

**P • O • L • S**

**The New Zealand Political Studies  
Association**

# **Newsletter**

**Volume 4**

**Number 1**

**December 1979**



P O L S

THE NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION  
NEWSLETTER.

Volume 4 Number 1  
December 1979



THE NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION

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POLS

All correspondence concerning POLS should be sent to the editor, John Henderson, Department of Political Science, University of Canterbury, Christchurch. POLS will be produced twice a year and posted to all financial members of NZPSA. To become a member please complete and despatch the following form:

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NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION

Students, political scientists and those interested in the study of politics and government are invited to become members of the recently re-formed NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION.

Membership includes:

- \* POLS - the half-yearly newsletter of the Association (a comprehensive coverage of the current activities of the Association, departments of politics, political scientists, and other individuals and organisations involved or interested in political studies, together with short articles and summaries of research findings.
- \* Conferences (next NZPSA conference - May 1980).
- \* Notification of seminars and other special activities of the Association

Annual subscription:

Professional \$5.00      Student \$2.00      Institutional \$10.00

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Phone No \_\_\_\_\_

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Fields of interest \_\_\_\_\_

Please send with remittance to Mr A.D. McRobie, Treasurer, New Zealand Political Studies Association, Christchurch Teachers' College, P O Box 31-065, Christchurch.



CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTE .....	2
FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES .....	3
PAST CONFERENCES .....	7
NEWS and NOTES .....	9
PUBLICATIONS .....	12
JOB'S WHICH ATTRACT POLITICAL SCIENCE GRADUATES .....	19
RESEARCH ARTICLES and NOTES	
A.C. Simpson                      Analysing Foreign Policy.....	21
S. Hoadley, D. Laurie            Survey of Overseas Aid .....	24
R. Taylor	
R. Macintyre                      Direct Popular Democracy and Political Development .....	25
G. Atkinson                      Wittgenstein's Private Language Argument: A Reassessment .....	27
REPORT ON RESEARCH IN PROGRESS .....	29

EDITOR'S NOTE

This is the first issue of POLS, the new name for the revived New Zealand Political Studies Association Newsletter.

The primary purpose of POLS is to serve as a link between NZPSA members. Please send in:

- : items of interest relating to recent publications, current research, teaching or other professional activities.
- : summaries of research findings (including student theses and research papers.)
- : reports or comments on past and forthcoming conferences of interest to political scientists.
- : short articles on the political science discipline and the manner in which it is taught in New Zealand and elsewhere.
- : notes on job opportunities for political science graduates.
- : other items of interest.

This issue has been delayed in the hope of obtaining more news and items for publication. I am conscious of the fact that this issue carries a disproportionate amount of Canterbury material, but hope members from other areas will send me enough copy to ensure that this does not happen again. The deadline for the next issue is March 15, 1980. Comments, suggestions, and especially contributions for future issues are all very welcome.

EDITOR.

In 1980 it is hoped to run articles on such topics as

- : the teaching of political science in New Zealand universities (details of current course content; student comment; ideas for future courses.)
- : political scientists as politicians.
- : political scientists as journalists and commentators.

DIRECTORY OF NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL SCIENTISTS

To help promote communication a directory of New Zealand political scientists will be published in a 1980 edition of POLS. All political science graduates, students and those interested in the study of politics are urged to complete and return the following form:

Name: .....

Address: .....

Occupation:.....

Education (degrees, etc.) .....

Areas of interest: .....

Recent publications, or other activities (limit to two items.)

Return to: John Henderson, Editor POLS, Political Science Dept., University of Canterbury, Christchurch.



F O R T H C O M I N G            C O N F E R E N C E S

NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE, CHRISTCHURCH  
MAY 1980.

Dell Small  
Conference Co-ordinator  
Department of Political Science  
University of Canterbury

It was decided to hold the 1980 conference in May, which was preferable to August as far as most centres were concerned (Waikato, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin). We hope that those from the far north will not feel deterred. As it will be almost three years since we held our last conference, we are aiming to make the programme of interest to as many members as possible.

The list of categories for topics is quite long but one or two may be combined or deleted depending on the response we get. Co-ordinators can all be contacted through the Political Science Department, University of Canterbury.

<u>Topic</u>	<u>Topic</u>	<u>Co-ordinator</u>
International Relations		Richard Kennaway
New Zealand Politics		Keith Jackson
Public Policy		Keith Jackson
Theory		Dell Small
Comparative Politics		Ron Macintyre
Political Economy		Patrick Walsh
Political Sociology		Keith Ovenden
Social Science Methodology		Keith Ovenden
Political Psychology		John Henderson
Political Development		Dell Small

Details of the conference:

Date:            Evening of Thursday, 22 May, 1980,  
                  to        evening of Saturday, 24 May, 1980.

Conference dinner: (cost approx. \$9) Saturday, 24 May.

Accommodation will be available at a hostel for \$15 per day (full board). Motel accommodation will also be booked on request.

At this stage we are calling on members to offer papers for the conference. Topics need only be broadly specified. Nominations for paper should be posted to me as soon as possible and abstracts will be due by 1 March. We are intending to include the abstracts in an April issue of POLS. Preliminary offers of papers should be sent to Dell Small, Political Science Department, Private Bag, Christchurch. Further information and registration forms will be sent out in due course. In the meantime, the conference organisers hope that members will promote the conference. We look forward to seeing you all in Christchurch in May.

In order to assist with conference arrangements it would be helpful if members would indicate whether or not they are able to attend.

Surname: \_\_\_\_\_ First names: \_\_\_\_\_

School/Department \_\_\_\_\_

Institution: \_\_\_\_\_

Teaching/research areas: \_\_\_\_\_

Will you be attending the conference: Yes / No / Don't know

Do you wish to give a paper: Yes / No

The provisional topic of my paper is: \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: Dell Small  
Department of Political Science  
University of Canterbury  
Christchurch

\* \* \*

ANZASA AMERICAN STUDIES CONFERENCE.

The 9th Biennial Australia and New Zealand American Studies Association (ANZASA) Conference will be held at the University of New South Wales from 24-28 August, 1980. In past years the ANZASA conference has focused mainly on American history and literature. In 1980 it is hoped to broaden the scope of the conference and include a larger proportion of papers from other disciplines, notably Sociology, Political Science, Film and Media Studies, and Drama. The convenors of the conference are anxious to hear from anyone who is interested in presenting a paper. Please send details to:

ANZASA Conference Organisers -  
(Roger Bell, Ian Bickerton,  
Peter Shergold)  
University of New South Wales,  
P O Box 1, Kensington, NSW  
Australia, 2033

\* \* \*

A THREE NATION CONFERENCE ON "DEVELOPMENT AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT  
IN NEW ZEALAND, CANADA AND AUSTRALIA

Date: 14-18 November 1980

Place: University of Canterbury  
Christchurch, New Zealand.  
(Phone 482 009, Ext. 8595)

Host: Department of Sociology,  
University of Canterbury

Participants: The conference is open to all academic social scientists and others interested in the political economy of New Zealand, Canada and Australia.

