



Draft Queen's Speech

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One of the proposals announced by Gordon Brown on 3 July 2007, in his statement on the Governance of Britain, was that the Government would publish a “provisional legislative programme”. On 11 July 2007, he outlined in a statement to the House of Commons the Government's first draft legislative programme. He also announced that the Leader of the House was publishing an initial list of proposed legislative measures. Brief details of the progress on the bills listed in the draft legislative programme are reported.

This note briefly reviews the reasons why a draft Queen's Speech was made, and some of the reaction to it.

The Modernisation Committee has reviewed the process. It welcomed the publication of the draft legislative programme and supported the Leader of the House's plan to give the House, its committees and the public longer to consider the draft legislative programme. This note briefly reviews the Modernisation Committee's report.

Finally, the Note reviews the background to the institution of the Queen's Speech.

Contents

A.	The draft Queen's Speech in July 2007	2
1.	Reaction to the statement in the House of Commons	2
2.	Debate on the draft Queen's Speech	4
B.	Why a draft Queen's Speech?	4
1.	Consultation process	6
C.	The first draft legislative programme	7
D.	Modernisation Committee review of the draft legislative programme	7
E.	The draft Queen's Speech in 2008	9
F.	The Queen's Speech	9
	Appendix – The progress of bills announced in the first draft legislative programme	12

A. The draft Queen’s Speech in July 2007

On 3 July 2007, in his statement on constitutional reform, Gordon Brown, the Prime Minister, announced that:

I propose that we reinforce the accountability of the Executive to Parliament and to the public with a statement in the summer, prior to the Queen’s Speech, on the provisional forward legislative programme, and this will start this month.¹

On 5 July at Business Questions, Harriet Harman, the Leader of the House, confirmed that “It is the Government’s intention to make an oral statement on the content of the draft legislative programme to the House before it rises”.²

On 11 July 2007, Gordon Brown, the Prime Minister, outlined in a statement to the House of Commons the Government’s draft legislative programme. He began by outlining why the Government had decided to announce its plans for forthcoming legislation:

For over one and a half centuries, the annual Gracious Address has been drafted inside Government and agreed by the Cabinet far from the public arena, but I believe that it is right, in the interests of good and open government and public debate, that each year the Prime Minister make a summer statement to the House so that initial thinking, previously private, can be the subject of widespread and informed public debate. Today, in advance of final decisions, the Leader of the House is publishing details of our initial list of proposed legislative measures, inviting debate on them in both Houses this month and making provision for region-by-region deliberation and responses.³

The Leader of the House published *The Governance of Britain – The Government’s Draft Legislative Programme*, on the same day.⁴ Also on the same day, Harriet Harman announced that “Her Majesty the Queen will open the new session of this Parliament on Tuesday 6 November”.⁵

1. Reaction to the statement in the House of Commons

In response, David Cameron, the Leader of the Opposition, acknowledged that the announcement of a draft legislative programme was meant to be a “great constitutional innovation”. However, he argued that it was a familiar list of bills:

I know that it is meant to be some great constitutional innovation, but most of what he announced sounded rather like the Queen’s Speech last year, the year before and the year before that—a long list of Bills, the same priorities and the same failures, and we have heard it all before.⁶

¹ HC Deb 3 July 2007 c817

² HC Deb 5 July 2007 c1092

³ HC Deb 11 July 2007 c1449

⁴ Office of the Leader of the House of Commons, *The Governance of Britain - The Government’s Draft Legislative Programme*, 11 July 2007, Cm 7175, <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm71/7175/7175.pdf>

⁵ HC Deb 11 July 2007 c58WS

⁶ HC Deb 11 July 2007 c1451-1452

In a similar vein, Elfyn Llwyd said that the announcement was “a good idea, but there is more than a whiff of déjà vu about the content”.⁷

Sir Menzies Campbell also welcomed the innovation, on behalf of the Liberal Democrats, and expressed the hope that more bills would be subject to pre-legislative scrutiny:

