

## Select bibliography

- About Japan Series.** *The Diet, Elections, and Political Parties.* Foreign Press Centre/Japan.
- Alexander, R.** *The Voice of the People – A Constitution for Tomorrow.* London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson. 1997. ISBN 0 297 84109 2.
- Bagehot, W.** *The English Constitution.* Sussex Academic Press. 1997. ISBN 1 898723 71 0.
- Baldwin, N.** *Lawyers in Parliament.* In: Oliver, D. and Drewry, G. eds. *The Law and Parliament.* 1998. ISBN 0 406 98092 6.
- Benn, T. and Hood, A.** *Common Sense: A New Constitution for Britain.* Hutchinson. 1993. ISBN 0091773083.
- Blackburn, R. and Plant, R.,** eds. *Constitutional Reform – The Labour Government’s Constitutional Reform Agenda.* Longman. 1999. ISBN 0 582 36999 1.
- Bogdanor, V.** *The Monarchy and the Constitution.* Clarendon Press. 1995. ISBN 0 198277695.
- Bogdanor, V.** *Power and the People – A Guide to Constitutional Reform.* Cassell Group. 1997. ISBN 0 575 06491 9.
- Bogdanor, V.** *Devolution in the United Kingdom.* Oxford University Press. 1999. ISBN 0 19 289310 6.
- Brazier, R.** *Constitutional Reform – Reshaping the British Political System.* Oxford University Press. 1998. ISBN 0 19 876524 X.
- Bryce, Viscount.** *Conference on the Reform of the Second Chamber – Letter from Viscount Bryce to the Prime Minister (Cd 9038).* 1918.
- Cabinet Office.** *Modernising Government (Cm 4310).* 1999.
- Cabinet Office.** *Modernising Parliament – Reforming the House of Lords (Cm 4183).* 1999.
- Cabinet Office.** *Parliament Bill 1947 – Agreed Statement on Conclusion of Conference of Party Leaders (Cmd 7380).* 1948.
- Cabinet Office.** *House of Lords Reform (Cmnd 3799).* Her Majesty’s Stationery Office. 1968.
- Cabinet Office.** *The Governance of Public Bodies: A Progress Report (Cm 3557).* The Stationery Office. 1997. ISBN 0 10 135572 6.
- Cabinet Office.** *Devolution: Memorandum of Understanding and Supplementary Agreements between the United Kingdom Government, Scottish Ministers and the Cabinet of the National Assembly for Wales (Cm 4444).* The Stationery Office. 1999.
- Cabinet Office.** *The Government’s Response to the First Report from the Committee on Standards in Public Life (Cm 2931).* HMSO. 1995. ISBN 0 10 129312 7.
- Carnarvon KCVO KBE, Earl of, et al.** *Second Chamber – Some Remarks on Reforming the House of Lords.* Douglas Slater. 1998. ISBN 0 9526512 03.
- Charter 88.** *Policy Paper – Reform of the House of Lords.* 1998. ISBN 1873311 583.
- Committee on Standards in Public Life.** *Standards in Public Life: First Report (Cm 2850-I).* HMSO. 1995. ISBN 0 10 128502 7.
- Committee on Standards in Public Life.** *Standards in Public Life: Fifth Report, The Funding of Political Parties in the United Kingdom (Cm 4057-I).* The Stationery Office. 1998. ISBN 0 10 140572 3.
- Constitution Unit.** *Reform of the House of Lords.* 1996. ISBN 0 9527960 0 7.
- Constitution Unit.** *Constitutional Watchdogs.* Briefing. 1997.
- Constitution Unit.** *Reforming the Lords: A Step by Step Guide.* 1998.
- Constitution Unit.** *Rebalancing the Lords: The Numbers.* Briefing. 1998.
- Constitution Unit.** *Checks & Balances in Single Chamber Parliaments (Stage I).* 1998.
- Constitution Unit.** *Single Chamber Parliaments: a Comparative Study (Stage II).* 1998.
- Constitution Unit.** *The Impact of the Human Rights Act: Lessons from Canada and New Zealand.* 1999.
- Constitution Unit.** *A Transitional House of Lords: Balancing the Numbers.* 1999.
- Cooke of Thorndon, Lord.** *Unicameralism in New Zealand: Some Lessons.* In: *Canterbury Law Review – Volume 7.* 1999.
- Cornes, R.** *Constitutional Reform and the United Kingdom’s Highest Courts.* The Constitution Unit. 1999.

