

## *The role of the House of Representatives*

It has already been noted that the national legislature is bicameral. The structure of the two Houses is completely federal, with the House of Representatives being seen by Quick and Garran in 1901 as embodying the national aspect and the Senate the State aspect of the federal duality.<sup>1</sup>

It has been said that the federal part of the Australian Parliament is the Senate which being the organ of the States links them together as integral parts of the federal union. Thus, the Senate is the Chamber in which the States, considered as separate entities and corporate parts of the Commonwealth, are represented.<sup>2</sup> The (original) States have equal representation in the Senate, irrespective of great discrepancies in population size.

On the other hand the House of Representatives is the national branch of the Federal Parliament in which the people are represented in proportion to their numbers—that is, each Member represents an (approximately) equal number of voters. In this sense the House may be said to be not only the national Chamber but also the democratic Chamber.<sup>3</sup> *Quick and Garran* stated ‘its operation and tendency will be in the direction of unification and consolidation of the people into one integrated whole, irrespective of State boundaries, State rights or State interests.’<sup>4</sup> Thus, the House of Representatives is the people’s House and the inheritance of responsible government, through the Cabinet system, is the most significant characteristic attaching to it.

The framers of our Constitution, almost as a matter of course, took the Westminster model of responsible government (influenced by the colonial experience) and fitted it into the federal scheme. Thus the role and functions of the House of Representatives are direct derivatives of the House of Commons, principal features being the system of Cabinet Government and the traditional supremacy of the lower House in financial matters.

The notion of responsible government is embodied in the structure and functions of the House of Representatives.<sup>5</sup> That party or coalition of parties which commands a majority in the House is entitled to form the Government. From this group emerges the Prime Minister and the major portion of the Ministry, usually more than 75 per cent. This fact, and certain provisions of the Constitution concerning legislation, means that most legislation originates in the House of Representatives, and this emphasises its initiating and policy roles as distinct from the review role of the Senate.

In Australia the legal power to initiate legislation is vested in the legislature and nowhere else. In practice the responsibility falls overwhelmingly to one group within the legislature—the Ministry. However there are checks and balances and sometimes delays (which may sometimes be regarded as obstruction) in the legislative process because of

1 *Quick and Garran*, p. 339.

2 *Quick and Garran*, p. 414.

3 *Quick and Garran*, p. 448.

4 *Quick and Garran*, p. 337.

5 See also Ch. on ‘House, Government and Opposition’.

the bicameral nature of the legislature, which have particular importance when, from time to time, the party or coalition with a majority in the House does not have a majority in the Senate.

The Ministry is responsible for making and defending government decisions and legislation. There are few important decisions made by the Parliament which are not first considered by the Government. However, government proposals are subject to parliamentary scrutiny which is essential in the concept of responsible government. The efficiency and effectiveness of a parliamentary democracy is in some measure dependent on the effectiveness of the Opposition; the more effective the Opposition, the more responsible and thorough the Government must become in its decision making.

The nature of representation in the Senate, the voting system used to elect Senators and the fact that only half the Senators are elected each third year may cause the Senate to reflect a different electoral opinion from that of the House. The House reflects, in its entirety, the most recent political view of the people and is the natural vehicle for making or unmaking governments. Jennings emphasises the role of the lower House in the following way:

The fact that the House of Commons is representative, that most of the ministers and most of the leading members of Opposition parties are in that House, and that the Government is responsible to that House alone, gives the Commons a great preponderance of authority. The great forum of political discussion is therefore in the Lower House.<sup>6</sup>

In Parliaments in the Westminster tradition the greater financial power is vested in the lower House. The modern practice in respect of the House of Commons' financial privileges is based upon principles expressed in resolutions of that House as long ago as 1671 and 1678:

That in all aids given to the King by the Commons, the rate or tax ought not to be altered by the Lords; . . .

That all aids and supplies, and aids to his Majesty in Parliament, are the sole gift of the Commons; and all bills for the granting of any such aids and supplies ought to begin with the Commons; and that it is the undoubted and sole right of the Commons to direct, limit, and appoint in such bills the ends, purposes, considerations, conditions, limitations, and qualifications of such grants, which ought not to be changed or altered by the House of Lords.<sup>7</sup>

These principles are reflected in a modified way in the Australian Constitution (*see* p. 36).

