

P.O.L.S.
The New Zealand Political Studies
Association

Newsletter

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CONTENTS

The New Zealand Political Studies Association
Election of New Executive
POLS
Membership

1982 NZPSA Conference
Reflections: R. Thakur
Participants
State of the Discipline
Programme, and Some Reflections on the
Operation of the Executive by B.V.J. Galvin
Minutes of Fourth General Meeting with
supporting documents/reports
Conference Accounts

News and Notes
Third World Scholars
ISA Convention.
Legislative Internship
Australasian study of Parliament Group
News from University departments

NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION

ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE

Nominations for Executive positions were solicited from members through their Local Area Co-Ordinators in June. When nominations closed on 7 July 1982, the following nominations had been received.

President:	Dr D. Bing (Waikato)
Executive Secretary:	Dr L. Fretz (Waikato)
Treasurer:	Mr H. Barr (Waikato)
Editor of Publications:	Mr R.G. Ward (Waikato)
Canterbury Area Co-ordinator:	Ms Nicola Swainson
Otago Area Co-Ordinator:	Prof. J.F. Flynn
Wellington Area Co-Ordinator:	Dr J. Morrow

These being the only nominations received, the above are duly declared elected as members of the New Executive of the New Zealand Political Studies Association.

H. Gold
Past Executive Secretary
NZPSA

POLS

All correspondence concerning POLS should be sent to Mr R.G. Ward, Editor, POLS Department of Politics, University of Waikato, Private Bag, Hamilton. POLS is produced twice a year, and posted to all financial members of NZPSA. To join, complete the enrolment for which can be found later in this edition.

NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION

Students, political scientists and those interested in the study of political government are invited to become members of the 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.
- * Notification of seminars and other special activities of the Association.

Reflections on the 1982 Conference

Ramesh Thakur

The New Zealand Political Studies Association held its fourth conference in Dunedin at the University of Otago, 17-19 May 1982. It was a well-attended and successful conference, and the retrospective reflections are offered here as a guide to future organisers as well as being a record of Association activities.

More than seventy people participated in the conference, representing journalists, government officials, defence personnel, as well as academics. There was a fair representation of overseas participants (10), from Australia, Taiwan and the USA. A total of 23 papers were read at the conference, in addition to a plenary discussion on the state of the discipline in the country, a keynote address by the Secretary to the Treasury B.V.J. Galvin, and the NZPSA General Meeting. The papers themselves were divided into the three broad streams of International Relations(7), New Zealand Politics(5), and Political Philosophy(6). As well, there were four papers discussing the 1981 New Zealand elections. The quality of the participation was generally quite high. We were particularly fortunate in our keynote speaker, and we are obliged to Vice-Chancellor Robin Irvine for having chaired that delightful session.

Several factors contributed to the overall success of the conference. Sponsorship by the Vice-Chancellors' Committee permitted a greater measure of participation than would have been possible otherwise. Scheduling the conference immediately after the Otago Foreign Policy School proved mutually beneficial to both events, as shown by the significant overlap in participants. Organisational liaison with the extension department

of the University of Otago meant that much of the real work was taken over by the professionals and carried out smoothly. Otago students were encouraged - with the considerable persuasive strategies available to staff - to participate actively, e.g. as paper givers and commentators; this proved popular with members. The University creche cooperated by making places available to those delegates in need of such facilities, which gave participants the opportunity to come down with family if they so wished. The arrangement of some social activity each evening was popular, and contributed greatly to the convivial atmosphere of the entire proceedings. Again, we are all grateful to Richard and Margaret Mulgan for their hospitality on the first evening. And, as the accounts elsewhere in this newsletter will show, the conference was self-financing without being exorbitant in its demands upon the members' pocket books.

Inevitably, along with the smooth were some rough patches. Some people faced problems of finding the rooms and getting into buildings on campus (although basic information was provided in advance). Student participation from other centres was virtually non-existent. In future, area coordinators might consider organising students into car pools, while the host university could investigate billeting them in local student flats. It would probably help to have this sort of a report become a regular feature, to assist each new convener for a succeeding conference. Getting papers in advance was not uniformly successful, and this created further problems in ensuring copies for all. Immediate bulk photocopying cannot always be assumed. In any case, we could have produced a bound, printed set of proceedings for everyone at registration - at no extra cost - had all papers been received by the deadline or shortly thereafter. Nevertheless, most people did get their abstracts and papers in beforehand, thus easing our tasks considerably. We faced greater difficulty in securing chairing/commenting commitments in advance of the conference. Again, the organisers' burdens would be

lightened if intending participants sent in information well ahead of time. But there is little that we can do about air schedules, which in an outlying centre make it difficult to be confident of full/reasonable attendance on the first and last day of the conference. Given the length of our conference, this is a major uncertainty in planning activities.

Tasks that remain on an ongoing basis include such important matters as checking the NZPSA constitution, sending three copies of each paper to the General Assembly library, handing over responsibilities and supporting documents to the new executive and conference organisers, etc. Conference and Association matter could also be publicised (free) in the newsletters of the Australasian Political Science Association, the International Political Science Association, etc.

Finally, a very sincere note of thanks to all the participants. It is a truism often neglected that any conference is what the delegates make of it. We feel justly proud of the commitment of the delegates to the fourth NZPSA Conference, the quality of their participation, and the good cheer that they brought to Dunedin.

NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE
Dunedin, 17-19 May, 1982.

PARTICIPANTS

Chuck AHLGREN	Economic Counsellor	United States Embassy	Wellington
Roderick ALLEY	University Lecturer	Victoria University	Wellington
Dorothy BALLANTYNE	N.Z. Institute of International Affairs		Dunedin
Rosemary BARRACLOUGH	Student	University of Otago	Dunedin
Clive BEAN	Research Student	The Australian National University	Canberra
Bill BELL	Second Secretary	United States Embassy	Wellington
Dov BING	University Lecturer	University of Waikato	Hamilton
Laura BEAUCHAMP	Student	University of Otago	Dunedin
Robert BRAND	Deputy Assistant Secretary	US Dept. of State	Washington D.C.
Tom Brooking	University Lecturer	University of Otago	Dunedin
Margaret Clark	University Lecturer	Victoria University	Wellington
Jim COWIE	Airforce Officer	R.N.Z.A.F.	Christchurch
Gerrard CURRAN	Retired Broadcaster		Dunedin
Geoffrey DEBNAM	University Lecturer	Victoria University	Wellington
Margery EAGLE	University Lecturer	University of Tasmania	Hobart
Michael EAGLE	Attorney General's Office		Hobart
Marjory EMBLETON	Student	University of Otago	Dunedin
Sean FLIEGNER	Student	University of Otago	Dunedin
James FLYNN	University Lecturer	University of Otago	Dunedin
Mark FRANCIS	University Lecturer	University of Canterbury	Christchurch
Bernie GALVIN	Secretary	Treasury	Wellington
Hyam GOLD	University Lecturer	University of Otago	Dunedin
Ray GOLDSTEIN	University Lecturer	Victoria University	Wellington
Wayne GOODALL	Student	University of Otago	Dunedin
Chris GEORGE	Airforce Officer	R.N.Z.A.F.	Christchurch
Antoinette GRIGG	Student	University of Otago	Dunedin
Stuart GREIF	University Lecturer	University of Otago	Dunedin
Paul HARRIS	University Lecturer	Victoria University	Wellington
Graham HARVEY	Student	University of Canterbury	Christchurch
John HENDERSON	University Lecturer	Victoria University	Wellington
Steve HOADLEY	University Lecturer	Auckland University	Auckland
Peter HODGSON		New Zealand Labour Party	Dunedin
Craig HOTCHKIN	Student	University of Otago	Dunedin
Robin IRVINE	Vice Chancellor	University of Otago	Dunedin
Debbie IVERSEN	Student	University of Otago	Dunedin
Aynsley KELLOW	University Lecturer	University of Tasmania	Hobart
Richard KENNAWAY	University Lecturer	University of Canterbury	Christchurch
James LAMARE	University Lecturer	University of Canterbury	Christchurch
LEW Yu-Tang	Director	Institute Sino-American Relations	Taiwan
Eileen LINDOP	Student	University of Otago	Dunedin
Ian McGILP	Student	University of Otago	Dunedin
Gavin McLEAN	Student	University of Otago	Dunedin
Peter McMECHAN	Director, University Extension	University of Otago	Dunedin
Stuart McMILLAN	Journalist	'The Press'	Christchurch
Dan MAGUIRE	Student	University of Otago	Dunedin
Deborah MALCOLM	Teacher's Assistant	Victoria University	Wellington
Gay MAXWELL	University Lecturer	University of Otago	Dunedin
Raymond MILLER	University Lecturer	Auckland University	Auckland

John MORROW	University Lecturer	Victoria University	Wellington
Richard MULGAN	University Lecturer	University of Otago	Dunedin
Mark OLSSEN	University Lecturer	University of Otago	Dunedin
Rita RICKETTS	Teaching Assistant	Victoria University	Wellington
John ROBERTS	University Lecturer	Victoria University	Wellington
Nigel ROBERTS	Director, Centre for Continuing Education	Victoria University	Wellington
Pat SHANNON	University Lecturer	University of Otago	Dunedin
Geoff SKENE	Research Student	The Australian National University	Canberra
Stuart SMITH	Town Clerk		Dunedin
Patricia SPRINGBORG	University Lecturer	University of Sydney	Sydney
Robert SPRINGBORG	University Lecturer	Macquarrie University	Sydney
Dave STEPHENS	Student	University of Otago	Dunedin
David STRACHAN	Student	University of Otago	Dunedin
Nicola SWAINSON	University Lecturer	University of Canterbury	Christchurch
Brad TATTERSFIELD	Student	University of Otago	Dunedin
Gwen TAYLOR	University Lecturer	University of Otago	Dunedin
Ramesh THAKUR	University Lecturer	University of Otago	Dunedin
Carl THAYER	Lecturer	Royal Military College	Duntroon
Una TROUGHT	Student	University of Canterbury	Christchurch
Jack VOWLES	University Lecturer	University of Auckland	Auckland
Bruce WALLACE	Journalist	Television New Zealand	Wellington
Bill WEBB		University of Otago	Dunedin
Antony WOOD	University Lecturer	University of Otago	Dunedin

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE OPERATION OF THE EXECUTIVE

Notes for Address by Mr B.V.J. Galvin to the New Zealand Political Studies Association Conference, 18 May 1982

A: Introduction

1. There is in existence a reasonable amount of literature on the New Zealand Executive. Most of it, however, is written from a fairly detached point of view. In contrast, this paper aims to present a rather more intimate picture. It is written from the perspective of a Permanent Head and focusses upon some of the significant features of decision-making in several parts of the Executive at or about the level of Cabinet: Executive Council, Cabinet, Cabinet Committees and Officials Committees.

