

*New Zealand  
Political Studies Association*

*1977  
Conference Programme*

*Auckland, 26th-28th August, 1977*

## **CONFERENCE OFFICERS**

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| <b>TREASURER:</b>                                | <i>Dr Barry Gustafson</i>                  |
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| <b>ADMINISTRATIVE<br/>ASSISTANTS:</b>            | <i>Mrs Enid Broad,<br/>Ms Rae Clarkin.</i> |

## **NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION OFFICERS**

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## General Information

### Registration

Pre-registration by mail or in person is possible at any time by contacting either Dr. Barry Gustafson, Conference Treasurer, or Dr. Robert Taylor, Conference Registrar.

Commencing at 9 am on Thursday 25 August 1977 pre-registration will also be handled by Ms Rae Clarkin, Administrative Assistant, Department of Political Studies, No. 18 Symonds St., First Floor, during regular office hours. Tel. 74740, ext. 447.

Registration proper begins at 4 pm on Friday 25 August 1977, in the main floor lobby of Choral Hall, corner Symonds St. and Alfred St., entered from Symonds Street, directly across from Political Studies. Pre-registrants and registrants should pick up their Programmes, Registration Packets, copies of Conference Papers, and their Conference Badges as soon as possible thereafter. Conference Badges should be worn to guarantee admission to all Sessions, coffees, the lunch and the cocktail hour; they need not be worn at the Friday evening talk, during the AGM of the NZPSA, or at the Saturday evening dinner.

#### The Registration Desk will be open at the following times:

- Friday 26 August 1977: 4 pm to 8 pm and after the talk.
- Saturday 27 August 1977: 8.45 am to 11 am and upon request.
- Sunday 28 August 1977: 9 am to 9.30 am and 10.30 - 11 am.

#### Registration fees are as follows:

|                                     |      |
|-------------------------------------|------|
| Basic fee (adult, non-NZPSA member) | \$14 |
| Student (discount of \$2)           | \$12 |
| Adult NZPSA member (discount \$2)   | \$12 |
| Student NZPSA member (discount \$3) | \$11 |

All Conference participants are asked to register and pay the appropriate fee. Each speaker, however, may invite two guests to his/her session without charge; speakers are asked to register their guests.

Registration entitles registrants to one copy of each Conference Paper which the Conference Committee received in time to duplicate. Every effort will be made to duplicate and distribute late papers but the Committee reserves the right to ask registrants to request late papers directly from the authors.

The Conference Committee will sell extra sets of Conference Papers at \$10 per set. Order from Dr. Peter Aimer, Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland.

#### LOCATION OF ACTIVITIES:

Registration, Displays and the Saturday cocktail hour will be in the Main Floor lobby, Choral Hall, corner Symonds and Alfred Streets, enter from Symonds Street. The Friday evening talk, the Saturday afternoon AGM of the NZPSA, and certain Sessions will be in Choral Hall Lecture Theatre No. 1, main floor. The majority of Sessions will be in Rooms 135, 135A, and 116 of the First Floor of Choral Hall. Video-tapes will be in Room 115, First Floor, Choral Hall. Coffee will be served in the First Floor lobby just outside Room 135A.

#### CATERED DINNER AND DINNER SPEAKER

Registrants and their spouses and friends are invited to sign up for the catered sit-down dinner to be served at the University Club, Princes Street, on Saturday evening 27 August 1977. Seating limit is 60. Price is \$8, which includes before-dinner sherry, wine at table, and after-dinner coffee and port, and is quite competitive with similar meals downtown. Dinner guests also gain admission to Mr. Geoffrey Jukes' after dinner talk on current Soviet perceptions of the world; this talk is open only to dinner guests.

Sherry will be served commencing at 6 pm; dinner will be served at approximately 6.30 pm.

#### Dinner Menu

Pre-dinner sherry  
 Wine at table  
 Soup - seafood or onion  
 Main course - Chicken Swisse or Ham Steak  
 Side dishes - potatoes, hot vegetables, bread and butter  
 Dessert - Cheesecake or Fruit & Ice Cream  
 Coffee  
 Cheese and Biscuits  
 Port

Special events

1. Displays and handouts by publishers and special interest organisations in main lobby of Choral Hall all day Friday and Saturday, 26-27 August 1977. Some publications will be for sale.