Parliament is not a governing or policy **making** body. These matters are the responsibility of the Executive Government. The role of the Houses is to monitor the Executive, that is, the Ministry and its supporting administration. It is the duty of the House to consider legislation put before it, to debate its merits or deficiencies, and to propose and make such amendments as it considers necessary. It also has a responsibility to scrutinise financial proposals and to examine expenditure, and to discuss and criticise government policy and its implementation.

The role of the House of Representatives has changed due to the pressures of a changing world, and the proposals of the Government have tended to dominate the time available to the House. On the other hand responsible government requires that proposed laws and many other processes of government be brought into public view through the medium of the House where administration and policies may be subject to public debate and where the pressures of public opinion may be brought to bear on the Government through the collective membership.

<sup>6</sup> Sir Ivor Jennings, *Parliament*, 2nd edn, Cambridge University Press, 1957, p. 398.

<sup>7</sup> *May*, p. 743; CJ (1667–87) 235, 509.

Most of the functions referred to above have some application in respect of the Senate, but it is submitted that it was never intended by the framers of the Constitution that the Senate should be the House of government.

## INDEPENDENCE OF THE HOUSES

Each House functions as a distinct and independent unit within the framework of the Parliament. The right inherent in each House to exclusive cognisance of matters arising within it has evolved through centuries of parliamentary history and is made clear in the provisions of the Constitution.

The complete autonomy of each House, within the constitutional and statutory framework existing at any given time, is recognised in regard to:

- its own procedure;
- questions of privilege and contempt; and
- control of finance, staffing, accommodation and services which is vested in the Presiding Officer of each House.<sup>8</sup>

This principle of independence characterises the formal nature of inter-House communication. Communication between the Houses may be by message<sup>9</sup>, by conference<sup>10</sup>, or by committees conferring with each other.<sup>11</sup> The two Houses may also agree to appoint a joint committee operating as a single body and composed of members of each House.<sup>12</sup>

Contact between the Houses reaches its ultimate point in the merging of both in a joint sitting. In respect of legislative matters this can occur only under conditions prescribed by the Constitution and when the two Houses have failed to reach agreement.<sup>13</sup>

The standing orders of both the House and the Senate contain particular provisions with respect to the attendance of Members and officers before the other House or its committees. Should the Senate request by message the attendance of a Member before the Senate or any committee of the Senate, the House may immediately authorise the Member to attend, if the Member thinks fit. If a similar request is received in respect of an officer, the House may, if it thinks fit, instruct the officer to attend.<sup>14</sup> In practice, there have been instances of Members and officers appearing as witnesses before Senate committees, in a voluntary capacity, without the formality of a message being sent to the House.<sup>15</sup> Senators have appeared before the House Committee of Privileges, the Senate having given leave for them to appear, after having received a message from the House on the matter.<sup>16</sup>

As an expression of the principle of independence of the Houses, the Speaker took the view in 1970 that it would be parliamentarily and constitutionally improper for a Senate estimates committee to seek to examine the financial needs or commitments of the

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8 See also Chs on 'Parliament House and the House of Representatives Chamber' and 'The Speaker, Deputy Speakers and Officers'.

9 S.O.s 369–372.

10 S.O.s 373–384.

11 S.O.s 350–353; and see Ch. on 'Parliamentary committees'.

12 S.O.s 385–389; and see Ch. on 'Parliamentary committees'.

13 Constitution, s. 57; joint standing orders II & III; and see Ch. on 'Disagreements between the Houses'. For joint sittings to choose a person to fill a vacancy in the place of a Senator for a Territory see Ch. on 'Elections and the electoral system'.

14 S.O.s 359, 360; Senate S.O.s 178, 179; and see Chs on 'Parliamentary committees' and 'Parliamentary privilege'.

15 In 1981 Speaker Snedden appeared voluntarily before the Senate Select Committee on Parliament's Appropriations and Staffing, S. Deb. (12.6.81) 3198–9.

16 VP 1985–87/1365; J 1985–87/1514, 1576; VP 1993–95/596, 649; J, 1993–95/1077–8.

House of Representatives.<sup>17</sup> In similar manner the House of Representatives estimates committees, when they operated, did not examine the proposed appropriations for the needs of the Senate.

