

Theory of Representative Government

(1940)

1. Definition of rep and rep govt
2. Difference between rep gov and other govt (significant differences are found in each and every aspect of the process -- these are differences of doctrine, attitude, character, process, structure and results)
3. Where rep govt stands in respect to doctrines of legitimacy.
4. Consent and consultation doctrines. *Locus of legit. must lie in an order not a person, & the order must be dynamic, flexible, permanent, multi-depart. Not community but representative organization. Each part has responsibility.*
5. Theory of the suffrage and equivalent or superior participation of the population.
6. Theory of elections and appointments.
7. Illusions of equality, majority, and the individual.
8. ~~Structures of Government~~ The Infrastructure of representative government
9. Structures of government in rep. gov.
10. Structures of non-statal government
11. Legislation and rules? The Direction of resources
 The Forestalling of disputes
 The settlement of disputes
12. How R-G ~~faces-the~~ makes decisions in crises
 - of ~~poverty~~ economic distress among poor
 - of economic distress among the well-to-do
 - of war
 - of anomie and ennui
 - of contra mores behavior
13. How R-G makes decisions ordinarily
 - of sheer corruption
 - of efficiency
 - of socio-economic change
 - of "partial" interests vs the "public" interest

Locke: Rep. Govt free econ. prob in 20th C, pol. probs in 19th C.

② Econ probs are probs of detail not ~~therefore~~ to general discussion.

③ Change from laissez-faire to service state has resulted in great burden upon legislative govt.

④ Prob of achieving equality is handed the state along with the prob. of adjusting ~~country~~ ^{the nation} to international econ. order.

⑤ As a result — a) Legislature we come to follow the ex. govt. b) Order members have lost prestige. Party discipline has helped produce this. Also growing complexity of problems. Lowering of educational value of legislative discussion & hence of educative effect of legislature on the ~~govt~~ electors.

⑥ Multiplicity of tasks assumes has necessitated resort of govt. to close off functions & enhance the ex. govt.

a) Growth of administrative activity.
b) Ministers ~~have~~ have better trained & more intelligence at their disposal.

c) more & more important questions are decided outside of parliament & parliament is left to minor ~~tasks~~ ^{tasks}, & had effect on its prestige.

g) Parliament give too much attention to local problems, and ~~therefore~~ too little to important ones. They have not been able to elect reliable ones.

h) Bicameralism is an obstacle in most countries to progress where it pretends to be reformed by federalism.

i) The contradiction of electorate ^{that wishes change} & govt. permanent enough to put across a large program. Group politics gives a govt. The electors don't want but a long fixed term when the govt can't be overthrown does not help matters.

j) Members, after election, come to represent particular interests too of a functional kind.

6 ~~⑦~~ The modern public are too large and ^{too} inferior a level of culture to address in any but large & general terms. While pol. problems concentrate a public, econ. probs disperse it. Elector loses patience with parliament.

7 ~~⑧~~ The man on the street is given a non-political diet by the press & knows more about the films & sports than pol. probs.

8 ~~⑨~~ Great distance ~~exists~~ ^{exists} between ~~the~~ voters & pol. institutions.

- 9) The ~~few~~ members know little of the real movements of public opinion.
- 10) The prob. this ~~is~~ is a function of many social factors: General enlightenment of the electors needed. Results will be gradual, not sudden.
- 11) Solution depends mainly on the will of Parl. to ~~accomplish~~ accomplish economic reform. People of our age judge Parl. on its ability to bring econ. equality. The Russian Revolution sets the standard for this century, as the French Rev. for the 19th Century.
- 12) Technical reforms to be recommended are 3
- a) To enhance each member's authority w/ ~~the necessary~~ ^{affecting} ~~the necessary~~ ^{authority} of the exec power.
 - b) To find ~~the~~ the right relation betw. the legislative power & external publ. opinion.
 - c) To ~~allow~~ give ~~each~~ each parliamentarian the research & info. upon that the ministers & officers enjoy.
- 13) A number of commissions should be set up, not to determine policy which is a function of the ministers, but to consult with the ministers regularly & to report to the assembly.
14. The advantages of this system will be a) to pre-advise the ministers b) to assure during discussions the presence of men really able to understand ministerial politics. c) to ~~help~~ help the ministers by giving them the feeling of public opinion. d) it prevents the ministers from assuming an oracular character. e) it keeps the ministers in touch w/ the external world & keeps them from regarding the assembly as their natural enemy. f) it introduces young members to administrative problems.

15. Important to note that these committees are consultative in nature. They are unlike the committees of the French Chamber or the U.S. Congress which have precise legislative functions that limit ~~the~~ the initiative & weaken the responsibilities of the exec. power. The proposed commissions will hold private sessions and will not initiate or propose legislation or amendments, nor report to the assembly (cf. note #13)
16. It will be useful to ~~adopt the~~ adopt the Massachusetts "public hearing" idea to legislatures. It would accumulate depositions of all kind pertinent to a proposed law. Individual members ~~and~~ (if supported by some legislators) as well as ministers can bring their proposed laws before commissions for such hearings. Several (4) advantages will occur a) ~~create~~ members' creativity b) public knowledge brought to bear c) create public opinion d) bring knowledgeable people in the public into contact w/ the assembly.
17. A research service should be instituted. (cf. the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Bureau).
18. None of 3 above suggestions is as important as
 1) territorial decentralization
 2) functional decentralization
 (cf. Brit. Board of Trade) to enlarge & universalize with limited powers the role of secondary law making on the part of those who have a real interest in the nature of the laws.
19. Parl. institutions are based on an admirable principle of the superiority of the Territ. to the functional principle but modern conditions require a considerable revision.

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The Structure of Representation in the Army ~~1949~~ 1949

Military Orgw.

~~External~~ 1. Non-Partic in civil govt.

How draw line betw external & internal?
 Is DOD external?
 Are armed forces together?

2. Partic in Legis. Process

3. Public Relations & Prog. work of the Armed Forces.

4. Use of Indus & Service Contractors
 Public & ~~Prof~~ Pressure Groups Agents & Tools.

5. Reg. in Exec. Branch Decision-making
 6. Reg. in outside agencies (such as Red Cross, Amvets, etc.)
 Internal structure of rep. in decision process within Executive

1. Reg. of personnel - grievances (as they are) - policies ~~x~~ ~~Deficiency~~ ~~x~~ ~~Cost Matrix~~

2. Influence of External Groups upon Internal elements e.g. Christians & Corps

3. Specialist branches
 - QM vs. Engineers
 - G2 → G3
 - Interservice

Civil Rts.
 USO
 Mothers
 Party

- Civilian vs Military
 - Special Forces

4. Leadership recruitment (mobility of personnel in hierarchy)

5. Consultation of Superiors w/ Subordinates (Group-Thinking)