2. Video-tapes of political affairs, shown by American Reference Library, Room 115, Choral Hall.

Video-tape schedule (details posted at Registration Desk):

Showing No. 1: 6.45 pm Friday 26 August

Showing No. 2: 12.30 pm Saturday 27 August

Showing No. 3: 3.00 pm Saturday 27 August (For persons not wishing to attend the AGM of the NZPSA)

3. Public talk by Mr. John Robertson, Secretary of Defence and past president of the N.Z. Institute of Public Administration on "Dynamics in the Machinery of Government" at 8 pm, Choral Hall Lecture Theatre No. 1.

ABSTRACT"DYNAMICS IN THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT"

This talk examines evolutionary changes in the machinery of Government at the political level, including its strengths and weaknesses and its impact on the higher levels of the Public Service.

The speaker will touch on such matters as the changing nature of ministerial responsibility, the Government Caucus in transition from Party to Machinery of Government, the availability to the Opposition of government-held information, pressures on the integrity of senior public servants, and the need for broad-perspective training for senior officials.

4. Catered dinner and dinner talk.

This event is open both to registrants and non-registrants. Tickets available at the Registration Desk or from Mr. Guy Dugdale, Conference Caterer, at \$8 per person. The talk by Mr. Geoffrey Jukes after dinner is open only to dinner guests. Only 60 tickets will be sold.

*Conference Programme (see also detailed schedule of Sessions)*FRIDAY, 26th August

- 9.00 - 4.00 Pre-registration at Political Studies Department, 18 Symonds St., Room 2 (upstairs) - Ms Rae Clarkin.
- 4.00 - 8.00 Registration at desk in Choral Hall; Videotape showing on American politics by USIS (6.45); publishers' displays and handouts.
- 7.30 p.m. Conference opening by NZPSA President, Professor J. Roberts.
- 8.00 p.m. Keynote Address by Mr. John Robertson, Secretary of Defence and Past President of the N.Z. Institute of Public Administration.  
TOPIC: "DYNAMICS IN THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT"  
 Open to the Public. Choral Hall, Lecture Theatre No. 1. Questions invited.

SATURDAY, 27th August

- 8.45-11.00 am. Registration at desk; publishers' displays. Choral Hall main lobby.
- 9.15-10.30 am. SESSION I
- 10.30-11.00 am. Coffee and tea served.
- 11.00-12.15 pm. SESSION II
- 12.15-1.15 pm Buffet lunch served. Video-tapes shown.
- 1.15-2.30 pm. SESSION III
- 2.30-3.00 pm. Coffee and tea served.
- 3.00-5.00 pm. A.G.M. of the N.Z. Political Studies Association. Members only. Video-tape showing for non-members.
- 5.00-6.00 pm. Sherry and wine served. All registrants welcome.
- 6.15-8.00 pm. Conference Dinner \$8.00. Early booking advised.
- 8.15-9.30 pm. Dinner address by Mr. Geoffrey Jukes, A.N.U. Dinner Guests only.  
TOPIC: "THE CURRENT SOVIET VIEW OF THE WORLD"

SUNDAY, 28th August

- 9.00-9.30 am. Registration desk open.
- 10.30-11.00 am.

Sunday (continued)

5.

- 9.15-10.30 am. SESSION IV  
10.30-11.00 am. Coffee and Tea served.  
11.00-12.00 pm. SESSION V  
12.15-12.45 pm. Final coffee, tea and snacks break.  
Informal discussion and evaluation  
of 1977 Conference.  
1.00 pm. Closing remarks by NZFSA President.

VENUE

Unless otherwise specified, all events will be held in Choral Hall, N.W. corner of Symonds and Alfred Streets, entered from Symonds St.

*Sessions Schedule*

(For abstracts of papers see alphabetical listing below)

NOTE: Each paper will be introduced by a CHAIRMAN, and commented upon briefly by a DISCUSSANT after the SPEAKER has concluded. Names of Chairmen and Discussants will be available at the Registration Desk. It is hoped that the formal presentation, including the Discussants' remarks will be sufficiently concise to allow time for questions and comments from the floor.