As a further expression of the independence of the Houses it had been a traditional practice of each House not to refer to its counterpart by name but as 'another place' or 'Members of another place'. The House agreed to remove the restriction on direct reference to the Senate and Senators in 1970 following a recommendation by the Standing Orders Committee.<sup>18</sup> The standing orders prescribe however that no Member may:

- use offensive words against either House of the Parliament or any Member thereof<sup>19</sup>; or
- allude to any debate or proceedings (excluding a ministerial statement) of the current session in the Senate or to any measure pending therein, unless the allusion is relevant to the matter under discussion in the House.<sup>20</sup>

## FUNDAMENTAL DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THE TWO HOUSES

The Constitution was framed to express the traditional right of the lower House, the representative House, to initiate financial matters<sup>21</sup>, to prevent the Senate from amending certain financial bills and to prevent the Senate from amending any proposed law so as to increase any proposed charge or burden on the people.<sup>22</sup> In all other respects the Constitution gives to the Senate equal power with the House of Representatives in respect of all proposed laws, including the power of rejection.

### Financial initiative of the Crown

What is called the 'financial initiative of the Crown', that is, the constitutional and parliamentary principle that only the Government may initiate or move to increase appropriations or taxes, plays an important part in procedures for the initiation and processing of legislation. This principle is firmly expressed in the constitutional provisions which prevent the origination in the Senate of bills appropriating revenue or moneys, and bills imposing taxation, and which limit the power of the Senate in so far as the amendment of bills is concerned.

The principle of the financial initiative, which is dealt with at length in *May*<sup>23</sup>, may be paraphrased as follows:

- The Executive Government is charged with the management of revenue and with payments for the public service.
- It is a long established and strictly observed rule which expresses a principle of the highest constitutional importance that no public charge can be incurred except on the initiative of the Executive Government.

17 Following introduction of Senate estimates committees in 1970.

18 VP 1970-72/252-3; PP 114 (1970)2-3.

19 S.O. 75; and see Ch. on 'Control and conduct of debate'.

20 S.O. 72; and see Ch. on 'Control and conduct of debate'.

21 For a detailed discussion see Ch. on 'Legislation'.

22 Constitution, s. 53.

23 *May*, pp. 684-93.

- The Executive Government demands money, the House grants it, but the House does not vote money unless required by the Government, and does not impose taxes unless needed for the public service as declared by Ministers of the Crown.

The financial initiative in regard to appropriation is expressed in, and given effect by, the following constitutional provision:

A vote, resolution, or proposed law for the appropriation of revenue or moneys shall not be passed unless the purpose of the appropriation has in the same session been recommended by message of the Governor-General to the House in which the proposal originated.<sup>24</sup>

As section 53 of the Constitution provides that proposed laws appropriating revenue or moneys shall not originate in the Senate, the 'House' referred to in this section is, for all practical purposes, the House of Representatives.

The standing orders complement this provision:

No proposal for the appropriation of any public moneys shall be made unless the purpose of the appropriation has in the same session been recommended to the House by message of the Governor-General, but a bill, except an Appropriation or Supply Bill, which requires the Governor-General's recommendation may be brought in by a Minister and proceeded with before the message is announced. No amendment of such proposal shall be moved which would increase, or extend the objects and purposes or alter the destination of, the appropriation so recommended unless a further message is received.<sup>25</sup>

This standing order applies to bills which:

- contain words which appropriate the Consolidated Revenue Fund or the Loan Fund to the extent necessary to meet expenditure under the bill;
- while not in themselves containing words of appropriation, would have the effect of increasing, or altering the destination of, the amount that may be paid out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund or the Loan Fund under existing words of appropriation; or
- appropriate money from the Consolidated Revenue Fund for expenditure for the year.

## Financial powers of the two Houses

The effect of the financial powers of the respective Houses expressed in the Constitution is that bills appropriating revenue or moneys or imposing taxation must originate in the House. The Senate may not amend in any way bills imposing taxation or bills appropriating revenue or moneys for the ordinary annual services of the Government, and may not amend other bills so as to increase any proposed charge or burden on the people.<sup>26</sup> However the Senate may request the House to make such amendments as the Senate itself is unable to make, and the House may, if it thinks fit, then make the amendment.<sup>27</sup>

The question of whether a request may be pressed, that is, repeated, is not one of strict law on which the courts will pronounce. It is a matter of constitutional propriety between the Houses themselves. If the House refuses to accede to a request, the Senate can, of course, as a matter of law, refuse to pass the bill.<sup>28</sup>

Section 54 of the Constitution states that bills appropriating revenue or moneys for the ordinary annual services of the Government, that is, the main Appropriation and Supply Bills, shall deal only with such appropriation.