If these proposals represent a genuine attempt by the Government to consult in advance of the Queen’s Speech, they most certainly should be welcomed, but I say to the Prime Minister that we should be concerned about the quality of legislation as much as we are about the quantity. I hope that he feels it appropriate to ensure that there is much more pre-legislative scrutiny during his time in No.10 Downing Street than there has been hitherto.⁸

The statement was also welcomed by Graham Allen who asked for all bills to be published in draft and for the Prime Minister to “ensure the fullest pre-legislative scrutiny”. The Prime Minister responded in the following way:

The Prime Minister: I am grateful to my hon. Friend, who takes a huge interest in those constitutional matters and has made several very good proposals about how we can improve the workings of the House. Yes, we want more draft Bills for scrutiny before they are given a Second Reading—but it is not always possible to do that, especially in relation to justice and counter-terrorism. However, I hope that the practice can become more widespread, that the House will play a bigger role in examining such matters before legislating, and that over time there will be all-party support for the procedures. My intention is to devolve power from the Executive to Parliament in some vital matters.⁹

Kenneth Clarke, who chaired the Conservative Party’s Democracy Taskforce,¹⁰ welcomed “in principle” the idea of publishing a list of bills that might be included in the Queen’s Speech. He then asked:

... Does the Prime Minister agree that if the proposal is to have any practical purpose, as opposed to being just a gesture, it would now be a good idea to refer to the appropriate Committees of the House the question of how much time should properly be allocated to each Bill for debate and scrutiny—and for the Government to contemplate dropping from the programme such Bills as need to be dropped to make sure that we can make a sensible reality of debating and scrutinising Bills without the pressure of totally unrealistic timetables?

The Prime Minister: I take on board the right hon. and learned Gentleman’s remarks. I know that he chaired the Conservative party’s constitutional committee, which made several recommendations about the management of business in the House. The Liaison Committee will discuss the matter, and I look forward to its comments. Several Bills have already been published in draft, and that practice will

⁷ HC Deb 11 July 2007 c1460

⁸ HC Deb 11 July 2007 c1455

⁹ HC Deb 11 July 2007 c1458

¹⁰ Conservatives, *Ken Clarke’s Democracy Taskforce*,
<http://www.conservatives.com/tile.do?def=democracy.taskforce.page>

increase. There will be a debate in Government time on the draft legislative programme before the summer recess. I hope that there will be a similar debate in the House of Lords. At the same time, it would be good for this country if region by region consultation took place, whereby people in their constituencies and communities could take a view on some of the more controversial measures. Of course the purpose of consultation is listening to what people say, and that means that we must be prepared to make changes as a result.¹¹

Other Members – Jeremy Corbyn, Michael Meacher, George Howarth, Nigel Dodds and Clive Efford – welcomed the initiative.¹²

2. Debate on the draft Queen’s Speech

When she confirmed that the Government would make a statement on the draft legislative programme, on 5 July 2007, Harriet Harman proposed to allow debate on the contents of the programme during the summer recess Adjournment debate.¹³

Sir Patrick Cormack pressed for a separate debate on the proposed legislative programme, and Ms Harman offered to “take soundings on the best way of dealing with matter”.¹⁴

Lynda Waltho asked how select committees and individual Members would be involved in the debate, to which Ms Harman responded:

... I have suggested to my right hon. Friend the Member for Swansea, West (Mr. Williams), the Chair of the Liaison Committee, that the consultation with Members and the scrutiny of the draft legislative programme—the programme will be announced by way of a statement of the House—should be undertaken by the Liaison Committee, and he has been good enough to agree that that is what he will do.¹⁵

On 12 July, at the following week’s Business Questions, Harriet Harman announced that the draft legislative programme would be debated on 25 July, and that the summer recess Adjournment debate would take place on 26 July. The separate debate was welcomed by Simon Hughes, for the Liberal Democrats.¹⁶

B. Why a draft Queen’s Speech?

The Governance of Britain – The Government’s Draft Legislative Programme not only provided a summary of the bills in the draft legislative programme, it also set out the Government’s reasons for publishing a draft programme. In the foreword to the document, Gordon Brown and Harriet Harman noted that the legislative programme was announced by the Queen “following a closely guarded process in which individual departments propose bills to be introduced and a Cabinet Committee takes forward a process which sees bills