SESSION I: Saturday, 27th August, 9.15 to 10.30 am.

*cancelled*  
Dr. Kevin CLEMENTS: "New Zealand As A Neo-Colony: The Structural Consequences of Imperialism".  
(Room 135)

Dr. John HENDERSON: "Muldoon and Rowling: A Study In Contrasting Personalities".  
(Theatre 1)

Prof. Theo ROY: "The Defence of New Zealand".  
(Room 135A)

Dr. Christine SWANTON: "On the Concept of 'Interest' in Politics".  
(Room 116)

SESSION II: Saturday, 27th August, 11.00 am to 12.15 pm.

*John & Sus look in* → Dr. Rod AILEY: "The 1976 Task Force Report on Economic and Social Planning: Some Implications for New Zealand".  
(Theatre 1)

Dr. Michael JACKSON: "Coercion, Intolerance, and the Least Advantaged in Rawls".  
(Room 116)

Dr. Rob STEVEN: "Class Structure, Composition and Interests in New Zealand Capitalism".  
(Room 135)

Dr. Robert TAYLOR: "Chinese Educational Philosophy Since the Cultural Revolution".  
(Room 135A)

Mr. Ian THYNNE: "Representative Bureaucracy: A Critique with Reference to the New Zealand Context".  
(Theatre 2)

SESSION III: Saturday, 27th August, 1.15 to 2.30 pm.

Assoc. Prof. Ruth BUTTERWORTH: "Soweto Plus Twelve".  
(Theatre 1)

Dr. Geoff DEBNAM: "Power, Authority and Coercion".  
(Room 116)

Ms Aurelia GEORGE: "Political Factors in the Beef Trade  
with Japan".

Mr. John HALLIGAN  
Mr. Paul HARRIS: "Local Government Elections in New  
Zealand".  
(Room 135A)

Mr. Rob CAMPBELL: "Unions and Family Incomes in Economic  
Crisis".  
(Theatre 2)

SESSION IV: Sunday, 28th August, 9.15 to 10.30  
am

Dr. David BEDGGOOD: "The State: Fiscal Crisis and Class  
Struggle in New Zealand".  
(Room 135)

Dr. Ray GOLDSTEIN: "Official Perceptions of Public  
Opinion on Foreign Policy".  
(Room 135A)

Dr. Bill HODGE: "The Individual and the State: A  
Legal Analysis of Apparent Changes  
in the Relationship Between the  
Two in New Zealand".  
(Theatre 1)

Mr. Peter McKINLAY: "Government: The Need to Decent-  
ralise".  
(Room 116)

SESSION V: Sunday 28th August, 11.00 am to 12.15  
pm

Dr. David BAND: "The Critical Reception of English  
Neo-Hegelianism".  
(Room 116)

Prof. Robert CHAPMAN: "By-Elections in New Zealand".  
(Room 135)

Dr. John MACRAE: "The Significance of the Neglect of  
the Turn-Over Period in Marxist  
Theory: Some New Light on the Trans-  
formation Problem".  
(Room 135A)

Miss Raewyn STONE: "Group Struggle in a Value Field: The  
Comparative Performance of Pressure  
Groups on the Question of Abortion,  
1970-1975".  
(Theatre 2)

Mr. Toby TRUPELL: "The Public Perception of the Political  
Role of CORSO".  
(Theatre 1)



*Abstracts of Papers*

Dr. Rod ALLEY:

Senior Lecturer, School of Political Science and Public Administration, Victoria University.

"THE 1976 TASK FORCE ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PLANNING:  
SOME POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS"

In the 1976 Task Force Report, certain assumptions are made about ways in which the political process operates in New Zealand. It is argued for example that short term, ad hoc response to immediate demands and pressures - compounded by a triennial parliamentary term - have created an environment where longer term strategies, options and priorities have lacked the opportunity to win the attention they deserve. The paper will scrutinise such assumptions, raise certain questions about the politics of departmental, Ministerial and allocative interactions in a planning situation, and assess what the implications of the Task Force's preferred New Zealand might mean for political parties and the electoral process.