<sup>24</sup> Constitution, s. 56.

<sup>25</sup> S.O. 292.

<sup>26</sup> Constitution, s. 53.

<sup>27</sup> Constitution, s. 53.

<sup>28</sup> See Ch. on 'Legislation'.

The Constitution further requires in section 55 that bills imposing taxation shall deal only with the imposition of taxation and furthermore with only one subject of taxation. The financial initiative in regard to taxation is also expressed in, and given effect by, the standing orders:

A proposal for the imposition, or for the increase, or alleviation, of a tax or duty, or for the alteration of the incidence of such a charge, shall not be made except by a Minister. No Member, other than a Minister, may move an amendment to increase, or extend the incidence of, the charge defined in that proposal unless the charge so increased or the incidence of the charge so extended shall not exceed that already existing by virtue of any Act of the Parliament.<sup>29</sup>

The importance of sections 54 and 55 of the Constitution is that they protect the Senate's right to amend non-financial measures. As the Senate is precluded from amending a main Appropriation Bill or a main Supply Bill or bills imposing taxation, these two sections together were inserted in the Constitution to prevent the House *embodying in such bills other provisions (known as 'tacking'), a course which would prejudice the right of the Senate to amend such provisions.*

With the exception of those financial or money bills which must originate in the House of Representatives, bills may be initiated in either House but, subject to section 57 of the Constitution, the bills must be passed in identical form by both Houses before they can be presented to the Governor-General for the Royal Assent.

The financial distinction between the Houses has been highlighted in practice over the years.<sup>30</sup> The simple position is that the Senate is not expected to consider a financial proposal, in the terms of section 53 of the Constitution, until it has been passed by the House and communicated to the Senate by message. Changes in Senate procedure occurred in 1961 when it decided to consider the estimates of expenditure (which form part of the main Appropriation Bills) before the main Appropriation Bills had been received from the House of Representatives. An extension of this procedure occurred in 1970 when the Senate appointed estimates committees for the examination of the particulars of proposed expenditure contained in the main Appropriation Bills.

The action of the Senate in 1961 was subject to some criticism<sup>31</sup>, being thought to constitute an evasion of the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution. The establishment of estimates committees, although clearly within the competence of the Senate, could similarly be regarded as incompatible with the constitutional and traditional parliamentary powers and position of the House of Representatives.

## FUNCTIONS OF THE HOUSE

The principal functions of the House, and the way in which they are expressed and carried out, can be summarised under the following headings.<sup>32</sup>

### The Government—Making and unmaking

It is accepted that the House of Representatives, which reflects the current opinion of the people at an election, is the appropriate House in which to determine which party or coalition of parties should form government. Thus the party or coalition of parties which

<sup>29</sup> S.O. 293.

<sup>30</sup> For a recent scholarly analysis of and commentary on constitutional provisions see report by House of Representatives Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs *The third paragraph of section 53 of the Constitution*, November 1995. PP 307 (1995).

<sup>31</sup> S. Deb. (26.9.61) 641–55; *Oggers*, 6th edn. pp. 642–4.

<sup>32</sup> Detailed discussion of the procedural forms mentioned can be found elsewhere in the text.

commands a majority in the House assumes the Government and the largest minority party (or coalition of parties) the Opposition.

Within this framework resides the power to 'unmake' a Government should it not retain the confidence and support of a majority of the Members of the House. To enable a Government to stay in office and have its legislative program supported (at least in the House), it is necessary that Members of the government party or parties support the Government, perhaps not uncritically, but support it on the floor of the House on major issues. Party discipline is therefore an important factor in this aspect of the House's functions.

A principal role of the House is to examine and criticise, where necessary, government action, with the knowledge that the Government must ultimately answer to the people for its decisions. It has been a Westminster convention and a necessary principle of responsible government that a Government defeated on the floor of the House on a major issue should resign or seek a dissolution of the House. Such a defeat would indicate *prima facie* that a Government had lost the confidence of the House, but there is no fixed definition of what is a matter of confidence. If a defeat took place on a major matter, modern thinking is that the Government would be entitled to seek to obtain a vote on a motion of confidence in order to test whether in fact it still had the confidence of the House. Defeat on a minor or procedural matter may be acknowledged, but not lead to further action, the Government believing that it still possessed the confidence of the House.