- Desai, Lord and Kilmarnock, Lord.** *Destiny not Defeat: Reforming the Lords*. Fabian Society. 1997. ISBN 0 7163 3029 6.
- Dickson, B. and Carmichael, P.** *The House of Lords – Its Parliamentary and Judicial Roles*. Hart Publishing. 1999. ISBN 1 84113 020 6.
- Dungey, J. and Newman, I.,** eds. *The New Regional Agenda*. Local Government Information Unit. 1999. ISBN 1 8979 5758 0.
- Dunleavy, P. and Margetts, H.** *Report to the Government Office for London: Electing the London Mayor and the London Assembly*. LSE Public Policy Group. 1998.
- Dunleavy, P. and Margetts, H.** *Report to the Independent Commission on the Voting System: The Performance of the Commission's Schemes for a New Electoral System*. LSE Public Policy Group. 1998.
- Dunleavy, P., Hix, S. and Margetts, H.** *Counting on Europe: Proportional Representation and the June 1999 Elections to the European Parliament*. LSE Public Policy Group. 1998. ISBN 0 7530 1225 1.
- Electoral Reform Society.** *Towards a Fairer Vote – The Submission of the ERS on the Independent Commission on Voting Systems*. 1998.
- European Parliamentary Elections Act 1999.**
- Foreign and Commonwealth Office.** *Partnership for Progress and Prosperity – Britain and the Overseas Territories (Cm 4264)*. The Stationery Office. 1999.
- Foreign and Commonwealth Office.** *4<sup>th</sup> Report from the Foreign Affairs Committee: Gibraltar: Response of the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs*. The Stationery Office. 1999. ISBN 0101447027.
- Garrett, J.** *Westminster – Does Parliament Work?* Victor Gollancz Ltd. 1992. ISBN 0 575 04994 4.
- Griffith, J.A.G. and Ryle, M. (with Wheeler-Booth, M.A.J.).** *Parliament – Functions, Practice and Procedures*. Sweet and Maxwell. 1989. ISBN 0421 35280 9.
- Hazell, R.** *Re-inventing the Constitution: can the State survive?* CIPFA/Times Lecture. The Constitution Unit. Nov. 1998.
- Hazell, R.,** ed. *Constitutional Futures – A History of the Next Ten Years*. Oxford University Press. 1999. ISBN 0-19-829801-3.
- Heathcoat Amory, E.** *Lords a' Leaping*. Centre for Policy Studies. 1998. ISBN 1 897969 79 1.
- Hedges, A. and White, C. (with Seyd, B., Kahn, P. and Woodfield, K.).** *New Electoral Systems: What Voters Need to Know*. Social & Community Planning Research. 1999. ISBN 0 904607 364.
- Home of the Hirsell KT, Lord.** *The House of Lords – The Report of the Conservative Review Committee*. 1978.
- Home Office (UK).** *Putting Rights into Public Service: The Human Rights Act 1998*. 1999.
- Home Office (UK).** *The Report of the Independent Commission on the Voting System (Cm 4090-I)*. The Stationery Office. 1998. ISBN 0 10 140902 8.
- Home Office (UK).** *The Funding of Political Parties in the United Kingdom: The Government's Proposals for Legislation in Response to the Fifth Report of the Committee on Standards in Public Life (Cm 4413)*. The Stationery Office. 1999. ISBN 0 10 144132 0.
- House of Commons.** *Select Committee on Procedure, Fourth Report: Delegated Legislation*. HMSO. 1996. ISBN 0 10 239896 8.
- House of Commons.** *Select Committee on Procedure, Fourth Report: The Procedural Consequences of Devolution*. The Stationery Office. 1999. ISBN 0 10 2331995.
- House of Commons.** *Public Service Committee, First Report: The Code of Practice for Public Appointments*. HMSO. 1996. ISBN 0 10 222796 9.
- House of Commons.** *Public Service Committee, Second Report: The Work of the Commissioner for Public Appointments*. HMSO. 1997. ISBN 0 10 212397 7.
- House of Commons.** *Foreign Affairs Committee, Fourth Report: Gibraltar*. The Stationery Office. 1999. ISBN 0 10 236899 6.
- House of Commons.** *Procedural Consequences of Devolution: Government Response to the 4<sup>th</sup> Report from the Committee*. The Stationery Office. 1999. ISBN 0102331995.
- House of Commons.** *Members' Pay, Pensions and Allowances*. Information Office Factsheet No. 17. 1998.
- House of Commons Library.** *Parliamentary Scrutiny of Deregulation Orders*. Research Paper. 94/116. 1994.
- House of Commons Library.** *Special Standing Committees in Both Houses*. Research Paper. 96/14. 1996.

