairs), pages 68-69.

³⁰*The Ceylon Economist*, Vol. I, No. 3 (February, 1951). "The University in the Island's Economy," a lecture delivered to the University Economic Society by Sir Ivor Jennings. Two extracts read "but the only effective method is to relate present demand to present supply" and "our present output of graduates is 300 but it is rising rapidly and will probably reach 450 when it becomes stabilised. By that time, of course, the demand may have increased. It may, however, have fallen. As soon as we have a depression all those who criticise us for producing too few graduates will turn round and rend us for producing too many." (See also *Ceylon Teacher*, Vol. XVIII, No. 96, October, 1954, pages 593-594 and 599-600.)

³¹The general background is taken from *Australia* by Crawford. Chapter VIII; *Story of Australia* by A. G. L. Shaw, Chapter X; *Australia* by W. K. Hancock, Chapter XII. See also *Australian Government and Politics* by J. D. B. Miller, pages 149-151.

³²*Sydney Quarterly*, Vol. IV, pages 176-183, June, 1887. "Civil Service Reform in New South Wales," by T. Veale.

³³See *Public Service Recruitment in Australia* by R. S. Parker, for much of what follows.

³⁴*Australia* by W. K. Hancock (1930 Edition), page 142.

³⁵*The Higher Public Service of the Commonwealth of Australia* by Howard A. Scarrow (Roneoed thesis, Australian National University, Canberra), pages 331-334. In course of publication.

³⁶Many of the facts about graduate recruitment in the Commonwealth Service are taken from "The Recruitment of University Graduates to the Commonwealth Public Service" by S. Encel, *Public Administration*, Summer, 1954, pages 217-228, and *Public Administration (Australia)*, Vol. XII, pages 222-231.

³⁷S. Encel, page 227, and *Public Service Recruitment in Australia* by R. S. Parker (1942), page 271.

³⁸See Howard Scarrow's reply in *Public Administration (Australia)*, March and September, 1954; and S. Encel, "A Rejoinder," *op cit.*, June and December, 1954.

³⁹Public Service Commissioner (New Zealand), II, Report (1914), page 22. As regards the pre-war period; generally, see *Public Administration Review*, Vol I, pages 257-270 *Education and Training of Personnel in New Zealand* by Leslie Lepson.

⁴⁰The Commission was itself alarmed at excessive devotion to part-time study and the tendency to relax after earning a degree. New Zealand Public Service Commissioner 27th Report (1939), page 10.

⁴¹New Zealand Public Service Commissioner 26th Report (1938), page 13.

⁴²The Reports were roneoed. Report No. 5 of the Public Service Commissioner and No. 6 of Professor Hunter and others are summarised.

⁴³Pamphlet *Careers in Administration for University Graduates, New Zealand Public Service*. Issued by the Public Service Commission (New Zealand) about 1952.

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The United Nations Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions

By J. DAVID SINGER

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WRITING two years prior to the San Francisco Conference, C. Wilfred Jenks observed that "effective international institutions, like strong national government, presuppose an adequate foundation of financial strength, the creation of which involves the addition of a new chapter to the law of nations."¹ No two agencies have been more deeply involved in the effort to add that new chapter than the Supervisory Commission of the League of Nations and the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions of the United Nations. The intent of this article is to examine the development, composition and functions of the latter body—a relatively unknown, but singularly important, agency of the United Nations.

CREATION OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Recalling the effectiveness of the Supervisory Commission in maintaining the financial integrity of the League, the Australian delegation to the San Francisco Conference had sought provision in the Charter for a similar "qualified advisory agency," but the suggestion was rejected then on the grounds that "the means by which the General Assembly should prepare and approve the budget of the Organisation should be left for the General Assembly to decide when it was in operation."² Thus, the question was referred, according to the "Interim Arrangements," to the Preparatory Commission, which, in turn, submitted the problem to its fourteen-member Executive Committee, meeting in London during the weeks immediately following San Francisco.

The document upon which discussion was based was a United Kingdom working paper submitted to the Executive Committee's Financial and Budgetary Committee (Committee 7). In proposing that the Secretary-General's estimates be examined by some small agency prior to submission to the Assembly, this paper pointed out that "a large body like the Assembly, or any budgetary committee of the Assembly, would find it difficult to deal adequately with the budget, unless the issues upon which its attention should be particularly directed had already been analysed and reported upon." It also intended that this agency would "help the Secretariat in presenting proposals."³ Committee 7 readily accepted this reasoning, and in its Draft Recommendations to the full Executive Committee proposed that the Assembly appoint at its first session an Administrative and Budgetary Supervisory Committee whose responsibilities would include: (a) assisting the Secretary-General in presenting administrative and budgetary proposals to the Assembly, (b) examining the budget and reporting on it to the Assembly, (c) advising the Assembly in administrative and budgetary matters,

(d) examining, for the Assembly, the administrative (as opposed to operational) budgets and the proposed fiscal arrangements of the specialised agencies, and (e) "such other duties as may be assigned to it by the financial and administrative regulations of the Organisation."⁴ Before forwarding this proposal to the parent Preparatory Commission, the Executive Committee inserted one important restriction: the prospective agency would assist the Assembly only on matters "other than personnel."⁵

Several delegations to the Preparatory Commission were disturbed by what appeared to be a lack of clarity concerning the Supervisory Committee's rôle. The United States delegation, upon which the Bureau of the Budget was well represented, therefore offered an amendment intended to clarify the relationship among the new agency, the Secretary-General, and the Assembly. It proposed that the title be changed to "Advisory Committee," and that its function be limited to *assisting the Assembly* in its review of Secretariat activities, rather than *supervising* such activities. On the other hand, however, this amendment called for adding the rôle of "considering and reporting on staff regulations to be established by the General Assembly."⁶

During subsequent deliberations, the Preparatory Commission agreed that the Advisory Committee (the change of title had been readily accepted) should not interfere with the Secretary-General's authority in personnel questions; rather, it would "deal with personnel matters only in their budgetary aspects." In brief then, instead of a body to "help the Secretariat," the Committee's primary function would be to advise the Assembly. The Preparatory Commission's Report to the Assembly recommended the following functions: (a) to examine and report on the Secretary-General's budget estimates, (b) to advise the Assembly on any administrative or budgetary matter referred to it, (c) to examine, for the Assembly, the administrative budgets of the specialised agencies as well as proposals for financial arrangements between the agencies and the Organisation, and (d) to consider and report to the Assembly on the auditor's reports concerning the accounts of both the U.N. and the agencies.⁷

In January, 1946, at the first session of the Assembly, the Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary) Committee considered the recommendations of the Preparatory Commission, as well as two proposals emanating from the delegation of France. The first of the French motions, which would have enlarged the authority of the Advisory Committee to permit it to advise the Secretary-General and the Assembly on the "application" of the Staff Regulations, was rejected on the grounds that it might make the Secretary-General "subservient to the Advisory Committee." The second, which called for the Advisory Committee itself to conduct the audit, was likewise defeated, since it had already been decided that independent external auditors were to be appointed.⁸ Early in the second part of this first session, the initial appointments to the Advisory Committee were made, though not without considerable discussion concerning the nature of its membership.

COMPOSITION OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Not only the rôle and function of the Committee, but its composition, and the nature of its membership, had received considerable attention during

the Executive Committee and Preparatory Commission stages. The above-mentioned United Kingdom paper had suggested that the Committee be a "small expert body," made up of members selected on an individual basis from among persons with "wide experience in the field of public affairs," serving for relatively long terms. The Financial and Budgetary Committee of the Executive Committee refined these proposals to include: (a) membership of seven, serving three-year terms, (b) two members to be "financial experts," who would never retire simultaneously, (c) no two members would be nationals of the same state, and (d) members would be "independent" experts. While there was some disagreement as to the size of the committee and term of office, and it required a final compromise in the Assembly's Fifth Committee to settle upon a membership of nine, with staggered three-year terms, it was the status of the members and the mode of their selection which posed the most difficult problem.

In the Executive Committee, it soon became apparent that "independent" was open to a variety of interpretations. The Soviet delegate argued that members be selected "on the basis of their representativeness of Member States, with due account taken of their experience in the field of public affairs." Immediate opposition to this subordination of competence to representativeness appeared, and in a compromise move the U.S. delegate offered the phrasing "due regard for geographical distribution." Despite a Soviet allegation that the question was being postponed, rather than resolved, the Executive Committee approved a recommendation calling for "broad geographical representation, personal qualifications, and experience."⁹

Nothing occurred during either the Preparatory Commission meetings or the first part of the first session of the Assembly to upset the Executive Committee's decision, but at the second part of the First Assembly the Soviet prediction was borne out, and the issue of competence versus representativeness was again debated. Faced with the Secretary-General's request for prompt establishment of the Advisory Committee, the Chairman of the Fifth Committee suggested that he and the other officers of the Committee submit "a list of countries which might be represented on the Advisory Committee." The British delegate opposed this suggestion, noting that although selected on a "broad geographical basis," members must also be chosen "according to competence." The Brazilian spokesman argued that in as much as it was to be a technical committee, "individual capacity should be the primary consideration." The Rapporteur then agreed that "the vote should be taken on a list of names, not countries," but he pointed out the difficulties involved in choosing nine persons from 51 nations. He explained that the officers of the Fifth Committee were proposing two stages: one, to satisfy the geographical distribution requirement; and another, to select a satisfactory list of nine from among the nations first agreed upon.¹⁰ It was finally agreed that each delegation might suggest several candidates, whether or not nationals or members of the nominating delegation. Following several withdrawals and substitutions, the election of the first members of the Advisory Committee took place.

Elected for three-year terms were: Donald Stone, of the U.S. Bureau of the Budget; Sir William Matthews, a senior British Civil Servant; and

Olyntho Machado, an officer in the Bank of Brazil. For two-year terms, the Fifth Committee elected Thanassis Aghnides, who had served in the Disarmament Section of the League and later represented Greece at several political conferences; C. L. Hsia, a former Chinese legislator and professor of international law; and Valentin Kobushko, of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade. The remaining three, assigned one-year terms, were André Ganem, a former newspaperman, professor, League employee, and member of the French delegation at San Francisco; S. K. Kirpalani, of the Indian Trade Commission; and Gustavo Martinez-Cabanas, of the Mexican Treasury.¹¹

This group of men served during that most critical and formative period in the life and growth of the Advisory Committee: the second part of the First Assembly, which adjourned in December, 1946. While the Committee was seized, immediately following its election, with a number of crucial problems, and it had actually begun to fulfil some of its tasks, certain pertinent questions still remained unanswered.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Any illusion that the relationships between the Advisory Committee and the Secretariat, the Assembly, and the Member States had been permanently and clearly defined was quickly dispelled. Before the Second Assembly was a few days old, it became clear that this was not so; today, ten years later, certain aspects of these interrelationships are still not clear.

Competence of the Advisory Committee

Difficulty developed quite early in that session when Thanassis Aghnides, who had been elected Chairman of the Committee (he has held the post ever since), wrote to the Assembly's Committee on Procedure and Organisation regarding a study in changes of the rules of procedure. "My Committee," he stated, "believes that in view of the existence of other Advisory Committees, its short title is liable to give rise to confusion; and that the title does not adequately reflect its functions, some of those duties which have been placed upon it by the General Assembly being executive rather than advisory." He called for a change in name to "Standing Committee on Administration and Finance," and proposed that his committee be granted authority to "bring to the attention of the General Assembly, any administrative or financial matter which it deems necessary." In addition, he suggested that "experience in the fields of administration and finance" be added to the requirements for membership. The Committee on Procedures refused to act on what seemed to be a bid for increased power, and referred the suggestions to the Fifth Committee for study. The problem was deferred until the following year, but not until there had been some discussion of broadening the Advisory Committee's rôle and giving it the power to "revise a part of the budget."¹² While no affirmative action was ever taken on this particular request, the question of expanding the competence of the Committee arose on several other occasions.

During the Fifth Committee debate in 1948 over the Secretary-General's supplementary estimates for the Mediator's Mission to Palestine, Aghnides

was challenged on the right of his Committee to question the administrative costs involved. He readily admitted that it was "difficult to decide, under the terms of reference of the Advisory Committee, what matters came within the purview of that body, and more particularly, up to what point it could give its views on administrative questions. In the latter case," he went on, "the Advisory Committee would be encroaching upon the authority of the Secretary-General, and would prevent him from assuming the responsibilities which devolved upon him in accordance with the express provisions of the Charter." But, Aghnides concluded, "the Advisory Committee could nevertheless intervene in exceptional circumstances, and if the report of the Fifth Committee asked it to *co-operate more closely* with the Secretary-General, it would certainly comply with that request."¹³ A significant observation was added by Carl Hambro, of Norway, formerly Chairman of the League's Supervisory Commission, an agency whose powers were considerably more extensive than those of its successor. In pointing out that "the U.N. had no real system for financial and budgetary control," he suggested that "the duties of the Advisory Committee should be defined and extended."¹⁴

In 1952, Hambro again suggested a review of the Committee's terms of reference. In noting the differences between the Secretary-General's estimates and the Advisory Committee's recommendations, he commended a recently published study of the League which

"emphasised in particular that no disagreement could exist between the Secretary-General and the Supervisory Commission when the budgetary estimates were submitted to the League of Nations, because these estimates had been settled in the most thorough consultation between the Secretary-General and the Commission. . . ."