Preliminary topic areas:

- (i) The capitalist world economy and staples production.
- (ii) Migration, employment/unemployment, class formation, labour movements
- (iii) Trans-national corporations in Canada, Australia and New Zealand
- (iv) The role of the State in Dominion Capitalist Societies
- (v) The impact of the 'Crisis' in New Zealand, Canada and Australia
- (vi) National Self Reliance and Socialism: Alternatives/complements?

For further information please contact:

Dr Kevin P. Clements  
Department of Sociology  
University of Canterbury  
Christchurch, New Zealand

\* \* \*

NEW ZEALAND ASIAN STUDIES SOCIETY INC. FOURTH INTERNATIONAL  
CONFERENCE

The N.Z. Asian Studies Society Inc. (NZASIA) is to hold its fourth biennial international conference at Massey University, Palmerston North, from Wednesday, 19 August to Saturday, 22 August, 1981.

It is expected that participants will come from a wide variety of disciplines and backgrounds, that not only students of Asian history, politics and languages, but also people professionally or academically involved with all aspects of trade and aid to Asian countries - technology, agricultural, economic and social development - will be present. The organisers would particularly like to encourage the participation of people in applied fields of study for this conference.

The conference will probably consist of general lectures and

papers on Asia, organised under different areas such as China, Japan, Southeast Asia, South Asia, Western Asia. Panel sessions, workshops and symposia on topics covering the whole of Asia are also envisaged.

People from all fields are invited to note the conference dates in their diaries, and to consider preparing lectures and, especially, short reports for the lectures, workshops and panel sessions.

Further information may be had from:

Dr I.R. Duncan  
Conference Organiser, NZASIA  
Department of Social  
Anthropology and Maori  
Studies  
Massey University  
Palmerston north

Dr Garth Cant  
Secretary, NZASIA  
Department of Geography  
University of Canterbury  
Christchurch

#### 1980 - 81 CONFERENCES.

Are you involved in organising a conference in 1980 or 1981 which may be of interest to New Zealand political scientists? If so, please send details to POLS by March 15, 1980. While details of forthcoming conferences in New Zealand and Australia would be particularly appropriate, information on conferences further afield would also be welcome.

P A S T            C O N F E R E N C E S

NEW ZEALAND MARXIAN POLITICAL ECONOMY CONFERENCE, WELLINGTON,  
OCTOBER 20-21, 1979

Dell Small  
University of Canterbury  
Christchurch.

This was only the second New Zealand Marxian Political Economy conference. On the first occasion (October, 1978) papers presented had been mainly theoretical and there was some feeling that more empirical input would be welcomed at a future conference.

Although there was no particular theme for 1979, the apparent objective was to achieve a deeper understanding of changes taking place in New Zealand. Rob Steven (Canterbury) set the pace with his paper entitled "Economic Forms of the Crisis: Some Ideological Implications", which provoked a lively debate on the balance of payments crisis, the ideological content of the crisis, the extent to which individuals are affected by the crisis, and the identification of the nation state as a corporate entity which 'suffers from the disequilibrium'. John Freeman-Moir (Canterbury), with his paper entitled "Towards a Political Economy of Education" prompted a response from conference members who were teachers feeling the need of an adequate theory. Jim Lennon's paper on "The Meaning of Marx's Theory of Value" brought the conference deeper into abstract theory but it did provide some valuable insights. Rob Campbell stimulated more general participation in response to his paper entitled "Unions and the Left". Union associates reflected on experiences and consciousness amongst union members. Day one concluded with a most enjoyable social.

"Class and Class Consciousness in New Zealand", the title of the paper presented by Bruce Jesson (Auckland) on the second day of the conference, focussed on an area of ignorance. Whilst rejecting the notion that New Zealand is a classless society, Bruce discussed the blurred boundaries of class and the seeming evaporation of the bourgeoisie with the diffusion of functions associated with the modern corporation.

A series of workshops was held:

- "Women and the Welfare State" led by Mary Slater.
- "The Extraction of Relative and Absolute Surplus Value in the Clothing Industry" led by Pete Conway.
- "Mental Health and Ideology" led by Gay Keating.
- "Impact of New Technology" led by Kevin Hall.

People welcomed the opportunity to engage in smaller-group discussion.

The final paper "The Division of Labour and the State" was presented by Neil Pearce (Wellington). This was a long rather theoretical paper, not easily summarised, which did

however generate discussion of "What is to be done?"

All in all, those attending felt that the conference had been generally stimulating and enjoyable, particularly since the conference attracted people from a wide range of occupations. Registrations numbered about one hundred, and the contact between sessions was thought to be so valuable as to warrant plans for a live-in conference in 1980. The venue will be Auckland.

"THIRD THEORY" CONFERENCE, BENGHAZI, LIBYA.

Ronald Macintyre  
University of Canterbury

From the 1st to the 4th October this year I attended an international symposium on the "Third Theory", or Green Book, in Benghazi, Libya.

The conference brought together 500 delegates from throughout the world to discuss the theories of Muammat al Qadhafi in the Green Book. The conference was primarily concerned with the utility of direct democracy as applied in Libya and as an alternative source of political development throughout the world. The conference was extremely rewarding insofar as it presented many and varied insights into the theories of direct democracy and its practical application.

After the conference the delegates were taken to see agricultural development in the Sahara, and industrial projects attesting to Libya's rapid economy development since 1970.

The Libyan Government, which financed entirely the conference and the delegates' expenses, plan to hold regular conferences at which delegates can discuss pressing and important problems confronting the developing world.

XITH WORLD CONGRESS INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE  
ASSOCIATION, MOSCOW, USSR, AUGUST 12-18, 1979.

John Henderson  
University of Canterbury

The IPSA World Congress in Moscow was the first genuinely international conference of political scientists I have attended and I found it a most rewarding experience. In the past I have been too ready to equate the study of politics with American political science. The IPSA Congress provided an opportunity to learn about research in both Western and Eastern Europe. Some 1,200 delegates attended the Congress from more than forty countries. Although the three themes of the Congress - peace, development, knowledge - sound tame, some lively papers were presented, and there was no evidence that controversial issues, such as human rights, were being avoided because the Congress was being held in Moscow.

The next IPSA Congress will be held in Rio de Janeiro in 1981.

NEWS AND NOTES

Editor's Note: Political Science graduates and staff are urged to send in material for future issues. Note also the 'research in progress' report on the last page of this issue.