The Government has been defeated on the floor of the House of Representatives on a major issue on eight occasions since Federation following which either the Government resigned or the House was dissolved. The most recent cases were in 1929 (the Bruce-Page Government), 1931 (the Scullin Government), and 1941 (the Fadden Government).<sup>33</sup> On 11 November 1975 immediately following the dismissal of the Whitlam Government, the newly appointed caretaker Government was defeated on a motion which expressed a want of confidence in Prime Minister Fraser and requested the Speaker to advise the Governor-General to call the majority leader (Mr Whitlam) to form a government but within the next hour and a half both Houses were dissolved and the resolution of the House could not be acted on.<sup>34</sup>

The fact that the power of the House to 'unmake' a Government is rarely exercised does not lessen the significance of that power. Defeat of the Government in the House has always been and still is possible. It is the ultimate sanction of the House in response to unacceptable policies and performance. In modern times, given the strength of party discipline, defeat of a Government on a major issue in the House would most likely indicate a split within a party or a coalition.

### **The initiation and consideration of legislation<sup>35</sup>**

Section 51 of the Constitution provides that the Parliament has the power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to specified matters. The law-making function of Parliament is one of its most basic functions. The Senate and the House have substantially similar powers in respect of legislation, and the consideration of proposed laws occupies a great deal of the time of each House. Because of the provisions of the Constitution with respect to the initiation

<sup>33</sup> See also Chs on 'House, Government and Opposition' and 'Motions'.

<sup>34</sup> See also Ch. on 'Disagreements between the Houses'.

<sup>35</sup> See also Ch. on 'Legislation'.

of certain financial legislation and the fact that the majority of Ministers are Members of the House of Representatives, the vast majority of bills introduced into the Parliament originate in the House of Representatives.

The right to govern carries with it the right to propose legislation. Private Members of the Government may be consulted on legislative proposals either in the party room or through the system of party committees. The result of these consultations may determine the extent to which the Government is willing to proceed on a policy issue or a course of executive action. In addition, the Opposition plays its role in suggesting changes to existing and proposed legislation. Some suggestions may be accepted by the Government immediately or taken up either in the Senate or at a later date.

### **Seeking information on and clarification of government policy**

The accountability of the Government to Parliament is pursued principally through questions, on and without notice, directed to Ministers concerning the administration of their departments, during debates of a general nature, for example, the Budget and Address in Reply debates, or by way of parliamentary committee inquiry.

The aim of parliamentary questioning and inquiry is to seek information, and to bring the Government to account for its actions, and to bring into public view errors or failings or areas of incompetence or maladministration. It is not possible for the House to oversee every area of government policy and executive action. However the House may be seen as an essential safeguard and a corrective means over excessive, corrupt or extravagant use of executive power.<sup>36</sup>

### **Surveillance, appraisal and criticism of government administration**

Debate takes place on substantive motions moved in relation to particular subjects, on *matters of public importance, and on motions to take note of papers including those moved in relation to ministerial statements dealing with government policy or matters of ministerial responsibility.* Some of the major policy debates, such as on defence, foreign affairs and the economy, take place on motions of this kind. Historically opportunities for private Members to raise matters and initiate motions which may seek to express an opinion of the House on questions of administration were limited, but these increased significantly in 1988.<sup>37</sup>

From time to time the Opposition may move a specific motion expressing want of confidence in or censure of the Government. If such a motion were carried, the Government would be expected to resign. A specific motion of want of confidence in or censure of a particular Minister or Ministers may also be moved by the Opposition. The effect of carrying such a motion against a Minister may be inconclusive as far as the House is concerned as any further action would be in the hands of the Prime Minister. However a vote against the Prime Minister, depending on circumstances, would be expected to have serious consequences for the Government.<sup>38</sup>

36 For recent commentary on these matters see 'Parliament' by Dr J. Uhr in *Government, Politics, Power and Policy in Australia*, Longman Cheshire, 1994, pp. 36-41.

37 And see Ch. on 'Private Members' business' and Uhr, *op cit*, pp. 36-41.

38 And see Ch. on 'Motions'.



## Consideration of financial proposals and examination of public accounts

The principle of the financial initiative of the Crown vests in the Government the right to initiate or move to increase appropriations and taxes but it is for the House to make decisions on government proposals and the House has the right to make amendments which will reduce a proposed appropriation or tax or to reject a proposal. Amendments to certain of these financial proposals may not be made by the Senate, but it may request the House to make amendments.

