

newsletter

Volume 3 Number 1

Winter 1977

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***new zealand
political studies
association***

New Zealand Political Studies Association

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Association News

NZPSA — 1977 Conference in Auckland 26-28 August.

LATEST NEWS on CONFERENCE (at July 1) is that a sufficient number of papers has been offered to constitute four broad streams:

- (i) Political Theory / methodology
- (ii) New Zealand Politics
- (iii) Politics Abroad
- (iv) The New Political-Economy

(The fourth stream will be co-ordinated by Dr D. Bedggood, Department of Sociology, University of Auckland.)

Those attending can expect to receive copies of 15-20 papers upon registration, Chairmen and Discussants a bit earlier. Authors are urged to submit completed texts on stencils, or 100 copies of the finished paper, as soon as possible - at the latest by the end of July, except by prior arrangement.

The two keynote speakers (tentatively) are:

MR JOHN ROBERTSON, Secretary of Defence, whose topic will be "Dynamics in the Machinery of Government" (possibly paying some attention to how well we Political Scientists are preparing future government officers.)

MR JEFFREY JUKES, Senior Research Fellow in International Relations, Research School of Pacific Studies, the Australian National University, speaking on the Current Soviet View of International Relations.

They will speak on Friday and Saturday evenings respectively, Mr Robertson to the public, Mr Jukes to dinner guests only.

The arrangements for the Conference Dinner are complete: Dinner will be catered by the University Club at a cost of \$8.00 per person. (With an upper limit of 70.) Mr Jukes will speak after dinner. The menu is indeed attractive (see below) and conferees, spouses, and friends wishing to attend should book soon.

All members of the Association will have received details and pre-registration forms. Pre-registration enquiries should be sent to:

Dr Barry Gustafson, Treasurer NZPSA, c/ Political Studies Dept, University of Auckland, Private Bag, Auckland, 1.

All other Conference enquiries should be sent to:

Dr Steve Hoadley, 1977 NZPSA Conference Coordinator, c/ Political Studies Dept, University of Auckland, Private Bag, Auckland, 1. Telephone: Auckland 74740, ext. 349 or 447

Dinner Menu: 27th August, 1977 \$8.00

Sherry before dinner.

Soup - Seafood or Onion

Main Course - Chicken paprika or swisse

Or

Ham Steak

(Served with potatoes and hot vegetables)

Dessert - Cheesecake OR Fruit and ice cream.

Coffee

Cheese and biscuits.

Wine at table throughout.

Professional Notes

APSA

APSA CONFERENCE 1977

Place: St. Alberts College, University of New England, Armidale,
N.S.W. 2351

Time: Monday, August 22nd to Wednesday, August 24th

Costs: Registration, including papers — \$15
Annual Dinner — \$7

Accommodation at St. Alberts College:

— Single Room — \$13.50 per day (includes meals,
morning paper, evening coffee.)

Participants not wishing to stay in the College can make
their own accommodation arrangements with local hotels
and motels which are some 3 miles distant from the College.

Oddly enough, that's all the information which has come to hand. However, anyone
interested in finding more about the Conference should write to:

Mrs Joan Shortt, Department of Politics,
University of New England,
Armidale, N.S.W. 2351.

IPSA

A final word on the 1976 IPSA Conference in Edinburgh comes from member,
Dr A.J.R. Groom of the Faculty of Laws, University College, London, who was moved to
comment after reading the Roberts/Lodge/Wood reports in Newsletter, Vol. 2, No. 3.

"Could I begin by considering the question of conferences from a cynical
point of view? To be cynical is to ask firstly, where the conference is to be held.
Is it somewhere pleasant? Sunny? Where one normally does not get a chance to go?
The second question concerns funding, since one normally does not go to those
pleasant places mentioned in the first category because they are too far away and
cost too much to get there. Someone else has to pay! The third question is whether it
is necessary to write a paper, because if so, then it may not be worthwhile going as
it involves rather hard work. The fourth question relates to the theme of the confer-
ence, not that it matters, but if it is vaguely interesting then this is an advantage.
Fifthly, who is going to the conference? This is a relevant question because if one's
mates and buddies are around then it often makes the whole thing rather more jovial
and convivial.

Having answered these five questions in their order of importance, a basic
attitude towards the proposition is usually quite clear.

Perhaps a rather less cynical view of conferences, although equally true, is
to remark that, in most conferences, the actual sessions are not very important since
they are dominated by the loud-mouths, the careerists, and the self-important. Thus
even if there are lots of sessions going on at the same time one does not miss too
much. On the whole, sessions in one's own field are pretty useless as one knows what is
going to be said once one knows who are the contributors. Even the good papers are
hopelessly garbled since the constraints of time are draconian. However the sessions
in fields with which one is not familiar are often very useful since they give some
idea of the general direction in which the field is going. Nevertheless, the utility
of such conferences may need further justification.