Canterbury: Present and Former M.A. Students News

- Atkinson, Joe (1968) is a Lecturer in Political Science at the University of Auckland.
- Bishop, John (1974) is the Transport Reporter for Radio New Zealand.
- Dooth, Glen (1973) is Private Secretary to the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Rt. Hon. Brian Talboys.
- Boston, Jonathon, who is completing a two year thesis, spent the 1978-79 vacation working in Treasury and subsequently spent five weeks in Canberra on an Australia-New Zealand Foundation Fellowship.
- Bye, Ken (1974) is teaching at Linwood High School.
- Buck, Vicki (1975) is a member of the Christchurch City Council.
- Carlaw, Simon (1968) is with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and is currently serving with the N.Z. High Commission in Apia.
- Cheyne, Gerald (1965) is the New Zealand Consul-General in Melbourne.
- Donnelly, Trish (1976) is with the Labour Party Research Unit.
- Dunne, Peter (1976) is with the Department of Trade and Industry.
- Earl, Bill (1968) is Head of General and Special Interest Programmes, Television New Zealand.
- Eng, Andreas (1966) Circulation Librarian, University of Canterbury.
- Fougere, Geoff (1971) is a Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Canterbury.
- Gordon, Alastair (1976) has been working as a Research Officer for the Election Research Unit, University of Essex.
- Harrison, Graeme (1970) is now Assistant General Manager, New Zealand Meat Board.
- Head, Nicky (1978) is with the National Party Research Unit.
- Head, Warren (1966) is the Senior Finance Writer for the Christchurch Star.
- Hillary, Naylor (1965) is a Leader Writer for the Christchurch Press.
- Hope, Wayne (1977) is teaching at Putherford High School, Auckland.
- Hundleby, John (1975) is with the Department of Trade and Industry, currently at the N.Z. Embassy in Tokyo.
- Koziarski, Alan (1977) is with the Trade and Industry Department.
- Lloyd, David (1968) is Research Director for the National Party.
- Luff, Bill (1973) is Chief Market Research Officer for B.P.
- McKay, Mat (1974) is teaching at Marlborough Boys High School.
- MacKenzie, Andrew (1975) is a local Government Officer with the Department of Internal Affairs.
- MacKenzie, Julie (1974) is with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
- Mackwell, Suzanne. (1976) is with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Messervy, Paul (1975) is a marketing manager in Wellington.
- Mitchell, David (1966) is Parliamentary Correspondent for the Christchurch Star.

- Morrow, John (1976) is undertaking graduate research work at York University, Canada.
- Motus, Ariadne (1976) is with the Trade and Industry Department.
- Murphy, Jim (1973) is a Lecturer in Social Science at the University of Papua New Guinea.
- Neilson, David (1977), is undertaking graduate research at the University of East Anglia.
- Rawlinson, Martin (1968) is Manager of the Research and Policy Division, Federal Secretariat, Liberal Party of Australia, Canberra.
- Rhodes, Martin (1977) is undertaking graduate research at Christchurch College, Oxford.
- Ross, Ken (1968) is seconded to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the High Commission in Honiara, Solomon Islands.
- Slee, June (1973) has recently published a book on the freezing works dispute in Invercargill in 1978, entitled Bloody Friday.
- Sutherland, William (1977) is undertaking graduate research at the University of Essex.
- Tait, David (1971) is undertaking post-graduate research at the University of Oregon.
- Townsend, Connal (1976) is with the National Party Research Unit.
- Turay, Mohammed (1966) is the Ambassador for Sierra Leone at the United States and Argentina, and High Commissioner to Canada, Trinidad and Tobago.
- Vintner, Ross (1975) is with the Ministry of Transport.
- Walsh, Pat (1974) is a Lecturer in Business Administration at the University of Canterbury.
- Wane, Geoff (1974) is a TV Director for TVW/7 Perth, Western Australia.
- Williams, Christine (1973) is a producer with Radio New Zealand.
- Withers, Peter (1973) is Assistant Trade Commissioner in Washington D.C.

#### Canterbury: Staff Notes

- Mark Francis has been on study leave at the London School of Economics, as well as visiting Chicago and the University of Basel.
- John Henderson presented a paper at the International Political Studies Association World Congress in Moscow in August 1979.
- Ron Macintyre presented a paper at an international colloquium on the 'Third Theory' in Benghazi in October 1979.
- Alan McRobie, who has been a Teaching Fellow in the Department this year, made submissions to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Electoral Reform.
- Keith Oviden attended a conference of the European Consortium for Political Research in Brussels in April 1979.
- Nigel Roberts attended the 1979 APSA Conference in Hobart, and is currently spending four months in Antarctica as Information Officer/Photographer for the New Zealand Contingent.
- Rob Steven attended the National Political Economy Conference in Hobart and is currently on study leave in Japan.
- Dell Small joined the Department this year and is working on her Ph.D. thesis on property theory in the eighteenth century.



Otago: Staff News

- Professor J.R. Flynn - completing a book entitled Race IQ and Jensen, about to get back to a book manuscript entitled The Justification of Humanism.
- Associate Professor G.A. Wood - analyzing election data from 1975 and 1978 and completing a study of the 19th century Legislative Council begun by A.H. McLintock.
- Associate Professor R.G. Mulgan - beginning work on a book on democratic theory with applications to New Zealand.
- Dr. S.W. Greif (Senior Lecturer) - just returned from leave where he did research in Chinese politics at Berkley and on the spot in Eastern Europe.
- Mr M.H. Gold (Lecturer) - Joined the staff in June and is completing dissertation on the bases of partisanship in Australia. He is an expert on methodology, both methods of studying political behaviour and the use of the computer.
- Dr. R.C. Thakur - to take up post in international relations and Indian politics in January - research interest, peace keeping and in international oraganisation.
- Mr A.J. Lellow (Assistant Lecturer) -about to leave the department to resume his duties as a senior tutor - and to complete his doctoral dissertation on environmental policy in New Zealand.
- Professor Stanley Kochanek has returned to Pennsylvania State University after serving as visiting lecturer in International Relations.

Victoria: Staff News

- Ray Goldstein is on study leave from July 1979 to January 1980. After visiting a number of centres in the US he went to the University of Kent at Canterbury, England. Ray has been elected to the Council of the International Political Science Assoc. and attended the meeting of the Council and the Conference in Moscow in August.
- Paul Harris joined the School at the beginning of July. Paul was a junior lecturer here until four years ago, when he took up a lectureship at the Canberra C.A.E. While in Canberra he has been working on a Ph.D. on the moral justifiability of civil disobedience under the supervision of Stanley Benn, and hopes to complete it in the near future.
- Knud Haakonssen joined the School at the beginning of February from Monash University, Melbourne, where he had been a Senior Tutor in philosophy for three years.
- Dr. S. Krishnamurty is on leave from August 1979 until January 1980. He will be pursuing his interests in military regimes in Africa and Asia, visiting the Institute of Commonwealth Studies in London, the School of African Studies in New Delhi, the Centre of South and Southeast Asian Studies in Madras University, as well as Singapore and Djakarta.

Waikato: Staff Research Interests

- |                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| Professor W.T. Roy | The Praetorian State; Cultural Determinants of Foreign Policy Postures adopted by the successor states of the British Raj in India; Strategic Implications of ASEAN. |
| Dr J.H.Beaglehole  | International Relations.   |
| Dr D. Bing         | INDUSCO in China Before 1948; International Relations in the Middle East; Political Thought of Sun Yat-sen.  |
| Mr W.Robinson      | Japanese Energy Policies with special reference to Indonesian oil supplies; Marxist Thought.   |
| Mr R.G. Ward       | Civil-Military Relations in the Andean States; Censorship.   |
| Mr A. Simpson      | Transnational Networks in Global Politics.   |

SOME 1979 PUBLICATIONSAuckland

Peter Aimer "Scandinavian Parliaments: Models for New Zealand" in J.S. Hoadley (ed.), Improving New Zealand's Democracy. New Zealand Foundation for Peace Studies, 1979.

\_\_\_\_\_ "Menzies and the Birth of the Liberal Party", in Cameron Hazlehurst (ed.), Australian Conservatism. ANU Press, 1979.

Ruth Butterworth "Destabilisation in Southern Africa", World Review 17:2 (June 1978), 27-38.