B: Executive Council

2. Formal advice to the Crown from its administration is tendered in two ways. One is the direct link between a Minister and the Governor-General. The other is more indirect; advice is tendered by the Executive Council on the initiative of a Minister. Thus, Executive Council is the organ which enables advice to be tendered collectively.

3. It is sometimes thought that Executive Council is the formal body which mirrors Cabinet, a constitutionally informal body. This is not the case. Executive Council spans a much more limited range of responsibility than Cabinet.

4. The Executive Council comprises all Ministers who hold warrants. Although its membership does not have to coincide with that of Cabinet, there has always been a close similarity in the composition of the two bodies because of their parallel executive functions. Indeed, in recent times their membership has been identical. The Governor-General is not a member of the Executive Council although he

presides over it.

5. Most advice tendered to the Crown by a Minister, whether through the Executive Council or directly, is subjected to prior examination in Cabinet and/or Cabinet Committees. Consequently, when advice is tendered, the Government usually has developed a firmly established position, and the process of tendering the advice is highly routine and purely formal.

6. The Agendas of the Executive Council usually comprise between five and ten items, most of which are concerned with the making of Regulations. Meetings are generally held each Monday in between the morning and afternoon sessions of Cabinet. When the Governor-General attends, they take place in the Executive Council Chamber in the old part of Parliament Buildings. When he does not, the most senior Minister present presides, and the meeting takes place in the Cabinet Room on the 10th floor of the Beehive.

7. When the Governor-General is present, there is occasionally some discussion on the items. This is usually as a result of questions posed by the Governor-General, who has not been privy to the policy-making in Cabinet or Cabinet Committees. If the Governor-General is not present, however, there is generally no discussion. In this case, the Clerk of the Executive Council simply reads the heading of the Regulation and the presiding Minister signs it, for subsequent counter-signature by the Governor-General. The meeting lasts five minutes or so.

8. A quorum for an Executive Council meeting is two plus the Governor-General or presiding Minister. Occasionally Regulations have to be made at short notice and there have been occasions on which a quorum has been difficult to obtain; Ministers are reluctant to break engagements for a brief and routine meeting. It has consequently proven to be very convenient to hold the meetings as adjuncts to the meetings of Cabinet.

9. The Permanent Head's contact with the Executive Council is scanty. The only official in attendance is the Clerk of the Executive Council, who is usually also the Secretary of the Cabinet. Before an item reaches the Agenda, the Permanent Head's department will have participated in its preparation. This involves typically the translation of a policy decision into a Regulation. This is predominantly a technical exercise concerning the departments' legal and other officers working in conjunction with Parliamentary Counsel and therefore the Permanent Head generally does not become directly involved. Parliamentary Counsel must certify that Regulations have been properly drafted before Cabinet will consider approving their submission to the Executive Council.

10. After a Regulation has been made and Gazetted, the Permanent Head's department may be responsible for its implementation. If the administrative implications of this are likely to be significant, the Permanent Head may well have to become closely involved. In this context, the Permanent Head is acting to ensure his department fulfills its legal obligations.

11. The Permanent Head may of course advise his Minister in the implementation of Regulations. However, he does not advise him before an Executive Council meeting; indeed, he does not know what is actually on the Agenda. The Permanent Head's advice is offered at an earlier stage, when the policy underpinning the Regulation is being determined.

C: Cabinet

12. As I have mentioned, Cabinet is an informal body in constitutional terms, in contrast to the Executive Council. Yet for practical purposes it is all-important. Its significance derives from its co-ordinating function, a function which has been raised to the level of a doctrine - that of collective responsibility.

13. In New Zealand, collective responsibility seems to have developed much further than in other countries with a similar form of Executive. Doubtless this has been influenced by purely historical factors as well as by our political structures e.g. the larger role of central Government in New Zealand relative to regional and local Government. Less well-known, however, is the influence of physical geography at the micro level.

14. The New Zealand Cabinet is a far more intimate group than its counterparts overseas. Ministerial offices have been housed together at least since 1877. Until 1920 they were with their departments in the Government Buildings. From 1920 to 1979 they were in Parliament Buildings with other Members of Parliament but separate from their departments. Since 1979 of course, they have been in the distinct Executive Wing of Parliament Buildings, apart from their fellow Members of Parliament as well. In addition, there is an internal telephone system linking Ministers, they have their own dining room and bar, and they have their own elevator.

15. These physical geographical features are reinforced by certain other aspects of the Cabinet system which make for increased intimacy. Among these are the fact that Cabinet meets every Monday in a room which is reserved for its use, that Ministers share a permanent and stable corps of Private Secretaries and that the members of Cabinet are the only political members of the Executive (apart from their Undersecretaries, of which there are currently four).

16. In other countries with a Westminster system, the tendency is for Cabinet not to have a regular meeting time, for Ministers' offices to be located in various parts of the capital or even the country, and for the number of political members in the Executive to be much larger. The members of the New Zealand Cabinet are consequently much closer to one another than are their counterparts overseas.

17. These features are both an effect and a cause of the high degree of co-ordination exercised by Cabinet within

the New Zealand Executive. I have alluded to the fact that Cabinet generally has to approve the submission of draft Regulations to the Executive Council. This is a fairly routine check as the underlying policies would have been approved earlier somewhere within the Cabinet system. It is an important control, however, as the provisions of Regulations are usually set out in greater precision and detail than are those of the policy decisions.

18. In this context, Cabinet is acting to co-ordinate the formulation of collective advice leading to executive action by the Governor-General. Cabinet also co-ordinates some individual advice from a Minister to the Governor-General, e.g. appointments to Quangos. However, there is some more routine individual advice which is not cleared by Cabinet e.g. proclamations as to the taking of land under the Public Works Act.

19. This notwithstanding, the bulk of Cabinet's work is generated by its co-ordination of executive action undertaken in the name of a Minister or his department, which is the major form of executive action. It is this aspect of Cabinet's co-ordinating role that one thinks of first when the doctrine of collective responsibility is evoked. The doctrine operates as a self-denying ordinance, a principle of self-discipline which binds the Cabinet team together, cementing its collegial ethos. A revealing illustration of this is the high degree of confidentiality surrounding Cabinet discussions; this confidentiality is established by convention and by agreement among the members of Cabinet themselves, whereas the secrecy of the affairs of the Executive Council is established by oaths sworn by all its members when they receive their warrants. The fact that so little of the discussion in Cabinet leaks out testifies to the strength of the ethos. A high degree of confidentiality is of course necessary if there is to be frank discussion in Cabinet, and proper co-ordination is in turn dependent on frank and open discussion.

20. How the self-denying ordinance works in practice, that is, what determines whether a Minister makes an

executive action of his own accord or following consultation with Cabinet, is one of the more elusive and fascinating questions about the Cabinet system. It is in effect a question concerning the means by which a submission reaches the Cabinet Agenda. Before dealing with this, however, I should outline some of the features of the Cabinet Agenda itself.

21. At noon on Thursday the Agenda for the Cabinet meeting the following Monday is compiled in the Cabinet Office. The average Agenda contains between thirty and fifty items. However, the variance is considerable, Agendas in January and February can have fewer than twenty items, while those before Christmas can have seventy or eighty. Corresponding to each Agenda item is a Cabinet submission in the name of a Minister or the Secretary of the Cabinet.

22. The first few items on the Agenda are usually Executive Council matters i.e. papers which seek Cabinet's approval for the submission of draft Regulations to the Executive Council. Having these items placed first on the Agenda enables them to be carried forward on to the Agenda of the Executive Council for its meeting later that day. The order of the subsequent items is determined by a combination of two main factors: more senior Ministers have their submissions considered earlier, and submissions on like subjects are grouped together.

23. The submissions vary greatly among themselves. Many are substantial and deal with major policy issues; others, however, are quite brief and relatively minor. Subjects such as Ministerial overseas travel, appointments to Quangos, Ministerial representation at functions, as well as draft Regulations, might not appear to warrant Cabinet's attention. Nevertheless, for different reasons they need to figure on the Agenda. I have referred earlier to why draft Regulations have to be included in the Agenda. Ministers' absences overseas need to be considered by Cabinet as they create additional burdens for their colleagues. It is also necessary for Cabinet to examine most appointments because the identity of key people is

crucial to the implementation of policy. However, in a smoothly operating system, the potential concerns of Cabinet on such subjects have been anticipated by Ministers and officials, and these minor submissions are dealt with rapidly as routine business.

24. Each Agenda item corresponds to a separate Cabinet Minute which is issued in the name of the Secretary of the Cabinet, the only official who regularly attends Cabinet meetings. The Cabinet Minute contains the bare decision, and may be acted on immediately; Cabinet does not subsequently confirm its Minutes.

25. Occasionally a Cabinet discussion may reach a conclusion which is not specific enough to warrant a decision being recorded in a Minute. In such circumstances, a Cabinet Memorandum is issued as a reminder to a Minister of Cabinet's thinking on a subject. A Cabinet Memorandum thus serves as a general guide for a Minister's future action, whereas a Cabinet Minute dictates specific action itself.

26. Cabinet Memoranda tend to be issued as a result of off-Agenda discussion, in particular oral items. The latter may only be raised as matters of urgency. If they were allowed to become prevalent, and to generate Cabinet Minutes regularly, they would tend to undermine the rather precisely defined and strictly enforced rules which govern the preparation of written submissions.

27. Just as Ministers are committed to their collective responsibility as a matter of principle, so are they dedicated to the pre-eminence of the written Agenda and its associated written submissions as a matter of practice. It is only with full preparation before a Cabinet meeting that Ministers can participate actively in a broad range of the business. Hence the proper functioning of the collegial system depends in no small measure on the prior reading of the comprehensively written submissions. Ministers typically devote several hours each Sunday afternoon to this activity.