¹¹ HC Deb 11 July 2007 cc1457-1458

¹² HC Deb 11 July 2007 cc1461-1463

¹³ HC Deb 5 July 2007 c1093

¹⁴ HC Deb 5 July 2007 cc1096-1097

¹⁵ HC Deb 5 July 2007 c1097

¹⁶ HC Deb 12 July 2007 c1609; c1612

discussed, costed and drafted". They noted that this process was inaccessible to both Parliament and the public.¹⁷

The draft legislative programme was published following the statement and green paper on *The Governance of Britain*.¹⁸ The Government said "the Government's desire to strengthen the effectiveness and authority of Parliament" was at "the centre of this programme". It highlighted proposed reforms that would "reaffirm Parliament's role and the obligations of the Government towards it": -

- Limiting the powers of the executive;
- Making the executive more accountable; and
- Reinvigorating our democracy.

After reporting a number of ways in which the legislative process had been reformed since 1997, the Government then said that:

The publication of a draft legislative programme builds on these reforms and forms a key part of the new Government's wider package to renew our constitutional settlement.¹⁹

It continued that although Government proposals for legislation were subject to consultation in various ways, such as Green and White papers, and draft bills:

... it is longstanding practice that, in advance of the State Opening of the Parliament the contents of the Queen's Speech and the legislative programme have not been divulged. As a result, the Commons and Lords have been excluded from consideration of the direction and content of the Government's legislative programme for a forthcoming session of Parliament in advance of the Queen's Speech. Its role has been restricted to debates in both Houses after the Speech has been delivered and, since the debates take place in the days following the Speech, after the immediate interest in the programme as a whole has abated.

The Government wants to open up what has until now been a traditionally closed process, giving both Parliament and the public advance sight of what the Government is planning to bring forward in a forthcoming session. The Government believes that Parliament, as the body that will be asked to give its assent to legislation, should have the opportunity to comment on the legislative programme as a whole in advance. Therefore the Prime Minister will, at an appropriate point in time in advance of the start of each Parliamentary session, inform Parliament of the Government's proposed legislative programme for the forthcoming year. This will be accompanied by a publication outlining the bills proposed as they stand at that point. This is the first such paper. Parliament will thereafter be able to debate these proposals and the issues they seek to address.

¹⁷ Office of the Leader of the House of Commons, *The Governance of Britain - The Government's Draft Legislative Programme*, 11 July 2007, Cm 7175, pp5-6

¹⁸ HC Deb 3 July 2007 cc815-833; Ministry of Justice, *The Governance of Britain*, July 2007, Cm 7170, <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm71/7170/7170.pdf>

¹⁹ Office of the Leader of the House of Commons, *The Governance of Britain - The Government's Draft Legislative Programme*, 11 July 2007, Cm 7175, p10

Making an annual statement to Parliament on the draft legislative programme and publishing a paper on it will ensure that Government is more open and transparent on its emerging priorities for the forthcoming session of Parliament. More importantly, it gives Parliamentarians and the public an opportunity to participate in the process. The mystique surrounding the contents of the Queen's Speech can give the impression that Parliament and the legislation put before it by the Government is something distant from the people of the UK. Publishing a draft programme each year will therefore contribute to the Government's wider project of rebuilding the connections between the institutions of the state and the people they serve.²⁰

1. Consultation process

In *The Governance of Britain – The Government's Draft Legislative Programme*, the Government stated that:

In publishing a draft legislative programme the Government has opened up a previously closed process.²¹

The Government proposed that both Houses of Parliament should debate the draft legislative programme. The arrangements made for the debate in the House of Commons were outlined in Section A.2. The House of Lords debated the Government's draft legislative programme on 26 July 2007.²²

The Government published the draft legislative programme on the websites of both the Leader of the House of Commons and the Cabinet Office. It said that:

This document has been published on the websites of the Leader of the House of Commons <http://www.commonleader.gov.uk/output/draftprogrammehome.htm> and the Cabinet Office <http://haveyoursay.cabinetoffice.gov.uk>

Comments on the programme can be made by following the details on each website.