One of the major functions is for young people in the profession (to give them the opportunity of trying out a paper among their peer group, of getting themselves known, possibly finding a publisher and even more importantly, possibly finding a job.) However, most people who attend conferences are not beginners and, for the rest, the purpose of the conference is essentially for an informal exchange on problems, research in progress, curricula and general professional matters.

Conferences serve as a venue for a large number of private meetings. For example; at IPISA Conference I was able to hold two contributors' meetings for a book I am editing. More generally, it enables the academic community to take its own pulse and it is particularly important for people who are manning the academic outposts in the field, for it enables them to get international experience and also to ensure that there is not a centre-periphery problem. In many respects, an international conference such as IPISA is very similar to the U.N. General Assembly. Whoever listens to the speeches there? The answer is very few but who would want to abolish the process of which the speeches are merely an outward manifestation? The answer again is very few.

So do not let us be confused by cynical motivations although, it must be admitted these are really quite strong in some cases. Let us also remember that such jamborees have other and often hidden functions.

By the way, another important function of such conferences is to make arrangements to go to the next one in a far away but desirable location, expenses paid, without giving a paper.....

Political Science

Published in the School of Political Science and Public Administration Victoria University Wellington

Current subscriptions are:

Individuals	-	NZ\$ 5.00
Students	-	NZ\$ 4.00
Institutions	-	NZ\$ 7.00

The editors invite the submission of articles on all aspects of politics, but give special emphasis, so far as is possible, to the following:

1. Research into any aspect of New Zealand politics.
2. Work on politics of Australia and the South Pacific.
3. Work on politics of Asia and the Pacific.

Subscriptions and correspondence should be sent to: The Editor, Political Science, School of Political Science and Public Administration, Victoria University of Wellington, Private Bag, Wellington, New Zealand.

Inter-Departmental Conference

The triennial get-together of New Zealand university departments of political studies / science / politics will be hosted by the Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland, 25th & 26th August (immediately preceding NZPSA Conference).

The get-together is sponsored by the University Vice-Chancellors' Committee. The purpose is to discuss academic and administrative problems, including curriculum development, course structures, teaching, examining, assessing, transfer of credits, and

relations with other institutions of education, other academic disciplines, and the community at large.

The Vice-Chancellors wish to prevent undesirable duplication of effort and to promote more efficient uses of the university system.

The juxtaposition of this meeting and the NZPSA Conference will facilitate optimum use of the air travel allowances for participants in the Inter-Department get-together.

University staff members should check with their head of department or with the get-together host, Professor Robert Chapman, if they are interested in attending.

OBITUARY — David Pahl

David Pahl graduated with first class honours in Political Science last year and joined the School of Political Science at Victoria University as a Junior Lecturer at the beginning of 1977. He had also enrolled for the M.A. degree and was hoping to complete the work by the end of this year. David came to see me after finishing his B.A.; he was uncertain whether he should do honours in Geography or Political Science. I immediately saw his potential as a researcher and a scholar in Political Science. He was a man of very keen intelligence, sympathy, understanding and tolerance - all the essential characteristics of a good scholar. I was certain that David would do great research and emerge as an outstanding authority on the non-western world in New Zealand. He developed a special interest in the position of the common humanity in the Third World, an area full of injustice and inequality. His concern for their misery and poverty had taken him through Papua New Guinea and some countries in Latin America at a very young age when most others are pre-occupied with the good things of life. Even during his short stay he had developed a very keen insight into the nature of the fundamental problems in these countries. It was this concern for fellow human beings which had motivated him to do a Ph.D. on some aspects of the politics of the countries of the Third World. Only within the last week or two have we had positive response from some of the universities overseas. I was especially glad to see that Yale University has indicated it would be in a position to enrol David in its Ph.D. programme. But that was not to be.

David was a good, kindly and friendly man. Within the last few months as a member of the staff in the School of Political Science, he had developed very close relations with all his colleagues and students. His cheerfulness had made 42 Kelburn Parade a much more attractive place to work in. His premature death is an incalculable loss to the School of Political Science; it is not often that a student comes through the system with such assets as possessed by David. We all deeply mourn his loss.

Raj Vasil

Forthcoming Conferences

XVIIth INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCES.

The International Institute of Administrative Sciences sends the following details:

DATE&PLACE: Abidjan, Ivory Coast, 12-16 September 1977

SUBJECTS: 1. Critical Analysis of the Management of Financial, Human and Material Resources in Public Administration.

2. Present Problems concerning Managerial Personnel in the Public Sector.

SPECIAL MEETINGS:

1. Representatives of Schools and Institutes of Administration.

2. Working Group on Information and Administration.

3. Working Group on Integrated Budgeting Systems

Further Information may be obtained from the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, rue de la Charite, 25; B - 1040 Brussels, Belgium.