One of the best ways to facilitate the Fifth Committee's work would be for the Secretary-General and the Advisory Committee to agree beforehand on the amount of the budgetary estimates."¹⁵

Aghnides pointed out that such proposals had been made before, and that the Advisory Committee would probably have no objections, but he suggested that adoption of this procedure would require "a radical change in the Advisory Committee's terms of reference, since its present functions were purely administrative and advisory." It would be up to the Fifth Committee "to determine whether the necessary power should be delegated to the Advisory Committee, and whether the Secretary-General's powers relating to administration and the budget should be changed." The Assistant Secretary-General for Administration and Finance, Byron Price, noted that this proposal would make the Advisory Committee's terms of reference similar to those of the old Supervisory Commission, and expressed his concern by indicating the Secretariat's unwillingness to accept any such change without a thorough study of all aspects of the question.¹⁶

During the next few days of debate, this question persisted. Demanding that the Advisory Committee and the Secretariat "work in closer association and present a common front to the Fifth Committee," the Swedish delegate moved that the estimates then under discussion (Department of Public Information) be referred back to the Advisory Committee with a request

that "efforts be made, in consultation with the Secretary-General, and in the light of these discussions, to reach a solution agreeable to both." Opposition was strong and immediate. The Netherlands delegate claimed that adoption of the motion would be "equivalent to asking the Advisory Committee and the Secretary-General to engage in haggling." The Belgian representative thought that it would hamper the Advisory Committee's work and set a dangerous precedent, and the Colombian delegate remarked that the Advisory Committee had not been set up as a "negotiating committee." Hambro urged, however, in support of the motion, that it would be ill-advised to deny the two parties an "opportunity to co-operate," and the Fifth Committee did, on this rare occasion, vote to return an Advisory Committee recommendation to that body for compromise with the Secretariat.¹⁷

Role of the Committee Chairman

Closely concerned with the competence and function of the Committee is the rôle of its Chairman, which on several occasions has been called into question. The key problem has been the right of the Chairman to address the Fifth Committee of the Assembly, to which, unlike most of his colleagues of the Advisory Committee, he has never been a delegate. During a debate on Trusteeship Council estimates, the Fifth Committee's Chairman called upon Aghnides to comment on the type of minutes he felt the Council ought to maintain. The question prompted an immediate objection from Olyntho Machado, the very active Brazilian delegate, who was "opposed to the Chairman of the Advisory Committee expressing a personal opinion," particularly when the question was "more of a political than a budgetary nature." Citing the Papanek case as a precedent,¹⁸ he demanded that before Aghnides be allowed to voice a *personal*, as opposed to an *official* Advisory Committee view, a vote be taken on the question of permitting such a statement. Several delegates took quick exception, supporting the British view that "if that theory were adopted, Aghnides would be able to speak only on questions which had already been examined by the Advisory Committee." While the matter was temporarily dropped, and no "gag rule" applied, it arose again a few days later, when Machado expressed his alarm over what he considered a dangerous precedent. It would permit chairmen of the subsidiary bodies "in an essentially personal capacity, [to] express new views, develop new arrangements, and make actual proposals for consideration and debate." The Chairman of the Fifth Committee promptly thwarted Machado by resort to a procedural ruling. He recalled that at the first meeting of the Fifth Committee that year, he had ruled that the Advisory Committee Chairman might speak on "any subject on the Fifth Committee's agenda." Since this ruling had not been challenged, "the matter could be considered as definitely settled."¹⁹ This firm attitude had the desired effect, and since that time the Advisory Committee Chairman has been free to exercise wide latitude in his interventions in the Fifth Committee debates.

Independence versus Representativeness

Despite frequent attempts to either resolve (or ignore) it, the problem of

the nature of Advisory Committee membership continues to vex the United Nations. As a result of the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia in 1948, the Fifth Committee was given an excellent opportunity to strike a sharp blow for "independence" as opposed to "representativeness." When Vladimir Houdek arrived to replace the Benes-appointed Jan Papanek in the Czech delegation, he argued that the latter was no longer qualified to serve on the Advisory Committee. In Fifth Committee debate, Houdek stated that Papanek

"no longer enjoyed the confidence of the Czechoslovak Government, and consequently no longer possessed the essential qualification for satisfying the condition of equitable geographical distribution. . . . The Czechoslovak Government delegation categorically refuses to admit that a person could act as an expert for the United Nations regardless of his relations with the State he was supposed to represent. . . . The United Nations is not a community of private persons, but an international organisation of sovereign Member States."

Houdek's comments were answered by Jean Rey, of Belgium, who inquired whether Papanek was

"a member of the Advisory Committee . . . as a Government representative or as an individual serving in the capacity of an expert? Rule 145 of the rules of procedure showed that members were to be selected on the basis of broad geographical representation and personal qualifications and experience, that is, in a personal capacity and not as representing any Government. . . ."

It was to be doubted whether any person could be deprived of the quality of 'geographical representativeness' even if he were deprived of his nationality."

Following a procedural vote which permitted him to address the Fifth Committee, Papanek assailed the concept of representativeness:

"Members of the Committee in question were selected individually as experts, not as representatives of governments. . . . They were elected because of their competence and ability, and because they had a thorough knowledge of their countries and geographical regions. Once they had been elected, they could only be removed on grounds of incompetence or neglect of duty. . . . Members . . . were representative of the General Assembly as a whole, and not of individual Member States."

Following Papanek's statement, Brazil's Machado, also a member of the Advisory Committee at the time, summarised his view of a realistic procedure:

"In *principle*, Governments had no influence on the selection of those experts. In *practice*, however, such an influence was unavoidable and probably necessary. . . . It was perfectly natural that, before and during the selection of candidates, the points of view and possible objections of Governments . . . should be taken into account. Once the election had taken place, however, and once the experts had gained the confidence of the Assembly, they should be permitted to act as representatives of the Assembly, without fear of pressure on the part of Governments."

This dispute continued through several additional meetings, with a further

explanation of the meaning of "geographical distribution" by a Legal Officer of the Secretariat: it was, he suggested, a principle *equal with*, but not *superior to*, that of personal qualifications and experience. Houdek's motion was ultimately defeated in Committee, but when the report came to the floor of the plenary Assembly, the Polish delegate again questioned Papanek's right to sit on the Advisory Committee. This motion, too, was lost and Papanek served out the balance of his term, which expired in 1950.²⁰

A final effort to salvage the "independence" doctrine was made in 1950, when the Soviet member of the Advisory Committee announced his intention of retiring. Without the knowledge or approval of either the Soviet or Czechoslovakian delegations, the Chilean representative nominated Papanek to fill the vacancy. The same arguments were reiterated on both sides, but too few of the delegations felt strongly enough to press the issue. Thus, another Russian, approved by his government, replaced Kabushko, and the supremacy of "representativeness" was firmly established.²¹

The Two-Hat Problem

One final problem concerning the precise status of Advisory Committee members arose during the Seventh Assembly, in 1952, when the Secretary-General submitted a memorandum to the Fifth Committee in which he raised a closely related question. In noting that several of the Advisory Committee members also served as national representatives on the Fifth Committee, Trygve Lie urged that "membership in the Advisory Committee should disqualify a person from service as a member or alternate in the Fifth Committee." He saw real danger in a situation where Advisory Committee members "also represent their Governments, as representatives or as advisers, in the Fifth Committee . . . where they act as advocates for the Advisory Committee, or may argue or vote against its recommendations." He added that it was quite unlikely that those who drafted the rules of procedure had intended that "individuals appointed . . . in their personal capacity as experts, should at the same time act as representatives of Governments."²²

The suggestion met with strong opposition, and while it was agreed to constitute a Committee on Special Administrative Questions, there was little enthusiasm for following up the matter. Thus, when Dag Hammarskjöld replaced Lie in 1953, the Fifth Committee readily agreed with his proposal to drop the matter. During debate on the issue, the "two-hat" theory was neatly expounded by the Chinese delegate, C. L. Hsia. In arguing that the two functions were not necessarily incompatible, he noted that a member in the Fifth Committee "could easily disown, as the representative of his Government, a decision which he had personally supported as a member of the Advisory Committee. 'The confusion,' he added, was 'apparent, rather than real.'"

The most illuminating part of his statement, however, was a frank description, which seems to be the only public record, of the actual procedure by which the complexion of the Advisory Committee is determined. He stated that it "was customary to appoint as members representatives of the five countries which made the biggest contributions to the U.N. budget,

and two representatives of the Latin American countries. The remaining 35 Member States had only two seats. . . ." He also added ruefully that while the Preparatory Commission "seemed to have attached importance to the fact that . . . members should be financial experts, that provision was virtually disregarded."²³

THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE AND THE BUDGET

Following this sketch of the development of the Advisory Committee in terms of its general rôle as well as the nature of its membership, it might be appropriate to deal in some detail with the primary function of that body, its participation in the budget process.

In the United Kingdom and in most Western States the Executive employs the budget as a means of proposing an overall governmental programme for the forthcoming year; while a part of the budget does reflect decisions of the legislature, binding upon him for the impending fiscal year, a considerable balance represents his own policy proposals. In the United Nations, however, talk of an "executive budget" would be quite misleading. The Secretary-General's budget represents little more than his estimate of administrative overhead costs, plus a financial reflection of policy decisions reached in the main organs of the Organisation during the prior year. His budget, then, is not the presentation of *his* programme, but the result of action taken by the Member States in the Economic and Social Council, the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council, and the General Assembly. Secondly, the estimates do not go directly to the legislative organ, or one of its committees on appropriations, but must first undergo the scrutiny of an intermediate body, the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions.

While the Advisory Committee has already exercised some influence over the estimates, through informal conversations and Secretariat recollection of earlier situations,²⁴ it does not formally enter the budget process until about three months prior to the convening of the General Assembly. At this time, generally early June, the Secretary-General's estimates, in the form of a detailed line-item presentation (plus several supplemental annexes, some of which approximate a "performance" budget),²⁵ are sent to the Secretary of the Advisory Committee. This officer and his staff then proceed to examine the document and its supporting materials, comparing the figures with those of previous years, as well as with the various resolutions out of which the costs have arisen. After he has had a few days in which to draft a rough report in the form of basic questions which the documents raise, the Secretary notifies the Chairman of the Advisory Committee, and the first of a series of closed, executive sessions is scheduled.

While the records of the Advisory Committee are confidential and thus unavailable to those attempting to analyse the decision-making process, one can satisfactorily make certain deductions concerning this phase of budget-making.²⁶ The first two or three meetings, it would seem, are taken up with a fairly broad discussion of the overall estimates, the general financial picture of the Organisation, and statements of broad fiscal policy. Some indication of the point of departure might be found in this comment from

the report on the 1948 estimates: "In any organisation, it is salutary to have a budget which has elements of stringency. The quality of an organisation will improve if its officials are under pressure to use resources wisely."²⁷ Armed with this guiding principle, the nine members then examine the estimates Part by Part, Section by Section, and Chapter by Chapter. Although an effort is made to move down through the budget in an orderly manner, the difficulties of scheduling Secretariat personnel to testify often compel some skipping about. On the basis of anticipated progress through the estimates, the Committee's Secretary arranges with the various departmental Under-Secretaries and their executive officers to appear before the Committee to explain those Sections relevant to the activities of their particular departments. By far the largest portion of the budget is Part III, Headquarters (\$28,462,800 out of a total of \$48,250,700 gross is requested for 1957) and this Part is conveniently broken down into Sections, generally covering the work of only a single Department or Office. In addition to the competent Under-Secretary and executive officer, almost all the hearings are attended by the Controller so that the Committee may get not only the departmental view, but the position of the key fiscal officer responsible for co-ordinating all Secretariat financial activities.²⁸ After taking testimony on one or more Sections, the Committee once again goes into executive session, re-examines the particular estimate, and decides whether to sustain the figure proposed by the Secretary-General or to reduce it. Not once since the inception of the Organisation, has the Advisory Committee recommended that a Secretariat estimate be increased, although on several occasions it might have appeared so, as a result of suggesting the transfer of funds from one section to another. As a matter of fact, the Committee's report to the Assembly contains only three columns: "Secretary-General's Estimate," "Advisory Committee's Recommendations," and "Decrease." While it might be argued that to call for an increase would imply that the Secretary-General (or his Budget Staff) was incapable of accurately calculating the costs of a given activity, there would appear to be equally strong reasons for recommending an occasional increase. It is common knowledge at the U.N. that on several occasions an Under-Secretary has vainly protested to the Secretary-General over a final figure approved by the Budget staff. Occasionally the Committee might get a more accurate picture from operating, as opposed to policy-making, personnel.

Regarding the type of economies for which the Advisory Committee searches, one may again draw some tentative conclusions from the annual report on the budget. Its attention appears to be directed mainly toward economy through increased administrative efficiency within the Secretariat. As early as November, 1946, when the first two budgets were receiving simultaneous consideration, the Committee claimed to have found "evidence of a tendency to over-organise. . . . Duplication of functions was further evidenced . . . [and] there was a tendency among departments to take insufficient advantage of the flexibility of staff." A decade later, the Committee again indicated a strong concern over this phase, pointing out that it "naturally has an equal interest both in the work and the organisation of the Secretariat." And while criticising, for example, the Military Staff

Committee for its insistence upon maintaining a language and conference staff separate from that of the Department of Conference Services, it was "glad to note that . . . there is a progressively more flexible use of staff, and that, in general, the work of the Secretariat shows a further improvement."²⁹ In addition to a constant emphasis on maximum utilisation of personnel, in terms of organisation, the Committee has frequently directed its fire at documentation and publishing costs. It might be said that its criticisms of the first printing budgets were partly responsible for the Secretary-General's decision to appoint, in 1947, a Publications Board, whose responsibility it would be to examine, and recommend upon, the printing estimates of all Departments prior to submission of their total estimates to the Budget Section.³⁰ In addition, the Committee takes note of hospitality, travel, equipment, and maintenance expenditures while simultaneously keeping a close check on those few U.N. activities of a revenue-producing nature: Gift Shop, Postal Administration, Visitors' Service, publication sales, and catering and cafeteria services.