Dr. David BAND:

Department of Political Science, School of General Studies, The Australian National University.

"THE CRITICAL RECEPTION OF ENGLISH NEO-HEGELIANISM"

The paper will focus on the various critical treatments that the political thought of Green and Bosanquet has received this century. The first of these was the attack on the 'authoritarian' character of (especially Bosanquet's) Neo-Hegelianism. The second centred around the question of whether or not Neo-Hegelianism belonged to 'the mainstream of English political thought' (variously defined). The third focussed on the so-called 'humanist' response of Neo-Hegelianism to the emerging collectivist currents in English political life.

Dr. David BEDGGOOD:

Senior Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of Auckland.

"THE STATE: FISCAL CRISIS AND CLASS STRUGGLE IN NEW ZEALAND"

This paper offers a critique of current Marxist theory of the state with special emphasis on developments of O'Connor's theory or 'fiscal crisis'. It argues that this body of theory is as yet insufficiently well constructed to allow specific tests of the limits to the state's functions in the reproduction of the capitalist mode of production. It suggests some corrections and refinements that allow us to understand and predict current developments in the role of the state in class struggle in New Zealand.

Dr. Ruth BUTTERWORTH:

Associate Professor, Department of Political Studies,  
University of Auckland.

"SOWETO PLUS TWELVE"

This paper will discuss trends since Soweto.

Mr. Rob CAMPBELL:

Research Office, Public Service Association, Wellington

"UNIONS AND FAMILY INCOMES IN ECONOMIC CRISIS"

An analysis of wage policy and wage movements in New Zealand since World War II, in relation to union organisation, family incomes and government economic policy. The paper develops the proposition that a developing economic crisis has exposed tensions within the labour market which require a socialist response from unions in terms of both policy and organisation.

Professor Robert CHAPMAN:

Head, Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland.

"BY-ELECTIONS IN NEW ZEALAND"

A survey of the significance of By-elections in the light of the last fifty years of changing party balances. Are they omens, straws in the wind, or simply idiosyncratic?

Dr. Kevin CLEMENTS:

Senior Lecturer, Department of Sociology and Psychology,  
University of Canterbury.

"NEW ZEALAND AS A NEO-COLONY: THE STRUCTURAL CONSEQUENCES OF IMPERIALISM"

The facts of New Zealand's economic, social and political dependence on the United Kingdom, Western Europe, North America and Japan are well known. The internal consequences of neo-colonial connections have not been explored in depth, however, and are not understood so well. This paper looks at some of the major consequences of New Zealand's neo-colonial position in terms of:

- (i) an underdeveloped national identity and a false consciousness of New Zealand's position within the international division of labour.
- (ii) the development of an ad hoc, open, highly asymmetrical export economy which works to the long term disadvantage of the country.
- (iii) externally propelled urbanisation - especially in Auckland.

- (iv) internal colonialism - regional underdevelopment within New Zealand.
- (v) class formations which facilitate underdeveloping processes.

The paper will offer some tentative suggestions about ways in which New Zealand can achieve a higher degree of self-reliance after the struggle to eliminate internal exploitation.

Dr. Geoff DEBNAM:

Senior Lecturer, School of Political Science and Public Administration, Victoria University.

"POWER, AUTHORITY AND COERCION"

Political Scientists have not yet come to terms adequately with the concept 'power'. This failure is demonstrated by their inability to give an empirical content to the notion of 'power-sharing' that is neither vacuous nor sinister. Part of the reason for this is the dominance of mechanistic analogy leading to confusion in crucial dimensions such as 'conflict' and 'intention'. More fundamental is the failure to consider how the meaning attributed to the power 'initiative' may be either extrinsic or intrinsic to the relevant empirical process. This is the major reason why power has been so poorly linked with the cognate concepts of authority, coercion and legitimation. Together with influence, these can be linked to provide a dynamic approach to the study of power.

Ms Aurelia GEORGE:

Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science, School of General Studies, The Australian National University.