WORLD CONGRESS ON PHILOSOPHY OF LAW AND SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

SYDNEY/CANBERRA - 14-21 AUGUST, 1977

The Extraordinary World Congress of the International Association for Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy (IVR), scheduled for August, will take place in Sydney, primarily in the University of Sydney Law School, from 14-17 August, and in Canberra, primarily in the Australian National University, from 18-21 August. There will be a special seminar 'Federalism Old and New' to which interested Congress participants are invited, at the Australian Academy of Science, Canberra, on 22 August.

A late fee is imposed on all registrations received after 1 June 1977 but anyone interested should contact:

Professor Eugene Kamenka,
Secretary, World Congress Organising Committee,
History of Ideas Unit, R.S.S.S.,
Australian National University,
P.O. Box 4, CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600,
AUSTRALIA.

SOCIAL POLICY AND SOCIOLOGY CONFERENCES: University of Canterbury, 24-27 November 1977

The N.Z. Sociological Association invites you to participate in two Conferences which will be held in Christchurch at the end of November. Discussion at the Social Policy Conference will focus on the Report of the Task Force on Social and Economic Planning. The theme of the annual N.Z. Sociology Conference is Directions in N.Z. Sociology. The Conferences are arranged so that it is possible to attend one or both.

ENQUIRIES: SOCIAL POLICY CONFERENCE - Brian Pauling,
c/ W.E.A.,
59 Gloucester St.,
CHCH.1

SOCIOLOGY CONFERENCE - Rosemary Novitz,
Sociology Conference Secretary,
The Psychology & Sociology Department,
University of Canterbury,
CHCH.1

APSA - UNIVERSITY OF NEW ENGLAND, ARMIDALE 22-27 August

See notice above (p.2)

Correspondence regarding the Newsletter should be addressed to:
John Tremewan, Editor, New Zealand Political Studies Association,
Auckland Teachers College, Private Bag, Symonds St P.O., AUCKLAND, 1

Circulation of this issue: 300 copies.

POLITICAL ACTION AND THE PRESS — Mason Drukman

[This talk was the third in a series of lectures on Political Action organised by the Victoria University of Wellington Political Science Society - a student organisation.]

THIS SERIES is devoted to various aspects of political action. I am here to talk about the press. You might justifiably ask: where is the connection?

I would like to suggest that in a democratic society you cannot have political action without a free press. To state the connection in more detail, democratic society depends on free speech, on the ability to communicate, on the personal freedom to take political action when and where you choose. In terms of political action, personal freedom, freedom of speech and a free press are indistinguishable - you cannot have one without the other.

Perhaps you can see this connection best by looking at it from the opposite perspective. Every dictator knows, or quickly learns, that whatever laws are passed limiting the rights of individuals, only when the press is either silenced or entirely taken over can the dictatorship rule supreme.

Given the intimate connection between personal freedom and the freedom of the press, to publish a free press in itself constitutes political action, action which by its very expression of free speech enlarges the area of freedom for everyone else. Freedom of the press does not guarantee the survival of democracy, but it is clear that without it democracy hasn't even a fighting chance.

I am scarcely the first person to notice the crucial link between democratic life and the freedom of the press. At the birth of modern democracy in the late 18th century, Thomas Jefferson reported on a number of occasions that if he were ever forced to choose between having a legislature that represented the people and having a free press, he would choose a free press. Half a century later, Alexis de Tocqueville echoed Jefferson's sentiments in describing American democracy to his European audience.

"I think," Tocqueville wrote, "that men living in aristocracies may, strictly speaking, do without the liberty of the press; but such is not the case with those who live in democratic countries. To protect their personal independence I do not trust to great political assemblies, to parliamentary privilege, or to the assertion of popular sovereignty. All these things may, to a certain extent, be reconciled with personal servitude. But that servitude cannot be complete if the press is free; the press," he concluded, "is the chief democratic instrument of freedom."

Whether Jefferson and Tocqueville were correct in positing a free press as the single most important agency of democracy may be open to debate. But they surely were correct in stressing its central significance.

It is necessary, however, to distinguish between positive and negative freedom in talking about the press and political action. By negative freedom I mean freedom from - from political interference, censorship and other tyrannical acts by government. Positive freedom, on the other hand, means freedom to - to act politically, to exercise your rights on behalf of your principles and beliefs.

While democracy requires the existence of both aspects of freedom, it cannot function without a press that practices positive freedom. Similarly, democracy may be said to be in trouble when the press rests content with negative freedom and spends its time contentedly grinding out copy and raking in revenue.

It seems to me that the press in New Zealand is arrested at the level of what might be called "imperfect" negative freedom. The press - and I am concentrating here on the print media, chiefly on newspapers - is satisfied simply to get by putting one edition out after another so long as advertising and sales returns continue to pour in. The public, moreover, seems largely to accept such a press and appears to look to its newspapers more for entertainment and advertising information than for a competent presentation and analysis of public affairs.