\_\_\_\_\_ "Women in the Workforce", N.Z. Journal of Industrial Relations, 3:1 (May 1978) 11-14.

\_\_\_\_\_ "The Traumas of South Africa", N.Z. International Review IV:5 (1979), 13-14.

\_\_\_\_\_ "The Aid and Comfort Club: the Rhodesia Lobby in the House of Commons", in Collected Papers 1979, Centre for Southern African Studies, University of York Press, forthcoming, 1980.

\_\_\_\_\_ "Education in Commonwealth Countries: Rates of Exchange and Interpenetration" for The Continuing Commonwealth, a symposium edited by A.J.R. Groom and Paul Taylor to be published by Macmillan in 1981.

Stephen Hoadley (ed.), Improving New Zealand Democracy. New Zealand Foundation for Peace Studies with the Commission for the Future and the Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland

\_\_\_\_\_ "Small States as Aid Donors", International Organisation (probably Winter 1979/80).

\_\_\_\_\_ "New Zealand, Small States, and Foreign Aid" in John Henderson et al., eds. Beyond New Zealand (Methuen, forthcoming)

\_\_\_\_\_ "Indonesia: Relations with a Less Developed State" in John Henderson et al., eds., Beyond New Zealand (Methuen forthcoming.)

\_\_\_\_\_ "Partai Demokrasi Indonesia" and "The Parties of East Timor" in Raj K. Vasil, ed., Political Parties of Southeast Asia (Greenwood Press.)

Canterbury

John Henderson, Keith Jackson, Richard Kennaway, Beyond New Zealand The Foreign Policy of a Small State, (Methuen, forthcoming.)

John Henderson, "P.M. Power", New Zealand International Review, vol. 4, no. 2, April 1979, 11-13.

Keith Jackson, "Reform of Parliament", The Parliamentarian, 60 (Oct. 1979)

Ron Macintyre, "New Zealand and the Middle East Oil Crisis", and "The Middle East", in J. Henderson et. al. (eds.), Beyond New Zealand (Methuen, forthcoming.)

\_\_\_\_\_ "Iran" New Zealand International Review, v.4, no.2, April 11-13.

West, D.A. "Security and Intelligence", Comment 9 (1979)

## Victoria

- Clark, Margaret "New Zealand and Asia", The Chronicle, NZASIA News-letter, II, 1979.
- Cleveland, L. The Politics of Utopia: New Zealand and its Government, Methuen, 1979.
- Debanon, G. "Two Cheers for Local Elections: The Significance of Low Turnout", N.Z. Local Government, vol. 15, no. 3, March 1979
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Electoral Sense and Nonsense: A Case Study for Proportional Representation", International Review, IV (April 1979)
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Representation and Participation: A Matter of Priority", Political Science, 31 (July 1979)
- \_\_\_\_\_ "One Dimensional Democracy: The Problem of Local Politics", Local Authority Administration, 5 (September 1979)
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Tradition and Change in New Zealand Local Government", Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, 17 (November 1979)
- Haakonssen, K. "Review of D.M. White: 'The Political Philosophy of the Australian Liberal Party'." Political Science, 31 (July 1979)
- McAllister, D. "Puketapu Leap: An Interview with the Secretary of Maori Affairs", Public Sector, Summer 1979
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Knowledge and Ignorance: Organisation Didactics and Administration Dialectics", Public Sector, Summer 1979
- Vasil, R. The New Zealand Political System, George Allen & Unwin, 1979

## Waikato.

- Roy, W. T. "A New Pattern of Islands?" (Regionalism in the Southwest Pacific) The Round Table, 274, April 1979, London.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "The Indian Ocean as an Area of International Conflict", World Review (Journal of the Australian Institute of International Affairs), vol. 18, no. 1, April 1979, Brisbane.
- \_\_\_\_\_ "Implications of Pacific Immigration" (The overstayers crisis and its consequences for New Zealand Foreign Relations) forthcoming in J. Henderson et al. (eds.) Beyond New Zealand, Methuen, 19

Waikato (cont'd.)

Roy, W. T. "South Africa and the Indian Ocean"; presented at the International Conference on Indian Ocean Studies, Perth, Western Australia, August 1979, and published in the proceedings of that Conference.

\_\_\_\_\_ "Security of the Southern Oceans", presented at APSA, Hobart, Australia, August 1979. (Publication pending in Aussenpolitik)

Bing, D. "The Chinese Communist Party and the Comintern: Chang T'ai-lei's mission to Irkutsk and Moscow", Issues and Studies, January 1979

\_\_\_\_\_ China Report, NZASIAN vol. 5, January 1979. (Report about staff movements, courses, research, publications, seminars, etc. in Chinese Studies at all six N.Z. Universities.)

SOME 1978 PUBLICATIONS

Alley, R. "If you Know a Better Hole - Planning Revived", New Zealand Journal of Public Administration, vol. 40, no. 2 (March 1978), 73-86.

Beaglehole, J.H. "Malaysian Foreign Ministry: The Development and Problems of Foreign Affairs Administration in a New Nation", Australian Outlook, vol. 32, no. 1, April 1978.

\_\_\_\_\_ The Plimmer Report and New Zealand Diplomacy, Australian Journal of Public Administration, Dec. 1978

Bing, D. "The May Fourth Movement" and "Mao-Tse-Tung and the Chinese Peasantry" in H.D.M. Chan (ed.), China: Reform and Revolution, Massey University, 1978

Levine, S. Politics in New Zealand: A Reader, Sydney, George Allen & Unwin, 1978.

Ovenden, K. The Politics of Steel. London: Macmillan, 1978.

Roberts, J. "Society and its Politics" in Ian Wards (ed.), Thirteen Facets, Government Printer, 1978

Roy, W.T. "Cloak and Dagger in Fantasyland: A Study of the Security Intelligence Service in New Zealand", Political Science, vol. 30, no. 2, Dec. 1978.

\_\_\_\_\_ "Red Subs in the Sunset? - the Soviet Presence in the Indian Ocean?" Proceedings of the Pacific Issues in the 1980 Conference, Fuji, Japan, July 1978.

RECENT AND FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS

IMPROVING NEW ZEALAND'S DEMOCRACY: AN AGENDA FOR THE 1980s

edited by

J. Stephen Hoadley  
Department of Political Studies  
University of Auckland

published by the  
NEW ZEALAND FOUNDATION FOR PEACE STUDIES  
with the assistance of the  
COMMISSION FOR THE FUTURE

and the  
Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland  
December 1979

\$5. Obtainable from N.Z. Foundation for Peace Studies,  
P O Box 4110, Auckland.