- House of Commons Library.** *House of Lords Reform: Recent Proposals.* Research Paper. 97/28. 1997.
- House of Commons Library.** *The Commons Committee Stage of 'Constitutional' Bills.* Research Paper. 97/53. 1997.
- House of Commons Library.** *Aspects of Parliamentary Reform.* Research Paper. 97/64. 1997.
- House of Commons Library.** *Scotland and Devolution.* Research Paper. 97/92. 1997.
- House of Commons Library.** *Parliamentary Reform: The Commons 'Modernisation' Programme.* Research Paper. 97/107. 1997.
- House of Commons Library.** *Devolution and Europe.* Research Paper. 97/126. 1997.
- House of Commons Library.** *Government of Wales Bill: Operational Aspects of the National Assembly.* Research Paper. 97/132. 1997.
- House of Commons Library.** *The Scotland Bill: Some Operational Aspects of Scottish Devolution.* Research Paper. 98/2. 1998.
- House of Commons Library.** *The Barnett Formula.* Research Paper. 98/8. 1998.
- House of Commons Library.** *Regional Government in England.* Research Paper. 98/9. 1998.
- House of Commons Library.** *The Human Rights Bill: Some Constitutional and Legislative Aspects.* Research Paper. 98/27. 1998.
- House of Commons Library.** *Cabinets, Committees and Elected Mayors.* Research Paper. 98/38. 1998.
- House of Commons Library.** *House of Lords Reform: Developments since the General Election.* Research Paper. 98/85. 1998.
- House of Commons Library.** *Parliamentary Pay and Allowances: Current Rates.* Research Paper. 98/86. 1998.
- House of Commons Library.** *The European Parliamentary Elections Bill.* Research Paper. 98/102. 1998.
- House of Commons Library.** *Lords Reform: The Legislative Role of the House of Lords.* Research Paper. 98/103. 1998.
- House of Commons Library.** *Lords Reform: Background Statistics.* Research Paper. 98/104. 1998.
- House of Commons Library.** *Lords Reform: Recent Developments.* Research Paper. 98/105. 1998.
- House of Commons Library.** *Voting Systems: The Jenkins Report.* Research Paper. 98/112. 1998.
- House of Commons Library.** *Voting Systems – The Government's Proposals.* Research Paper. 98/113. 1998.
- House of Commons Library.** *The House of Lords Bill: 'Stage One' Issues.* Research Paper. 99/5. 1999.
- House of Commons Library.** *The House of Lords Bill: Options for 'Stage Two'.* Research Paper. 99/6. 1999.
- House of Commons Library.** *The House of Lords Bill: Lords Reform and Wider Constitutional Reform.* Research Paper. 99/7. 1999.
- House of Commons Library.** *Devolution and Concordats.* Research Paper. 99/84. 1999.
- House of Commons Library.** *The Procedural Consequences of Devolution.* Research Paper. 99/85. 1999.
- House of Commons Library.** *The House of Lords Bill: Lords Amendments.* Research Paper. 99/88. 1999.
- House of Commons.** *Joint Committee on Financial Services and Markets – First Report, Draft Financial Services and Markets Bill. Vols I and II.* 1999. HC 328 I and II.
- House of Councillors.** *The National Diet of Japan – House of Councillors.* Ministry of Finance (Japan). 1995.
- House of Lords.** *Freedom and Function: Report to the Leader of the House from the Group on Procedure in the Chamber.* The Stationery Office. 1999. ISBN 0 10 403499 8.
- House of Lords.** *Select Committee on Delegated Powers and Deregulation: Special Report for Session 1998-99 – The Committee's Work.* The Stationery Office. 1999. ISBN 0 10 411299 9.
- House of Lords.** *Reform and Proposals for Reform Since 1900.* Briefing paper. 1998.
- House of Lords.** *The Salisbury Doctrine.* Library Notes. LLN 97/004. 1997.
- House of Lords.** *Proposals for Reform of the Composition and Powers of the House of Lords, 1968-1998.* Library Notes. LLN 98/004. 1998.
- House of Lords.** *Peerage Creations, 1958-1998.* Library Notes. LLN 98/005. 1998.
- House of Lords.** *Membership of the House of Lords.* Library Notes. LLN 99/001. 1999.
- House of Lords.** *The House of Lords Bill 1998/99.* Library Notes. LLN 99/002. 1999.