To the extent that its press operates within the boundaries of negative freedom, New Zealand is something less than a genuine democracy. Of course New Zealand is far from unique in this regard. Journals practising positive freedom are rare the world over, and in many countries the press is entirely without freedom, positive or negative. Much has been made of the American press since Watergate - we get the picture of a band of fearless professionals ever alert to unearth the truth no matter where it leads or how it is concealed. There are many such investigative journalists in the U.S. but the vast majority of papers continue to pursue the traditional objectives, maximum profit with minimum expenditure, much as they did before Watergate.

I said before that the New Zealand press could be described in terms of "imperfect" negative freedom. I had in mind here the limitations imposed by defamation laws and the Official Secrets Act. It has become common lately to minimise the impact of these statutes when criticising the media. I can assure you that they constitute serious obstacles to the expression of positive freedom. It must also be said, however, that the press hardly seems uncomfortable with these constraints. Media pressure for reform in both areas ought to be unrelenting. Instead the media tend to be silent on the issue while that pressure which does exist comes from one or two political mavericks, the Ombudsman and an occasional civil libertarian.

To give meaning to positive freedom, to act politically, the press must:

A. Be free from political, legal and commercial constraints; be able to print without fear of reprisal; in other words, be able to presume the existence of negative freedom as a starting point.

B. Be prepared to adopt a critical stance, to take nothing for granted, to probe all issues and positions deeply and thoroughly no matter where the investigation might lead.

C. Be ready to fight for what it believes is right.

D. Be equipped with a high sense of profession, an awareness of everything that is involved in being a newspaper or magazine.

As an attribute of freedom, the last item may strike you as somewhat strange. It is. At the same time, it seems a necessary precondition to the positive actions contained in B and C. It is apparently necessary - at least it has been in America - for the profession first to master the tools of its trade and get a feeling for its occupational mission before it can take on more difficult tasks. The Washington Post's Watergate revelations would not have been possible had not the press as a whole reached the level of professionalism that obtained at the time.

It may be here that New Zealand suffers the most. Elsewhere in the world papers that are otherwise fairly pedestrian are able to do a reasonable job in covering most of the events that matter and of presenting the news so that it can at least be understood by a sizeable proportion of the audience. While such papers seldom probe sufficiently beneath the surface to get at the realities hidden there, they perform the useful function - of which some are very conscious - of establishing "the record" so that readers, present and future, can at the very least verify that certain events did in fact occur at a certain time and place.

When at its best, this kind of reporting is characterised by an attempt:

- To be unbiased.
- To cover a beat fully.
- To report clearly and succinctly.
- To be concerned about standards.
- To worry about what competitors and colleagues think.
- To get the news first if possible.

It cannot be said that the print media in New Zealand meet these objectives very well. Which means that our press lacks even the preconditions for positive freedom. Why this is the case I am not certain. I am certain, however, that our newspapers have, at best, a very incomplete sense of professionalism; coverage is remarkably uneven; writing ranges from the reasonably competent to the wholly undecipherable; and if our papers are interested in getting scoops, it is certainly not apparent to the everyday reader.

Without this base of professionalism, it is difficult for the media collectively to advance to more "democratic" work, to investigate and if necessary expose those areas of political, social and economic life that cry out for a public airing. Whether the absence of competition is relevant to this problem is hard to say. The monopoly press situation in most N.Z. cities can be made to work both ways. On the one hand, papers that reign unchallenged in a locality may lack that competitive edge which drives journalists to outdo their rivals - and perhaps themselves - in the pursuit of a story. On the other hand, precisely because it has little to do but exist to bring in money, the monopoly press can afford to fund investigative reporters who have the time to carry out their inquiries and who do not have to supply the anticipated number of copy inches every week. And, since advertisers have nowhere else to advertise their wares, monopoly papers should be able to resist when their advertisers pressure them to take the heat off.

Those of you who read the book or saw the film of All The President's Men will know that it was competition with two non-Washington papers, one 3000 miles away, which helped spur the Washington Post deeper and deeper into Watergate - and note that it was professional and not commercial competition. The Post sought to get the story first and get it right, and this ambition did not involve a rivalry with any of its nearby competitors.

To return to my original theme, democracy in New Zealand must be diminished insofar as its press is inadequate to the task. In part the slack is taken up by television. But T.V. can never completely fill the gap. In the first place it is too costly for television to do large-scale in-depth investigative productions on a continuing basis. Secondly, the printed word lasts; it can be reread and reiterated, while the TV image tends to fade, despite its immediate impact. Finally, one has to be suspicious about television's long-range ability to maintain its independence, given its statutory tie to government.

What can be done? The democratic environment can be improved so that negative freedom might be more perfectly realised. A committee on reforming the defamation laws has been sitting quietly for a considerable time. Some of the submissions made to it call for dramatic revisions in the law and, if eventually passed by Parliament, such revisions would make publication a much less hazardous venture. Similarly with Mr Minogue's call for a freedom of information act and an overhaul of the Official Secrets Act: Changes in these areas could provide fertile ground for growing a more positive democracy.