Despite its sharp and frequent criticism of budget requests, the Advisory Committee is not unaware of the limitations upon the Secretary-General's ability to reduce expenditures. In its report for 1954 it observed that "any major reduction in expenses can be achieved only in conjunction with a review of future work programmes. . . . This, however, has not been possible, for reasons beyond the control of the Secretary-General." This appraisal was further supported when a U.S. Senate Committee, in studying the problem of U.N. expenditures, concluded that "all that the Secretary-General can actually do in his budget document is interpret . . . programmes and projects in terms of the cost of meetings, personnel, common services, etc., and present a summary of over-all programmes for the year."³¹

The Chairman of the Advisory Committee aptly summarised this three-way interrelationship when he suggested that "the job of the Advisory Committee was . . . to endeavour to fix the minimum figure for the expenditure which would enable the Secretary-General to carry out the work assigned him by the General Assembly." From the point of view of the Secretary-General, this process takes on the aspects of a perennial struggle, although this is not always immediately apparent. After Trygve Lie had fought bitterly with the Committee for several years, his successor came before the Fifth Committee and commended Aghnides and the Advisory Committee by noting that its "deliberations are thorough, its enquiries searching, and its conclusions objectively presented." This was Mr. Hammarskjöld's first year in office, and since then, his reactions seem to have followed the pattern of Mr. Lie.³²

Between conclusion of formal budget hearings and the Committee's presentation of its recommendations to the Assembly, one final stage remains. Aware of the dangers inherent in too frequent and extensive conflicts with the Secretary-General in the Fifth Committee, the Advisory Committee makes a final effort to minimise these. Without entering into protracted negotiations, it seeks certain compromises with the Secretary-General on items concerning which there is no marked difference in figures, and sounds out the Controller to ascertain which sums the Secretary-General will accept

It might also be relevant to recall the approach employed by the Committee in examining the estimates; failure ever to recommend an increase in a budget section cannot be attributed solely to the fact that the Committee suspects the Secretariat of "over-budgeting." One might readily surmise that the Committee not only believes firmly in that "element of stringency," but that it is unwilling to take a really close look at administrative procedures at the working level. All students of budgeting are alive to the dangers of a central budget office whittling departmental requests down to so low a level that essential tasks cannot be fulfilled successfully; this dangerous paring down may also be the work of a departmental executive officer, the intimacy of whose knowledge of operating problems is equally open to question. Not only is it doubtful whether the Advisory Committee sees the *original* departmental, bureau or office requests, but it is likely that its members rarely call upon spokesmen who might be able to enlighten them concerning activities at the working level. Perhaps a greater interest in, and awareness of, detailed operational problems might permit the Committee to make a more realistic appraisal of the estimates and the basic fiscal and administrative needs of the Secretariat.

In defence of the Committee, however, one might note that it is caught between Assembly and Council (Security, Trusteeship, Economic and Social) programme decisions on the one hand, and the pressing demand for economy made by the very same national delegations in the Fifth Committee. While cognisant of the fact that the Secretariat has no choice *but* to "translate new projects into demands for additional personnel," etc.,³⁶ the Advisory Committee must faithfully fulfil what the Members consider to be its basic task: that of setting the lowest figure within which authorised projects can be carried out. Undoubtedly, the Committee is thoroughly convinced of the value of the "elements of stringency" approach, at least as regards a tranquil relationship with the Fifth Committee.

In conclusion, therefore, one has little choice other than to transfer criticisms of the Advisory Committee to the national delegations themselves. It is they who, in the Councils and main committees of the Assembly, demand a host of services and concessions; it is they who, in the Fifth Committee, set the terms of reference of the Advisory Committee, select its members, oversee its activities, and when money is on the agenda, tend to wield the "Geddes Axe" with even more dexterity than their predecessors in the League. Can Jenks's "new chapter in the law of nations" conceivably be written in this atmosphere of rigid frugality? Jenks himself warns against the dangers of over-economy in international organisation: "Such institutions have been too often regarded as luxuries . . . rather than as basic needs of modern civilisation."³⁷ Unless there is a radical reversal in the fiscal policy of the Members, that new chapter may never be written. Many of the "sovereign and equal" Members still appear to view the United Nations, in both political and budgetary terms, as a luxury rather than a basic necessity.

³⁶ "Some Legal Aspects of the Financing of International Institutions," *Transactions of the Grotius Society*, Vol. 28, 1943, page 132.

³⁷ U.N. Conference on International Organisations, Vol. VIII, page 354.

³⁸ PC/EX/FI/3, 28th September, 1945. *Italics mine.* It had already been agreed that all Members would be represented on all main committees of the Assembly.

³⁹ PC/EX/FI/14/Rev. 1, 12th October, 1945. The name had already been changed three times, and further alterations were still to be made.

⁴⁰ PC/EX/113/Rev. 1, Executive Committee, *Report . . .*, page 98.

⁴¹ PC/AB/20, 5th December, 1945, pages 1-2.

⁴² PC/20, Preparatory Commission, *Report . . .*, page 107.

⁴³ GA I (1), 1946, OR 5 (General Assembly, First Session, First Part, 1946, *Official Records of the Fifth Committee*), pages 24-25.

⁴⁴ PC/EX/113/Rev. 1, Executive Committee, *Report . . .*, pages 21-23. For discussions, see PC/EX/FI/10 through 14/Rev. 1, and PC/EX/118.

⁴⁵ GA I (2), 1946, OR 5, pages 73-79. These were his words in the final *Official Records*, but in the original version of the summary record, Aghnides, the Rapporteur, was quoted as follows: "He suggested that the election should be made in two stages: first, a list of countries might be decided upon, and then, *after consultation with the respective governments*, the members of the Advisory Committee might be chosen for their personal ability." See A/C. 5/53, 6th November, 1946, *Summary Record*, page 15. *Italics mine.*

⁴⁶ GA I (2), 1946, *Resolutions*, page 134. It would be difficult to claim expertise in administrative and budgetary matters for any of the original membership, and in fact the two "financial experts" were not designated either then or subsequently.

⁴⁷ GA II, OR 5, 1947, pages 357-358.

⁴⁸ GA III (1), 1948, OR 5, page 657. *Italics mine.*

⁴⁹ GA III (1), 1948, OR 5, page 660. *Italics mine.*

⁵⁰ GA VII, 1952, OR 5, page 37. The reference is to Francis P. Walters, *A History of the League of Nations*, Oxford University Press (London), 1952.

⁵¹ GA VII, 1952, OR 5, page 38.

⁵² GA VII, 1952, OR 5, pages 51-56.

⁵³ The Papanek case is dealt with more fully at page 399.

⁵⁴ GA III (1), 1948, OR 5, pages 450-468.

⁵⁵ GA III (1), 1948, OR 5, pages 167-214; GA III (1), 1948, OR Plenary, page 367. *Italics mine.*

⁵⁶ GA V, 1950, OR 5, pages 249-252.

⁵⁷ GA VII, 1952, OR Plenary, Annex, Vol. II, agenda item 69, page 4; GA VII, 1952, OR 5, page 198. At that time, seven of the nine were serving in this dual capacity.

⁵⁸ A/AC. 68/SR 1, 20th May, 1953, Committee on Special Administrative Questions, *Summary Report*, pages 5-6.

⁵⁹ Actually, the financial rules permit the Controller to consult with the Committee (or its staff) during preparation, regarding "format, content, or other matters concerning the estimates." *Administrative Manual*, Vol. 3, page 69.

⁶⁰ At this writing, the Advisory Committee has approved the Secretary-General's request for some marked changes in budget format, designed primarily to increase flexibility in its administration. See Docs. A/C. 5/639, A/C. 5/662 and A/3372. The present writer hopes soon to have available an analysis of the format problems.

⁶¹ The best sources of data are the Committee's annual reports to the Assembly; one is devoted almost exclusively to the budget. See, for any year, GA, OR, *Supplement No. 7*.

⁶² GA II, 1947, OR Supp. 7, page 2.

⁶³ There has been some criticism of the tendency to call in only the top-ranking departmental people, on the grounds that they are frequently not nearly so familiar with operational and administrative problems as are those subordinates connected with specific phases of departmental activity.

⁶⁴ GA I (2), 1946, OR Supp. 4, pages 12-17; GA XI, 1956, OR Supp. 7, pages 6, 18.

⁶⁵ Composed of representatives of Public Information, Conference Services, the Controller, and the Office of the Executive Assistant, the Board may propose cuts in any costs involving outside printing. An excellent study of the Board will be found in Herbert Kaufman, "The U.N. Publications Board," No. 11 in *Inter-University Case Programme*, N.Y., Polygraphic Company, 1952.

⁶⁶ GA VIII, 1953, OR Supp. 7, page 2; U.S. Senate, Committee on Expenditures

in Executive Depts., *U.S. Relations with International Organisations*, Fifth Report, 1951, page 14.

³²GA III, 1948, OR 5, page 220; A/C. 5/544, 30th September, 1953, page 4. For an indication of later differences between Hammarskjöld and the Committee, see GA IX, 1954, OR 5, pages 164, 175-6, 241-2, 257, 307; also GA XI, 1957, A/C. 5/SR. 589.

³³GA II, 1947, OR 5, page 301; GA III, 1948, OR 5, page 220; GA V, 1950, OR 5, page 10; GA IV, OR 5, page 39.

³⁴GA IV, 1949, OR 5, page 209.

³⁵Rule 154, *Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly*, A/520/Rev. 4, page 27.

³⁶This was one of the first criticisms levelled by the Committee. GA II, 1947, OR Supp. 7, page 2.

³⁷*Op. cit.*, page 92.

Armed Forces and the State

By PROFESSOR W. H. MORRIS JONES

This review-article of The Soldier and the State, by S. P. Huntington (Harvard University Press and Oxford University Press, 1957, pp. 517, 60s.), is by the Professor of Political Science at the University of Durham.

EVERYONE knows that American isolationism was sunk at Pearl Harbour. After World War II, there could be no withdrawal, no return to as-you-were "normalcy." Many people knew further that under the leadership of Morgenthau and Kennan there has been an attempt to re-think the fundamentals of foreign policy and international relations in realist terms of interests and power, an effort to get rid of utopianism and ideology in America's view of her place in the world. Less known, but equally deserving of recognition, is the allied examination which has been taking place in the States of the problem of civil-military relations. A bibliography of the post-war contribution to this subject already made a tidy volume in 1952; by now the literature is enormous and the participants in the discussion include journalists, academics, politicians, and service leaders. Mr. Huntington writes: "The basic issue raised was: How can a liberal society provide for its military security when this requires the maintenance of professional military forces and institutions fundamentally at odds with liberalism?" His book is the latest but by no means the least contribution to this debate. It merits widespread attention for its subject matter and treatment alike. It is a work of considerable scholarship, at once thorough and provocative. Even so, it is less than wholly convincing.

"Nothing," said de Tocqueville (whose chapter "Warfare among democratic peoples" is one of the classic discussions of this subject), "is so dangerous as an army amid an unwarlike nation." He thought that America was simply fortunate in that her geographical security enabled her to be content with an army of a few thousand soldiers, but, in general, he envisaged all kinds of troubles for democracies obliged to have armies, and some of his fears have stuck. In aristocracies, armies reflect and harmonise with the society: the military spirit is esteemed throughout—"the nobleman enters the army to find an honorable employment for the idle years of his youth"—and accepted inequality is the rule—"the officer is noble, the soldier is a serf." As soon as egalitarian and democratic ideas take hold, complications set in. While war remains "an occurrence to which all nations are subject," the pursuit of wealth and welfare now causes "the spirit of military glory to be weakened." One consequence is that "the profession of arms ceases to be held in honour, and military men fall to the lowest rank of public servants: they are little esteemed, and no longer understood. . . . The best part of the nation shuns the military professions. . . . Military ambition is only indulged in when no other is possible." Moreover, whereas in aristocracies rank in the army is no more than "an appendage" to rank in society, in democracies an army officer often "has no property but his pay and no distinction but that of military honours"; "his rank in society almost always depends on his rank in the army"; in fact, he is a social nobody

except in so far as military rank helps to make him somebody. But this means that rank is very important to the military man. And since social status no longer indicates firmly the army rank to which one can decently aspire, "the bounds of military ambition" come to be "immeasurably extended." "In democratic armies the desire of advancement is almost universal: it is ardent, tenacious, perpetual; it is strengthened by all other desires, and only extinguished with life itself." This might not be particularly awkward were it not for the fact that in normal times of peace, promotion opportunities are really very limited. The military man is not so dull that he cannot see where's the rub: in times of peace. The great thing about war is that it "makes vacancies and warrants the violation of that law of seniority which is the sole privilege natural to democracy." "We thus arrive," de Tocqueville concluded, "at this singular consequence, that of all armies those most ardently desirous of war are democratic armies, and of all nations those most fond of peace are democratic nations." And there, more or less, de Tocqueville left it, the largely insoluble problem of an unassimilated group in the community, forming "a small nation by itself, where the mind is less enlarged and habits more rude than in the nation at large." The only faint ray of hope was to be seen in the direction of "infusing into the spirit peculiar to the army the general spirit of the nation." In this way, with luck, this "turbulent, restless, ill-tempered and dissatisfied" group might have its opinions and desires "tempered."