28. The rules governing the preparation of written submissions are codified in the Cabinet Office Manual and enforced by the Cabinet Office, which is headed by the Secretary of the Cabinet. He is in turn responsible to the Prime Minister. Apart from such obvious requirements as clarity, brevity and comprehensiveness, submissions will only be accepted for inclusion in the Agenda if all relevant Government departments have been consulted and their views obtained. In particular, reports from the control departments must be available. This particular rule has to be reaffirmed frequently as the opposition to a Minister's recommendations in Cabinet is usually focussed on any adverse recommendations which the control departments might make.

29. Of all the control functions of the various Government departments, it is the Treasury's which is the most comprehensive. If one excludes Executive Council items, Ministerial overseas travel, appointments and other routine business, there would be few Cabinet submissions which would not require Treasury comment. This reflects of course the fact that the Minister of Finance's portfolio has a profound effect on most other portfolios, and consequently that the co-ordination of financial policy is one of the most important and continual preoccupations of Cabinet.

30. The importance of financial policy in the co-ordinating role that Cabinet plays is reflected in the system of financial delegations. These are set out in the Treasury Instructions issued in terms of Section 112 of the Public Finance Act 1977 and hence have legal status. They establish the level of authorisation that must be obtained before expenditure may be incurred, and they are significant for this paper in two respects. First, they are an indication of the great number of specific executive decisions which have to be made with respect to finance. Secondly, they are the only legal expression of Cabinet's position. One should stress, however, that the system of financial delegations is only by itself responsible for a small proportion of Cabinet's business; in general, the system of delegations is successful in relieving the Cabinet Agenda.

31. As I have mentioned, relevant departments other than the Minister's own exercise a certain control over his submissions; their views are placed before Cabinet along with the submissions. However, Cabinet Office also exercises a final control function beyond that of enforcing Cabinet's rules. It composes a covering note (the "top") for each submission, setting out the various recommendations and summarising the issues if the submission has not been considered previously within the Cabinet system and, if necessary, bringing other facts not contained in the submission to Cabinet's attention. The procedure ensures not only that the recommendations are properly worded, but also that the essential features of the submission can be identified quickly by Ministers, so facilitating the Cabinet discussion. Before 1976, Cabinet Office also used to prepare a fuller summary of submissions for the Prime Minister only; this function is now performed by the Advisory Group.

32. There are two particular points I wish to draw out of the foregoing comments in order to consider more deeply how the self-denying ordinance operates. The first concerns the fact that Cabinet submissions vary widely among themselves as to the generality of the policy issues they deal with. It shows that Cabinet does not operate according to a bureaucratic logic which holds that it should only deal with policy issues possessing a high degree of generality. Cabinet is only at the apex of the administrative structure in that it is the highest level of authority for practical administrative purposes. It is not at the apex of Government in the sense that it is concerned only with the great issues of the day.

33. Secondly, the considerable access to Cabinet that the control departments enjoy is often an encouragement to individual Ministers to take matters to Cabinet. If a control department's report were to show that a Minister should have consulted Cabinet before undertaking some action, the Minister would be seen to be in breach of the collegial ethos.

34. This brings me to an important point. While many Cabinet submissions are generated by explicitly defined rules, particularly those relating to the more routine business and financial delegations, most submissions relating to major policy issues are made by individual Ministers because they deem it appropriate. In other words, the self-denying ordinance is exercised voluntarily. In order for this procedure to function properly, the individual Minister needs to have a finely tuned awareness as to when he has to consult his Cabinet colleagues. This is particularly the case if the need for co-ordination relates to the general political significance of an executive action, and not simply to its more obvious implications for portfolio interrelationships.

35. This may make for some apparently odd contrasts. In the education area for example, Cabinet has an annual discussion about the intake to teacher training, with varying opinions turning on relatively small differences as to numbers and costs. On the other hand, Cabinet very infrequently reviews the basic staffing ratios of state primary and secondary schools, even though these are without doubt at the core of the Government's education policy.

36. The major reason for such contrasts is that there is a broad agreement within Cabinet as to the Government's general policy, but that there can be significant disagreement as to its application in particular circumstances. If a Minister is unable to have established a sufficiently comprehensive policy to cover all circumstances, then the issue tends to be referred back to Cabinet periodically. The limiting cases of such situations are new policies, which are deemed to be so different from existing established policy that they must be submitted to Cabinet each year in a special procedure.

37. An important result of this is that policy-making in Cabinet tends to be an inductive process; policy is established in Cabinet through time as the cumulative result of a series of responses to particular circumstances.

Occasionally, however, policy does emerge from a deductive process, as a result of strategic thinking which transcends the preoccupation with particular circumstances. Most such policy-making occurs in the period just after a General Election.

38. Just as a Minister needs to have a finely tuned sense of whether a potential action by him accords with established policy or whether he should first consult his Cabinet colleagues, so must he have a highly developed awareness of the nuances within Cabinet as he progresses his submission through it. If policy tends to be made cumulatively as a succession of redefinitions of executive responses to the outside world, so must the Minister "feel" his submission through Cabinet gradually. It is a subtle business, as it involves his seeking his colleagues' acceptance that the redefinition he is proposing is reasonable according to criteria which, though well established, are flexible and capable of varying interpretation in particular circumstances.

39. A senior Minister will generally be able to progress his submissions through Cabinet rather more smoothly than a newer Minister. The former's experience gives him a finer sense of which recommendations are likely to be more acceptable to his colleagues, as well as a more precise feeling for the mood of Cabinet on a particular day. The former puts him in a better position as far as the formulation of options for the written submission is concerned, whereas the latter is advantageous as far as formulating options in the course of the Cabinet discussion itself is concerned.

40. A less experienced Minister in this respect may be able to compensate somewhat by lobbying amongst his colleagues before the Cabinet meeting. In general, though, there is a distinct difference as to the relative ease with which Ministers with different levels of experience can take their submissions through Cabinet.

41. Votes are hardly ever taken in Cabinet. The decisions are made by consensus, with the Prime Minister playing a

prominent role as Chairman in leading Cabinet to the common ground. This may not involve the Minister's submission being either approved or declined. If Cabinet is in doubt as to what should be done with a Minister's proposal, it may instead agree to an intermediate option, to a deferral of its consideration or to its referral to a Cabinet Committee. Although other means are sometimes used, these are the three main middle courses open to Cabinet.

42. The Permanent Head has no direct knowledge as to what goes on in Cabinet, and even his indirect knowledge is very scanty. Ministers observe the confidentiality of Cabinet proceedings fairly strictly. Hence a Permanent Head cannot guide his Minister through the nuances of a Cabinet meeting; once he crosses the threshold of the Cabinet room, the Minister is on his own.

43. The Permanent Head also does not see the Cabinet Agenda or the formal Cabinet submissions. These are seen only by Ministers, Cabinet Office and the Prime Minister's Advisory Group. All that the Permanent Head may see are the draft submissions which involve his own department i.e. those which his own Minister will sign or those of other Ministers on which his department has to report. These form the basis for the advice the Permanent Head gives to his Minister prior to a Cabinet meeting. An important point that must be stressed is that the Permanent Head does not advise his Minister on other Ministers' submissions unless his department has been required to comment on them. Members of Cabinet freely speak to a broad range of submissions unrelated to their portfolios, but they do so without any advice from their Permanent Heads. They contribute to the Cabinet discussion as members of an executive team, not as representatives of portfolios.

44. The Permanent Head briefs his Minister on Monday morning before Cabinet. Except when the Permanent Head's department has control functions, the briefing focusses on the submissions made by his Minister. His main task is to anticipate the arguments that other members of Cabinet might put forward in relation to his Minister's recommendat-

ions. A Permanent Head with his ear to the ground can often learn of the opposing arguments through his contacts with other departments. He needs to brief his Minister fully both as to the defence of his recommendations and as to the options available should a full approval appear unattainable in the course of the discussion.

45. It should be emphasised that, while the Permanent Head conducts the Monday morning pre-Cabinet briefing, he may not have been closely involved in the preparation of the draft submission. Sometimes other officers in his department will have been the ones to meet with the Minister to prepare the draft submission. Until the final stage, then, the Permanent Head sometimes has little more than a general awareness of the nature of the submission. In this case, he will often have other officers accompany him to the pre-Cabinet briefing.

46. Nevertheless, Permanent Heads usually try to ensure that they see draft submissions before they are committed to their final form. This is because submissions must not only conform with the requirements of the Cabinet Office, they also need to convey a sense of flexibility in the directions in which other options could be developed. This sense needs to be more or less explicit according to the extent to which the particular options are relatively preferable. Combining clear, precise and persuasive argumentation with various indications of possible options is very difficult. Indeed it is an art; this is why Permanent Heads often have to devote considerable time to matters of detail in the final stage of preparation of a draft Cabinet submission. It also explains in part why Permanent Heads need to have experience and sensitivity.

47. More generally, the Permanent Head needs to be alive to the need to protect his Minister's standing in Cabinet. Because he cannot predict the nuances of a Cabinet discussion this tends to make him a risk-averter in advising his Minister. It may even, at an early stage, affect his advice on the question of the need to make a submission. The Permanent Head must seek to present options which allow his

Minister to minimise the degree of conflict with his colleagues into which he may enter. Otherwise, his ability to function effectively as a member of the Cabinet team is lessened.

48. The proper functioning of Cabinet is also dependent upon the range of options with which it is presented. If the options are too restricted, its discretionary executive power is limited. A Permanent Head must therefore present his Minister with the full range of viable options even as he indicates clearly which is the preferred option in his judgment.

49. Once all the advice has been offered, both in the preparation of the draft submissions and in the pre-Cabinet briefing, the Permanent Head has but to await the Cabinet Minute. Each Minute is restricted to a distribution specific to the particular Agenda item. If a Minister is involved in the implementation of a particular decision, he receives two copies of the Minute, one for referral to his Permanent Head. If the Minute is addressed to his Minister, the Permanent Head bears prime responsibility for implementing the decision. Occasionally some interpretation of the Minute is required, but this is usually resolved after consultation with other departments. Ministers only rarely have to become involved in this.