The Government is also keen to encourage members of the public to engage more directly on the proposed legislative programme. The new Regional Ministers will take this forward in England and the territorial Secretaries of State will take this forward as appropriate in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.²³

Text of feedback from the public can be seen on the Cabinet Office website.²⁴

²⁰ Office of the Leader of the House of Commons, *The Governance of Britain – The Government's Draft Legislative Programme*, 11 July 2007, Cm 7175, pp10-11

²¹ Office of the Leader of the House of Commons, *The Governance of Britain – The Government's Draft Legislative Programme*, 11 July 2007, Cm 7175, p20

²² HL Deb 26 July 2007 cc917-967

²³ Office of the Leader of the House of Commons, *The Governance of Britain – The Government's Draft Legislative Programme*, 11 July 2007, Cm 7175, p21

²⁴ Cabinet Office, *have Your Say - Archive*, http://haveyoursay.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/co/closed_topic.aspx?topic=governance

C. The first draft legislative programme

A list of 23 bills was given in chapter 5 of *The Governance of Britain - The Government's Draft Legislative Programme*. The full list is reported in the Appendix, along with details of whether each Bill was announced in the Queen's Speech, and when it was introduced into Parliament.

For each bill in the list, the purpose of the bill, its "main benefits", its "main elements" and its territorial extent were set out in the document. References to relevant papers on the proposed bills were also given.

The Government also indicated that it "remains committed to publishing as many of its Bills in draft as possible before they are formally introduced in Parliament and to submitting them to a parliamentary committee for pre-legislative scrutiny where possible". In *The Governance of Britain - The Government's Draft Legislative Programme*, it identified three possible draft bills in the forthcoming session:

At this stage the Government is considering publishing in draft, bills concerning Marine, Heritage Protection and Single Equality and the Leader of the House of Commons will publish, in a Written Ministerial Statement, the Government's proposals for draft Bills in November 2007 at the beginning of the next session.²⁵

Of the 23 bills announced in the draft legislative programme, one was not announced in either the Queen's Speech or the accompanying documentation (the *Coroners Bill*); one was dropped (the *Planning Gain Supplement Bill*); and one was published in draft (the draft Constitutional Renewal Bill).

D. Modernisation Committee review of the draft legislative programme

In January 2008, the Modernisation Committee published a review of the draft legislative programme. The Committee, in its summary, said:

In July 2007, the Government published a Draft Legislative Programme, providing a summary of its legislative intentions for the next Parliamentary session in advance of the Queen's Speech. The Programme was presented by the Government as part of a series of papers within the *Governance of Britain* agenda, which comprises proposals for constitutional reform including strengthening Parliamentary accountability. In October 2007, we announced our intention to look at four aspects of the *Governance of Britain* agenda and this Report is the result of our first inquiry. In it, we consider Parliament's role in scrutinising the proposed legislative programme, including arrangements for publication and debate as well as wider consultative strategies. We draw lessons from this year's experience and recommend improvements for the future.

²⁵ Office of the Leader of the House of Commons, *The Governance of Britain - The Government's Draft Legislative Programme*, 11 July 2007, Cm 7175, pp18-19

The publication of a Draft Legislative Programme was welcomed by all those who gave evidence to this inquiry. We agree that it represents a positive addition to the Government's existing consultations on individual bills. In many cases, it will allow thematic linkages between different Bills to be elucidated and the question of balance within the programme to be addressed. In this context we recommend the inclusion of significant non-legislative proposals within the programme. On occasion, these can be as important as legislation and, as such, deserve a place within the administration's stated programme of government.

Select Committees, especially Departmental Select Committees, are well placed to play a valuable role in scrutinising the Draft Legislative Programme and we support their continued involvement. In many cases, scrutiny of proposals within the draft Queen's Speech will fall within the programme of work that the Committee had already planned to undertake, but where this is not the case, the exact nature of their engagement must remain a matter for the Committees themselves to determine. We strongly support the evolving and strengthening role of the Liaison Committee as the representative body of Select Committees in the House of Commons. The Liaison Committee will have a key role in co-ordinating the work of individual Select Committees on the Draft Legislative Programme and representing their interests to Ministers. The Government should continue to make time for an annual debate on the Programme in the Chamber so that individual Members can put forward their views.