But would changes in the law produce comparable changes in the workaday press? I doubt it, at least in the immediate future. The best we could hope for is the gradual professionalisation of the field, but even this would depend on the introduction of more enlightened editorial leadership.

There are, however, three possible ways of speeding up the process of change.

1. Establishing alternative publications. Despite the failure of The Week last year, I think N.Z. can support an alternative press. Had The Week been properly capitalised, managed and edited, I think it could have made it. My guess is that there is a potential audience of 30,000 for such a publication (I would start with a monthly) and 30,000 is enough, provided that those connected with the paper were willing to work for an extended period more or less at a break-even level. Of course The Week's dismal performance makes the job all the more difficult; for one thing potential backers are likely to be considerably more cautious now than in the pre-Week period. If, however, it could be started and made successful, an alternative publication would have a positive ripple effect throughout the media.

2. Engaging in self-criticism. In the U.S., aside from the influence of investigative reporting, the most important development in recent years has been the journalism review movement. Those in the trade have taken it upon themselves to write critically about all aspects of the profession. Reviews of various kinds exist all over the country, a few with national circulations, and their critiques have served to raise standards all along the line.

I think the same thing could happen here. If young dissatisfied journalists got together to publish their own criticisms of the press - perhaps on a quarterly

basis to start - their impact could be enormous.

3. Finally, following a suggestion by Peter McKinlay, one of the organisers of this series, I think it might be possible to set up an independent, non-partisan body to support projects that are not attempted by the conventional press. In the U.S. there is a private agency called the Fund for Investigative Journalism which provides money (up to \$3000, I believe) for investigative work by free-lancers. While the Fund has had only a small impact in America, here the effects of a similar fund could be dramatic.

At best these currents should be moving simultaneously - each would reinforce the other and at the same time the profession as a whole would have to sit up and take notice.

Will such changes take place? It is not easy to be confident. The inertia and money run strongly in the opposite direction. Breakthroughs would take a huge amount of hard work, a high level of good will and perhaps an unprecedented amount of luck. Despite the formidable obstacles the effort is surely worth making. Without it New Zealand's press will remain in its current status - unchanged, unenlightened and uninteresting.

THE AUTHOR: Mason Drukman is Chief Editor for the Consumers' Institute. A Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley, he has worked as a radio announcer, a professor of Political Science (University of California, Berkeley), Chief Administrator, the Learning Community (a two-year educational experiment associated with Antioch College and funded by the Carnegie Foundation), and as Editor and Publisher, The Oregon Times - a monthly magazine of investigative journalism.

His publications include: A History of Disarmament Documents 1945-1962 (ed), National Lawyers' Guild, San Francisco, 1963.

Community and Purpose in America, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1971.

Numerous contributions from 1962-1974 in New University Thought, The New Republic, Western Political Quarterly, Caementum, The Oregon Times and elsewhere.

THE V.U.W. POLITICAL SCIENCE SOCIETY for whom the preceding lecture was prepared, is a student-organised body. The Society has organised a lecture-series during the second term 1977 with a general theme of "Forms of Political Action in New Zealand." Peter McKinlay reports that the series was a response to a widespread feeling that the study of politics at New Zealand universities is creating in students a feeling of helplessness; that regardless of how committed they may (or may not) be to a belief that all is not well within society, they are conditioned by their studies to accept that there is nothing which they as students can do.

Thus, writes McKinlay, "the purpose of the series is to bring before students (and others) individuals who combine practical and theoretical experience with a belief that the individual can be effective in seeking political change."

Readers may be interested in the Society's plans for the series: (E. & O.E. because changes may have been made since this copy was submitted.)

May 27 David Bedggood, University of Auckland: "Marxism and the University"

June 3 Rev. Bob Scott, Inner City Ministry, Wellington, with a theme of the need for Social Science students to involve themselves in the problems of their own communities.

June 10 Mason Drukman - see article above.

June 17 John Roberts, Victoria University of Wellington, with a theme - the nature of the work scene in the future.

July 6 Michael Minogue, M.P. Hamilton West, "Parliament"

July 15 Kevin Clements, University of Canterbury, on New Zealand as a neo-colony trying to compensate for its vulnerable and dependent

status by dominating the South Pacific and exploiting migrant Pacific labour.

- July 22 Ros. Noonan, who was Convenor, International Women's Year. "The White, Male, Middle Class University Male and Destiny -or How to Uphold the Status Quo Without Really Trying."
- July 29 Rob Steven, University of Canterbury, "The New Zealand Middle Class and the Deepening Crisis."
- Aug. 5 Rob Campbell, Research Officer, P.S.A. "Trade Unions and Social Action"
- Aug. 12 Erich Geiringer - a look at the independent political scientist -what can he achieve? The constraints on action.

Newsletter congratulates the Society on its initiative in organising the series and apologises for the fact that it was unable to publicise plans before the lectures began.