D: Cabinet Committees

50. The Cabinet Committee system is rather more developed in New Zealand than it is in other Commonwealth countries. There are probably five distinct reasons for the existence of Cabinet Committees, which have been in existence at least since 1950. They are: to relieve the Cabinet Agenda; to enable key Ministers to become acquainted with complex issues before they are considered by Cabinet; to enable groups of Ministers and officials to discuss issues which cut across portfolio and departmental boundaries; to give newer Ministers broader and deeper experience of the Executive; and for political convenience.

51. The pressure on the Cabinet Agenda is relieved to a great extent by the existence of Committees with delegated powers. This enables executive decisions to be made within the Cabinet system, i.e. by a group of Ministers in terms of collective responsibility, but without the whole of Cabinet having to become involved. The Cabinet Works Committee springs immediately to mind as performing an invaluable service in this regard.

52. The prior consideration of a complex issue by a Committee avoids Cabinet's having to consider it "cold". Because key Ministers will have become conversant with the intricacies of the issue as a result of the Committee meeting, the Cabinet discussion is much more likely to be able to be progressed to a conclusion. The Committee Minute, which records the gist of the discussion as well as the decision, assists considerably in this regard.

53. Conversely, an issue may come straight to Cabinet and contain some complexities which Ministers find difficult to grasp. In this case, the submission will be referred to a Committee so that officials can explain these difficult points to Ministers.

54. Some policy issues involve a large number of portfolios and departments. It is far more efficient for such issues to be clarified in a Cabinet Committee, where all the Ministers and officials can be gathered together at one place and one time, than in a series of parallel discussions between Ministers and their own officials. The Committee forum also ensures that full consultation is achieved.

55. Trade policy issues and the Cabinet Economic Committee spring to mind in this regard. The Prime Minister, and the Ministers of Finance, Overseas Trade, Customs, Trade and Industry, Foreign Affairs and Agriculture and Fisheries may each have a portfolio interest in a trade policy issue. Similarly, Treasury, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Agriculture and Fisheries, the Customs and Prime Minister's Departments, and the Department of Trade and Industry may

each have a departmental interest. If there were no Cabinet Committee to clear trade policy issues, they would generate many more meetings and memoranda than they do at present.

56. It is useful to have a variety of Committees in existence so that Ministers can gain more Committee experience. This is particularly important for newer Ministers, as their Committee experience reinforces their Cabinet experience. It brings them into contact with the detail of a range of issues outside the ambit of their own portfolios. It also brings them into contact with a range of public servants from departments other than their own. A variety of Committee experience therefore helps Ministers to participate fully as members of the executive team and to contribute to discussion in Cabinet on a broad range of issues. Furthermore, it assists them considerably when they have to speak in the House and on the hustings.

57. As to the political convenience of Cabinet Committees, it is useful for Cabinet to have organs to which it can refer issues which it does not want to resolve immediately, but which it wishes to keep alive in the Cabinet system on a "slow track". This sometimes coincides with the need to show publicly that Ministers are actively considering a problem. In addition, Cabinet occasionally wants a Committee with a particular membership to consider an issue. A not insignificant further consideration is sometimes that Ministers have to be given some status in the Cabinet system through membership of Committees; this is particularly the case for senior Ministers and Chairmanships.

58. Cabinet Committees generally have a membership of between four and eight, and they consider up to a dozen submissions per meeting, with an average of perhaps five or six. Occasionally their membership includes MPs who are not Ministers. Each Minister is a member of several Committees, and is invited to attend other Committees when issues affecting his portfolio are being considered. Although there are currently thirteen standing Committees (a number which will doubtless be added to during the term

of the current Ministry by the formation of several ad hoc Committees), only five meet regularly: Economic, Expenditure, State Services, Works and Legislation. These can be expected to meet once a week for 1 - 2 hours each, and they have regular meeting times. The Ministers with the heaviest Committee load are those who are members of several of these five Committees, and they tend to be Ministers of control departments; the control viewpoint needs to be represented on all Committees.

59. Some Committees, particularly the five that meet regularly, have fairly wide delegated powers. When they use these powers to make decisions, Cabinet's endorsement of the decisions is not required. However, as is indicated in the Cabinet Office Manual, issues must be referred to Cabinet if there are major policy or financial implications, if there is likely to be wide public interest, or if the Committee is divided and the minority opinion is strongly held.

60. A further check is the fact that the work of the Committees is reported to Cabinet each Monday. This gives Cabinet the opportunity to rescind all or part of a Committee decision taken during the previous week. For this reason, it has become standard practice for Government contracts arising from a Committee's decision not to be signed until this occasion has passed. However, this does not imply that Cabinet has to endorse Committee decisions or confirm Committee Minutes. Subject to what is specified in their terms of reference and the proviso mentioned above, Committees have full delegated powers and they are meant to exercise them.

61. Apart from their more limited membership and terms of reference, Committees differ formally from Cabinet in three respects. As I have mentioned above, their Minutes record the gist of the discussion as well as the decisions. This record is a fruitful source of information for both Ministers and officials. In subsequent Cabinet or Committee discussions, Ministers often refer to the recorded discussion in the Minutes in support of their arguments, the idea being

that the Minutes are an objective and impartial statement. Similarly, when officials set about implementing Committee decisions, or preparing further consequential submissions, they tend to use the discussion recorded in the Minutes as a guide to collective Ministerial thinking.

62. Secondly, officials attend the discussion phase of Committee meetings (in most Committees there is a distinction between the discussion and deliberative phases). The idea is that up to three officials from each relevant department are available to answer questions from Ministers. The question and answer format sometimes develops into a flowing discussion with Ministers and officials all participating freely. Often, however, there is little or no comment in the course of the discussion phase.

63. Thirdly, certain officials have a special status in some Committees. They are the permanent officials, attending for every item and participating in the deliberative phase (other officials leave at the end of the discussion phase). For the main Committees the permanent officials are from Treasury (Economic), Treasury and State Services (Expenditure and State Services), Treasury and Works (Works). They develop a close relationship with their Committees and are able to offer advice much more freely, i.e. they are not limited to answering Ministers' questions as the other officials often are. However, in the Committees which have developed the habit of not distinguishing clearly between the two phases (principally the Economic Committee), the distinction between the two types of officials is not very significant.

64. There are also a number of other important features of Cabinet Committees. One is that the Prime Minister tends to select a single regularly meeting Committee on which to sit. This gives him a regular forum in which he can talk to officials in front of other Ministers. This premier Committee, which since 1975 has been the Economic Committee, comprises senior Ministers, is attended by the most senior officials and has very wide terms of reference. It is therefore the Committee which is most capable of developing

thinking on major policy and of making rapid decisions on important issues.

65. Another feature is the considerable informality and intimacy that may develop through time within a Committee, among a small number of Ministers and officials meeting regularly to sort out the problems of Government for which each has a responsibility. Of course, this closeness does not impinge upon the correctness with which Ministers and officials conduct themselves. It does, however, permit the development of free-flowing discussions which often resemble seminars. This is particularly the case in the Economic Committee, in which the accent is just as much on teasing out the broad implications of aspects of policy as on rapid decision-making on major issues.

66. A third feature relates to the awareness Ministers have that final decisions on issues do not have to be made in Cabinet Committees. Ministers can remain intransigent in the knowledge that they may only have to concede at Cabinet the following Monday. Consensus is less readily achieved in Committees as Ministers are more forthright in representing their portfolio interests; often the Committee's co-ordination of an issue becomes but a preliminary skirmish prior to the final encounter in Cabinet. This tends to make Committees exercise their delegated powers rather less fully than they might. This is not the case with the Economic Committee; its full use of its delegated powers means it tends to feel its way to a consensus decision in much the same way as Cabinet does.

67. The fourth feature I wish to mention concerns the overlap in the responsibilities of many Cabinet Committees. This can cause problems. On the one hand, it may encourage Committees not to make definite decisions and to refer submissions to other Committees. On the other hand, it may lead to some Committees making decisions on subjects in relation to which other Committees are more competent.

68. However, the sideways referral of submissions is not necessarily a bad thing. Committees often need to feel

their way to a consensus, and taking a sounding from other Committees may be very useful for this. Another important point is that while Committees may have overlapping responsibilities, they have different overall memberships, and hence they bring different perspectives to bear on problems. This can be of considerable benefit.

69. The Permanent Head involves himself in submissions to Cabinet Committees in much the same way as he does in submissions to Cabinet. Apart from the influence of Officials Committees, which I shall deal with separately, there are some differences, however.

70. The Permanent Head does not have a regular briefing session with his Minister before Cabinet Committee meetings. The reason for this is practical; it is impossible to forecast precisely which Committee meetings a Minister will be attending. The briefings tend therefore to be conducted at specially arranged sessions. This gives the Permanent Head scope for detaching himself totally from Committee submissions, particularly those which are of lesser moment. Indeed, it is sensible for a Permanent Head not to become too closely involved in submissions if he is not going to be attending the Committee meeting. One of the resultant characteristics of the work of Cabinet Committees is the increased extent to which middle level and even junior officials come into contact with Ministers.

71. If a Permanent Head does choose to become involved in a Committee submission, and to attend the Committee meeting, he needs to give thought to how he should act in the discussion phase. Ministers may put questions to him which require him to explore options, i.e. they are not purely factual in nature, and there may develop a rather free discussion. In this case, the Permanent Head has to react directly to the mood and nuances of the Committee. Before the meeting, therefore, he might consult his Minister on the way he might react in the course of the discussion phase, and on how his reactions may relate to the Minister's reactions in the course of the deliberative phase. How his Minister intends playing the deliberative phase is of course

of paramount importance.

72. The Permanent Head knows that he can concede points orally in the discussion phase. This may make for a less flexible written advice from his department, particularly if the Committee meeting is seen as but a preliminary skirmish. There are, however, severe limits to such tactics. The Permanent Head must offer advice correctly; apart from the fact that he is committed to this as a matter of principle, his comments are listened to carefully by Ministers and other officials, and they may be recorded in the Minutes, albeit in an unattributed fashion.

E: Officials Committees

73. The system of officials committees is more developed in New Zealand than it is in other Commonwealth countries. They have a dual function. On the one hand, they co-ordinate officials' advice to Ministers on policy. I wish to focus here on this second function, and in particular on the Officials Economic Committee. This is because its operations have had significant repercussions on the relationship between Officials and Ministers, bringing about changes which I feel will spread to other parts of the Executive.