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Contents:

## INTRODUCTION

DEMOCRACY AS AN APPROACH TO THE FUTURE, J. Stephen Hoadley

## ASPIRATIONS

REAFFIRMING THE ANGLO-AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC IDEAL, Keith Ovenden

## INSTITUTIONS

SCANDINAVIAN PARLIAMENTS: MODELS FOR NEW ZEALAND? Peter Aimer

REVITALISATION OF CABINET, PARLIAMENT, AND PARTIES,  
Marilyn Waring

REDUCING SECRECY IN GOVERNMENT, David Baragwanath

## PARTICIPATION

NOTES ON PARTICIPATION IN SWITZERLAND, Leslie C. Clements

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION: LESSONS FROM ABROAD, Nigel S. Roberts

ON DEMOCRACY AS CLEAR CHOICE OF GOVERNMENT, Robert M. Chapman

## RIGHTS

DOES NEW ZEALAND NEED A BILL OF RIGHTS? Tim McBride

WOMEN AND DEMOCRACY: IN NEED OF RECONCILIATION, Sandra Coney

THE MAORI MINORITY AND THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, Rangi J. Walker

## POWER

TOWARDS DIRECT DEMOCRACY, Mabel Hetherington

THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, Margaret A. Wilson

## CONCLUSION

AN AGENDA FOR REFORM, The Editor

## INDEX

## NEW ZEALAND AT THE POLLS: THE 1978 GENERAL ELECTION

Edited by Howard R. Penniman,  
Washington.

American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research  
Forthcoming, Jan/Feb. 1980.

This study of New Zealand's last General Election is aimed at the educated American. It forms part of a continuing AEI series of studies of elections in selected democratic countries which so far includes recent elections in Great Britain, Canada, India, Japan, Ireland, West Germany, France, the Scandinavian countries, and Australia.

The following New Zealand political scientists have contributed to the study:

Stepher Levine has contributed an essay on "The Political System",

Keith Ovenden describes and analyses "The Electorate",

Alan McRobie has written on "The Electoral System and the 1978 Election" and on "The Election Petition".

Keith Jackson examines "Candidate Selection",

G. Anthony Wood looks at "The National Party", Roderick Alley examines "The Labour Party", and Colin James deals with "Social Credit and Values",

Brian Murphy looks at "Polling and the Election",

Les Cleveland focusses on "The Media and the Election",

Judith Aitken examines the role of "Women in New Zealand Politics", and

Nigel Roberts writes on "The Electoral Outcome".

\* \* \* \*

BEYOND NEW ZEALAND  
THE FOREIGN POLICY OF A SMALL STATE

Edited by  
John Henderson  
Keith Jackson  
Richard Kennaway

Published by Methuen, New Zealand.

The story of New Zealand foreign policy in the 1970s is one of increasing independence and rapid change as a small country achieves nationhood. New Zealand's roles in the Pacific and in Asia have altered dramatically; there have been significant changes in her relationships with Britain, the United States and Australia; and the traditional patterns of trade and defence have been radically reformed.

These are some of the areas covered in this, the first comprehensive book of readings on New Zealand foreign policy. The variety of contributors - including academics, diplomats and journalists, as well as the Secretary of Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of Defence - ensures a range of critical perspectives on important and sometimes controversial issues.

The contributions are organised around the theme of the foreign policy of a small state, and will be of particular interest to students of comparative foreign policy. But the concise and lively treatment of issues crucial to the future of New Zealand should be of interest to all concerned for the country's welfare.

Price: \$13.95 paperback. Publication Date: January 1980.

CONTENTS:

I INTRODUCTION

The Foreign Policy of a Small State John Henderson

II THE HISTORICAL AND GLOBAL SETTING

The Evolution of an Independent Foreign Policy, George Laking  
 Attitudes and Alliances, 1945-1976, Keith Jackson  
 The Great Power Context, Richard Kennaway  
 New Zealand, Denmark and Norway: Foreign Policy  
 and National Character, Nigel Roberts

III DEFENCE AND ALLIANCES

Defence Policies in the 1980s, Denis McLean  
 The Changing Objectives of New Zealand Defence Policy, John Henderson  
 New Zealand and ANZUS: A United States Perspective, Henry Albinski  
 An Alternative View of ANZUS, Stephen Levine  
 New Zealand and the Vietnam War: A Retrospective  
 Analysis, Keith Jackson  
 Defence: A Radical View, Peter Jones

IV TRADE

The Problems of a Dependent Economy, NZ Planning Council  
 New Zealand and the European Economic Community, Richard Kennaway  
 The Right to Fish Lottery, Bruce Wallace  
 New Zealand Trade with the Soviet Union, Barry Gustafson  
 New Zealand and the Middle East Oil Crises, Ronald MacIntyre  
 The International Finance Organisations, Max Bradford

V INTERNATIONALISM

New Zealand and the United Nations, John Male  
 Disarmament and New Zealand Foreign Policy, Rod Alley  
 New Zealand, Small States and Foreign Aid, Stephen Hoadley  
 New Zealand and the Commonwealth in the 1970s, David McIntyre  
 Race, Sport, Gleneagles, Luke Trainor  
 The Antarctic Treaty and New Zealand, George Knox

VI THE PACIFIC CONTEXT

The Pacific Rim, Keith Jackson  
 South Pacific Regional Co-operation, Tom Smith  
 Implications of Pacific Immigration, Theo Roy  
 The Changing Australian Relationship, Stuart McMillan  
 South America, Anthony Wood  
 Soviet Union and the Pacific, Dalton West  
 The Future of New Zealand-United States Relations, John Henderson

VII NEW ZEALAND AND ASIA

New Zealand's Relations with an Underdeveloped  
 State: Indonesia, Stephen Hoadley  
 Japan: Changing Problems, Tom Larkin  
 China: A Study in Changed Perceptions, Darryl Walker &  
 John Henderson  
 ASEAN - Problems and Prospects, Keith Jackson  
 The Middle East, Ronald MacIntyre

## VIII THE MAKING OF NEW ZEALAND FOREIGN POLICY

The Foreign Policy Decision-making Process	John Henderson
The Ministry and its Role	Frank Corner
The New Zealand Foreign Service, Leadership Personality and Foreign Policy: The Case of Prime Minister R.D. Muldoon	Keith Jackson
The Role of Trade Unions in Foreign Policy	John Henderson
Political Parties, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy	Don Turkington Stephen Levine

## IX CONCLUSION

Change and New Zealand Foreign Policy	Keith Jackson
Guide to Further Reading	
Index	

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JOBS WHICH ATTRACT POLITICAL SCIENCE GRADUATES

Editor's Note: It is hoped that future issues will include further reports on the employment experience of political science graduates. Contributors to this section would be particularly welcome.

The National Party Research Unit

Nicky Head  
M.A. (Hons), University of Canterbury

The Labour and National Parties each have their own Research Unit which were set up as a result of recommendations of a Royal Commission in 1970. These Research Units are tax-payer funded and replaced previously Party-funded research officers.

The present National Party Research Unit comprises eleven members - eight Research Officers, two Secretary-typists and one part-time Office Assistant who does the photo-copying and clips relevant articles from newspapers to put on file.

Almost all of the Research Officers are University graduates - six have a Masters degree in the social sciences, another has a law degree. The eighth member is presently completing a Bachelors degree in Sociology.

In recruiting staff, the Director usually strives for (and has currently achieved) a balance in the team between new graduates and people with work experience, and also a male/female balance. Excluding the Director, the researchers range in age from 22-39 years. The average length of service in the Unit is 2-3 years, preferably working in with the three year election cycle.

The Research Unit operates at three levels. Firstly, it services Caucus as a collective. For the most part this involves us in the preparation of research papers for use by all of the National Caucus. Apart from the reasonably regularly produced economic papers, the topics covered reflect political issues of the day, with particular attention given to those issues which are likely to be the subject of a Parliamentary debate. These papers are also distributed to National Party Headquarters and to the five National Party Divisional Offices for additional circulation, or as source material for "News for National", electorate newsletters, etc., if deemed appropriate by officers at that level.