In place of these shrewd, anticipatory guesses, Mr. Huntington gives us an elaborate theoretical analysis and a widely-ranging historical account. Instead of de Tocqueville's vivid writing, we have here a solemn, measured style. Mr. Huntington's earnestness is understandable but it is a pity that it drives away so much of the fun and drama which belongs to this subject. He also finds de Tocqueville wrong in some of his guesses and quite mistaken in his hopes. The main theme of Mr. Huntington's book is that military professionalism has been misunderstood and that the solution of the problem of civil-military relations depends not on the modification and tempering of the military mind but on its preservation, purification and cultivation. Now this is evidently a piece of dynamite worth closer examination.

Quite a lot depends on the concept of military professionalism which Mr. Huntington works hard. No doubt de Tocqueville himself used the phrase "military profession" and we, too, would not normally regard it as something to be avoided. Nevertheless, more usually, we would continue to make a distinction between "the services" and "the professions," intending by this to point perhaps to the "public" nature of the former and the "private" and "learned" character of the latter. Mr. Huntington will have none of this casualness nor of its implications. The principal criteria of professionalism are expertise, social responsibility and corporateness, and "the vocation of officership" meets all three. Accepting as quite justified in this context the exclusion from consideration of all non-commissioned ranks, we may readily grant the corporateness of the officer corps, reinforced as it so obviously is by uniforms, jargon and ranks. The other two criteria are more slippery and difficult to grasp. The present reader was unable to allow himself to be carried away by the author's

persuasive pages on military expertise. There exists, we are told, "a distinct sphere of military competence which is common to all, or almost all officers, and which distinguishes them from all, or almost all, civilians." "This central skill is perhaps best summed up in Lasswell's phrase, 'the management of violence'," and it is "an extraordinarily complex intellectual skill requiring comprehensive study and training"—so much so that "the intellectual content of the military profession requires the modern officer to devote about one-third of his professional life to formal schooling, probably a higher ratio of educational time to practise time than in any other profession." With all respect, it looks as if West Point has been shooting a line; Harvard should have known better than to swallow it. Similarly, on social responsibility: when the author says that "the motivations of the officer are a technical love for his craft and the sense of social obligation to utilise this craft for the benefit of society," we can only have a feeling of embarrassment if this is meant to be a generalisation from the body of facts.

But at times the author seems to disclaim such an intention and to be, rather, seeking a statement of the "idea" or model of the profession. Unfortunately, it requires great skill to play the Plato game and keep what ought to be distinct from what is.

The delicate operation of model construction is again seen when the book moves on to describe "the military mind" or "the military ethic." For the author's method is not to generalise from a survey of actual attitudes held by a variety of military men, but instead to build up the "ideal type" of military mind as a deduction from the nature of the professional military function as already defined. The attitudes of mind which the author finds to be logically attached to the profession of arms include views of human nature, society and history as well as distinct approaches to national security and war. There are here some well-expressed passages of great interest and penetration such as: "The military man will always argue that the danger of war requires increased armaments; he will seldom argue that increased armaments make war practical or desirable. He always favours preparedness, but he never feels prepared. He rarely favours war . . . he contributes a cautious, conservative, restraining voice to the formulation of State policy. He is afraid of war. He wants to prepare for war. But he is never ready to fight a war." This is a brilliant correction of de Tocqueville, but strictly speaking, of course, the author is indifferent as to whether he is giving an account of actual military attitudes; this is only abstract model-construction. But models are—or become, as one plays with them—standards. What must logically be becomes what ought to be, and what is is judged thereby.

Some of the consequences of Mr. Huntington's theory can be noted at once. His marked emphasis on the distinctness of the military profession and its ethic inclines him to neglect or pay too little attention to other aspects of armies. Thus, while he admits that an army is a bureaucracy, this for him is a "secondary, not essential characteristic." But a large number of military professionals are for a lot of their time engaged in administration. Granted, the way they administer will owe something to their "military ethic," but will not involvement in administration have its independent influence on their ways? Again, while military professionalism surely colours civil-

military relations, it would seem unreal to treat these as wholly *sui generis*. Is there nothing to be learnt from the relations between career civil servants or career diplomats and their political masters? The attempt to abstract "profession" from everything else leads equally to a dismissal of other factors such as social composition. Mr. Huntington gives a good account of the emergence of the professional army in the nineteenth century, but he seems wrongly to assume that the process was neatly completed; abstraction thus leads to a mistaken account of history. In the United States it may be permissible to discount the social origins of the officer corps, but can this be safely done elsewhere? Does not class, as well as professional caste, have an influence on the attitudes of the military officer? Mr. Huntington will reply: maybe, but this only means that the officer is to that extent an impure type who falls short of the necessary model. But this will not do; it is the model that is inadequate, because oversimplified.

The culminating point of the author's theory is his view of civil-military relations. Many people, he complains, have for long spoken about "civilian control" of the military. But this has usually meant no more than increasing the power of this or that civilian group in relation to the military—often merely as a part of a tussle against some other civilian group: parliamentary control of the armed forces—against the crown; bourgeois limitations of the armed services—against elements of aristocracy; party infiltration of the forces—against any non-party grouping. But this is very haphazard. "A new and more meaningful definition of civilian control" is therefore offered. The armed forces will be properly controlled not by maximising some civilian power but by maximising military professionalism. As one approximates to the model of military professionalism, so one will at the same time solve the problem of civil-military relations. The recognition of an independent sphere of military expertise implies the removal of the military from politics, their political neutrality; the conflict between civilian control and military security is resolved, policy is determined by the civilians, the military play their proper role as "instruments" only. The policy recommendation, therefore, is to do all possible to restore and enhance "the integrity of the officer corps."

This has an appealing neatness but its validity, depending as it does on a false neatness of the constituent categories, is doubtful. The author's "essentialist" philosophy leads him astray at several points on his way. For example, it is, to say the least, odd to describe the German State 1870-1914 as one in which civilian control of the military was maximised—simply because military professionalism was at a peak and because, while civilian power was concentrated in Kaiser and Chancellor, military power was divided between several offices. To speak thus is surely to underestimate the variety of ways in which military thinking influenced the civilian rulers. Mr. Huntington only acknowledges military influence later, during 1914-19; and then it is an influence not "essentially," not properly called military, because the military men had become corrupted by popularity and political power and were expressing attitudes that do not belong to the model military ethic! Again, he admits that American military leaders in the late nineteenth century often gave views on the military needs of the U.S. which were based

not on the country's international situation but on the needs of the military profession. But is this not a tendency to be expected, and would it not be encouraged by any one-sided boost to the "integrity" of the military profession? The discussion of the career and ideas of Admiral Mahan shows what a tight-rope Mr. Huntington's concept of military professionalism is: when the apostle of American militarism is judged to have fallen from the strait and narrow for having passed beyond professionalism (in the "essential" sense of the word) to a glorification of national expansion and a moral justification of war, one wonders who there can be in the real world who passes the test. Certainly, few whose names are known; in American history, it would seem, three above all: Sherman, Pershing and Ridgway. "The Macs and the Ikes," the Ludendorffs and de Gaulles, not to speak of the Francos and Nassers, are all "deviations," excluded for achieving politics or having it thrust upon them. In this way we are prevented from being able to detect the political implications of the military mind; by definition, it has none; if there are political colours, it is no longer the pure professionalism.

Beyond these questions, there is another. Is it part of the attitude of the military mind to despise the politician? Most people would agree that the records shows that such an attitude is at least very common. Whether it forms part of the "essential" military view is not quite clear from this book. But in any event, in so far as it exists it must always make it difficult for the military officer group to act as a perfectly passive obedient neutral instrument in the hands of the policy-makers. And what evidence is there that an enhancement of the position of the military would of itself serve to make them respect "the frocks"? Further, is it not likely that encouragement of pure professionalism would tend to make mutual understanding between soldier and politician still more difficult?

All these doubts must not be permitted to obscure the great merits of Mr. Huntington's book. The bulk of the work is devoted to the U.S. and is based on a most thorough examination not only of political documents and memoirs, but also of the files of leading military journals. There is here a fascinating account of the growth of military professionalism in the U.S. against a background of liberal hostility. There is also a detailed description of relations between political leaders and military men in American history and in particular since 1940, a description which treats of the attitudes on both sides and explains how the shape of the U.S. constitution helps to account for the manner in which problems have been solved. Of exceptional value is the careful tracing of the changing role of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the Truman and Eisenhower periods. Worth special note is the author's unusual defence of the Constitution's separation of powers: whereas most commentators have found it a weakness of the American system that control of the armed forces is divided between President and Congress who may pursue contradictory policies, Mr. Huntington professes to see in this a virtue; he dignifies it by calling it "strategic pluralism" and even persuades himself that it "enhances the military security of the U.S."!

It is difficult not to feel that the immense good there is in this book comes in spite of the author's theory. We have concentrated attention on the

theory and we return to it in conclusion partly because the author himself attaches importance to it, partly because it colours so strongly the final impression which the book leaves on the reader. The fact is that Mr. Huntington is not content to offer a model: he falls in love with it. His immersion in "the military ethic" has made him quite sentimentally attached to it. In the end he is pleading not only for *lebensraum* for military professionalism, but for a reshaping of the whole of society's values to make a cosy home for the "managers of violence." "So long as American military security is threatened, the power of the military is not likely to diminish significantly. The requisite for military security is a shift in basic American values from liberalism to conservatism. Only an environment which is sympathetically conservative will permit American military leaders to combine the political power which society thrusts upon them with a military professionalism without which society cannot endure."

As argument, Mr. Huntington's book ends there. Unfortunately, the author felt that a purple patch was required to round it all off. And we, setting aside charity, must follow him, for the purple patch does indeed show where the author's theory has taken him. Did we refer earlier to the Plato game? Listen to this eulogy of West Point: "Beauty and utility are merged in grey stone. Neat lawns surround compact trim houses, each identified by the name and rank of its occupant. The buildings stand in fixed relation to each other . . . their character and station symbolising their contributions, stone and brick for the senior officers, wood for the lower ranks. . . . West Point is a community of structured purpose. . . . In order is found peace; in discipline fulfilment; in community, security. . . . A bit of Sparta in the midst of Babylon. . . . In its severity, regularity, discipline, the military society shares the characteristics of the religious order. Modern man may well find his monastery in the Army." So the over-simplified theory lands us in a ghastly caricature of the Guardian State. We shall perhaps be permitted to say that we find preferable the liberal attitude which values an effective constitutional framework, disbelieves in any perfect separation of policy and strategy, accepts civil-military relations as a continuing difficulty and recommends vigilance as a fair price for keeping the army in its place "amid an unwarlike nation."

INSTITUTE NEWS

Royal Commission on Greater London

AMONG the members of the Royal Commission which is to examine the present system of working of Local Government in the Greater London Area, are two—Sir John Wrigley and Professor W. J. M. Mackenzie—who have been prominent in Institute activities. Sir John was Chairman of the Institute's Conference in 1955 on the Development of Local Government in the Colonies and was also a member of the Institute's study group on New Sources of Local Revenue. Until his retirement Sir John was Deputy Secretary at the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. W. J. M. Mackenzie, who is Professor of Government in the University of Manchester, has frequently contributed to the Institute's Journal and other publications, and is active in the Manchester Regional Group. He has also been adviser to the Government of Tanganyika on problems relating to the development of democratic government. In company with J. W. Grove, Secretary of the Institute's Manchester Regional Group, Professor Mackenzie is co-author of a new book, *Central Administration in Britain*, published in November last.

New Honorary Life Members

AT a recent meeting, the Executive Council appointed Sir Eric Coates and Mr. O. A. Radley as Honorary Life Members in recognition of their most valuable contributions to the Institute's work. Sir Eric Coates was formerly in the Indian Civil Service and later became a Deputy Chairman of the National Coal Board. Mr. Radley was Town Clerk of Leeds from 1938 until 1952, and was Chairman of the Leeds Regional Group for many years. Both Sir Eric and Mr. Radley have served as Vice-Presidents.

Local Government in British Guiana

SIR HOWARD ROBERTS, one of the Institute's Vice-Presidents, recently undertook a mission to British Guiana on behalf of the sugar industry to advise them on problems arising from the development of Local Government: a development in which Institute members have played a prominent part in the territory. Dr. Marshall, a former Chairman of the Executive Council, devised a scheme in 1955 and Dr. L. C. Hill, another Vice-President, is the Senior Commissioner engaged in introducing that scheme. A number of the services normally the responsibility of Local Authorities are now provided by the sugar industry which has extensive plantations there, and the problems arising from a transition to a system of democratically elected councils are bound to be complex. Sir Howard Roberts gave a most interesting account of his mission at the recent Annual Dinner of the Brighton Regional Group.

Regional Groups

AT a members' meeting at Leeds in October a new provisional Group Council was appointed to review Regional Group activities which had lapsed

over the last year or two. Mr. Arthur Bond, Deputy Chairman of the Yorkshire Electricity Board, was unanimously elected Chairman and among the Group Council members is Mr. Hayhow, at one time the Institute's Assistant Honorary Treasurer, who has recently been appointed Leeds City Treasurer, having previously been Treasurer of the County Borough of West Ham.

Mr. J. F. Woodrow, Secretary of Brighton Regional Group, left this country at the end of November to take up an appointment as Establishment Officer with the Nairobi City Council. While at Brighton he was on the staff of the South-Eastern Electricity Board. Mr. Woodrow will be working closely in Nairobi with Mr. Frank Bestwick, who joined the staff of the Nairobi City Council a few months ago as their O. and M. Officer. Previously he was with the East Midlands Gas Board.