"POLITICAL FACTORS INFLUENCING THE BEEF TRADE WITH JAPAN"

The present Japanese beef import regime severely limits beef export sales from Australia and New Zealand. These restrictions have long been a source of continuing political friction between the three countries. This paper explores the political background of a number of recent Japanese beef import quota decisions and emphasises the importance of political factors in Japanese decisions affecting the beef trade. It proceeds with an investigation of the principal sources of Japanese beef policy and identifies the institutions and groups which most keenly support current Japanese protectionist agricultural policies. Attention is focussed on the respective roles of influential farm organisations, Japanese big business, farm politicians, the agriculture and forest bureaucracy, and the Livestock Industry Promotion Corporation which controls and administers Japanese beef imports.

Dr. Ray GOLDSTEIN:

Senior Lecturer, School of Political Science and Public Administration, Victoria University.

"OFFICIAL PERCEPTIONS OF PUBLIC OPINION ON FOREIGN POLICY:  
SOME PRELIMINARY NEW ZEALAND FINDINGS"

This paper reports on and compares the findings of two surveys of New Zealand Government Departments (Foreign Affairs, Trade and Industry) designed to elicit information on the degree to which they take public opinion into account in the formulation of foreign policy-related recommendations. First it outlines the theoretical framework of the study and then describes the methods used. Next some of the more interesting findings are discussed, comparing the responses of the two departments. These are then very briefly compared to the observations of similar overseas studies, and finally a concluding section suggests some tentative policy recommendations that may be derived from this study, as well as areas for further research.

Mr. John HALLIGAN and Mr. Paul HARRIS:

School of Administrative Studies, Canberra College of Advanced Education.

"LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS IN NEW ZEALAND"

The paper is a preliminary examination of the political characteristics of local electoral processes in different types of local authority in New Zealand. It is based on data collected by the authors and the Department of Internal Affairs on the 1974 local government elections. The types of local authority distinguished in the analysis are: the main cities, provincial cities, suburban cities and boroughs, independent boroughs and the counties. The variables used to characterise each type are: electoral system, degree of partisanship, electoral competition, turnout, and select characteristics of candidates and councillors (occupation, sex and affiliation).

Dr. John HENDERSON:

Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Canterbury.

"MULDOON AND ROWLING: A STUDY IN CONTRASTING PERSONALITIES"

This paper seeks to analyse the personality factors underlying the different political styles of the Prime Minister, Robert Muldoon, and the Leader of the Opposition, W.E. (Bill) Rowling. Drawing upon the personality and politics literature, the origins of Muldoon's aggressive 'counter-punching' and dominating leadership style, and Rowling's low-keyed consensus approach, are sought in their respective early life experiences. The impact of the respective personalities on their terms as Prime Minister is also examined. Finally, some tentative predictions are made on Muldoon's impact on the future of his Administration and Rowling's

likely impact on a Fourth Labour Government.

Dr. Bill HODGE:

Senior Lecturer, School of Law, Auckland University,  
and Secretary, Auckland Council for Civil Liberties.

"THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE STATE: A LEGAL ANALYSIS OF  
APPARENT CHANGES IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO  
IN NEW ZEALAND"

The legal system of New Zealand has, in recent years, encompassed, accepted, and even promoted a vast increase in the powers of Government and, in particular, ministerial discretionary power. There has been a proportional decrease in the ability of the courts to protect the rights of the individual in New Zealand. It is submitted that the basic premise of the Rule of Law - that we are governed by neutral principles of law, not arbitrary whim of man or party - is in serious danger.

This thesis will be demonstrated by a preliminary review of certain fundamentals of the English common law. The 19th century London barrister would be surprised at the number of enabling acts putting the government into business and social enterprise, from superannuation to air transport. But he would be shocked at the ways and means the Government now has to supervise and look into the daily lives of New Zealanders.

This trend is manifested by:

- the increasing power of crown servants to enter private premises, on a myriad of missions;
- the increasing ability to seize and retain biographical data;
- the continuing power to control ordinary activities by gubernatorial regulation per the will of Cabinet, not Parliamentary vote;
- the susceptibility of both the mails and the telephone system to legal interception by crown servants.