The publication of a Draft Programme offers the opportunity to improve public understanding of and involvement in the legislative process. The Government has made use of 'National Workshops' as well as events organised by the new Regional Ministers to gather the views of members of the public, as well as businesses, charities and public sector organisations. We recommend that the Government should continue to issue annual reports setting out the public's observations on its Programme.

This year's Draft Legislative Programme was somewhat experimental in nature. It was also subject to a very tight timetable, leaving little time for scrutiny before the Queen's Speech was delivered in November. The Government has put forward some sensible revisions to the process of scrutiny and consultation for future years, including publishing the Programme before Easter. This should allow an appropriate time for views to be given and amendments to be proposed which have a realistic chance of appearing in the final Queen's Speech.

There is clear potential for the process surrounding the Draft Legislative Programme to evolve in future years, particularly in the involvement of Regional Ministers and the use of events such as the recent National Workshop. We hope that the publication of a Draft Legislative Programme will lead to wider opportunities for pre-legislative scrutiny on a more systematic basis, but the realisation of this ambition will depend on the genuine commitment of all those involved, including and especially the Government itself. The impetus behind the programme this year, as a new project from an incoming Prime Minister, must be sustained in order for the process to be seen as a genuine occasion for input and dialogue.²⁶

The Committee considered the question of widening the scope of the Government's announcement to include "policy proposals for which legislation was not required". It

²⁶ Modernisation Committee, *Scrutiny of the Draft Legislative Programme*, 23 January 2008, HC 81 2007-08

recommended that that “the Government’s main non-legislative plans should be included in the Draft Legislative Programme”.²⁷

On the question of the timetable for the Draft Legislative Programme, the Committee commented that “In order to be of most use both to the Government and to others, the Draft Legislative Programme needs to be published on a date when the Government is sufficiently advanced in its thinking to be able to set out its plans in some detail, but that leaves enough time for aspects of the programme to be modified in response to scrutiny”.²⁸

It reported that it had asked the Leader of the House whether she had considered what would be a more appropriate timetable for consultation in future years, and that she had suggested that “the Programme might be published at Easter, providing ‘enough time that the Government has got a sensible thing to put forward but not so late that it is really too late for there to be substantial changes’”. It considered that:

... publication before Easter, for a Queen's Speech delivered the following November, would provide enough time for select committees to integrate some scrutiny of the Government's legislative proposals into their programme, as well as for public consultation to be carried out effectively.²⁹

E. The draft Queen’s Speech in 2008

Despite the Leader of the House’s intention to publish the next draft legislative programme before Easter 2008, she indicated at Business Questions on 20 March 2008, Maundy Thursday, that the draft legislative programme would be published at the end of May.³⁰

In questions to the Leader of the House, on 8 May 2008, she announced that the draft legislative programme would be published “shortly”. When questioned about the delay in publication, she observed that “Easter was very early this year”.³¹

The draft legislative programme has been discussed by Cabinet and it was expected to “sign it off” on 13 May 2008.³²

F. The Queen’s Speech

The House of Lords Briefing Paper on the state opening of Parliament notes the centrality of the Queen’s Speech to the state opening of Parliament:

The start of the parliamentary year

The State Opening of Parliament is one of the most well-known and colourful state occasions. For over 500 years, State Opening has served as a symbolic reminder of

²⁷ *Ibid*, paras 9-11

²⁸ *Ibid*, para 19

²⁹ *Ibid*, para 22

³⁰ HC Deb 20 March 2008 c1089

³¹ HC Deb 8 May 2008 cc846-847

³² 10 Downing Street, *Morning press briefing from 12 May 2008*, <http://www.number10.gov.uk/output/Page15508.asp>

the unity of Parliament's three constituent parts: the Sovereign, the House of Lords and the House of Commons.

Parliamentary sessions

A parliament lasts for a maximum of five years and runs from one general election to the next, it is broken up into sessions which typically last for about a year. State Opening is an integral feature of the parliamentary calendar because it marks the beginning of a parliamentary session and sets out the Government's agenda for that session. It usually takes place in November but at other times if there is a general election.