Sir John R. Simpson visits North America

DURING September and October Sir John R. Simpson, Controller of H.M. Stationery Office, made an official visit to Canada and the United States. It was his fifth journey to North America and he was there for six weeks. One of his main tasks was to compare the current policies and practices of the Stationery Office's opposite numbers in Ottawa and Washington in printing and the purchase of office supplies. The other was to investigate the methods of printing telephone directories developed by the North American telephone companies, which are privately owned. The production of telephone directories, especially those for the London area, is one of the Stationery Office's biggest operations. While in Ottawa Sir John had talks with senior Canadian civil servants on other questions with which they are at present particularly concerned. In Washington he gave an after-luncheon address to the Public Personnel Association, and also lectured at the George Washington University on the subject of "Treasury Control."

Annual General Meeting 1958

THE 1958 Annual General Meeting will be held on Friday, 25th April at County Hall, London. Last year the Annual General Meeting was followed by an informal dinner, and this was so successful that the Executive Council had no hesitation in deciding to hold another such function. Members are requested to note the date.

1958 Conferences

THE Institute is planning to hold a Summer Conference at Bonn in September, 1958, to enable members to learn something of the main features of administration in the West German Federal Republic. Further details will be announced later.

The 1958 Round Table of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences will be held at Liège during the first week of July. The International Institute decided to meet in Belgium next year so that those attending might have the opportunity also to visit the World Fair which is being arranged at Brussels.

BOOK REVIEWS

Reflections on International Administration

By A. LOVEDAY. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1956. Pp. xxi + 334. 42s.

THE first comment to be made on this book is that it is indeed written from the inside. It is no theoretical treatise; the author has used his mature experience in international administration to penetrate to the essential issues, and to set out each problem in the practical terms in which it presents itself to the international civil servant. One instance from the discussion on advisory committees—quite a minor one—is an apt illustration. Should an advisory committee of experts appoint from among its members a rapporteur to frame its report? The answer is unhesitatingly "No," and the reasons are interesting. The average amateur rapporteur needs to keep his notes neat and watertight as he goes along, and this need hampers the discussion, some of which may well need to be left ragged in the early stages in the interest of final results. Again, the clash between the rapporteur's duty to try and convince his colleagues of the rightness of his own views and his duty to express the collective wisdom of the committee will result in either too little or too much bias in the report towards the rapporteur's own views according to his lights. This particular reflection could only come from someone who has himself seen committees at work and applied a critical mind.

Mr. Loveday has on the other hand avoided scrupulously the dangers which can result from being too close to the subject. He has been able to stand back and look objectively at the post-war developments of international administration. In his Introduction he sets out the significant changes—the different atmosphere, the new constitutional procedures and machinery, and the use to which the machinery is put. In the light of these changes he has developed his reflections round two main groups of subjects—"Personnel Policy" and "The Machine in Motion." His purpose has been to deal only with those aspects of administration which an international setting renders distinct. In this way he

singles out for discussion in the first group the qualities required in an international civil servant: the problems of recruitment; the maintenance of morale; staff regulations and the methods of enforcing them. Two chapters describing the features peculiar to the life of an international official and to his work give the necessary background and are written with insight and understanding.

The underlying problem which emerges from the discussion in these two chapters is that of an insecurity greater than any national civil servant living in his own country ever feels. The permanent international official is cut off from his national culture and national life, a permanent guest, always "external to the society in which he lives." As his children grow up he faces, early or late, the breaking of family ties; either his children are integrated into the local life and culture, with the probability that they will wish to make their lives there, or he must send them home to school if he is not to prejudice their chances of taking up life with ease in their own country. As he approaches the later part of his career his preoccupation changes to his own position on retirement. What sort of life can he lead in his own country to which he has become a stranger? Finally, the whole working atmosphere of an organisation whose future is bound up with the uncertainties of international relations tends to enhance this fundamental feeling.

An interesting discussion follows of the modern role of the international official. Mr. Loveday sees it still primarily in terms of the diplomat whose main task is the promotion of agreements between countries with divergent viewpoints and at completely different stages of development. This is modified, but still true, for the specialised agencies, particularly those which have executive jobs to perform. Even if it might perhaps be modified a little more than the book implies, for certain functions of the United Nations which are concerned with

technical aspects of its work, this merely brings to prominence the further problem of how an international official whose special interest and experience is in the field of, say, housing or social security or transport, can be kept from feeling frustrated because he seems to himself so remote from practical results.

Against this background what are the qualities required of the international civil servant? They are summarised as understanding and loyalty, combined with diplomatic capacity and a constructive imagination; intellectual capacity is not enough—your successful official must be tough, quick-witted, able to do rush work efficiently and to work long hours. One quality singled out as of vital importance is the capacity for leadership, but with the qualification that few can be given much scope to use it. This qualification is, I think, unsound. In the early years of the United Nations the feelings of insecurity and frustration were intense, partly because of the growing pains of a new organisation, and partly due to the political atmosphere. But wherever an official in charge of any group of staff, large or small, had the capacity for inspiring those under him with a belief in the value of the work, in the need for high standards and in his own honesty and fair-dealing, morale would remain high in the most difficult circumstances; the reverse was only too clearly true.

The next few chapters contain a fascinating analysis of the main personnel problems of an international organisation and the machinery devised for solving them, with its good and bad features and suggestions for improvement. Some of these questions are controversial. For instance, where, within the administration, should responsibility for recruitment of staff lie? All Directors of Personnel in International Organisations will read this with special interest. I would not, myself, agree with all Mr. Loveday's conclusions, in which indeed I find some inconsistency. He rightly divides the problem into two—recruitment policy, and the process of recruitment. Responsibility for the recruitment policy governing the filling of a post he would place with the Director of the department concerned, with suitable reference upwards to his superiors, but the pitfalls of this method are also recognised. There is the habit of Directors of departments to seek too

often for specific technical knowledge, and so to strengthen the tendency, castigated elsewhere in the book, for international organisations to work in watertight compartments with no opportunity for interchange of staff; there is the need for the comprehensive view on questions of age distribution, of geographical distribution and of promotion prospects. These, surely, are just those fields in which the influence and authority of the Personnel Department should be strongly exercised. In the second process of recruitment—the formation of the field and the selection of the individual—Mr. Loveday recognises much more fully the respective parts to be played by all those concerned with appointments, and his summing up could not be bettered: "What is required in an international administration is a system under which the senior officers as a whole feel a direct responsibility for pursuing a sound recruitment policy and look to the Personnel Officer for wisdom."

All of the subjects treated in this part of the book, probation, promotion, pensions, contracts, staff rules, standards of conduct, administrative tribunals, to mention only some, will be read with the closest interest by those who have had personal experience of them. Those without direct experience of work in an international secretariat may well find that they appreciate the first part of the book better after reading the second part, that entitled "The Machine in Motion." In this part the author deals exhaustively with a specialised subject to whose complications the national counterpart gives little clue. The analysis of the structure, functions and procedure of advisory committees and of the more senior bodies such as councils and boards makes absorbing reading on its own. As an illustration of the nature of the responsibility carried by the international civil servant it could not better show the delicacy of the negotiations he must undertake and the call which these make on experience, integrity and clear thinking. If one were to attempt to summarise the lesson of this part of the book for the international official, it would be to stress the paramount necessity for exactness of thought as to the purpose of the Committee, Council or Board to be served. Only if that is firmly established can those essential points of size, membership,

terms of reference, length of appointment, method of working and form of report, be properly determined.

These chapters provide a fund of practical wisdom and experience on which an international official may draw. Indeed this is the note on which this review should end. A study of these reflections would be of immense value to any person

joining an international secretariat. Many personal problems would be faced in advance and thus be diminished and many mistakes avoided. Those already at work in this field will be encouraged in their pursuit of the ideals of good administration by the wisdom, balance and realism of this book.

MARY SAMPTON

The World Health Organization : A study in decentralised international administration

By ROBERT BERKOV. Librairie Droz, Geneva, 1957. Pp. 176. Frs. 16.

THIS book of 162 pages of text is too much pudding with too few plums. Every author has latitude to introduce and explain his methods and purposes, but would be well advised not to extend these preliminaries unduly. Mr. Berkov devotes his first chapter (11 pages) to describing his method—a wholly orthodox one—and gives three pages to source material which properly belongs in the bibliography. Chapter II (nine pages) sets forth observations on administrative centralisation and decentralisation, mostly too obvious to need stating, e.g., that a central organisation cannot delegate powers which it does not itself possess. The essence of this chapter is that true decentralisation involves delegation of a proportion of the power of decision and not merely geographical dispersion of sub-agencies while yet keeping "high policy" in the hands of the centre. Chapter IV, on earlier international organisations in the field of health, outlines their history without analysing their methods of work. An opportunity for interesting comparison with W.H.O. is thus lost. Chapter V is another historical outline, this time of the initial steps to regionalise W.H.O.'s structure. Conflicts

of view are boldly stated, without analysis of the principles invoked.

The reader has now reached page 62 and thereafter finds some plums in his pudding. The page on "Evolution of Regional Programmes" is an example, and so is Chapter VIII, on finance. By Chapter IX the book has become interesting and illuminating, and there and thereafter problems of the relation of the central with the regional organs of W.H.O., of personnel, of the impact of political pressures, of the frustrating tendency of governments "to push political phobias into what should be a matter of simple professional advice on matters of health," are well stated and sometimes analysed. There are *lacunae*—for instance, when "complications" over delegation or division of responsibility are mentioned but not described—but it is only fair to the author to assume that he has frequently been restrained by tact and discretion.

In this book, Mr. Berkov has set out to plough a new field and therefore deserves our gratitude, even though we may wish that he had ploughed deeper.

HEATHER HARVEY

Local Authority Borrowing

Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, 1957. Pp. 117. 25s.

THIS excellent little study undertaken by a committee of Local Authority Treasurers, under the chairmanship of Mr. N.

Doodson, of Lancashire, packs into its 117 pages both matters of principle and a considerable amount of information on

Local Authority practice concerning capital expenditure and control, as well as on methods of borrowing. Much of the information is not available from published resources. The study will be very useful for Local Authority officers and students; it is often not at all easy for officers in one authority to find out how their colleagues elsewhere are tackling new situations. University lecturers and students will also find it useful and suggestive in spite of its small compass, especially because the conditions described have altered materially since the pre-war writings of Long, Maxwell and Marshall.

The unpublished information is derived from an exhaustive questionnaire arranged under 12 headings which together cover the scope of the study. This was sent to a cross-section of 59 Local Authorities, chosen because they were likely to have something to contribute rather than as a random sample. Fifty-six out of the 59 sent replies. It is to be hoped that the detailed returns will be available for further research, as there is clearly more to be squeezed out of them.

To the present reviewer the most interesting discussions centre round: (i) the question of "How much borrowing?", (ii) capital budgets and the control of expenditure, (iii) the scope for internal borrowing, (iv) the adjustment of borrowing periods from the P.W.L.B. and elsewhere) in the light of government policy and interest rate changes, and (v) the future of mortgage borrowing, especially from the local community.

The question of how much borrowing, or, to put it the other way round, how much capital expenditure to finance from revenue, is, of course, not a new one. Text books (and the present study is no exception) are eager to point out to Local Authorities the terrifying effect of accumulated debt charges on future rate poundages, with the inference that it is better to finance as much capital expenditure as possible out of revenue. To the economist this argument is apt to seem a little overdone, at least so far as lasting assets are concerned, since it undervalues the great advantages of having the assets immediately, instead of only some years hence. However, in practice the extent to which Local Authorities can finance capital investment out of revenue is inevitably limited if rate poundages are to be kept reasonably steady.

What is new on this side of the problem is the extent to which Local Authority financial policy is heavily swayed, if not virtually determined, by the central government: either by general economic policy, including the availability of loan funds, or specifically by the terms which different Ministries lay down for the award of grants. Thus the Ministry of Transport for road development, and the Home Office for civil defence, encourage capital expenditure out of current revenue, while the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Education discourage it, by disallowing for grant capital expenditure above a certain limit. It is hard to discern any principle behind this variety of practice. On the other hand it does not appear that the receipt of a high percentage on the equalisation grant has any effect in stimulating capital expenditure from revenue, as it might be expected to do.

The insertion of a section on period budgeting and the control of capital expenditure is a sign of the times. It is also timely, because it would seem from the diversity of practice revealed by the questionnaire (annual plans, short-period plans, long-period plans, hand-to-mouth decisions) that few Local Authorities have really thought out the problems implied.

The planning and control of capital investment by Local Authorities is very similar to the parallel problem in developing countries, which has recently given rise to a great deal of research and discussion (cf. a whole series of U.N. publications, especially *Budget Management*, a Report of an E.C.A.F.E. workshop in 1955). Local Authorities, like developing countries, have to work within the bounds of two serious limitations: (i) rigidity in the supply of technical staff, and (ii) limited financial powers, especially in respect of loans. Consequently they have the same urgent need to make the best possible use of scarce resources.

There is little doubt that the best method of planning and control is to combine a period plan (five years is convenient) with annual capital budgets. The period plan will look after the general position, both in respect of the choice of priorities and in forecasting the total demands for personnel and materials that will be required. It can also be very useful in stimulating the interest and co-operation of ratepayers. The annual budget will check the progress of the

various projects, and forecast the amount to be accomplished in the coming year. If the revenue and capital budgets are to be discussed at different times of year (as seems often to be the practice), it is quite necessary that they should be brought into final harmony at one and the same time.