In conclusion, the uneven record of the courts in watching over the Government and the individual under law will be discussed.

Dr. Michael JACKSON:

Department of Government, University of Sydney.

"COERCION, INTOLERANCE, AND THE LEAST ADVANTAGED IN A SOCIETY"

"Who are the least advantaged members of Rawls wellordered society? The intolerant. Together a major and a minor thesis comprise the argument. It is the major thesis that persons in the original position would define as the least advantaged class for the purposes of the difference principle persons with the least share of income and wealth (the necessary condition), as Rawls seems himself content

to imply, and with an intolerant conception of the good (the sufficient condition). Being saddled with an intolerant conception of the good would be perceived of as disadvantageous by persons in the original position for two reasons. First, intolerance is one good bounded, or delimited, by the thin theory of the good and the primary goods. Second, the activities of the intolerant, such as for example, religious zealots or racial bigots, may threaten the stability of the well-ordered society. If so, the activity will be suppressed by coercion, according to Rawls's theory. A major counter argument to this thesis is entertained and refuted, namely that the good the intolerant, like that of the slaveholder is unjust and so is irrelevant to persons in the original position who consider the right before the good. It is shown that the thin theory of the good and the primary goods precede the right. Nothing is prima facie unjust in the original position. This analysis challenges the self-avowed deontological character of the theory. The minor thesis shows that coercion against the intolerant is justified and institutionalised in the theory. Because coercion is a serious political matter in its own right, during the course of establishing the minor thesis some aspects of coercion in the theory irrelevant to the thesis will be canvassed.

Mr. Peter McKINLAY:

N.Z. Department of Transport, Wellington.

"GOVERNMENT: THE NEED TO DECENTRALIZE"

This paper will put forward the hypothesis that social stability demands individuals be able to take part in decision making processes so designed as to give each person the opportunity of feeling part of those decisions which affect their lives. The development of "big government" will be discussed in terms of its part in removing key decisions from the immediate environment of individual citizens to a single hierarchical structure. It will be suggested that this has necessarily meant a shift from treating people as people to making policy for abstract concepts such as "the solo parent".

The contrast between the process of abstraction and the democratic myths of participation and choice will be advanced as a prime cause of social unrest.

The paper will conclude that a restructuring of decision making processes is necessary if significant numbers of citizens are not to feel excluded from society. The proposed restructuring will be related to suggestions for reforming public sector resource allocation put forward in "Crisis in Government: the challenge of Local Finance". (NZJPA March 1977).

Dr. John MacRAE:

Senior Lecturer, Department of Economics, University of Auckland.

"THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEGLECT OF THE TURNOVER PERIOD IN MARXIST ECONOMIC THEORY: SOME NEW LIGHT ON THE TRANSFORMATION PROBLEM"

This paper is in two parts. Part I deals with the various influences operating on a Marxian rate of profit of an individual capital defined to take account of differences in turnover time of the elements of constant and variable capital. Part II treats the meaning of the Marxian rate of profit in the context of several interrelated capitals. This necessitates a discussion of the so-called transformation problem and the "Neo-Ricardian" approach to values, prices and profits. The paper concludes that this latter approach is essentially a diversion from the main tract of Marxist analysis and does not help in trying to understand how to apply Marxist theorising to a particular empirical context. The conclusion suggests that efforts made to "operationalise" Marxism on the basis of bourgeois statistics are likely to lead to an unhappy end unless premised on a thorough understanding of prevailing social relations.

Professor W.T. ROY:

Head, Department of Politics, University of Waikato.

"THE DEFENCE OF NEW ZEALAND"

This paper is intended to serve as a basis for wide-ranging discussion. It examines the historical determinants of New Zealand assumptions and commitments in relation to its defence needs. The reasons for recent changes in both assumptions and commitments are re-examined and criticised. Finally the capabilities of New Zealand Armed Forces and the range of roles available for them are surveyed briefly.

Dr. Rob STEVEN:

Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Canterbury.