74. Most Officials Committees have an independent existence, but several are specifically designed to service Cabinet Committees (Civil Defence, Communications, Economic, Family and Social Affairs, Terrorism). Of these, the Officials Economic Committee has the most impact. This is because it is the longest-established of such Committees and because its parent Cabinet Committee meets regularly, has wide-ranging delegated powers and is the premier Cabinet Committee.

75. Initially, the Officials Economic Committee was used to ensure that all departments involved in a particular issue were consulted, and that all departments agreed on the facts underlying the advice to be given. A further aim was to obtain if possible a consensus among officials as to what the advice should be. If this was not possible, the aim was

to narrow the analytical and interpretative differences as far as possible, so that the options finally presented to Ministers could be as clearly delineated as possible.

76. Over time, the Officials Economic Committee has come to reflect some of the characteristics of the Cabinet Committee. As I have mentioned, one of the particular features of the Cabinet Economic Committee is that it feels its way to consensus decisions in the manner of Cabinet far more consistently and easily than do other Committees. This mode of operation has rubbed off on to the Officials Economic Committee, and it now displays a collegial spirit very similar to that of the Cabinet Committee itself.

77. Thus, meetings of the Cabinet Economic Committee now tend to consist of a committee of Ministers discussing policy issues with a committee of Permanent Heads. In the process, the direct relationship between a Minister and his Permanent Head has become blurred. In particular, the doctrine that a Permanent Head should always support his Ministers on policy questions no longer applies here. In the seminar atmosphere of a Cabinet Economic Committee discussion, the Permanent Head is no longer obliged to follow his Minister as he develops particular lines of argument. Conversely, the Permanent Head is fairly free to develop his own point of view independently of his Minister once a question from a Committee member gives him the scope to do so.

78. Of course, the free-flowing discussion is not totally unconstrained. Extreme courtesy, correctness and above all, good humour, help to ensure that the underlying tensions of the various relationships, including the general loyalty that a Permanent Head must display to his Minister, do not overly inhibit the discussion.

79. The collegiality of the Officials Economic Committee system has of course profoundly changed the relationship among the Permanent Heads who operate in it. It has reduced the tendency for Permanent Heads to see issues solely in terms of their narrow departmental perspectives;

they are far more aware of how their own departments fit into the overall picture.

80. This development in the awareness of Permanent Heads is reinforced by their experiences at the Cabinet Committee. In line with the collegial approach, Ministers take a broad view of issues, and a Permanent Head who pushes a severe departmental line, even if he has Ministerial support initially, is likely to be stymied at the Cabinet Committee. Attempts to bypass the Officials Committee and the Cabinet Committee by means of a direct submission to Cabinet usually result in the submission being referred to the Cabinet Committee anyhow, with the result that the Permanent Head suffers a significant tactical defeat. Permanent Heads therefore tend to be risk-averse in this regard preferring to co-operate with other departments in the Officials Committee from the beginning. The extent to which this has become established practice is illustrated by the fact that few submissions to the Cabinet Economic Committee are not generated by the Officials Economic Committee, which is itself a reflection of the increasing concern shown by successive Governments to ensure that policy decisions are only made following full consultation among departments.

81. The development of the collegial ethos in the Officials Economic Committee has also affected significantly the relationship between the Permanent Head and the officers of his department. In both the Officials and the Cabinet Committee, the Permanent Head may have to depart from a previously agreed departmental position for the sake of achieving a consensus. This may be necessary not only because new facts have emerged, but also because the opposition has become so strong as to endanger the entire policy proposal if a compromise is not offered. Less experienced officers who do not have a full appreciation of the strength of the opposition and hence of the consequences of the continued advocacy of the pure departmental line, may feel that their advice has been ignored, their hard work wasted and their professional integrity affronted. The Permanent Head needs to work to ensure that such feelings are transformed into a more mature appreciation of policy

making, and do not grow into cynical dillusionment.

82. In effect, the necessity for making compromises has been injected into the process of developing policy advice at lower levels and to a greater extent. As I have said, this has the advantage of encouraging greater maturity among officers by forcing them to recognise the validity of other points of view. However, it has the disadvantage of possibly denying Ministers access to the alternatives which have been worked through in the Officials Committee. This disadvantage can be countered however if the discussion of the policy issue at the Cabinet Committee is made to develop freely; this usually enables the alternatives considered at an earlier stage to re-emerge.

F: Conclusion: The Dynamics of the Executive

83. I trust that the foregoing comments have been able to shed some light on the operation of the Executive. I hope also that a certain sense of the dynamics of the Executive has been able to be conveyed in the process. Now, by way of conclusion, I would like to dwell on this point somewhat, and consider some past, present and future influences which have changed and will change the nature of decision-making around the level of Cabinet.

84. From my own vantage point, four influences in particular stand out. The first involves the revolution in thinking on the role of the Executive in the New Zealand economy. It was brought about mainly by the writings of Lord Keynes, who argued that the Government could influence the path of the economy by adjusting the relative levels of Government expenditure and revenue. This thinking, which has been largely accepted by the New Zealand Executive since the Second World War, is reflected in successive Executives' fiscal strategy which is set out annually in the Minister of Finance's Budget speech. This revolution in thinking and practice as to the Executive's role in the economy has inevitably brought about profound changes in the organisations responsible for implementing economic policy and

advising Ministers on it. In particular, the operations of Treasury and the Reserve Bank have changed dramatically.

85. The second influence I would like to draw attention to is the experiment with indicative planning in the 1960s and early 1970s, which had its public expression in the work of the National Development Council. It involved the establishment of a number of consultative committees, often chaired by a Minister, comprising representatives of various parts of the private sector and relevant Government departments. The presence of the Minister meant that he was seeking and receiving the views of the private sector and having them subjected to comment by officials in public.

86. This probably did not alter very much the role of the Minister, but it did affect markedly the relationship between officials and the private sector. It led to the development of a much freer and more open exchange of views between officials and representatives of private sector interests. However, this did not lead to the formation of any wide-ranging consensus between the two groups, because in the final analysis they owed allegiance to distinctly different interests.

87. The third influence relates to the Prime Minister's role. As the Executive's role has strengthened, as the Government's intervention in the lives of the people has increased, so has the range of issues with which the Executive has had to deal become larger and more complex. Parliament does not appear to have been able to adapt sufficiently to these developments, and its ability to control the Executive has weakened. There has consequently been increasing pressure placed on the Prime Minister to co-ordinate the growing and more complex responsibilities of the Executive.

88. A significant response to this pressure was the reorganisation of the Prime Minister's Department in late 1975 and early 1976. It was detached from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, given its own Permanent Head and endowed with an Advisory Group. This development occurred

much later than in other Commonwealth Countries. The Advisory Group, which numbers fewer than ten officers seconded from both the private and public sector, acts as the eyes and ears of the Prime Minister, ensuring that he is aware as far as possible of the significant issues of the day, both within the orbit of Government departments and in the country at large. Occasionally, the Advisory Group has had to adopt more than a reporting role, participating actively in the development of policy advice when an issue does not fall neatly into departmental responsibilities or for other reasons has become stuck in the bureaucratic machine. Of particular benefit to the Advisory Group as it goes about what is predominantly a liaison function is the fact that it is located in the Executive Wing of Parliament Buildings and that its reporting system is much freer and more flexible than that in other departments.

89. The fourth influence is the likely effect of the proposed Official Information Bill. If enacted in its present form, it will lead to the Executive being scrutinised much more closely, particularly by well-informed, specialist interest groups, e.g. the environmentalists. It could well reinforce the extent to which the activities of such groups are supplementing, if not surpassing, the role of Parliament, in particular the Opposition. More generally, the Bill would affect considerably the relationships between the Executive and Parliament, the media and the public; between officials and the public; and between the Permanent Head and his Minister.

90. Of all these likely changes, the one of greatest concern to me is the relationship between a Permanent Head and his Minister. Should the advice of a Permanent Head to a Minister become open to political scrutiny, it would probably lead to a departure from the apolitical character of the upper echelon of the public service. One of the things I have tried to show in this paper is the delicacy and subtlety that is involved in the operation of the Executive at its highest levels, as Ministers and senior

officials work to achieve a consensus which reflects the consensus feeling of the public at large. If we disrupt this finely tuned process, we must be sure that what will result will be a clear improvement to the present situation. Otherwise, we risk weakening the capacity of the Executive to respond to the needs of the people.

NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION

Minutes of Fourth General Meeting
19 May 1982, Dunedin

1. Apologies: Professor Roberts, Hoadley, Jackson, Chapman and Roy, Mr A.D. McRobie, Mr T. McRae.
2. Minutes of the previous meeting: held in Christchurch on 23-24 May 1980, were accepted.
3. Matters arising from these minutes:
 - (1) incorporation of the society:

The meeting considered a report prepared by Mr A.D. McRobie on the advantages of incorporating the NZPSA (Document A below). On the motion of Dr Bing it was resolved that the Executive be instructed to pursue the matter further, and be authorised to incorporate the society.
 - (2) political education:

The meeting considered a report prepared by Mr A.D. McRobie on the political education proposal. (Document A below). The report was received and referred to the Executive.
 - (3) ANZAAS:

The Executive Secretary reported a lack of enthusiasm within the Australian arm of APSA for including a Politics section in ANZAAS. The report was received and referred to the Executive.
 - (4) Legislative internships:

The meeting considered a report prepared by Dr J. Henderson (Document B below). It agreed to authorise the Executive both to call for nominations, and to select a committee on Legislative Internships, and called on the Executive to report back to members on this matter through POLS.
 - (5) ICPSR:

The meeting considered a report prepared by Mr N. Roberts (Document B below) and agreed that the NZPSA Executive give urgent priority to coordinating a campaign by all relevant departments (not just political science departments) to try to obtain a joint New Zealand membership of the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research. On the motion of Mr Roberts, the Association formally stated its support for a joint-university New Zealand national membership of the ICPSR.

(6) Student participation at conferences:

The meeting resolved that the attention of the next Conference Committee be drawn to item 8(c) of the minutes of the Third General Meeting of the Association, and called on local Area Coordinators to assist in publicising the Conference.