- Irvine of Lairg, Lord.** 'Government's Programme of Constitutional Reform'. Annual Constitution Unit Lecture. 1998.
- Jaconelli, J.** *The Parliament Bill 1910-1911: The Mechanics of Constitutional Protection*. In: *Parliamentary History*, Vol 10. 1991.
- Jeffrey, C.** *Electoral Reform: Learning From Germany*. In: *The Political Quarterly*. The Political Quarterly Publishing Co. Ltd. 1998.
- Jenkins, R.** *Mr Balfour's Poodle*. Collins. 1968.
- Life Peerages Act.** 1958.
- Locabail (UK) Ltd v Bayfield Properties Ltd and another, Locabail (UK) Ltd and another v Waldorf Investment Corporation and others**, 17 November 1999, [www.courtservice.gov.uk/locabail](http://www.courtservice.gov.uk/locabail)
- Lindbeck, et al.** *Turning Sweden Round*. MIT Press, Cambridge. 1994. ISBN 0 262 12181 6.
- Mackay of Clashfern KT, The Rt Hon The Lord**, Chair. *The Report of the Constitutional Commission on Options for a new Second Chamber*. Douglas Slater. 1999. ISBN 0 9526512 11.
- Marquand, D.** *Populism or Pluralism? New Labour and the Constitution*. The Constitution Unit. 1999.
- Mather MEP, G., Watson MEP, G. and Corbett MEP, R.** *Brussels On Britain: The UK in Europe viewed from Brussels*. European Policy Forum. 1999.
- May, E.** (Limon, Sir D. and McKay, W. R., eds). *Parliamentary Practice*. 22<sup>nd</sup> ed. Butterworths. 1997. ISBN 0 406 89587 2.
- Mitchell, A.** *Farewell my Lords*. Politicos Publishing. 1999. ISBN 0192301439.
- Mitchell, J. and Davies, A.** *Reforming the Lords*. Institute for Public Policy Research. 1993. ISBN 1 872452 65 5
- Mushwana, M.L. MP.** *The National Council of Provinces (NCOP) – A Presentation*.
- Narita, N.** *Changing Japanese Politics*. Foreign Press Centre/Japan. 1999. ISBN 4 939030 04 0.
- Norton, P.** *National Parliaments and the European Union*. Frank Cass. 1996. ISBN 0 7146 4330 0.
- Office of the Commissioner for Public Appointments.** *Commissioner for Public Appointments: First Report 1995-1996*. 1996. ISBN 0 7115 0336 2.
- Office of the Commissioner for Public Appointments.** *Commissioner for Public Appointments: Second Report 1996-1997*. 1997. ISBN 0 7115 0351 6.
- Office of the Commissioner for Public Appointments.** *Commissioner for Public Appointments: Third Report 1997-1998*. 1998. ISBN 0 7115 0362 1.
- Osmond, J.** *Reforming the Lords and Changing Britain*. Fabian Society. 1998. ISBN 0 7163 0587 9.
- Parliament Act(s)**. 1911 and 1949.
- Parliament (No. 2) Bill**. HMSO. 1968.
- Patterson, S.C. and Mughan, A., eds.** *Senates – Bicameralism in the Contemporary World*. Ohio State University Press. 1999. ISBN 0 8142 5010 6.
- Peerage Act.** 1963.
- Political Quarterly.** *Reforming the Lords*. Vol. 70 – Number 4 – October-December 1999. ISSN 0032-3179.
- Reidy, A.** *A Human Rights Committee for Westminster*. The Constitution Unit. 1999.
- Richard, I. and Welfare, D.** *Unfinished Business – Reforming the House of Lords*. Vintage UK. 1999. ISBN 0099289598.
- Riddell, P.** *Parliament Under Pressure*. Cassell Group. 1998. ISBN 0 575 06435 8.
- Russell, M.** *An Appointed Upper House: Lessons from Canada*. The Constitution Unit. 1998.
- Russell, M.** *A Directly Elected Upper House – Lessons from Italy & Australia*. The Constitution Unit. 1999.
- Russell, M.** *A Vocational Upper House? Lessons from Ireland*. The Constitution Unit. 1999.
- Seyd, B.** 'Democracy Day' – *Planning for Referendums on PR and Lords Reform*. The Constitution Unit. 1999.
- Shell, D.** *The House of Lords*. 1992.
- Shell, D. and Beamish, D.** *The House of Lords at Work*. 1993.
- Shell, D. and Giddings, P.** *The Future of Parliament – Reform of the Second Chamber*. King-Hall Paper No. 8. The Hansard Society. 1999.