"CLASS STRUCTURE, COMPOSITION, AND INTERESTS IN NEW ZEALAND CAPITALISM"

This paper analyses the structure, composition, and interests of New Zealand's four main classes: the bourgeoisie, the petit-bourgeoisie, the new middle class, and the working class. The exploitation of women and Maoris is incorporated into the analysis, which concludes

with a strategy for revolutionary change through a united front of the most exploited fractions of New Zealand's non-bourgeois classes. The following is a summary of the composition of the four classes (%):

|                                    | Men        | Women      | Of Which | Maori<br>Men | Maori<br>Women |
|------------------------------------|------------|------------|----------|--------------|----------------|
| Bourgeoisie<br>Petit               | 13.31      | 3.83       |          | 2.41         | 1.34           |
| Bourgeoisie<br>New Middle<br>Class | 8.04       | 3.11       |          | 2.98         | 0.72           |
| Working Class                      | 16.08      | 19.0       |          | 6.70         | 8.95           |
|                                    | 62.57      | 74.07      |          | 87.91        | 88.99          |
|                                    | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> |          | <u>100</u>   | <u>100</u>     |

Miss Raewyn STONE:

Junior Lecturer, Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland.

"GROUP STRUGGLE IN A VALUE FIELD: THE COMPARATIVE PERFORMANCE OF PRESSURE GROUPS ON THE QUESTION OF ABORTION, 1970-75"

This paper will be based on research into the campaigns of the three pressure groups concerned with the issue of abortion law reform in New Zealand from 1970 to the establishment of the Royal Commission in October 1975.

The significance of these groups was as examples of a different type of pressure group in that they were concerned with a moral or 'value' issue rather than economic issues.

The groups were examined to find out what type of people were active in them, what were their aims, strategies and tactics, and to what extent were they able to generate and apply pressure on the political processes in order to achieve their aims.

These questions were expressed in terms of the 'effectiveness' or, persuasive power, of the groups and the factors influencing their effectiveness.

Another aspect which was considered was a comparison with other, more general, pressure group studies to see if, because abortion was a different type of issue from that with which the majority of pressure groups were concerned, a different type of person was active in the three groups, and if the group had a different style of campaign and employed different tactics from those generally found among pressure groups. The answers to these questions could suggest lines of inquiry to be pursued in future, more general and exhaustive studies of pressure groups concerned with moral issues.



Dr. Christine SWANTON:

Post Doctoral Fellow, Department of Philosophy, University of Auckland.

"ON THE CONCEPT OF INTEREST IN POLITICS"

- I. Definition of, and interpretative problems in, Brian Barry's concept of interest as defined in Political Argument and 'The Public Interest', viz:
 

'... a policy, law, or institution is in someone's interest if it increases his opportunities to get what he wants...'
- II. Discussion of four cases illustrating problems in Barry's account of the relation between interests and wants.
- III. Presentation and defence of an alternative account of the relation between interests and wants.

Dr. Robert TAYLOR:

Senior Lecturer, Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland.

"CHINESE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY SINCE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION"

Reform of higher education during the Cultural Revolution was designed to eliminate emerging patterns of elitism, allegedly fostered by Liu Shao-ch'i's interpretation of the Party's educational philosophy. It is argued, however, that this reform has itself been subject to differing emphases in its implementation, and campaigns, such as those directed against Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the Gang of Four, indicate that conflict over educational policy has still not been resolved. The shift towards stress on expertise since the accession of Hua Kuo-feng and the modification of Mao Tse-tung's principle of self-reliance in China's strategy of development may well serve to reassert the inequalities emerging in higher education prior to 1966.

Mr. Ian THYNNE:

School of Social and Economic Development, University of the South Pacific.

"REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY: A CRITIQUE WITH REFERENCE TO THE NEW ZEALAND CONTEXT"

This paper discusses among other things the permanent heads of New Zealand government departments and reviews the material in relation to the theory of representative bureaucracy.

Mr. Toby TRUELL

General Secretary, CORSO.

"PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLITICAL ROLE OF CORSO"

This paper will cover the following areas:

- (i) The Politics of Aid.
- (ii) Corso and The Quest for Social Justice.
- (iii) New Zealand's attitudes to aid and development.
- (iv) CORSO and Politics.

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