The other points must be discussed more briefly. In the 1930s the advantages of the pooling of funds for investment on the one hand, and of loans on the other, were being pointed out as new ideas; the important possibilities implied by the accretion of superannuation funds were only realised here and there. It appears that a number of Local Authorities still do not fully realise the advantages of pooling nor the possibilities of capital expenditure from internal borrowing of funds. Superannuation funds (England and Wales) at £283 million have nearly tripled since 1940; other funds have also risen, although to a lesser extent. Sinking funds alone have declined, as is only natural in view of the great reduction in high-rate pre-war obligations. In respect of sinking funds the authors wisely point to the advantage of accumulating repairs and renewals funds, as providing for the true depreciation of assets, not merely for the repayment of loans.

The vagaries of government decisions in respect of Public Works Loan Board lending terms are well known (for the problem as seen by an economist see R. S. Bird, "Local Authority Finance," *Lloyds Bank Review*). On the whole it

seems unlikely that P.W.L.B. rates will remain below market rates again for any length of time, although the desirability of keeping the Board's rates fairly steady may lead to a temporary advantage from time to time. Not since the 1920s have Local Authorities been faced with the problems created by the high rates ruling today; but in a number of ways they are better able to deal with them. The P.W.L.B. is no longer bound to the necessity of covering its own high borrowing rates by the terms it allows. Its practice has become considerably more flexible; in particular it is possible to borrow for less than the full period for different types of asset. The restoration of the right to raise short-term mortgages also helps Local Authorities to avoid saddling themselves with high interest rates for a long term of years. It would be still more helpful if these could be allowed to run on after maturity, as was possible before the war. An important aspect of such borrowing in the local market is the stimulus it gives to additional saving which might not otherwise take place. Perhaps even more important than any specific measures for dealing with the problems of borrowing and capital expenditure is the growth of understanding of the issues involved, as compared with 30 years ago. In spreading this understanding the present study should play an important part.

URSULA K. HICKS

Groups, Regions and Committees

Acton Society Trust, 1957. Part I—52 pages, 4s. Part II—66 pages, 4s.

Two years have elapsed since the Guillebaud Committee presented its report on the National Health Service to the Minister, and already there are signs that some of its principal conclusions have been forgotten. Sporadic outbreaks of criticism of the hospital arm of the Service occur, much of it as ill-informed as that of the "pre-Guillebaud" period, and there are not lacking those who advocate radical changes in its administration.

It is timely, therefore, that the Acton Society Trust has recently published two more of its pamphlets in the series *Hospitals and the State*, and it is to be

hoped that the two further pamphlets intended to complete this valuable study will not be too tardy in making their appearance.

As the introduction to No. 3 explains, the series is an attempt to view the national hospital service as an example—admittedly in many ways a unique example—of a very large-sized, publicly owned undertaking. First came an historical survey, then a study of the impact of the change on the hospitals and those who work in them. These are now followed by Nos. 3 and 4, which collectively deal with groups, regions and committees—the former with

the Hospital Management Committees, the latter, according to its title, with Regional Hospital Boards, though it also includes an important section on the administration of the Teaching Hospitals.

The Trust acknowledges that a good deal of the ground covered by these pamphlets is inevitably the same as that covered by the Guillebaud Committee, but with this difference, that because of the lapse of time it has been possible not only to supplement the findings of that Committee with factual evidence, but also to study how the various courses of action recommended by that Committee are working out in practice. There is another difference, mentioned only obliquely in the text but nevertheless an important one—the Guillebaud Committee deliberately refrained from going out into the field of action to see for themselves, whereas no such self-imposed restriction has inhibited the work of the Acton Society. It is noteworthy, however, that the Society endorses the finding of the Guillebaud Committee that the administrative structure of the hospital service is basically sound, but needs more time in which all levels can shake down together.

The short historical section in volume 3 is succeeded by descriptions of the make-up of Hospital Management Committees, Boards of Management in Scotland, and the management structure of the group. Mention is also made of the still unresolved question of whether a Group Secretary should also manage one of his hospitals, and on this question, as well as on many others, the Trust feels it would be unwise at the present stage of development to prescribe rigid forms of organisation. The most significant paragraphs in this section are those which comment on the possible blurring of the Group Secretary's sense of his own responsibility by a misconception about the position of the Finance Officer. Considerations of managerial unity, it is suggested, may have been pushed aside in order to sustain the Finance Officer in his public accountability rôle.

It is curious how many similar problems face the hospital service today. Many of them are discussed in these pamphlets. There is, for instance, the relationship of the Supplies Officer to the other members of the triumvirate at group level. There is also the relationship, at regional level, between the Secretary of

the Board and the Senior Administrative Medical Officer. Here again the authors find evidence of that diffusion of responsibility which they believe to be characteristic of the functional type of administrative structure. Whatever the cause, it cannot be doubted that the possibility of conflict is inherent in the situation, and it is a tribute to the good sense of the officers concerned that in the majority of cases good personal relations prevail. The problem could be left to sort itself out in practice, or one of three other possible courses of action could be adopted, but the authors do not say which of these alternatives they recommend. Perhaps they are wise!

The section on the Regional Boards at work reveals some astonishing differences between them. At one end of the scale are the Boards who have adopted a full committee procedure based on the Local Authority pattern; at the other end is at least one Board with an almost complete lack of committees; and in between are many variations on this theme. The authors reject the conception, of which Dr. Stephen Taylor is an exponent, that the governing bodies in the Service should consist of a small number of paid members. Rightly so: it is one of the safeguards of the system that those who give their services voluntarily and without pay are free to withdraw them at any time if they feel it in the public interest to do so.

Some further questions for study are suggested in the section on the planning work of the Regional Boards, but it is the section on the Boards as supervisory authorities that poses the more immediately important ones. Many people feel that the Guillebaud Committee should have been more definite in its recommendations as to the relative powers and functions of each level of management. That there is still some confusion about the position is evident from the questions asked here.

On the vexed question of who should administer the Teaching Hospitals it would be imprudent to do more than mention that the problem is thoughtfully analysed, and the tentative conclusion seems to be reached that, on balance, the London Teaching Hospitals should remain as they are, but that the scales are possibly tipped the other way for the provincial ones. The Trust found, however, little evidence that Teaching Hospitals had, in

fact, become the focus from which medical knowledge and the progress of science radiate over the region as a whole, which was one of the basic assumptions of the Act.

When all is said and done, however, what matters is the vital spirit that makes an organism work—"a spirit that depends essentially on the men and women who fill the various posts." This aspect is to be covered in a later pamphlet, but some of the more important problems of organisation are dealt with here. Particular emphasis is laid on the rôle of the voluntary members of Boards and Committees, the most important of whose functions the Trust rightly regards as their humanising influence at once anti-bureaucratic and anti-professional on what one of its many Ministers once described as "this essentially human Service." Elsewhere the question is raised as to how much longer the Service can continue to depend on voluntary workers willing to give their time to serve on its Boards and Committees. The rôle of the Chairman is given special attention. Clearly there have been differences of opinion as to what that rôle ought to be, but none can deny its importance, and the need to find people with the right "qualities of judgment and humanity, power to take responsibility, administrative experience and adequate time to give to the work." Also, the point is stressed that the burden which has to be carried by voluntary members will always depend on the quality of the permanent administrative officers, which in turn points to the need for a proper career structure in the Service, greater mobility between the various tiers of administration, and improved methods of recruitment and training.

The authors conclude by repeating their belief that the structure of the Service is basically sound; but, they add, if it is to work well, both the voluntary members and the permanent officers must

be first-class. So far as the permanent officers are concerned the Service must be put into a position where it can offer attractive career prospects and thereby attract its fair share of the country's best brains as they leave school and university. Some of this, perhaps, is on the way: a national recruitment scheme has been started, though on a very modest scale; and an investigation into the grading structure is being carried out for the Minister by Sir Noel Hall, Principal of the Administrative Staff College at Henley. It remains to be seen whether the dry bones will be given flesh.

It was perhaps inevitable that with so much to say and restricted space in which to say it, the evidence on which many of the conclusions were reached should have been omitted. Nowhere did I regret the necessity for this omission more than in the section on the actual behaviour pattern of voluntary members. Very little is known on this subject, and opinions as to the value of voluntary members range from those of the abolitionists who regard them as busybodies to those deeply entrenched in the dogma of democracy. Somewhere between these two extremes the truth is to be found; and so far only Professor K. C. Wheare in his work on government by committees has said very much on the subject.

One cannot conclude without a word of appreciation to the Acton Society Trust for this further and very valuable contribution to knowledge of the working of the hospital arm of the National Health Service. The investigations on which the two pamphlets are based were planned and carried out by T. E. Chester, former Director of the Acton Society Trust, and now Professor of Social Administration at Manchester University. He was assisted by Miss S. N. Joy.

GEORGE WATTS

Selected Papers 1922-55

By LORD COOPER OF CULROSS. Oliver and Boyd (Edinburgh, 1957). Pp. xlix + 380. 25s.

As a memorial a volume such as this is bound to be a portrait rather than a photograph. The subject of the book is neither law, politics nor history, but

Lord Cooper himself. In it are collected some of the most important of the writings of a Scots lawyer who was in communication with and acknowledged by jurists

on the Continent, in the Commonwealth and the United States. One of the articles in the book was translated into Italian, another into Japanese. The reader can form his impression of the man from the odd bits of information he reveals in his own words. Luckily, Lord Cooper does reveal himself very fully. A man of such decided and cogent opinions equipped with a lucid and memorable literary style is almost bound to "put himself across" when speaking or writing.

The book is prefaced with a delightfully written and intimate biography of one of the most distinguished Scotsmen of this century, and a critical appreciation of Lord Cooper's contribution to the law and legal history of his country by Professor T. B. Smith, written with his characteristic discernment; and over a score of addresses delivered by Lord Cooper mostly on legal topics, but also on historical, scientific and general matters which will be of interest not only to the lawyer but also to the historian, the administrator and the layman. The volume concludes with his decision in the E. H. R. case and four criminal cases.

In the all too brief biography it is revealed how during his political campaigns "his mother faithfully accompanied him wherever he went and at the conclusion of every meeting the pair of them made a point of leaving the platform in order to have a chat with their principal Socialist hecklers who pursued them nightly from hall to hall, with resultant expressions of esteem and friendship on both sides, politics temporarily forgotten." [That esteem and friendship was later manifest at Westminster among members of all parties.] "He often recalled with pleasure one occasion when, having arranged to meet his mother at the House of Commons, he sought her for some time in vain and eventually found her happily presiding over a tea-table on the Terrace where her Labour hosts were Jimmy Maxton, David Kirkwood, Willie Gallacher and George Buchanan." One of his proud possessions was a copy of Mr. Gallacher's *Revolt on the Clyde*, inscribed "With the warm regards of the author to T. M. Cooper, an honest and generous political opponent."

In the great Coalition under Churchill the Lord Advocate, as he then was, "was frequently consulted by the Cabinet on problems which had no relation to Scotland and his opinion was highly

valued." When he left the Commons to become a Judge a leading civil servant in England remarked: "There goes the finest brain at the disposal of the Government."

Many honours were conferred upon Lord Cooper during his brilliant career, but one which gave him peculiar pleasure was the Doctorate from the University of Paris. He was the first Scottish Judge since the sixteenth century to receive such an honour.

Only a passing reference is made in the biography to the Cooper Report on hydro-electric development in Scotland, which has resulted in the creation of what some consider to be Lord Cooper's greatest memorial. After his appointment to the Bench one of the first tasks entrusted to him was to preside over a Committee appointed by Parliament to report on hydro-electric development in Scotland. Reporting in 1943, the Committee observed: "Although the great bulk of the undeveloped resources of hydro-electric power were situated in Northern Scotland, the last occasion on which Parliamentary approval for a hydro-electric scheme was granted was in 1922. All the schemes promoted since 1929 were rejected. Major issues of policy have been completely submerged in the conflict of contending sectional interests. . . . Since 1922, twenty years have passed during which the Highlands have sunk into deepening depression and the greater part of the very valuable water power resources is still running to waste." Mr. Thomas Johnston, former Secretary of State for Scotland and now Chairman of the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board, said recently that the "Committee under Lord Cooper marshalled the evidence with great knowledge and acumen, analysed the arguments for and against and presented the conclusions so persuasively that when the Bill came before Parliament it passed both Houses almost with acclamation." A striking contrast to the past Parliamentary history and a unique tribute to the architect of the plan.

Last year the hydro-electric production of 1,281 million units was four times the amount of electricity produced in the area in 1943 and during last year saved the country 715,000 tons of coal. Twelve more hydro-electric power stations under construction will, when completed, increase the annual saving of coal by another

350,000 tons and add 650 million units of electricity.

The concluding sentences of Lord Cooper's Report make interesting reading after the lapse of only fifteen years. As Secretary to that Committee the reviewer knows that these sentences were composed by Lord Cooper with the utmost care and they later met with the entire approval of his colleagues. In them was a bold pronouncement because at the time there was very strong "amenity" opposition and bitter nationalist criticism of making the Highlands into the power house for the South. The Report reads: "The final issue in this matter must be faced once for all realistically. If it is desired to preserve the natural features of the Highlands unchanged in all time coming . . . the logical outcome of such an aesthetic policy would be to convert the greater part of the area into a National Park . . . providing a few 'reservations' in which the dwindling remnants of the population could for a time continue to reside until they eventually become extinct."

"But if, as we hope and believe, the policy to which this Report is a small contribution is to give the Highlands and the Highlanders a future as well as a past and to provide opportunity in the Highlands for initiative, independence and industry, then we consider that a few localised interferences with natural beauties will be an insignificant price to pay for the solid benefits which would be realised."