- Shell, D.** *Bicameralism Reconsidered*. Paper prepared for Third Workshop of Parliamentary Scholars and Parliamentarians, Wroxton College. 1998.
- Sinclair, D.** *Putting Our House in Order*. The Bow Group. 1998. ISBN 0861 29 149 2.
- Spencer, S. and Bynoe, I.** *A Human Rights Commission – The Options for Britain and Northern Ireland*. Institute of Public Policy Research. 1998. ISBN 1 86030 060 X.
- Stevens, R.** *The Final Appeal: Reform of the House of Lords and Privy Council 1867–1876*. In: *The Law Quarterly Review*, Vol. 80 July 1964.
- Steyn, Rt Hon Lord.** *The Constitutionalisation of Public Law*. The Constitution Unit.
- Tyrie A. MP** *Reforming the Lords: A Conservative Approach*. Conservative Policy Forum. 1998. ISBN 085070952.
- Weller, P.**, ed. *Religions in the UK – A Multi-faith Directory*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. University of Derby. 1997. ISBN 0 901437 68 9.
- Wyndham, W.** *Peers in Parliament Reformed*. Quiller Press. 1998. ISBN 1 899163 43 3.

## Commissioned papers

The following papers were specifically commissioned to assist the Royal Commission and are included on the attached CD-ROM. Some have subsequently been published by the relevant bodies.

- Cornes, R.** *The Role of the Law Lords*. The Constitution Unit. 1999.
- Davie, G.** *Religious Representation in the House of Lords*. University of Exeter. 1999.
- Dunleavy, P. and Margetts, H.** *Electing Members of the Lords (or Senate)*. LSE Public Policy Group. 1999. This is a merged version of papers presented in May, September and October 1999.
- Foreign & Commonwealth Office.** *Memorandum of Evidence to the Royal Commission: Approval of Treaties*.
- Lewis-Jones, J.** *House of Lords: The Role of the Bishops*. The Constitution Unit. 1999.
- Martin, D.** *Deposition on the Lords Spiritual in the Upper House*. 1999.
- Reidy, A.** *Reforming the House of Lords: Its role in a Human Rights Culture*. The Constitution Unit. 1999.
- Reidy, A. and Russell, M.** *Guardians of the Constitution and Protectors of Human Rights*. The Constitution Unit. 1999.
- Russell, M.** *Territorial Representation in the Upper Chamber: Lessons from Overseas*. The Constitution Unit. 1999.
- Russell, M.** *The Spanish Senate: A Cautionary Lesson for Britain*. The Constitution Unit. 1999.
- Russell, M.** *Second Chambers Overseas*. The Constitution Unit. 1999.
- Russell, M.** *Resolving Disputes between the Chambers*. The Constitution Unit. 1999.

© Crown copyright 2000

The text in this document may be reproduced free of charge in any format or media without requiring specific permission. This is subject to the material not being used in a derogatory manner or in a misleading context. The source of the material must be acknowledged as Crown copyright and the title of the document must be included when being reproduced as part of another publication or service.

Photographic copyright:

Camera Press: p167  
Central Office of Information: throughout  
Houses of Parliament: p163  
Illustrated London News Picture Library: p16; p49  
The National Assembly for Wales: p64  
Popperfoto: p17  
PA News: p23; p81; p95; p103; p174  
Rex features: p157  
Scottish Parliament Corporate body: p60

99-4416/0001

Published by The Stationery Office and available from:

**The Publications Centre**

(mail, telephone and fax orders only)

PO Box 276, London SW8 5DT

Telephone orders/General enquiries 0870 600 5522

Fax orders 0870 600 5533

[www.tso-online.co.uk](http://www.tso-online.co.uk)

**The Stationery Office Bookshops**

123 Kingsway, London WC2B 6PQ

020 7242 6393 Fax 020 7242 6412

68–69 Bull Street, Birmingham B4 6AD

0121 236 9696 Fax 0121 236 9699

33 Wine Street, Bristol BS1 2BQ

0117 926 4306 Fax 0117 929 4515

9–21 Princess Street, Manchester M60 8AS

0161 834 7201 Fax 0161 833 0634

16 Arthur Street, Belfast BT1 4GD

028 9023 8451 Fax 028 9023 5401

The Stationery Office Oriel Bookshop

18–19 High Street, Cardiff CF1 2BZ

029 2039 5548 Fax 029 2038 4347

71 Lothian Road, Edinburgh EH3 9AZ

0870 606 5566 Fax 0870 606 5588

**The Stationery Office's Accredited Agents**

(see Yellow Pages)

*and through good booksellers*