4. President's Report:

The President noted that this was now the Fourth General Meeting of the Association, following on the founding of the Association at a Vice-Chancellors' Committee-supported gathering in Christchurch in 1974. Previous meetings have been held at Wellington (May 1976), in Auckland, with VCC-support, in August 1977, and in Christchurch in May 1980.

The Executive had sought to deal with four main tasks since its election in May 1981: organising the Dunedin Conference, which it saw as its main task; linking New Zealand political scientists with other associations, mostly overseas; fostering communication between members within New Zealand particularly through its newsletter POLS; and promoting other activities, for example the Australasian Study of Parliament Group.

The Dunedin Conference had attracted around 65 participants, taking part in 17 sessions organised into three streams. Participants had come from Dunedin itself (25 - including a dozen students), Christchurch (10), Wellington (15), Auckland (3), Hamilton (1), Australia (9) and further overseas (2 - one each from Taiwan and the United States).

The President extended his thanks to Mr Bernard Galvin, the Conference Convenor, Chairmen and Commentators for their contributions to the Conference, and noted in particular the great value the Organising Committee had derived from Otago University Extension undertaking the administrative management of the Conference.

It was resolved that the President's Report be received. On the motion of Mr Roberts, the Association formally recorded its thanks to Bill Webb and Otago University Extension for their help in organising the Conference.

5. Treasurers' Reports:

The Treasurer presented financial reports for 1981-82 and 1980-81, drafted respectively by himself and his predecessor (Document C below). While the financial position of the Association remains healthy, he did note a slight attrition of both full members and student members over the last financial year. It was resolved that the Treasurers' Reports be received.

6. Executive meetings:

It was resolved that the full Executive, including Area Coordinators, meet early at every Conference in the future.

7. Editor's report:

Professor Flynn presented the Editor's Report on behalf of Dr Greif. POLS is an informal journal fostering communication between local political scientists and interested organisations and lay persons. Apart from serving this function, the Editor had also sought to orient material in POLS around planned Conference activities. It was resolved that the report be received.

8. Future conferences:

Two motions were passed by the meeting:

- (1) the NZPSA regrets the failure of the University of Waikato to enter into the cost sharing arrangements for this conference, arrangements which in the opinion of this body are necessary to ensure the attendance of a reasonable number of official representatives from each of the participating universities.
- (2) the NZPSA accepts with pleasure the offer of the Politics Department at Waikato to host a Conference in May 1983.

9. Other business:

On the motion of Mr Roberts, the meeting recorded its thanks to the Executive, and to University Extension for their efforts in hosting the Conference.

Submitted by
Hyam Gold
Executive Secretary
20 May 1982

REPORT FROM THE FORMER EXECUTIVE OF THE NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL STUDIES
ASSOCIATION FOR THE MAY 1982 NZPSA CONFERENCE

Before the election of the Otago-based executive of the New Zealand Political Studies Association, the outgoing executive agreed that it had three tasks to clear up and report on to this year's NZPSA general meeting. The three items are:

1. A report on whether or not the NZPSA should become an incorporated society;
2. A report on the possibility of establishing legislative internships for political science students; and
3. A report on the campaign to obtain funds to join the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR).

The three reports are as follows:

1. Alan McRobie has written a separate report on the question of incorporation and forwarded it to the present executive for consideration at this year's conference.
2. Legislative internships. John Henderson reports as follows:
 - (a) The Proposal

To establish internships for senior political science students, to gain practical experience from working in Parliament or the Public Service.
 - (b) Background

The 1980 NZPSA Conference briefly discussed internships. The following notes are based on my experience as Director of the Opposition Research Unit in Parliament from June 1980 to January 1982, and discussions in March last year with students and Congressional staff involved in US Internship programme.
 - (c) Suggestions

That internships be established in two broad categories:

 - (i) 'Credit' Internships - whereby the student receives some course credit for the practical experience gained from working in Parliament or the Public Service. The grade could be given on the basis of a paper written by the student either on an aspect of the work experience, or on work carried out (eg a research paper) as part of official duties. Informal arrangements between staff and individual MPs have shown that this system can work to mutual advantage.
 - (ii) Paid Summer Work - This raises problems on funding, and would presumably be dependent on the scheme being approved by the Labour Department as part of its programme to promote student vacation employment.

Provided quality control of students could be assured, I am confident that the Parliamentary Research Units could benefit from 'in-depth' research carried out on particular subjects.

Although Parliament would not be sitting, students would gain some inside 'feel' for Parliament. Research Units within the Public Service could also be approached with the same objective in mind.

(d) Comment

Both types of schemes operate in the US Congress and the students and staff I talked to seemed happy with the results.

This proposal could be implemented by informal arrangements, or official 'support' could be sought from the appropriate authorities.

My own experience leads me to the conclusion that internships would provide a very valuable learning experience for students by providing an opportunity to complement the theory with the practice of politics.

3. ICPSR Campaign. Nigel Roberts reports as follows:

Early in 1981, the New Zealand Social Science Research Fund Committee (SSRFC) issued a general call for comment on the existing priorities of the Fund Committee.

As a result, several political scientists from throughout New Zealand took the opportunity to write to Dr Judith Johnston, the SSRFC's executive officer, to request that the Social Science Research Fund Committee's criteria for awards be amended or modified to permit the SSRFC to sponsor national membership for New Zealand in the Michigan-based Inter-Universities Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR). Although New Zealand membership of the Consortium would cost only about \$2-\$3,000 per annum, this sum is undoubtedly beyond the resources of any single university or polytechnic department, or even a national association such as the New Zealand Political Studies Association.

In mid August 1981 Dr Johnston wrote back to me (and I assume to other ICPSR "lobbyists") as follows: "The Committee has spent some considerable time investigating the wider question of establishing a social sciences database in New Zealand. As part of this exercise the Committee also examined the availability of access and current use of overseas data bases by New Zealand researchers.

"The members of the Committee are sympathetic to the need for political scientists and other social researchers to use the services provided by the ICPSR but felt they could only sponsor one year's membership. Given their decision to use the limited amount of funding on research rather than the establishment of facilities, it was considered that the expenditure of \$2000 for one year's membership was inappropriate.

"Instead members decided that they could best support the request by approaching the University Vice-Chancellors Committee and encouraging them to seek continuing membership of ICPSR through a joint University application to the University Grants Committee. The Social Sciences Research Fund Committee will strongly endorse such an application and is writing to both the Vice-Chancellors Committee and the University

Grants Committee on this matter. You may wish to support this action by approaching the Vice-Chancellor of your University."

It seems to me that the financial climate is not very favourable for a joint move to join the Inter-University Consortium at the moment. While the New Zealand Government and its subsidiary agencies cast around for likely candidates in the campaign to achieve 3% cuts, the likelihood of opening up a new area of spending is remote. Nevertheless, membership of the Consortium would probably cost each of the five Universities with departments of Political Science "only" about \$500 per annum, and it seems that there could just be a possibility that a concerted campaign by heads of departments to get their Vice-Chancellors to agree to this amount may just succeed - especially in view of the fact that the SSRFC has written to endorse the idea of New Zealand's membership in the Consortium.

Consequently, I recommend that the executive of the Political Studies Association gives its urgent priority to coordinating a campaign by all relevant departments (not only political science departments, but also others such as Sociology and the like) to try to obtain action on the question of a joint New Zealand membership of the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research.

Nigel S Roberts
Immediate Past President

May 1982

INCORPORATION:

The main purpose (and advantage) of incorporation is that the Association would become a legal entity and would be able to act as such. This seems to be most significant in the area of land purchases or other property of a valuable nature. I can envisage no situation where the Association is likely to want to involve itself in this area of activity. Consequently I cannot see any real advantage in the Association becoming an incorporated society, in fact, the strictures required by the Incorporated Societies Act, 1908 may well inhibit the freedom of action of the Association.

This is not to suggest that some of the advantages of incorporation cannot be had by the Association even though it is not incorporated. For example, the requirements of the constitutions of groups wishing to be incorporated could well be adhered to with profit by the Association to its advantage. (I enclose a pamphlet which, in part, sets out these requirements. I suggest that the present executive should go through the current constitution and check it out against the requirements set out in this publication.)

I would therefore recommend that the proposal to incorporate the Association be abandoned.

Political Education:

The decision to allow this to lapse was based on two factors:

- (1) the resources of the Association did not appear to be sufficient to pursue a programme which would be able to make a significant and important contribution to the goal sought;

(2) Our information was that the Department of Education's Curriculum Development Unit was pursuing this question. It was therefore decided that it should be allowed to continue this work (since it had the resources needed) but that, if the Association wished, it should seek to make a regular input into this work.

A.D. McRobie

Treasurers' Reports 1980-81 and 1981-82

New Zealand Political Studies Association

ACCUMULATED FUNDS:

BALANCE as at 1 April 1980	\$410-68
ADD SURPLUS for Year ended 31 March 1981	
General Account	79-80
Conference	30-21
	<hr/>
	\$519-69

SUNDRY CREDITORS:

Subscriptions paid in advance:

1 Full	\$5-00
3 Student	4-00
	<hr/>
	\$9-00
	<hr/>
	\$528-69

REPRESENTED BY:

BANK BALANCE (B.NSW)	564-69
<u>Add</u> 1980/81 subs not credited as at 31 March 1981	60-00
<u>Less</u> unrepresented cheques as at 31 March 1981	96-00
	<hr/>
	\$528-69

AUDITOR'S REPORT: Compared with financial records and found to agree

27 May 1981

Auditor

New Zealand Political Studies Association

Statement of Income and Expenditure
for year ended 31 March 1981

Income

By Subscriptions:

78 Full	\$ 390-00
18 Student	36-00
8 Institutional	80-00
1 Part*	4-30
	<u>\$510-30</u>

To Stationery/

Secretarial	\$29-30
Postages/Tolls	41-54
Printing	
(general)	27-56
Printing (POLS)	297-69
Subscription to	
IPSA	82-80
Refund (over-	20-00
payment)	

Subscriptions paid
in advance

1 Full	\$5-00
2 Student	4-00
	<u>9-00</u>

Donations	21-51
Sale of papers	9-60
Sundry income	24-89
Bank Interest	11-39
	<u>\$586-69</u>

Excess of Income
over Expenditure 87-80

\$586-69

Note:

*One subscription paid by an overseas member
converted to only \$4-30 NZ.