News & Notes

- Juliet Lodge, who recently returned from Europe, where she was Visiting Fellow, 1976-7 at The London School of Economics and Political Science, has resigned her lecturership in the Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland, and will be taking up a lecturership in Western European Politics at a British University later this year.
- Nigel Roberts, University of Canterbury, returned from study-leave in February. While in Scandinavia he began a comparative study of Denmark, New Zealand, and Norway as three small democracies. (See Newsletter, Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 12 and also Current Research, this issue.)
- Andrew Sharp, University of Auckland, has been appointed to the newly-constituted Films Censorship Board of Review.
- Robert Taylor, University of Auckland, delivered a paper on Chinese Education at the Second N.Z. Conference on Asian Studies in Christchurch during May.
- Barry Gustafson, University of Auckland and NZPSA Treasurer, has been elected Chairman of the Association of University Teachers Salaries Committee, in succession to Jim Rowe of Massey University.
- Joe Atkinson, University of Otago, will be attending APSA Conference in Armidale, N.S.W. in August and will deliver a paper entitled, "The Unstructured Training Group as an Analogue of Political Life."
- Bob Gregory, Victoria University, has been awarded a Frank Knox Memorial Fellowship from Harvard University to enable him to spend the 1977-78 academic year at the University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. It is his intention to study for a Master's degree in Public Administration. The award of a Fulbright Travel Grant has assisted these plans.
- Jim Flynn, University of Otago, is on the Editorial Board of a new set of Monographs from A.N.U. on Political and Social Theory. Any potential contributors should contact him.
- Patricia and Bob Springborg, University of Sydney and University of N.S.W. respectively, will be taking refresher leave from July 9th.
- Margaret Clark, Victoria University, becomes Chairman of the School of Political Science and Public Administration for the next three years.

(Continued p 15)

Current Political Research

UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND:

- Peter Aimer: "The Swedish Elections: Predictable but not Predicted"- in N.Z. International Review, Jan/Feb, 1977.
- "Australian Politics" in N.Z. International Review, June/July 1977.
- "Menzies and the Birth of the Liberal Party" -chapter in Cameron Hazlehurst (Ed), Australian Conservatism, 1900-72, A.N.U. Press. (To be published late 1977.)
- Graham Bush: "The Government & Misgovernment of Auckland"-Chapter in Auckland at Full Stretch (of which he is joint editor). Auckland City Council and University of Auckland Board of Urban Studies. June 1977.
- "Managing Change in the Interests of the Status Quo: The 1974 Auckland City Council Ward Referendum" in Politics xii, i, May, 1977.
- Barry Gustafson: "Labour's Lost Legions: The Second Labour Government, 1957-60, and Grassroots Party Membership in the Auckland Region"-in The New Zealand Journal of History, October, 1976.
- "The Tenets of Soviet Foreign Policy" in N.Z. International Review, Jan/Feb, 1977.
- "Yugoslavia After Tito"-in N.Z. International Review, May/June, 1977.
- "New Zealand and the Soviet Union" -to be published in Carr, N. & Olssen, E. (Eds), N.Z. Foreign Policy. E.D.P. July/August, 1977.
- "Towards Centralisation or Decentralisation: The Regional Organisation of the N.Z. Labour Party" -to be published in S. Levine, (Ed), N.Z. Politics: A Reader, Allen & Unwin, late 1977.
- "The Demographic Characteristics, Socialisation, Motivation and Participation of Active Members of the N.Z. Labour Party." At present being abbreviated for publication. E.D.C. late 1977.
- "Forum or Facade: the Annual Conference of the N.Z. Labour Party." At present being re-written for publication in the light of recent changes in Conference format. E.D.C. late 1977.
- "Non-verbal Reasoning Ability and Reading Comprehension of Maori and Non-Maori Third Form Pupils Considered in Socio-Economic Status Groups." To be published in R.A.C. Stewart (Ed), Childhood in New Zealand: A Book of Readings, Heinemann Educational Books. E.D.P. 1978.
- Steven Hoadley: "Aid and National Security: The Politics of New Zealand's Development Assistance." Paper delivered to, and to be published by, The Foreign Policy School, 1977, University of Otago.
- "Indonesia's Annexation of East Timor: Political, Administrative, and Developmental Initiatives." Published in Southeast Asian Affairs 1977-Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- "Development Subsidies, Local Autonomy and Bureaucratic Rivalry in Indonesia: Eight Years of INPRES." To be published in Journal of Southeast Asian Studies -University of Singapore.
- "New Zealand and ASEAN." To be published in The Indonesian Quarterly, Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta.
- "Rhetoric and Reality in New Zealand's Relations with ASEAN." in N.Z. International Review, March/April, 1977.
- "New Zealand's Response to the East Timor Controversy." -in N.Z. International Review, Nov/Dec, 1976.