The reader is entitled to draw what conclusions he pleases about the character of the Judge. He can, however, hardly escape being struck by the restless inquiring spirit of the Lord President. The reader will feel that Lord Cooper would have risen successfully to the challenge of any professional, psychological or even mechanical problem as those of us who were engaged in cases with him at the Bar knew he could. Later, like other Counsel appearing before Lord Cooper's Court, one always had a feeling of complete confidence in the knowledge that the case would be examined with infinite care, the argument listened to with close attention, and if, at the end of the day, the decision was adverse, one left his Court with a feeling that justice had been done, and, if it were a criminal case, that the punishment fitted the crime.

It was his spirit of universal curiosity in matters humane or scientific which is so refreshing in the present age of narrow specialisation. Lord Cooper was quick to recognise this himself and it forms the theme of his brilliant presidential addresses to the Scottish History Society. It is refreshing to find a lawyer occupying himself with the details of mediæval population-distribution or checking the accuracy of a monkish chronicle by astronomical calculation.

The reader must be struck too by the emotional side of the late Lord President which made him spring to the defence of his Scottish heritage as well as of children, of animals or of the weak in general. Indeed "countless stories have been told of his great love of children and of their love for him. He had an amazing knack of winning their confidence and of sharing their thoughts and hopes." One incident which caused him amusement and delight is recorded. An appeal on behalf of a dog of hitherto irreproachable character sentenced to death by a lower Court for biting a child who took away his bone was taken to the High Court of Justiciary. In an opinion which received much press publicity, Lord Cooper, sustaining the appeal, stated that no self-respecting dog could be expected to stand by without protest whilst his dinner was being appropriated. "The following evening a small girl, a complete stranger, called at Lord Cooper's house and asked to see him. Ushered in to him, she explained that the report of how he had spared this dog's life had been read to her, that she possessed a doggie of her own, and that she had felt that she must call and thank him for being so merciful. Only a small child could have had the courage to call upon the Lord Justice-General in order to discuss one of his opinions with him."

Scottish institutions, "the peculiar product of the Scots Ethos," he saw to be threatened by overweening English interference and the tentacles of Whitehall. To him the Treaty of Union was obviously a reality, Scotland being an equal partner with definite rights upon which her self-respect depends and which must be defended now or never. In his own professional sphere he realised that this could best be achieved by emphasising the individuality and integrity of Scots Law. In many places the reader will find

his feelings on the subject expressed with good humour but deep intensity.

In regard to the liberty of the subject, Lord Cooper was concerned at the growth of bureaucracy and the spread of what he considered to be undesirable methods of police investigation. He complains that too often the liberties of the subject are decided upon the third floor of some Government Department.

At first sight it is perhaps strange to find one so genuinely a conservative in heart and mind described as an "iconoclast." The lions that he smashed were, however, chimeras—false conceptions which he saw through and resented. The key to this side of the man is surely his abundant common-sense. He was full of intellectual honesty and refused to be tied by antique precedent. The reader gets the impression that he regarded law as a dynamic and developing institution which must be moulded in accordance with the needs of contemporary society. This is demonstrated in his handling of the Law of Reparation, and by his eminently convincing criticism of the jury system in civil cases.

Undoubtedly the most valuable chapters in the book for the general reader are those on "The Scottish Legal Tradition" and "The Common and Civil Law." The exposition is a masterly piece of historical writing. It is, however, more than mere history. The book echoes again and again with the pleas for a full appreciation of the distinctive merits of Scots Law, variegated as tartan, combining the best of two legal worlds—Roman-Teutonic; English-American. The case is so convincingly argued that it is hard to see any flaw in it. In the last resort surely it is the application of the law that matters rather than the so-called fundamental principles. It is this that Lord Cooper emphasises.

Lawyers, historians and the many friends and admirers of the late Lord Cooper in all walks of life will be grateful to Mr. James M. Cooper, w.s., for collecting and presenting in this excellent volume some of the writings of his distinguished brother. General libraries as well as legal collections should not be without a copy of this book.

M. R. McLARTY

Personnel Administration: A Point of View and a Method (Third Edition)

By PAUL PIGORS and CHARLES A. MYERS. McGraw-Hill, 1956. Pp. 711. 5s.

THIS book falls into two main parts: Part I, a comprehensive textbook of personnel administration and Part II, a collection of "case illustrations." The second Part is of special interest in this country because the "case illustrations" are designed for use by the "incident method" of teaching management, which is probably less well known here than the case method as practised by the Harvard Business School. Teachers of management, as well as practitioners of personnel administration, will, therefore, find the book unusually valuable. I shall concentrate here on considering the "incident method" as described in Part II of the book.

Parts I and II of the book are designed to be used together, because the "case illustrations" in Part II are linked with individual chapters of Part I. They are both practical illustrations of the series put forward in Part I and teaching cases

for students of personnel administration and management. Part I is concerned with the nature of personnel administration and the everyday problems confronting the personnel administrator. It is intensely practical and has the ring of realism. It is also impressively documented by references to recent research. The style is refreshingly simple and free from jargon or clichés. Throughout there is an emphasis on the need for all those concerned with management to study the objectives, approaches and methods which the authors recommend to personnel administrators. As they say: "Personnel administration is a basic management function. Unless it is effectively carried out, technical efficiency is inadequate to achieve enduring organisational success. Problems of personnel should not be thought of as something separate from technical problems. Both are parts of a single situation that needs

to be understood and dealt with by line officials, beginning with the chief executive. Effective management gets results by winning co-operation. This is personnel administration. It means developing team work." Part I is a useful guide and reference book to all students of personnel administration. The emphasis throughout is on "applied" and not "pure" theory. As the authors say: "Fine policies are dynamite unless realistically formulated for specific situations and unless they allow room for discretion when applied in specific cases."

Part I is planned systematically with useful summaries at the end of each chapter and a summary of the summaries as the final chapter of that Part. There are also appendices on the Western Electric Research Programme, the Job Relations Programme of Training Within Industry, the responsibilities of the first-line supervisor, an employee-service programme, and on the duties of a Safety Director. Those new to personnel administration will find these useful introductions to the topics concerned. Those wishing to dig deeply into the subject will also find the detailed list of selected references classified by aspects of personnel administration. There is also a name index and a subject index to the book itself.

Part II is introduced by some notes on the use of the case method, by way of explanation for the adoption at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, since 1950, of the "incident method." Very briefly the points made are that cases should be true to life, should be realistic to the students, and not artificially oversimplified. Most teachers of management would agree. However, the authors point out that a case conforming to these conditions may be bewildering to the new student and may call for a lot of homework, which many are unwilling to do properly. These difficulties also are familiar to teachers. If they are not overcome, the result may be a slight and superficial consideration of potentially rich cases.

The "incident method" was designed to help students get more value out of their studies of cases. Instead of being presented at one go with the whole case, they are given a very brief account of the starting point of a case, the "incident." This will be only 50 to 100 words long—contrast, for example, the lengthy cases in Harold Stein's *Public Administration and Policy*, a

Case Book. In working as a group, students question the discussion leader to clear relevant facts and emotions. One student plays the role of narrator of the case, to help the group to see it as an observer of the group's behaviour. Working again as individuals, each writes down his decision for action in the case. Then small groups of three or four discuss their decision and appoint a spokesman. The spokesman presents their arguments in debate. Next the discussion leader recounts the actual end of the story and makes his own comments. Lastly, the whole group reflect over the whole case to isolate general principles of personnel administration. The merits claimed for this are that it is highly active, it removes the necessity for a lot of homework, and, very importantly, it gives students practice not only in being a discussion member but in being an "observer-reporter" and in turn discussion leader, presenting a case. This opportunity for students to fulfil these several functions overcomes the difficulty attached to the orthodox case method that the discussion leader frequently learns more from the exercise than his students.

These are all strong points in favour of the "incident method." I have not heard of its being tried in this country and think that it should be. Some features, however, raise doubts in my mind. The cases bristle with detailed questions. If these are given to the students in the form as printed they may "spoonfeed" them and inhibit spontaneous thought. They would be very helpful to the discussion leader, so long as he does not confine himself too much to them.

The emphasis throughout is on inter-relationships between people, which, of course, one would expect of a textbook on personnel administration, but in using the cases the discussion leader would have to prevent too narrow a channelling of discussion into the purely human relations aspect of a case. In real life, points of organisation and technical "know-how" are intimately interwoven with personnel aspects in any problem. There must be scope for much more use of rôle-playing than is suggested here, especially for handling problems where strong emotions are aroused and where skilful interviewing is the keynote of success. As the authors themselves say "unless this gap between

verbalising and practice can be bridged, there is little advantage in studying cases about human relations." In fairness, I should redress the balance by saying that the cases given are of great variety ranging from a detailed account of an interview with a dissatisfied employee (e.g., the "Deborah Larkin case") to a very general problem (the "Learner Spinners" case). They include records of conversations in interviews (N.B., these must surely be invented since they go back as far as the 1930s) actual letters and descriptive analysis.

In this country we are short of case material and we can learn from these authors' experience, where a great deal of time and patience is devoted to finding and writing up cases tailored to students' needs. If case study, whether used with the "orthodox" or the "incident" method is to be more than a gimmick, we have got to go out and get our cases and devote both to their preparation and their use the same amount of time, thought and skill as the authors of this book have done.

AVICE V. TURNBULL

The Role of the Personnel Officer: A Group Review

By GUY HUNTER. Occasional Papers No. 12. Institute of Personnel Management, 1957. Pp. 21. 4s.

THE President of the Institute and the author emphasise at the beginning of this paper that the findings are those of a small group of individuals and not the official views of the I.P.M. and that the pamphlet cannot include all the opinions expressed or the valuable suggestions made during the concentrated discussions. This is a pity, because "the group of individuals" includes names of great importance in personnel management today and a full report of the Study Group would have been of greater interest and value than this very brief, if lucid, paper which arouses interest but leaves the reader somewhat frustrated with what Mr. Hunter himself, in his conclusion, refers to as "dry bones."

The motivating power of the personnel manager and his responsibilities to an organisation and to society in general are important issues. The report suggests that the personnel manager should enjoy senior status but cannot expect to have professional recognition in the strict sense, and that although it would be unrealistic to believe that he should have a higher social morality than other managers, it is necessary for him to remind management from time to time of their internal and

external responsibilities. Another question which is briefly referred to is: How far should a personnel manager be consulted on the organisation pattern of his firm? It seems to be generally agreed that he should have a greater part to play in this respect: it was also agreed that he should be the principal representative of the firm when negotiating or consulting with the trade unions. All these problems concerning the rôle of the personnel officer, his status, training and functions are matters of paramount importance, and an occasional paper seems to be an inadequate medium for recording such proceedings.

Admittedly the objective, that of marking out the various boundaries of personnel management, has to some extent been achieved. A clearer picture would have been welcomed by those who are facing up to personnel problems and deciding just where, within an organisation, the personnel manager should be and what precisely should be his rôle. Nevertheless, it is realised that such a group, meeting for only two days, could hardly be expected fully to reconcile their views on these major problems.

JOHN SARGENT

BOOK NOTES

Report of the Civil Service Commission

1956-57. H.M.S.O. Pp. 40. 2s. 3d.

AS usual this report contains a great deal of interesting material. The Commission has been reconstituted and a new Order in Council supersedes the old 1920 Order under which the Commission exercised various powers. The changes mainly concern the Certificate of Qualification, e.g., such a Certificate is no longer a general condition of appointment in a temporary capacity. The Report points out that the implementation of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, particularly the widespread introduction of a five-day week, already appears to have had a beneficial effect on recruitment. Even the entry to the Administrative Class for 1957 seems to be stronger both in numbers and quality than in 1956. The report records one development of historical interest. Since 1870 candidates' examination fees have been paid in the form of a Civil Service Stamp—now candidates are to pay by postal order or cheque.

How Local Government Works

By HONOR WYATT. The Bodley Head, 1957. *Pp. 160. 9s. 6d.

THE author sets out to answer some of the basic questions which young citizens ask about the history and working of local government. Her book succeeds in bringing the subject to life and in conveying, in addition to factual information, a great deal of the atmosphere and spirit in which elected members and chief officers carry out their duties. She also shows what manner of men and women they usually are. Detailed criticism of a book with such a simple object would be ungenerous, but the statements on page 144 that "Local Government Officials work under the general guidance of an official known as the Clerk of the Council or a Town Clerk" and "I have heard the Clerk of the Council described as a kind of managing director of a large firm which has several departments and I think that explains his position very well," are at

least an over-simplification if not entirely misleading.

Housing in Great Britain

By HERBERT ASHWORTH. Thomas Skinner, 1957. Pp. 157. 7s. 6d.

THIS book, written by the General Manager and Secretary of the Co-operative Permanent Building Society, is a consolidated and revised edition of two booklets published in 1946 and 1947. Designed both for students reading for the final examination of the Building Societies Institute and for the general reader, the present version forms a useful introduction and guide to housing and housing legislation in Great Britain. It is divided into two parts, dealing with housing policy and housing standards respectively. An appendix is devoted to post-war housing legislation.

L. Urwick: A Bibliography

Urwick Orr and Partners, 1957. Pp. 45. Available free.

LT.-COL. URWICK's vast contribution to the literature of scientific management is listed in detail in this compilation. In addition to his numerous contributions as an original thinker, he has acted as a publicist for the work of others. All librarians will be grateful to Col. Urwick's firm for making available such a very useful bibliography in the field of management literature.

Hart's Introduction to the Law of Local Government and Administration (Sixth Edition)

By WILLIAM O. HART. Butterworth, 1957. Pp. lxiv + 727 + 79. 45s.

THIS further edition of an authoritative work which first appeared in 1934 takes full account of recent changes in the law relating to town and country planning, housing, and rating; of the Licensing Act, 1953, and the Food and Drugs Act, 1955; and of the 1956 and 1957 White Papers on the Reform of Local Government

Areas, but not of course of the third dealing with finance.