New Zealand Political Studies Association

Statement of Income and Expenditure
for the Association Conference
Christchurch, 22-24 May 1980

Income

By Registrations:

48 Full \$336-00
 27 Student 94-50
 Casual
 Attendance 57-50

\$488-00

Accommodation Fees (19) 855-00

Conference Dinner (53) 530-00

Donations towards cost
 of printing 90-00

To Printing \$155-71

Postages/Tolls 53-58

Advertising 50-00

Accommodation 702-00

Room Hire:

Teachers College 232-50

U of C Staff Club 25-00

Refreshments

Conference Dinner 504-00

Wine and Cheese 88-92

Social-Staff Club 107-50

Refund of
 Registration 7-00

Sundry 6-58

Excess of Income
 over Expenditure 30-21

\$1963-00

\$1963-00

AUDITOR'S REPORT: Compared with financial records
 and found to agree

New Zealand Political Studies Association

ACCUMULATED FUNDS:

Balance as at 1 April 1981 \$528-68

Less DEFICIT for Year ended
31 March 1982

38-66

\$490-02

REPRESENTED BY:

Bank Balance (BNZ) 665-10

Add 1981/82 subscriptions
not credited as of
31 March 1982

20-00

Less unrepresented cheque
(for POLS March 1982)
as of 31 March 1982

195-17

\$490-02

New Zealand Political Studies Association

Statement of Income and Expenditure
for year ended 31 March 1982

Income

By Subscriptions

60 Full	\$300-00
5 Full Arrears	25-00
9 Student	18-00
8 Institutional	80-00
	<u>\$423-00</u>

Expenditure

Stationery	11-42
Postage/Tolls	30-75
Polis	361-27
IPSA Subscrip.	95-05
Miscellaneous	<u>3-05</u>
	<u>\$501-54</u>

Subscriptions paid

<u>in advance</u>	30-00
Donations	5-48
Miscellaneous	<u>4-40</u>
	<u>\$462.88</u>

Excess of Expenditure

over Income 38-66

501-54

\$501-54

New Zealand Political Studies Association Conference
1982

Conference Account

<u>Revenue</u>	\$	\$
Registration fees		988-50
<u>Expenses</u>		
University Extension charge, 10% x \$988-85	98-85	
Postage	53-60	
Printing	23-00	
Xeroxing	387-97	
Travel, Stationery and Miscellaneous	<u>77-16</u>	
	640-58	<u>640-58</u>
Difference		<u>347.92</u>

Conference Dinner

<u>Revenue</u>	\$	\$
Tickets		672-00
Bar		<u>154-40</u>
		826-40

Expenses

Arnold Perry Room Association			
Drinks	\$183-65		
Service	<u>29-75</u>		
	213-40		
Senior Common Room Association		35-54	
Students' Union			
Catering	\$585-00		
Less discount	<u>58-50</u>	<u>526-50</u>	
		<u>775-44</u>	
Difference			<u>50-96</u>

August 1982

NEWS AND NOTES

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
Department of Political Science
Washington, D. C. 20059

LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF THIRD WORLD SCHOLARS

Third World scholars (of African, Asian, Caribbean, and other national origins) currently working, or have in the past worked, in American and European colleges and universities are invited to participate in an international, longitudinal study. Please submit professional resume, vita, publication records, or any such other available documentation substantiating professional contributions to academia, teaching, research, professional and community service. Please indicate actual number of years involved in each activity.

DIRECT ALL RESPONSES, OR FURTHER INQUIRIES TO:

Mekki Mtewa, Ph.D.
Department of Political Science
Howard University, Douglass Hall 131
Washington, D. C. 20059
(202)636-6720/21

Legislative Internships

As per the wishes of the Fourth General Meeting,
volunteers and nominees are hereby called for the
formation of a committee on Legislative Internships.

Please write to: Dr L. Fretz
 Executive Secretary, NZPSA
 Department of Politics
 University of Waikato
 Private Bag
 HAMILTON

BRITISH JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

The British Journal of Political Science, although based in Britain, is not restricted to Britain in either subject matter or contributors. Up to now, however, it has received very few contributions on New Zealand or by New Zealand political scientists. The editor is actively seeking more articles by New Zealand political scientists, and on the politics of New Zealand.

The Journal is designed mainly for a professional readership but is not tied to any professional organisation. Contributions are sought from all branches of political science, but in particular analytic political theory, political sociology, comparative politics, public policy and the empirical analysis of mass political behaviour. Articles reviewing the state of some areas of the discipline and brief research notes are also welcome.

Further enquiries should be made to Ivor M. Crewe, Editor, British Journal of Political Science, Department of Government, University of Essex, Colchester CO4 3SQ, Essex.



INTERNATIONAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION

THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA

24th ANNUAL ISA CONVENTION

PROMOTING HUMAN DIGNITY AND JUSTICE: AN INTERNATIONAL AGENDA FOR CHANGE

MARIA ISABEL - SHERATON HOTEL

MEXICO CITY

APRIL 5 - 9, 1983

The 1983 ISA program will include both panels and special events particularly related to the convention theme, and panels for discussing reasonable completed research outside the thematic area.

ISA hopes to take advantage of the convention location in Mexico City and would especially like to arrange as many panels and events with multi-national participation as possible. We strongly encourage the participation of non-U.S. scholars, and invite the proposals of panels or events involving multi-national participation.

In addition to proposals by individuals and solicitations by us, we shall cooperate with the chairs of various ISA sections in organizing some panels. Moreover, the overall program co-chairpersons will work with the Mexican members of the program committee in soliciting and developing some panels. Our Mexican counterparts are Dr. Jose G. Cabra Y., Dpto. de Relaciones Internacionales, Universidad de la Coma. Tlalnepantla, Estado de Mexico.

TO FACILITATE COORDINATION, IT IS REQUESTED THAT A COPY OF ALL PROPOSALS BE SENT TO EACH OF THE PROGRAM CHAIRPERSONS: Prof. Donald Sylvan, Department of Political Science, 223 Derby Hall, 154 N. Oval Mall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio 43210, (614) 422-9701; and Prof. Steve Chan, Department of Political Science, Texas A & M University, College Station, Texas 77843, (713) 845-2929.

For further information concerning ISA section panels and special events, contact Steve Chan. For further information concerning all other panels, contact Donald Sylvan.

SUBMISSION DATES AND INSTRUCTIONS

I. DEADLINES FOR PROPOSALS

A. August 15, 1982: Deadline for First Submission. All individual, i.e., non-ISA section, proposals for papers or panels received by this date will be reviewed within six weeks. Notification of the status of such proposals will be given by October 15, 1982.

B. October 1, 1982 : Deadline for Admission of Panels by ISA Sections. In order to facilitate the timely completion of the entire program, section chairs must submit proposals for their sections by this date.

C. October 15, 1982: Final Deadline for Individual and Paper Proposals. Proposals received by this date (and those remaining from the earlier deadline) will be reviewed for the space remaining on the program. Decisions will be made by November 15, 1982. Proposals received after October 15 are unlikely to be included in the program.

II. INFORMATION NEEDED

A. Individuals proposing panels should indicate the proposed title of the panel, whether it is thematic or regular, a statement of its purpose, the titles and abstracts of the papers to be included, and the names, addresses and telephone numbers of all the participants.

B. Individuals proposing papers should indicate the title and abstract of the paper, and their address and telephone number.

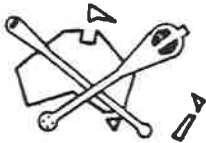
C. Individuals proposing to serve as discussants or moderators should forward to us the precise topic of interest and a current vitae (including, of course, address and telephone number). The deadline for this kind of proposal is October 15, 1982.

Australasian Study of Parliament Group (A.S.P.G.)

During the May 1982 Political Studies Association Conference, a group of Association members agreed to promote formation of a New Zealand section of A.S.P.G. under the auspices of the N.Z. Political Studies Association.

The aim of the section would be to seek support for the A.S.P.G. at universities and at Parliament, hoping to increase New Zealand participation in A.S.P.G. activities. A liaison committee was elected of John Henderson, Nigel Roberts, David Strachan and Antony Wood. Anyone interested in the A.S.P.G. could approach a member of this committee, or write direct to the A.S.P.G. Secretary-Treasurer as below.

Dr R.A. Herr,
Hon. Secretary-Treasurer, ASPG,
Department of Political Science,
University of Tasmania,
G.P.O. Box 252C,
HOBART, Tasmania. 7001.



AUSTRALASIAN STUDY OF PARLIAMENT GROUP

The Australasian Study of Parliament Group (ASPG) is an association of parliamentarians, parliamentary officers, journalists, academics and others interested in the parliamentary process. It was inaugurated in Adelaide in August 1978 and held its first general workshop the following year in Hobart. The ASPG's official objectives include "the encouragement and stimulation of research, writing and teaching about parliamentary institutions in Australasia and the South Pacific in order to generate a better understanding of these institutions".

The ASPG seeks to achieve its objectives in a number of ways amongst which are regular meetings and a publications programme. General workshops of the ASPG are held in August of each year normally in association with the Australasian Political Studies Association Conference. When appropriate, a specialist workshop is convened, usually during the first half of the year on selected topics of current importance. In addition, the ASPG publishes a biannual Legislative Studies Newsletter and a series of occasional papers.

Membership in the ASPG not only helps to promote the work of the ASPG but also entitles members to receive automatically the Legislative Studies Newsletter and to obtain copies of other ASPG publications at reduced prices and to attend to meetings of the Group at a concessional rate. The annual subscription is \$5.00 Australian.

AUSTRALASIAN STUDY OF PARLIAMENT GROUP

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Name:

Please mail to:

Address:
.....
.....

Dr. R.A. Herr,
Hon. Secretary-Treasurer, ASPG,
Department of Political Science,
University of Tasmania,
G.P.O. Box 252C,
HOBART, Tasmania. 7001.

Occupation:

NEWS FROM UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENTS

Auckland University

Dr Peter Aimer has returned after six months' study and research in Sweden and Norway, during which he concentrated on Scandinavian political party systems.

Dr Robert Taylor had departed for a year's study leave in London during which he will do archival research on aspects of Chinese politics and education.