The appropriation of revenue and moneys is dependent on a recommendation by the Governor-General to the House of Representatives. Traditionally the Treasurer has been a Member of the House. Reflecting this, the government front bench in the House, now commonly known as the ministerial bench, was in past times referred to as the Treasury bench.

It is the duty of the House to ensure that public money is spent in accordance with parliamentary approval and in the best interests of the taxpayer. The responsibility for scrutinising expenditure is inherent in the consideration of almost any matter which comes before the House. The most significant means by which the Government is held to account for its expenditure occurs during the consideration of the main Appropriation Bill each year. However the examination of public accounts has to some extent been delegated to committees<sup>39</sup> which have the means and time available for closer and more detailed scrutiny (*and see below*).

### Inquiry by committee

The consideration of specific matters by a selected group of Members of the House is carried out by the use of standing and select committees, which is now an important activity of a modern Parliament and a principal means by which the House performs some of its functions, such as the examination of government administration. In 1987 the House took a significant step in establishing a comprehensive system of general purpose standing committees, empowered to inquire into and report upon any matters referred to them by either the House or a Minister, including any pre-legislation proposal, bill, motion, petition, vote or expenditure, other financial matter, report or paper (*and see* Chapter on 'Parliamentary committees').<sup>40</sup>

The Public Accounts Committee, a joint statutory committee, is required to examine the accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Commonwealth and each statement and report made by the Auditor-General. Inquiries undertaken by the committee result in general reports each year based on matters brought to notice in the Auditor-General's annual reports transmitted to the Parliament, particular reports arising from specific references and criticisms made in the Auditor-General's reports, annual reviews of expenditure from the Advance to the Minister for Finance and the Consolidated Revenue Fund, reports relating to general examinations of the financial administration of departments and statutory authorities, or particular aspects of their activities, and reports on the form and the content of the financial statements and related documents presented to the Parliament. The Public Works Committee, also a joint statutory committee, considers whether proposed public works referred to it for investigation should be approved, taking into account, *inter alia*, the financial aspects.

<sup>39</sup> See Ch. on 'Parliamentary committees'.

<sup>40</sup> Uhr, *op cit*, pp. 37-8.

### **Ventilation of grievances and matters of interest or concern**

The raising by private Members of particular matters, perhaps affecting the rights and liberties of individuals, or perhaps of a more general nature, although limited in opportunity and in time, is an important function of the House. Opportunities for raising these matters occur principally during periods for private Members' business, Members' statements, grievance debates, debates on the motion for the adjournment of the House towards the end of the day's sitting and during debates on the Budget and the Address in Reply. Outside the House Members may make personal approaches to Ministers and departments regarding matters raised by constituents or other matters on which they require advice or seek attention.<sup>41</sup>

### **Receiving petitions**

Petitions from citizens requesting action by the House are lodged by Members with the Clerk of the House who announces a summary of their content to the House. The subject matter of a petition is then referred to the appropriate Minister for information. Over recent years increasing use has been made of this form of public expression.<sup>42</sup>

### **Examination of delegated legislation**

Ordinances, regulations, and other forms of subordinate legislation made by the Government pursuant to authority contained in an Act of the Parliament must be tabled in both Houses. A notice of motion for the disallowance of any such delegated legislation may be submitted to the House by any Member. Disallowance is then automatic after a certain period, unless the House determines otherwise. The Senate Standing Committee on Regulations and Ordinances plays a major role in overseeing delegated legislation.<sup>43</sup>

## **PREREQUISITES FOR FULFILLING FUNCTIONS**

The exigencies of politics, the needs of the Government in terms of time, and its power of control of the House, have resulted in the evolution of a parliamentary system which reflects the fact that while the will of the government of the day will ultimately prevail in the House, the House consists of representatives of the people who will not hesitate to speak for the people and communities they represent. A responsible Government will keep the House informed of all major policy and administrative decisions it takes. A responsible Opposition will use every available means to ensure that it does. However, the effective functioning of the House requires a continual monitoring and review of its own operations and procedure. The forms of procedure and the way in which they are applied have an important effect on the relationship between the Government and the House. The House needs to ensure that its role as law maker, scrutineer of the Government, guarantor of civil liberties and as the forum of national debate is maintained and strengthened.

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41 As a collective function of the House this is largely an extension of a fundamental role of the individual Member whether it is exercised in the House or outside it. *See* particularly Ch. on 'Members'.

42 *See* Ch on 'Parliament and the citizen'.

43 *See* Ch on 'Legislation'.