Knight's Annotated Model Byelaws (Volume II)

By A. N. C. SHELLEY. Charles Knight, 1957. Pp. xi + 201. 42s.

FOLLOWING on the first volume, which dealt with byelaws relating to new buildings, the second part of this eleventh edition of a standard work contains the annotated text of model byelaws and memoranda issued by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, the Home Office, and the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food.

The Rent Act, 1957

By ASHLEY BRAMALL. Sweet and Maxwell, 1957. Pp. xvi + 203. 12s. 6d.

THE purpose of this booklet, which is Number 13 in the *Current Law Guide* series, is to fit the detailed provisions of the statute into a coherent picture, to indicate how some of its more difficult provisions are likely to work, and to suggest tentative solutions to some of the problems of interpretation which are likely to arise. The texts of the Act and of the Rent Restrictions Regulations, 1957, are included.

Nationality and Citizenship Law of the Commonwealth and the Republic of Ireland

By CLIVE PARRY. Stevens, 1957. Pp. liv + 1021. £6 6s.

THIS is a comprehensive textbook to the complex nationality and citizenship laws of the Commonwealth. It comprises four parts, the first forming a general introduction to the subject, the second being devoted to the United Kingdom and Colonies, the third dealing in separate chapters with the various countries of the Commonwealth overseas and the fourth relating to the Republic of Ireland. Each chapter contains a general introduction and the annotated and commented text of the relevant statutes.

The Finance Officer in Local and Public Authorities

Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants. Pp. 106.

IN March, 1957, the I.M.T.A. held a small conference in Oxford to discuss the recruitment, training and functions of finance officers. Participants and papers were drawn from Central and Local Government, the Nationalised Industries, and the Hospital Services. Mr. J. Latham of the National Coal Board was Chairman. The papers and a resumé of the discussion are now available and make a very useful addition to the literature.

Social Policies for Old Age

By MRS. B. E. SHENFIELD. Routledge and Kegan Paul. Pp. 236. 25s.

THIS is the best available general review of the provision made by public authorities for old people and of the economic and social problems presented by old age.

The British Statute Book

By CHRISTOPHER HUGHES. Hutchinson. Pp. 168. 10s. 6d.

MR. HUGHES has provided us with an extremely useful introduction and guide to the drafting, passing, interpretation and other aspects of Acts of Parliament and Statutory Instruments.

Trial by Jury

By SIR PATRICK DEVLIN. Stevens, 1956. Pp. viii + 179. 15s.

IN this, the eighth series of Hamlyn Lectures, are considered the origin and composition of the jury, the jury as a judicial tribunal, the control of the jury, and the decline of the jury and its strength.

The Law in Action (Volume II)

Stevens, 1957. Pp. viii + 134. 10s.

THE subjects of this series of broadcast talks are provided by recent decisions of the courts which have given rise to speculation and controversy among professional lawyers and academicians. Sir Alfred Denning contributes a foreword and the material was edited for publication by R. E. Megarry.

Where to Look for Your Law (Twelfth Edition)

Sweet and Maxwell, 1957. Pp. viii + 190. Ordinary copy 7s. 6d., interleaved copy 15s.

THIS guide to sources of legal information comprises a subject index, an index of authors and titles, an index of current reports and periodicals, a list of law reports with their abbreviations, and a table of regnal years.

The British Journal of Administrative Law Volume III, No. 2

Shaw and Sons, Jordan and Son, 1957. Paging irregular. Annual subscription 45s.

THE Spring, 1957, issue of this quarterly includes an article by Francis Edmund Skone James on "The Performing Rights Tribunal" and the usual detailed Administrative Law Reports.

Canada's Immigration Policy

By DAVID C. CORBITT. University of Toronto Press, Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. xii + 215. 32s.

THE author of this critique, which was published under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, considers the part to be played by Canada in the solution of world population problems. He treats in turn of the pressures brought to bear on the government in connection with immigration and the government's response to them, of the policy governing the admission or exclusion of groups of persons, of the administration of immigration policy and the extent to which this policy conforms to the rule of law and the principles of natural justice, and of the effect of immigration on Canada's economic development and international relations.

National Income Accounts and Income Analysis (Second Edition)

By RICHARD RUGGLES and NANCY D. RUGGLES. McGraw-Hill, 1956. Pp. viii + 452. 49s.

IN its general plan this revision follows the lines of the earlier edition written in 1948, though substantial changes and additions have been made to the contents. The aim is to build up a national income concept from the basic accounts of individual firms, government units and households.

The Sociological Study of Co-operation

By HENRIK E. INFIELD. Education Department, Co-operative Union, Loughborough, 1956. Pp. 71. 1s. 3d.

THE American author considers the function of the Co-operative Movement in society, drawing on his experience of Co-operative undertakings from Palestine to Mexico.

Adventure in Play

By JOHN BARRON MAYS. Liverpool Council of Social Service, 1957. Pp. 31. 3s. 6d.

THIS booklet contains the story of a ten-year experiment with a "junk" playground established on a bombed site in Rathbone Street, Liverpool. It is written by the Chairman of the Committee responsible for running the playground.

The Colliery Official's Handbook to the Mines and Quarries Act, 1954

National Coal Board, 1957. Pp. 98 + xiv. 5s.

THE Board have published this handbook to enable colliery officials to understand those sections of this difficult Act and of the Regulations made under it which are likely to concern them in their daily work.

Lifting for Ambulance Personnel

Chartered Society of Physiotherapy, 1957. Pp. 41. 1s.

THE leaflet states, with the aid of amusing drawings, the principles of posture and body management which should be followed when heavy weights are to be lifted.

The Measurement and Behaviour of Unemployment

Princeton University Press, Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. x + 605. 60s.

THIS volume contains papers and comments derived from a conference organised by the Universities-National Bureau Committee for Economic Research. The various contributions cover the meaning and movement of unemployment and full employment, and the behaviour of unemployment in the United States.

nine other Western countries and the Soviet Union. Special attention is devoted to statistical material which has become available in recent years.

The Housing Act, 1957

Introduction by D. BARLOW. Sweet and Maxwell. Pp. 159. 21s.

THIS is a copy of the important new Housing Act briefly annotated by D. G. Valentine and with a four-page introduction of the most elementary kind by D. Barlow.

Coke-Burning Appliances

The Gas Council, Grosvenor Place,

London, S.W.1. Pp. 410. 15s.

THIS is the fifth edition of the Handbook. It makes available to architects, builders and others a mass of detailed information about the many coke-burning appliances at present available.

Guide to the Scottish Legal System

By LORD COOPER AND OTHERS. Cousland, Edinburgh. Pp. 99. 12s.

INTENDED more for laymen than for lawyers this collection of short essays deals with such matters as Criminal Administration, the Sheriff Court, the Scottish Land Court and the Lyon Court.

RECENT GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

The following official publications issued by H.M.S.O. are of particular interest to those engaged in, or studying, public administration. The documents are available in the Library of the Institute.

ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNALS AND ENQUIRIES, COMMITTEE OF

Report of the Committee. Cmnd. 218. pp. v, 114. 1957. 5s.

Minutes of evidence, 1956-57.

Appendix I to the minutes of evidence (memoranda submitted by persons and organisations who did not give oral evidence). pp. 124. 1957. 4s. 6d.

Appendix II to the minutes of evidence (supplementary memoranda submitted by witnesses who gave oral evidence). pp. 128-187. 1957. 2s. 6d.

Index to the evidence. Part 1: Minutes of evidence and appendices. Part 2:

• Memoranda submitted by Government Departments in reply to a questionnaire. pp. 16. 1957. 1s. 9d.

BRITISH TRANSPORT COMMISSION

Ninth annual report and accounts 1956.

Volume I: Report. H.C. 187-I. pp. vi, 92. 1957. 5s.

Includes report of progress made with modernisation and re-equipment of railways and settlement of Commission's finances for forthcoming reconstruction period.

Volume II: Financial and statistical accounts. H.C. 187-II. pp. viii, 273. 1957. 12s.

CIVIL ESTIMATES

Revised estimates of the sums required in the year ending 31st March, 1958, for the National Health Service, England and Wales, and the National Health Service, Scotland. H.C. 212. pp. 57. 1957. 3s.

CIVIL ESTIMATES AND ESTIMATES FOR REVENUE DEPARTMENTS

Supplementary estimate for year ending 31st March, 1958. H.C. 213. pp. 23. 1957. 1s. 3d.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

Report of H.M. Civil Service Commissioners for the year ended 31st March, 1957. pp. 40. Tabs. 1957. 2s. 3d.

COLONIAL OFFICE

Colonial development and welfare acts. Return of schemes . . . in the year ended 31st March, 1957. H.C. 200. pp. 39. 1957. 2s. 3d.

The Colonial Office List 1957. pp. vi, 464. Folding map. 1957. 41 15s.

Colonial Research Studies No. 23—a fiscal survey of the British Caribbean by A. R. Prest. pp. 136. Tabs., folding charts. 1957. 10s.

Constitutional proposals for the Federation of Malaya. Cmnd. 210. pp. 175. 1957. 5s. 6d.

This White Paper describes the more important changes in the proposed recommendations of the Constitutional Commission. The paper should be read in conjunction with the Commission's report.

DEPARTMENT OF SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

Road research 1956. pp. iv, 88. Tabs., figs., 8 plates. Bibliog. 1957. 5s. 6d.

ECONOMIC TRENDS

June and July, 1957. 2s. 6d.

EDUCATION, MINISTRY OF

Education in 1956. Being the report of the Ministry of Education and the statistics of public education for England and Wales.

Cmnd. 223. pp. iv, 189. 1957. 8s. 6d.

The training of teachers. Suggestions for a three-year training college course, 1957. Ministry of Education Pamphlet No. 34. pp. iv, 22. 1s. 9d.

FOREIGN OFFICE

United Nations No. 1 (1957)—Report on the proceedings of the eleventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations held at New York, 12th November-23rd December, 1956, and 2nd January-8th March, 1957, including reports on the

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

two Special Emergency Sessions of the General Assembly held at New York in November, 1956. Cmnd. 189. pp. iv, 110. 1957. 5s.

HOUSING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT, MINISTRY OF

Housing return for England and Wales, 30th June, 1957. Appendix. pp. 78. 1957. 3s.

Rates and rateable values in England and Wales 1956-57. pp. 61. Tabs. 1957. 4s.

Report for the year 1956. Cmnd. 193. pp. xi, 167. 1957. 6s.

INLAND REVENUE

Income taxes outside the Commonwealth. First supplement (February, 1957). pp. 354. 1957. 15s.

JOURNAL OF AFRICAN ADMINISTRATION
July, 1957. Quarterly. 2s. 6d.

LORD CHANCELLOR'S DEPARTMENT

Civil judicial statistics. Statistics relating to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the House of Lords, the Supreme Court of Judicature, County Courts and other Civil Courts for the year 1956. Cmnd. 224. pp. 63. 1957. 2s. 6d.

LORD PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. Report for the year 1955-56. Cmnd. 213. pp. 314. Tabs. 1957. 9s. 6d.

MEDICAL RESEARCH, COMMITTEE OF PRIVY COUNCIL FOR

Report of the Medical Research Council for the year 1955-56. Cmnd. 180. pp. vii, 270. 1957. 9s.

Short accounts are given of research into the causes of cancer of the lung, into the prevention of whooping cough by vaccination, etc.

MONTHLY DIGEST OF STATISTICS
June and July, 1957. 5s.

OVERSEA EDUCATION
July, 1957. Quarterly. 2s.

PENSIONS AND NATIONAL INSURANCE, MINISTRY OF

Report of the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance for the year 1957. Cmnd. 229 pp. xii, 115. 1957. 5s. 6d.

Among important events of 1956 were increased allowances for children of war

widows and increased pensions for war orphans: introduction of new age limits for family allowances and increased family allowances for larger families.

Report on war pensioners for the year 1956. H.C. 234. pp. vi, 74. Illus. 1957. 4s.

PUBLIC WORKS LOAN BOARD

Eighty-second annual report of the Public Works Loan Board, 1956-57. pp. 20. Folding tabs. 1957. 1s. 6d.

SCOTTISH HOME DEPARTMENT

Civil judicial statistics (including licensing and bankruptcy). Statistics relating to the House of Lords (Scottish Appeals); the Court of Session; Sheriff Courts and other Civil Courts; Licensing Courts; Certain Legal and Public Departments; Bankruptcy; Court Fees and Fees taken in the Departments for the year 1956. Cmnd. 215. pp. 33. 1957. 2s.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ESTIMATES

Fourth report—Customs and Excise Session 1956-57. H.C. 182. pp. xii, 150. 1957. 8s. 6d.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON PROCEDURE

Second report from the Committee H.C. 211. pp. xii, 60. 1957. 4s. 6d.

SUPREME COURT OF NORTHERN IRELAND

Report of the Supreme Court of Northern Ireland. Cmnd. 227. pp. 47. 1957. 2s.

TRANSPORT AND CIVIL AVIATION, MINISTRY OF

Report of the Air Transport Advisory Council for the year ended 31st March 1957, and statement by the Minister Transport and Civil Aviation. H.C. 20. pp. 54. 1957. 2s. 3d.

Report of the London Airport Development Committee. pp. iii, 14. 3 illus. folding map. 1957. 2s.

TREASURY AND CENTRAL OFFICE OF INFORMATION

Freer trade in Europe: an official account pp. 31. 1957. 2s.

UNITED KINGDOM ATOMIC ENERGY AUTHORITY

Atom 1957. An illustrated summary of third annual report for the year ended 31st March, 1957. pp. 22. 1957. 1s.