Dr Barry Gustafson is continuing his research on the political maturation of Michael Joseph Savage, a project which has taken him to Australia for the third time for five weeks August-September.

Dr Jack Vowles is completing his first year as our newest Lecturer. He has offered papers in New Zealand politics, political thinking, and foreign policy.

Mr Joe Atkinson has just returned from a year at Yale University where he passed his oral exams for the Ph.D. and gathered material for his dissertation on the Presidential advisory system.

The Department is planning its participation in the 1983 Centenary celebration. Displays, receptions, and a symposium are being set up.

Canterbury University

Keith Jackson is on study leave from 3/9/82 to 28.2.83. He will be based in London for the first three months at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Russell Square, working on the role of Legislatures with particular reference to the role of Parliamentary Committees. He will be returning to New Zealand via Canada and the United States.

Mark Francis will be visiting Canberra from December 1982 to March 1983 as a Visiting Fellow in the Departments of Political Science and History, Research School, Australian National University. He will be doing research on nineteenth century British and colonial theories of government and authority.

Nicola Swainson joined the staff in February 1982 and is teaching in the area of comparative politics. She will be visiting the Western Australia Institute of Technology (W.A.I.T.) in Perth between 17th August and 5th September as a visiting lecturer.

Ron Macintyre presented a paper on 'Camp David and the Middle East Peace Process' at the conference on the Australasian Middle East Studies Association (AMESA) in Canberra, 21-22 May 1982. He was also elected to the position of president-elect of AMESA in 1983-84, and is currently the editor of AMESA working papers. To date three working papers have been published.

Richard Kennaway presented a paper on the International Implications of New Zealand's Energy Policies at the APSA Conference in Perth in August 1982. He will also be visiting England in December 1982-January 1983 on a private visit.

John Groom, Reader in International Relations at the University of Kent will be visiting the department as a

Canterbury Visiting Fellow in September to October 1982. He will be lecturing on Peacekeeping, Crisis Management, and International Organisation.

Jacob Bercovitch, who was a visiting lecturer in Christchurch in 1981, has been appointed to a permanent post from January 1983. Meanwhile he has been doing some lecturing at the London School of Economics and the Open University, and has written a book on Conflict and Conflict Management which is to be published by Gower Press in 1983.

The University of Canterbury is currently advertising a lectureship in Comparative Politics with a preference for candidates with special interest in New Zealand/Australian Politics, European Politics and/or Social Science Methodology. The closing date for applications is 27th September 1982.

Massey University

Dr Vowles has transferred to Auckland and will be missed for he added a new dimension to our staffing. We wish him well.

Dr Barrie Macdonald has returned from two year's post-doctoral work at A.N.U. and has just published his study on the Gilbert Islands (Cinderellas of Empire). He is commencing a new, advanced level, paper next year on N.Z.-Pacific affairs.

Dr Dalton West began a new, advanced level, paper this year on strategy and warfare and as far as he knows this is the first paper of its sort in the country.

Otago University

Stuart Greif attended a Conference in South Korea last November. He went on a research trip to Indonesia in July-August 1982, and attended the APSA Conference in Perth on the way back.

Richard Mulgan returned in May from 3½ months leave, spent mainly in the United States. He is completing a monograph on Democracy in New Zealand.

Ramesh Thakur attends the 12th World Congress of the International Political Science Association in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in August 1982.

Publications:

Flynn, J.R. Race, IQ and Jensen London, Routledge (1980) 313 p.

Gold, H. & Thakur, R.C. Looking for the Yellow Brick Road, New Zealand International Review, 6(2), March/April 1981.

Thakur, R.C. & Gold, H. Tightening the Tasman Knot, New Zealand International Review, 7(2), March/April 1982.

Gold, H. & Thakur, R.C. New Zealand and Australia: Free Trade Agreement Mark II, The World Today, October 1983 (forthcoming)

Mulgan, R.G. Palmer, Parliament and the Constitution, Political Science 32(2):171-77 (1980).

Mulgan, R.G. A note on political equality and the majority in principle. In Essays in honour of Gwen Taylor ed. R.G. Durrant, Dunedin, University of Otago Philosophy Department, (1982) 121-136.

- Thakur, R.C. Afghanistan: The Reasons for India's Distinctive Approach, The Round Table, No. 280. October 1980, pp. 422-433.
- Thakur, R.C. The Return of the Helmswoman, Queen's Quarterly, 87(4), Winter 1980, pp. 693-708
- Thakur, R.C. International Peacekeeping: The UN Interim Force in Lebanon, Australian Outlook, 35(2), August 1981, pp. 181-190.
- Thakur, R.C. Tacit Deception Reexamined: The Geneva Conference of 1954, International Studies Quarterly, 26(1), March 1982, pp. 127-139.
- Thakur, R.C. Liberalism, Democracy and Development: Philosophical Dilemmas in Third World Politics, Political Studies, 30(3), September 1982, pp. 323-339.
- Thakur, R.C. Peacekeeping in Vietnam: Canada, India, and the International Commission Edmonton: University of Alberta Press (in press)
- Thakur, R.C. India and Overseas Indians: The Case of Fiji, Asian Survey, 23(3), March 1983. (forthcoming).
- Wood, G.A. How safe? Loss and regain of a safe Labour seat: Dunedin North in the New Zealand General Elections of 1975 and 1978 Political Science 33(2):175-187 (1981).

Victoria University of Wellington

Dr Rod Alley's book, New Zealand and the Pacific, is due to be published by the Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado in late 1982. Rod is due to visit China in October.

Dr Ray Goldstein will attend the IPSA Conference in Rio in August.

Dr Bob Gregory will be in Zurich in August-September to attend a conference on nature of bureaucracy. The paper-work for Bob's trip has yet to be completed, but he hopes to sort it out before he leaves!

Dr Paul Harris will be attending the T.H. Green Conference at Balliol College, Oxford in September, where he will give a paper.

Dr John Henderson is continuing work on political leadership in New Zealand and is revising Attitudes to ANZUS for publication.

Dr Reggie Mascarenhas has two forthcoming books: Public Enterprise in New Zealand (NZPA) will appear shortly, and, Technology Transfer and Development will be published by the Westview Press, at the end of the year.

Dr John Morrow is continuing work on the British Idealists and is embarking on a study of private property and democracy.

Professor John Roberts will attend the Unesco Conference on Earthquakes in Geneva in October.

Dr Raj Vasil is at present on a one year professorial appointment at the University of Singapore.

Professor Margaret Clark recently began a term as Dean, while Dr Geoff Debnam took over from Rod Alley as Chairman on 1 August.

KEY FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAN SPENDING YEAR AT VICTORIA

Mr Gordon Parkinson until recently Head of the Middle Eastern and African Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is at Victoria University for 1982 under a new scheme organised between the Ministry and the Universities.

His secondment to a Visiting Fellowship follows a trial two-month secondment last year in which Assistant Secretary Mr Jack Shepherd was attached to the Economics Department.

Under the scheme, which is intended to strengthen contacts between the universities and the Ministry, Mr Parkinson will be available as a resource to the University and his activities this year will include conducting seminars on a range of questions touching New Zealand foreign policy and its international relations.

After 25 years in the Ministry, Mr Parkinson is admirably qualified to deal with such issues. He joined the Department of External Affairs in 1956 after completing a master of arts degree with honours in English from Victoria University.

His periods of overseas service took him to San Francisco as vice-consul in 1957, to Singapore as Second Secretary in 1962, to Bangkok as Counsellor in 1968, to Paris as Minister in 1974 and to Lima as Ambassador to Peru, Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela in 1978.

Between postings he once served with the Ministry of Defence and his other New Zealand stays have seen him as Head of the European, Commonwealth and American Affairs Division (1971-2) and as Head of the Administration Division.

Mr Parkinson suggests that the transition back to University life, while it involves more self-motivation might

not be as dramatic as an outside observer might think.

"The Ministry tries to retain some of the attributes of the University - a concern for the careful accumulation of facts and the study and sifting of evidence".

Waikato University

Student numbers at Waikato continue to grow and especially so in the Department of Politics. Since the recent freeze on appointments took place, the consequence is an increasing imbalance in the Staff:Student ratio. Some relief may be provided by the fact that from 1983 Dr Lewis Fretz will join the Department, and there still is hope that a Junior Lecturership will be unfrozen at the same time.

Dr Beaglehole has returned from a very productive leave, when he worked on the military forces of Canada, Australia and New Zealand - a theme he hopes to extend shortly to Fiji.

Dr Robinson was awarded his Ph.D. from Monash University and read a paper at the last Conference of the Australian Asian Studies Association.

Mr Simpson is currently on leave in Britain completing his Ph.D.

Dr Bing as President-elect both of NZPSA and NZASIA looks as if he is in for a busy time indeed - but this is a situation in which he seems to thrive, so we may expect considerable productive activity in both these fields.

Professor Roy is currently working on counter-insurgency in ASEAN states and making a comparative study between them and Namibia, which has similar problems.

NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION

August 1982

Dear Member,

Your subscription to the New Zealand Political Studies Association for the 1981-82 financial year (ie. 1 April 1982 to 31 March 1983) is now due. It would be appreciated if you would complete this form and return it promptly to

Mr H. Barr,
Treasurer,
New Zealand Political Studies Assoc.
Department of Political Studies
University of Waikato
Private Bag
HAMILTON

NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION/RENEWAL

Enclosed please find my/our subscription to the New Zealand Political Studies Association for the year ending 31 March 1983.

Check one () Professional Subscription \$5.00
() Student Subscription* 2.00
() Institutional Subscription 10.00

Name: -----

Address: -----

* A student is a person who has no income other than bursary assistance and vacation earnings.

NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION

August 1981

Dear member,

Your subscription to the New Zealand Political Studies Association for the 1981-82 financial year has been received. It would be appreciated if you would complete this form and return it promptly to:

Mr H. Scott
Treasurer
New Zealand Political Studies Association
Department of Political Studies
University of Waikato
Private Bag
Hamilton

NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION

MEMBER'S APPLICATION FORM

Please send this form with subscription to the New Zealand Political Studies Association for the year ending 31 March 1982.

Check one: /
Individual subscription \$1.00 /
Student subscription 0.50 /
Institutional subscription 10.00 /

Name:

Address:

A receipt of a printed form will be issued when necessary and you will receive a copy of the journal.