The Queen in Parliament

Only the monarch can call together a parliament for the transaction of business. This is why the UK legislature is often described formally as 'The Queen in Parliament'. The Opening is usually done by the monarch in person. If the monarch does not attend, the Speech is read by the Lord Chancellor. The Speech, written by the Government, is read out from the Throne in the House of Lords Chamber. Until the Speech is made, neither House can conduct any business.³³

However, as Wilding and Laundry point out in *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, before the House of Commons considers the Queen's Speech, the Clerk of the House rises and gives out the title of the *Outlawries Bill*. The reading of this Bill "affirms the right of the Commons to discuss any business they please, irrespective of what may be in the Royal Speech".³⁴

Robert Rogers and Rhodri Walters describe the speech in the following way:

The Queen's Speech is the parliamentary core of this state ceremony [the State Opening of Parliament]. The speech is drafted by the government and will have been approved by the Cabinet. It normally refers to any recent or forthcoming royal events or state visits, and it contains some very broad policy intentions ...

The meat of the speech is the legislative agenda for the coming session: the 2005 speech foreshadowed 29 bills and draft bills. Bills are usually described in very broad terms ... Bills do not have to be in the Queen's Speech to be introduced, but the speech outlines the main legislative activity for the year ahead.³⁵

Erskine May makes the following observations on the Queen's Speech:

In every session but the first of a Parliament, as there is no election of a Speaker, nor any general swearing of Members, the session is opened at once by the Queen's speech, without any preliminary proceedings in either House. Until the causes of summons are declared by the Queen, either in person, or by commission, neither House can proceed with any public business: but the causes of summons, as declared from the Throne, do not bind Parliament to consider them alone, or to proceed at once to the consideration of any of them.

Both Houses assemble on the day and immediately before the hour appointed for the delivery of the Queen's speech. In the Commons prayers are said before the

³³ House of Lords, *State opening of Parliament*, <http://www.parliament.uk/docs/HofLstateopening.pdf>

³⁴ Norman Wilding and Philip Laundry, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, 4th revised edition, 1972, pp508-509

³⁵ Robert Rogers and Rhodri Walters, *How Parliament Works*, 6th edition, 2006, p139

Queen's speech, but in the Lords not until their second meeting, later in the day. The Speaker, after prayers, normally suspends the sitting until Black Rod approaches the door, when he proceeds to the Chair to receive him. This practice is observed because no business can be transacted until Parliament has been opened by the Crown.³⁶

Erskine May also refers to the practice of both Houses "to read some bill a first time *pro forma*, in order to assert their right of deliberating without reference to the immediate cause of summons".³⁷

³⁶ Erskine May, *Parliamentary Practice*, 23 rd edition, 2004, p287
³⁷ *Ibid*, p289

Appendix – The progress of bills announced in the first draft legislative programme

The following list of bills was given in chapter 5 of *The Governance of Britain - The Government's Draft Legislative Programme*, under the heading "Summary of the bills in the draft programme". Those marked with an asterisk (*) were mentioned in Prime Minister's statement:

Draft legislative programme (July 2007)	Queens Speech (November 2007)	Bill introduced (date)
1. Children in Care Bill*	There will be a Bill to improve services for vulnerable children and young people, including those in care.	Children and Young Persons Bill (14 Nov 2007 – Lords)
2. Child Maintenance and Other Payments Bill* Note: carried over from 2006-07 Session	Not mentioned in the Gracious Speech	Carried over
3. Climate Change Bill* Note: draft bill in 2006-07 Session	My Government is committed to protecting the environment and to tackling climate change, both at home and abroad.	Climate Change Bill (14 Nov 2007 – Lords)
4. Constitutional Reform Bill*	Proposals will be brought forward to renew the constitutional settlement and strengthen the relationship between the Government, Parliament and the people.	The draft Constitutional Renewal Bill was published in March 2008
5. Coroners Bill Note: draft bill in 2005-06 Session	Not mentioned in the Gracious Speech	
6. Counter Terrorism Bill*	... my Government will take further action to create stronger communities and tackle terrorism	Counter-Terrorism Bill (24 January 2008 – Commons)