The second level at which we operate is in meeting requests from individual M.P.'s. Members use the Research Unit as a source of background information for speeches, replying to letters from constituents, etc.

The third level is in the servicing of Caucus Committees. Each Research Officer is responsible for servicing several Caucus Committees, in both secretarial and research capacity, and for maintaining files for the areas covered by those Caucus Committees. Papers are prepared and circulated to members of the Caucus Committee to assist M.P.'s both in decision-making within the Caucus Committee and in House debates. We are not of course the sole source of information for Caucus Committees. For the most part we merely supplement and complement the role which the Departmental officials play in keeping Caucus Committee members informed of the facts pertaining to various topics under consideration.

My role as Secretary to the Caucus Committees on Fishing, Immigration, Environment and Forestry requires me to call meetings, prepare agendas and write minutes.

When I joined the Unit in March this year I was appointed Secretary to the special Caucus Committee set up to review the administration of New Zealand's National Parks and Reserves. Within a week of setting foot in Parliament Buildings I was off on a trip with this Committee to inspect Mount Cook and Arthurs Pass National Parks. On my return, I received and replied to 109 submissions pertaining to the review, from interested organisations and individuals. I then distributed a copy of each submission to Committee members who met at least once every week to discuss them and to hear in person a cross-section of those who had made submissions.

On the conclusion of the hearings the Committee deliberated and incorporated its views and recommendations into a report which I was given the task of writing. On its completion, this report was presented to the Minister of Lands who in turn presented it to Cabinet and authorised its publication for further public comment.

Within one week of returning from my trip down South with the Caucus National Parks Committee, I was touring again, this time with the Caucus Forestry Committee on a three day visit to Northland. More recently, I spent a day with this same Committee looking through and over (by helicopter) Whirinaki Forest which has been the centre of some controversy relating to the Government's selective logging policy for indigenous forests.

Trips such as these for the Research Unit are the exception rather than the rule, however, and I am continually being reminded (by others somewhat envious of my excursions) that I hold the record for the most trips in the shortest time of joining the Unit. Because of this, I was once left behind to hold the fort while the rest of the team spent a day in Auckland!

Working for Government Members of Parliament is often challenging, sometimes frustrating (especially when an M.P. comes in requesting information urgently - then stands at your shoulder while you fumble through files), but at all times interesting and exciting.

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Editor's Note: An article on the Labour Party Research Unit will appear in the next issue.

Further indications of the types of position which attract political science graduates can be gained from the jobs currently held by Canterbury University M.A. graduates which are listed in the "News and Notes" section of this issue. It is hoped to produce similar lists from other Departments in future issues. Together with a more complete Canterbury list, this information should help to destroy the myth that political science, while an interesting subject, does not provide a meal ticket.

Analysing Foreign Policy: The World Society Approach

Alan C. Simpson  
University of Waikato

The purpose of this article is to suggest that the international relations of a city or province are, actually or potentially, of equal or greater importance to large sectors of the population than the international relations of a state. Accordingly, foreign policy analysis should not be limited artificially to one level of activity, that of the state, but should encompass the range of elements and actors, of which the state is but one, and from which policies emerge with all their international implications. Such an approach to foreign policy analysis is suggested by developments in the study of international relations.

Foreign policy analysis emerged as a subdiscipline from the mainstream of International Relations. Within the mainstream of the discipline the state-centric<sup>1</sup> approach has predominated with its assumption that the actions of states, or the actions which may be taken by states, are actually or potentially the most important influences on the daily lives of people and that therefore study ought to be focussed on the actions of states and the reasons for them - hence state-centric foreign policy analysis.

The state-centric approach is adopted widely in the literature of the discipline and in teaching programmes at universities. The approach has grown from the events which dominated Europe, in particular, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as well as from the historical, legal and philosophical roots of the discipline. The approach has been reinforced, partly by the political maps hung on our classroom walls which suggest geographical entities with clear boundaries, and partly by the interest in the state as a legal entity.

However, the significance of ideology, nationalism, race, language, religion, culture<sup>2</sup> and other dimensions of behaviour has led many scholars away from the simplistic state-centric and class-centric approaches. While still emphasising the importance of state behaviour there is greater recognition of the variation and complexity of behaviour and of its consequences at various levels, national and international. The result has not been a neat and tidy discipline and many scholars have been led to wonder whether there remains a discipline able to provide general theories which are testable and useful in the long term. Perhaps all we are left with are feelings and hunches of a greater or less vagueness, insight and popularity.

The world society approach seeks to provide a systematic and coherent means of determining, analysing and explaining the complexities of international relations by using the idea of system as an analytic focus.<sup>3</sup> Under this approach the state and class are treated as two units of an analysis, their importance in a given situation being an empirical question and not a given. The approach recognises and points to the wide range and variety of policies adopted by states as well as by others and seeks to understand their development, interrelationships and implications.

To illustrate the nature and complexity of international relations, as well as to suggest the means to order them, the world society approach uses a 'cobweb' model. Complex patterns of strands, representing transactions and linkages, criss-cross one another and come together at various points according

to the functional requirements of the particular level of activity. The linkages and transactions are not based on geographic or state boundaries and although various nodes, or points of linkage, have a geographic location and can be indentified within various state boundaries, the strands of the cobwebs extend across state boundaries to be determined by the transactions which go to make up any particular set of relationships. Where the transactions cease, there are the boundaries.

Such a model comes through clearly in the literature on transnationalism and interdependence<sup>4</sup> and has important implications for the study of foreign policy. If, for example, the domestic policy of one state affects the domestic policy of another, or the policy of a business house or church head affects the domestic policies of a state, then these should form part of the study of international relations. To assume that only the foreign policies of states constitute the object of study is clearly inadequate.

International relations affect everyone, directly and indirectly, elites and non-elites alike. The international relations of a city or a province and the policies from which they have developed are of considerable importance to the lifestyle, well-being and activity of those living there. Government and non-government policies at many levels as well as other dimensions such as language, religion and race are important in determining the international relations of London, Tokyo, New York, Sydney, Brussels and Johannesburg, with all their consequences for the citizens of each city. Consumers, home-owners, workers, mothers, artists and others are also policy-makers, collectively and individually.

The international relations of the Waikato, for example, and the policies from which they derive, relate closely to the lives of the people in and around the Waikato. Indeed, the development of the area as a major centre of the dairy industry in New Zealand, once the chemists had determined in the 1920s that a cobalt deficiency was the cause of animal deaths, was directly related to international relations, particularly those with the United Kingdom. Continued world demand for dairy products and the willingness and ability of the dairy industry to develop a variety of products has been of fundamental importance to the level of activity and the lifestyle of the people of the Waikato.

In the south of the area are the huge exotic forests planted in response to the world demand for paper and other wood products. The secondary industries to service these primary industries have drawn heavily upon international assistance for the machinery, skills and finance to produce and service the tractors, chain-saws, farm implements, paper felts and other items required as wells as to transport the primary and secondary goods.