- Juliet Lodge: New Zealand, Britain and the EEC. Published in The Round Table (Lond.) October, 1976.
- The West German Election of 1976. Published in N.Z. International Review, Vol. 1, No. 6, 1976.
- The European Policy of the SPD. SAGE Publications, Beverly Hills and London, 1976.
- New Zealand and the Community. Published in European Community (New York) February, 1977.
- Ireland and the EEC. Published in N.Z. International Review, Vol 2, No. 2, 1977.
- New Zealand Foreign Policy in 1976. To be published in Australian Outlook, 1977.
- Citizens and the EEC: The role of the European Parliament. To be published in The Parliamentarian, Vol. LVIII, No 3, 1977.
- Towards a Human Union: EEC Social Policy and European Integration. To be published in the British Journal of International Studies, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1978.
- Britain and Direct Elections to the European Parliament. To be published in N.Z. International Review, Vol. 2, 1977.
- Loyalty and the EEC: the Limitations of the Functionalist Approach. To be published in a forthcoming issue of Political Studies.
- New Zealand Foreign Policy Under National. To be published in Commonwealth, August, 1977.
- New Zealand's Relations with the European Community since British Accession. To be published as a chapter in New Zealand Politics: A Reader (ed) S. Levine - Allen & Unwin 1978.

Juliet Lodge & Avi Shlaim. (Dept. of Politics, University of Reading)

- The Berlin Crisis, 1948-49: A Case Study in American Crisis Behaviour. To be published in the Jerusalem Journal of International Relations, Special Issue, Summer, 1978.

Juliet Lodge & Valentine Herman (Dept. of Government, University of Essex)

Is the European Parliament a Parliament? Various versions of this paper have been presented at The London School of Economics and Political Science, University College (London), Essex University, The Erasmus University (Rotterdam), the Europa Institute (Leiden), and at the inaugural meeting of the Anglo-Dutch Institute of Parliamentology and Parliametrics (Amsterdam). Journal publication pending.

Citizenship, Direct Elections and the European Parliament. Parts of this paper are revised and expanded from an article by Juliet Lodge, Citizens and the EEC: the Role of the European Parliament - see above.

The European Parliament and the 'Decline of Legislatures' Thesis - Journal publication pending.

Democratic Legitimacy, Direct Elections and the European Parliament - Journal publication pending.

Institutional Reform in the European Community: The Case for Bicameralism. Journal publication pending.

Blunderbuss or Peashooter? The Motion of Censure in the European Parliament. Journal publication pending.

The Parliament of the European Community. Book to be published by Macmillan, 1978.

Juliet Lodge & Avi Schlaim:

American Behaviour During the Berlin Crisis of 1948-49 -A case study in the International Crisis Behaviour Research Project, directed by Professor Michael Brecher, (McGill & Hebrew Universities). Book to be published under authors' names with a link to the project as a whole.

Andrew Sharp: Press reviews of Jack Lively, Democracy, and Preston King, The Ideology of Order.

Robert Taylor: China's Economic Strategy and Foreign Policy in the Post-Mao Era. In N.Z. International Review, Jan/Feb, 1977.

UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO:

Stuart Greif: The Overseas Chinese in Fiji. College of Chinese Culture Press, 1977.

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON:

John Orbell: reports that, with Jerry Medler (Oregon) and Keith Jackson (Canterbury), he is working on data on Labour and National Party Conferences.

UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY:

Keith Jackson: Government Succession in N.Z., in The Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics. (forthcoming).

The N.Z. Cabinet and the Economic Advisory Group, in S. Levine (Ed), N.Z. Politics: A Reader. Allen & Unwin, late 1977.

The Role and Potential of N.Z. Parliamentary Select Committees-in preparation.

Political Party Activists: A Study of Roles in Political Party Conferences.-in preparation.

New Zealand Foreign Policy 1945-76: Attitudes and Alliances.-in preparation.

Nigel Roberts: New Models for New Zealand: Three Small Democracies Compared. in N.Z. International Review, March/April, 1977.

Currently working on the Small Democracies project and on the 1975 voting survey undertaken together with Stephen Levine, (Victoria) and Tony Wood (Otago).

Rob. Steven: -is currently working on a book on Monopoly Capitalism and Class in Postwar Japan. Recent materials purchased and obtained from corporations and government departments (including a survey of some 450 workers) form the empirical basis of the work. Recent Marxist writings on Class and Monopoly capitalism provide the broad theoretical framework.

Ron MacIntyre: Lebanon in Agony: Strategic Dimensions of the Civil War in N.Z. International Review, March/April 1977.

Israel/Palestine: Handbook for Teachers and Students, unpublished paper, Political Science Department, University of Canterbury.

The PLO and the Middle East Conflict -in preparation.

John Henderson: -is working on a comparative analysis of the personality and politics of New Zealand Prime Ministers. A Small part of this research, The Operational Code of Robert David Muldoon, will appear in S. Levine, (Ed), N.Z. Politics: A Reader (forthcoming).