Draft legislative programme (July 2007)	Queens Speech (November 2007)	Bill introduced (date)
7. Criminal Justice and Immigration Bill* Note: carried over from 2006-07 Session ³⁸	Legislation to reform the criminal justice system will continue to be taken forward, with the aim of protecting the public and reducing re-offending.	Carried over: received Royal Assent 8 May 2008
8. Crossrail Bill Note: this bill will need to be carried over	Not mentioned in the Gracious Speech	Carried over
9. Education and Skills Bill*	A Bill will be introduced to ensure that young people stay in education or training until age 18, and to provide new rights to skills training for adults.	Education and Skills Bill (28 November 2007 – Commons)
10. Employment Simplification Bill*	Not mentioned in the Gracious Speech	Employment Bill (6 December 2007 – Lords)
11. Energy Bill*	My Government will introduce legislation to provide clean, secure and affordable supplies of energy	Energy Bill (10 January 2008 – Commons)
12. European Communities (Finance) Bill	Not mentioned in the Gracious Speech	Received Royal Assent

³⁸ HC Deb 28 June 2007 cc478-479

Draft legislative programme (July 2007)	Queens Speech (November 2007)	Bill introduced (date)
13. Health and Social Care Bill*	Legislation will be introduced to create a stronger health and social care regulator with a remit to ensure clean and safe services and high-quality care.	Health and Social Care Bill (15 November 2007 – Commons)
14. Housing and Regeneration Bill*	Available and affordable housing is one of my Government's main priorities. Legislation will be introduced to create a new Homes and Communities Agency that will deliver more social and affordable housing, and promote regeneration.	Housing and Regeneration Bill (15 November 2007 – Commons)
15. Human Tissues and Embryos Bill* Note: draft bill in 2006-07 Session	A Bill will be brought forward to reform the regulation of human embryology and to ensure that Britain remains at the forefront of medical research.	Human Fertilisation and Embryology Bill (8 November 2007 – Lords)
16. Local Transport Bill* Note: draft bill in 2006-07 Session	There will be legislation to tackle congestion and improve public transport.	Local Transport Bill (7 November 2007 – Lords)
17. National Insurance Contributions Bill	Not mentioned in the Gracious Speech	National Insurance Contributions Bill (12 November 2007 – Commons)
18. Pensions Bill*	A Bill will place a duty on every employer to contribute to good quality workplace pensions for their employees.	Pensions Bill (5 December 2007 – Commons)

Draft legislative programme (July 2007)	Queens Speech (November 2007)	Bill introduced (date)
19. Planning Reform Bill*	There will also be a Bill to reform the planning system, providing for quicker and more transparent decision-making.	Planning Bill (27 November 2007 – Commons)
20. Planning Gain Supplement Bill* ³⁹		
21. Regulatory Enforcement and Sanctions Bill* Note: draft bill in 2006-07 Session	A Bill will be introduced to reduce regulatory burdens on business.	Regulatory Enforcement and Sanctions Bill (8 November 2007 – Lords)
22. Sale of Student Loans Bill	Not mentioned in the Gracious Speech	Sale of Student Loans Bill (8 November 2007 – Commons)
23. Unclaimed Assets Bill*	Legislation will be introduced to enable unclaimed money in dormant bank accounts to be used for youth facilities, financial inclusion and social investment.	Dormant Bank and Building Society Accounts Bill (7 November 2007 – Lords)

Sources: Office of the Leader of the House of Commons, *The Governance of Britain - The Government's Draft Legislative Programme*, 11 July 2007, Cm 7175, <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm71/7175/7175.pdf>;
Queen's Speech 2007-08, 6 November 2007, www.commonleader.gov.uk/output/Page2136.asp
10 Downing Street, *Background briefing from the Queen's Speech 2007*, www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page13707.asp

³⁹ Bill dropped, HM Treasury, *Pre-Budget Report 2007*, October 2007, Cm 7227, Chapter 6 http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/media/1/1/pbr_csr07_chapter6_227.pdf