Most of the banking and lending institutions are part of an international network. The mortgage on any property from 1/16 acre to 2000 acres, the credit facilities for anything from a motor mower to a combine harvester, a pocket calculator to a complex computer system, are related closely to the international activities of the finance houses. A finance or business house based in North America, Europe or the Middle East considers the merits of investing their resources in the Waikato rather than elsewhere in New Zealand, New South Wales or British Columbia. The investment has a wide range of social and economic consequences for the Waikato and for New Zealand as a whole as well as for the finance or business house.

The Ruakura Agricultural Research Center is one of the world's leading agricultural centres, visited frequently by a wide range of individuals and groups from around the world. For some, its importance relates to its role in the scientific community while to others it indicates something of the investment in and reliance on agriculture made in New Zealand.

Similarly, the University of Waikato relies greatly on its international relations. Foreign students are an obvious though rather minor part of them. Over half the academic staff have obtained all or part of their formal qualifications, often research qualifications, outside New Zealand. There is frequent interchange with academics and others in the rest of the world, which is vital to the contribution the university is able to make to its students and to the community.

The people of the Waikato thus live in a dynamic relationship with many parts of the world. The extent and nature of this dynamic relationship relies greatly on their initiative, resourcefulness, and on the understanding they have of their actual and potential relationships with the rest of the world. These relationships give rise to, and emerge from, the domestic and foreign policies of governments, business houses, financial institutions, unions and various other organisations at the local and national levels, based in New Zealand and elsewhere.

The policies emerge from the personal and organisational values of those involved in particular functional activities together with their knowledge and perceptions of the situation in which they find themselves. By using the idea of system as an analytical focus the world society approach directs attention to the range of elements, participants and policies relevant to particular aspects of international relations. Naturally states are common participants in international relations but so are non-state groupings and organisations.

The significance of state and other participation relates to the role of each in the particular functional dimension, whether that be in the establishment of a communications network, resolving a conflict, liberalising world trade in agricultural products or grappling with inflation. For example, the subsidy policies of central government may be found to be of critical importance to dairy farmers in their efforts to produce milk cheaply enough for the end-consumers in Japan and Chile and, thereby, to sustain the level of international relations on which they and others depend. Alternatively the rating policies of local government, the political vulnerability of the Japanese government, or the pricing and operating policies of the European-based shipping companies may be of critical importance.

The way in which the people of the Waikato relate to and interact with the rest of the world is actually and potentially of the utmost importance to them and to others. For this reason alone the international relations of this or any other province or city, together with the policies and elements from which they emerge, constitute an important part of the study of international relations. In analysing the vague notions about power, national or class interest and loyalty to the state are replaced by an understanding of the range and roles of the participants and of their interactions with other participants, of the legitimacy of various groups and individuals rather than their formal institutional or legal status, of communication and conflict.

The world society approach thus offers the analyst

- (i) the means of developing more adequate maps of the world on which are represented the nature, range and scope of international relations and behaviour;
- (ii) an orderly way of determining and analysing the important elements of international relations as well as the particular issues and relationships of importance to those involved;<sup>5</sup>
- (iii) a less arbitrary and more reliable means of assessing likely consequences of policies than that offered by the state and class-centric approaches. The wide range of policy-makers and participants may be assisted to appreciate more adequately the limitations and potential of various policies and values for promoting those goals and developments most likely to sustain order and stability.

## Notes

1. Variants of the state-centric approach include the 'power politics' and 'international politics' approaches as well as the 'billiard ball' model.
2. See, for example; Karl W. Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality, (2nd edition), Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1966; Martin Seliger, Ideology and Politics, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1976; Hugh Tinker, Race, Conflict and the International Order: From Empire to United Nations. London: Macmillan, 1977.
3. The writings of John Burton have been of particular importance. See his World Society, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972; his essays, "International Relations in World Society" in John W. Burton, A.J.R. Groom, C.R. Mitchell and A.V.S. de Reuck, The Study of World Society: A London Perspective, Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Center for International Studies, for the International Studies Association, 1974; and "A Systems Approach to International Relations", International Social Science Journal, Vol.XXVI, No.1, 1974.
4. There is an extensive literature on these themes. See, for example, Lester R. Brown, World Without Borders: The Interdependence of Nations, New York: Foreign Policy Association, Headline Series, 1972. Peter J. Katzenstein, "International Interdependence: Some Long Term Trends and Recent Changes", International Organisation, 29 (3), Autumn 1975; Robert O. Keohane, and Joseph S. Nye, Transnational Relations and World Politics, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971; also their Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition, Boston: Little Brown, 1977.  
Richard W. Mansbach, Yale H. Ferguson and Donald E. Lampert, The Web of World Politics: Non State Actors in the Global System, London: Prentice-Hall International, 1976.  
Edward L. Morse, Modernization and the Transformation of International Relations, New York: The Free Press, 1976.
5. For a good example utilizing the world society approach see A.J.R. Groom, "Conflict Analysis and the Arab-Israeli Conflict", in Politics Between States: Conflict and Co-operation, edited by James Barber, Josephine Nigro and Michael Smith for the Open University, Milton Keynes, Open University Press, 1975.

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Survey on Overseas Aid

Stephen Hoadley, David Lawrie, Russel Taylor,  
Political Studies Dept.,  
University of Auckland.

A recent survey of Mt. Eden residents revealed that New Zealanders are generously disposed towards poor countries abroad. Two hundred and fifty one residents drawn at random from the Eden electoral roll were questioned about their attitudes towards foreign aid. The sample was weighted so that Eden would represent the New Zealand population statistically.

The survey revealed that respondents wanting aid increased outnumbered those

wanting it decreased by three to one. The percentage of people favouring foreign aid generally was found to be far higher than in Australia, Britain or America.

However the New Zealand government's actual performance is much less generous. Indeed, New Zealand has fallen from seventh to tenth place amongst the 17 OECD donor governments during the last three years when aid effort is compared on a percentage of GNP basis.

It would therefore appear that the Government is out of step with the general public. However, this is the first poll of its type ever conducted in New Zealand and cost limited the sample. The Government should conduct a more extensive survey to see how closely its policies match public feelings about aid. This has been done in Britain and most other countries.

What sort of people are most generous? They tend to be professionals, university graduates, Labour Party voters and persons claiming to have thought a lot about the problems of poor countries. By contrast, blue collar workers, school leavers, National Party voters and people who think little about problems abroad are not enthusiastic about aid. Many of the latter prefer to reduce aid below its present level of approximately \$53 million or 0.34 percent of GNP.

Survey respondents had definite ideas on the most appropriate reasons for giving aid. They stressed altruistic motivations rather than New Zealand's economic or diplomatic interest by an overwhelming majority. For example, 90 percent of respondents chose the option "they are poor and need our help" as a good reason for giving aid. In contrast, the option "the countries we help may give us political support" was chosen by only 43 percent, less than half as frequently.

Respondents also rated "basic human needs" projects higher than conventional projects. Rural health services and village schools were rated as important far more frequently than hospitals or universities for example. The option "aid for birth control and family planning" was chosen as important by 89 percent of respondents: an interesting finding in light of debate on this issue in Auckland.

To summarize: more aid for more altruistic reasons, for more grass-roots types of projects to help the truly poor seems to be the preference of the majority.