An Interview and short article on the Muldoon foreign policy was published in N.Z. International Review, May/June, 1977.

Leadership, Personality and War: The Cases of Anthony Eden and Richard Nixon, in Political Science, Vol. 28, No. 2, December, 1976.

Carter's Kissingers, N.Z. International Review, March/April, 1977.

Mary Ensor: -is continuing with her doctoral research on agricultural policy-making in New Zealand. She is also involved in a rural survey of Banks Peninsula residents.

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO

W. T. Roy: Papers delivered: ANZAAS, 1976 - Kindly Condottiere: Major General Claude Martin of Lyons and Lucknow. (1735-1800). This paper forms the basis of a full-length biography now in progress.

APSA, 1976 - Red Subs in the Sunset? - Naval Rivalry in the Indian Ocean.

Research in progress on the recovery of Pakistan since the Bangladesh debacle.

M. A. THESES in preparation at the University of Canterbury.

M. A. Gordon: The Elite Structure of the N.Z. Foreign Service.

W. Hope: Revolutionary Theory and Extremist Political Behaviour: a Comparative Analysis of Ideological Terrorism.

A. Mackenzie: Party and Split-Ticket Voting in the 1974 Christchurch City Elections.

P. Messervy: Theories of Democratic Stability and the Character of Policy-Making in New Zealand: a Study of the Labour Government's Commerce Legislation, 1974-1975.

D. J. M. Neilson: Class Consciousness and Political Action among the New Zealand Working Class.

M. J. Rhodes: The French Communist Party and the Problem of 'Democracy' in the Fifth Republic.

Mrs D. L. Small: The Political Philosophy of Bolingbroke.

W. M. Sutherland: Post-Industrial Theory and Transformation of Classes: an Examination of the Political Values and Structural Locations of Middle Managers in an Advanced Sector of the Economy.

A. N. Koziarski: American Pacifist Movements in the 1960s.

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Aurelia George: (with Takeshi Ishida), Nokyo: The Farmers' Representative - in P. Drysdale and H. Kitaoji (Eds) Japan and Australia: Two Societies and their Interaction, Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

Aurelia George: (with R. F. I. Smith), Farmer Organisations and Farm Policy-Making in Japan, Australia and New Zealand. Research paper, Australia-Japan Economic Relations Research Project, A. N. U., Canberra, forthcoming.

Tom Smith: Advisory Committees in the Policy Process, - in International Review of Administrative Sciences, Vol. 43, No. 2, 1977

CANBERRA COLLEGE OF ADVANCED EDUCATION:

John Halligan and Paul Harris:

New Zealand Local Elections Project. Three papers have been completed (and others are in preparation). A research report, Local Government Elections in New Zealand is in Politics, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1977. Local Elections and Democracy is forthcoming in S. Levine, N.Z. Politics: A Reader, Allen & Unwin, The third paper is Women's Participation in New Zealand Local Body Elections -as yet unpublished.

John Halligan and Tom Smith:

Three papers are available on the Council Clerk in New South Wales. Job Satisfaction and the N.S.W. Council Clerk, The Executive Function in Local Government and the Role of the Council Clerk in N.S.W., and A Comparison of the Policy Roles of the N.S.W. Council Clerk and the American City Manager,

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY, WELLINGTON:

Peter McKinlay: Crisis in Government: The Challenge of Local Finance in N.Z. Journal of Public Administration, March, 1977.

News & Notes

Graham Bush, University of Auckland, will be on Sabbatical Leave from August 1977 to April 1978, attached to the International Union of Local Authorities, The Hague, Netherlands and the Institute of Local Government Studies, University of Birmingham, U.K. In May 1977 he presented a paper to the Annual Conference of the N.Z. Institute of Architects, entitled "Auckland Politics, Past and Present."

Raj Vasil, Victoria University, went on July 1 on a one-year exchange to the University of California, Santa Cruz. He will take a one-year sabbatical immediately after this.

Letter from the Editor

The fact that this is the first issue of Newsletter in 1977 is both an indictment against the editor and a warning to the would-be political activists of the VUW Political Science Society. To actually do something about political action, as distinct from merely discussing it, takes a tremendous amount of time and effort, if the job is to be done well. Your editor has found in the current year that political activism has encroached markedly on the time he has available for the study of politics -and certainly on the time he has been able to make available for the compiling of Newsletter. Beware VUWPSS! A balance must be struck.

That said, apologies are due to members, and more especially early contributors, who have had to wait until this time of the year for the first issue of 1977. Some items, especially referring to conferences and study awards have been rendered obsolete before publication; some contributors have had an unduly long wait to see their notes appear in print. I plead full responsibility and promise it will not happen again.

It is my hope that Vol. 3, No. 2 should appear soon after NZPSA Conference in August with a theme of reviewing the Conference, with No. 3 to follow in late November. Area Coordinators will be notified about closing dates for copy.

John Tremewan
Editor.

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