A full report of the findings has been submitted to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

\*

#### Direct Popular Democracy and Political Development

Dr R.R. Macintyre  
University of Canterbury  
Summary of paper presented to the "Third Theory"  
Conference, Benghazi, Libya. (See report in Conference Notes)

This paper analyses the utility of direct democracy as conceived in al-Qadhafi's Green Book as (i) an alternative form of political development, and (ii) as an applicable model for states at varying levels of political development. The Green Book (Parts 1 & 2) provides a programme based on the principle of people's power or direct popular democracy. Through a system of nation-wide people's committees and congresses, the people will be mobilised into direct

governing units. Policy formation will take place in the General People's Congress and General People's Committee. People's organisations will be responsible to the General People's Congress for the implementation of policy or executive action. Thus government will be effectively separated from the state - a development central to al-Qadahfi's theory, since the political mobilisation of populist organisations removes the need for harmful intermediaries which might undermine the democratic process in the interest of specific class, tribe/clan or economic and vested interest groups.

The Green Book has ideological roots in proto-communist theories while it also stems from the heart of Arabism as it strives to identify the religious ideal (Islam) with the national identity. It is an ideology rooted in the recent memory of Libya's struggle for independence and popular democracy.

While not denying the Green Book as an ideal form of political development, the paper does, however, point to some difficulties which might be associated with the application of the model beyond the context of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (SPLAJ). To demonstrate this in terms of the applicability of direct democracy, three abstract models are constructed -

- (1) Traditional Societies. The paper suggests that it is possible to imagine direct democracy existing within a small homogeneous, proto-traditional society with clearly definable needs. This society would operate at a low level of economic subsistency and political consciousness. But in larger and more complex traditional societies, the development of social hierarchies, segmental ordering of people, low levels of national consciousness and patterns of authoritarian government would operate directly against direct democracy. Given these conditions, direct democracy would be required to be introduced from above, or from within or without by discrete modernising elites.
- (2) Transitional Societies. This model presents a scenario of highly fluid developing societies, some with quite a high level of political and industrial development. Diverse political systems and ideological tendencies prevail. However, there is a higher level of social mobilisation, popular political 'capacity', national consciousness and concern for democratic ideals. These societies are often revolutionary and prone to political instability. Yet often high levels of social and political development are not sufficiently integrated to sustain revolutionary transformation in these societies. Within this model the paper suggests that without sufficient political direction the ideal of direct democracy will not take spontaneous root, unless there exists a tradition of egalitarian government, which is very rare in the Third World.
- (3) Post-Industrial Societies. Within this model the applicability of direct democracy is seen as least likely. Technocracy destroys confidence in popular initiative and the destruction of existing political institutions would be rejected on the grounds of anarchism and unrestrained mob-rule. In these highly complex societies defining 'need' and basic values is frequently left to the specialist, subject to institutional accountability - modern society's believed safeguard against the excesses of government or state administrative apparatus.

The paper concludes by suggesting that the idea of direct democracy, if it is to take root, requires a well-orchestrated social revolution by a highly equipped and politically dedicated elite vanguard.



Notes on Research Paper, "Wittgenstein's  
Private Language Argument: A Re-assessment".

Gerald Atkinson, Tutor  
University of Canterbury.

The idea of attempting to marry philosophy of mind and political theory no doubt seems strange even to those familiar with contemporary trends in political thought. Nevertheless, much of my interest in the philosophy of the later Wittgenstein extends directly from my belief that there exist strong, if not conceptually explicit, logical connections between the political thought and philosophy of mind, not to mention epistemology, of by far the majority of philosophers popularly studied today. One need only study the British empiricist school from Locke to Hume to Mill and even Ayer and Russell to discover a most interesting and far from accidental relationship between their empiricism and their Liberal political philosophy. In terms of the relationship between philosophy of mind and political thought in the case of these thinkers, there is little doubt that the explicit individualism of their political thought as well as the logical separation of theory and practice which results from their empiricism, shows itself in their philosophy of mind and consequently in what one may loosely term their "philosophical anthropology". It follows, given the premises of this thesis, that from the later Wittgenstein's thorough-going critique of the traditional empiricist philosophy of mind, one is also, though not of course explicitly, presented with a critique of the dominant view of wo/man in the world as it still appears in much of contemporary moral, political and social philosophy.

Having thus made my apologia for embarking upon waters only rarely sailed, it remains to present the essential theses of my paper's argument. I argue in essence two central points, though it is probably more accurate to describe them as "distillations" of a number of themes which appear in Wittgenstein's attack on private language. Firstly, Wittgenstein's analysis of the empiricist theory that the role of language is to convey thoughts (specifically the famous "something-nothing" argument of *Investigations* 304), shows that the result of analysing language in a context which denies a logical connection between X's knowing "that P" and X's behaviour, results in our being committed to a vacuous solipsism. As he points out in *On Certainty* 204, "it is our acting which lies at the bottom of the language-game." In crude but true terms: we can only say that X "knows that P" in virtue of X's behaving in the grammatically relevant way. We can only say that the child can read to itself if s/he exhibits a satisfactory ability to tell us what s/he has just read. The first argument thus amounts to a sustained rejection of the concept of a theory-praxis gap - a point of no small import for political philosophy.

The second major result of the private language argument as I see it, is a thorough-going refutation of the empiricist (and liberal dogma) that society is no more than an aggregation of the distinct individuals who allegedly compose it. This view, prominent in both Liberal political economy and philosophy, as well as fundamentally empiricist philosophies or social science, collapses as a result of Wittgenstein's analysis of the logical relationships between behaviour, consciousness (in the loosely Marxist sense) and the concept of mind.

Basically, as Wittgenstein's sustained treatment of the issue in *Investigations*, part II, section xi, shows, all perception (and thus consciousness) logically entails concept application. In turn, one can only apply a concept to a given sensation if one knows one is having that sensation (e.g. pain). But, taking a baby as a case in point, though babies have to be conscious to feel pain, they are not conscious that they feel pain. To be conscious of their sensations requires that children be able to apply a word or words to them. The dilemma of the private-linguist (and hence traditional empiricist theory of mind) is that on the one hand, there is a need to explain how one, qua individual can come to know one's sensations

and, on the other, that the standard reply (that one can invent a word for them) fails because to name a sensation and thus know it, entails that you know the sensation first. As is obvious, there is a vicious logical circle at work here - a fact not unnoticed by Wittgenstein. The way out, and thus the logical basis of Wittgenstein's analysis of mind and knowledge lies in his argument that "Being sure that someone is in pain, doubting whether he is or she is is, and so on, are so many natural instinctive kinds of behaviour towards other human beings, and our language is merely an auxiliary to, and further extension of, this relation. Our language-game is an extension of primitive behaviour. (For our language-game is behaviour.)" - Zettel, para. 545. Language, and thus consciousness, is the product of human behaviour - meaning that neither mind nor knowledge exists independently of human action. Knowledge of our sensations is, therefore, possible if and only if it arises as the result of interactive human behaviour. As such, all consciousness is socially constructed because the logically necessary connection between mind, consciousness and behaviour secures intersubjectivity. The obvious conclusion is that, contrary to received (and still dominant) dogma, there is no necessary conflict between self and society. Any philosophical doctrine that suggests otherwise (Liberalism, Existentialism etc.) therefore rests on a mistaken understanding of the relationship between what we say, what we do and what we think.

Report on Research in Progress

Name:

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