



BLUEPRINT

FOR

NEW ZEALAND

An Alternative Future

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Blueprint
for
New Zealand

An Alternative Future

NEW ZEALAND VALUES PARTY

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Introduction

New Zealand is in the grip of a new depression.

It is a depression which arises not from a lack of affluence but almost from too much of it.

It is a depression in human values, a downturn not in the national economy but in the national spirit.

It is the inevitable culmination of 20 years of uninspired leadership by a Government whose goals have been almost entirely materialistic.

It is not attributable to affluence itself, but to affluence without direction, to an emphasis on economic security as an end in itself rather than as a means to an end.

It is the outcome of an obsession with the growth of the economy rather than with the growth of the human mind and the non-economic capacities of the population.

And it is spawning a disillusionment with our society and political system that is driving our youth to protest in the streets and filling the sensitive among their elders with a peculiar despair.

It is a despair which comes usually with physical poverty. But New Zealand's peculiar malady is not physical poverty; it is spiritual poverty.

For a generation New Zealand has been governed not in the light of discerned goals or morally based convictions in which a more perfect society and a more perfect world were the ultimate ends, but in a hand-to-mouth fashion in which the perpetuation of political power seemed to be all that mattered.

The depressing expediency of the Government was met not with the offering of a relevant and uplifting alternative by its opponents but with an outmoded definition of social problems, a narrow vision of political solutions, and an opportunism which, like that of its adversaries, placed the winning of the next election ahead of moral considerations and consistency.

While our citizens cry out for Government action to make their cities and lives livable, for an imaginative assault on the new social ills that are eroding the quality of their lives, the national leadership continues to overemphasise economic growth at the expense of both the environment and a more natural pace of life, increasing productivity at the expense of job satisfaction, technology at the expense of the human spirit, bureaucracy at the expense of more imagination and more public participation in Government, and individualism at the expense of a sense of community.

The real tragedy of New Zealand life is not that the Government is ignoring the country's problems; **it is perpetuating them.**

It is the unquestioning servant of an economy which must expand at an alarming rate, inventing ever more dubious goods, in order to maintain full employment.

It sees the main problem of our times as an increase in the pace of inflation and ignores the increase in the pace of life; it frets over the decline in the value of the dollar and is heedless of the decline in the value of human friendship.

It spoon feeds its citizens with affluence in order to keep them quiet instead of re-shaping society and industry to meet their deeper, non-material needs as well.

It proceeds on its unenlightened path, however, at an ever increasing risk to itself. For there is a new set of values emerging in society which will either transform it or destroy it.

It is a set of values which shows in the movements to free members of our society from positions subtly fabricated by others and forced upon them. It shows in the movements to reject the de-personalising effects of our bureaucracy and technology.

It wants to improve morals---the morals of a Government which gives tacit support to a country which institutionalises racial inferiority; the morals of a nation which initiates a men-for-meat deal in which it fights in a pointless war to foster its trading links with an ally.

The new consciousness shows most simply of all in the movement by young people to establish a warmer and more meaningful relationship with each other, with society, with nature, and with the land.

There is a new current flowing in the country. The Values Party is just one product of this current. It seeks to give political expression to the new values.

It says that for too long this country has been allowed to wallow and drift.

It points to a better society, one in which men will recover their ability to gain happiness from relationships with other men and with nature, from creativity and service rather than consumption and competition. It firmly believes that the people of New Zealand are perceptive enough to see this society and reach out for it.

The people of New Zealand are once again restless and when that happens the world should sit up and watch. For great change seems to come in this country in 40-year cycles.

It was 40 years after New Zealand began developing in earnest that we had the great industrial reforms of the 1890s. New Zealand was the first country to give women the vote. Forty years after that we had the great social reforms of the first Labour Government.

The pattern seems to be that we go forward and then we consolidate. And when we go forward we lead the world.

The third 40 years is almost up.

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Preface

The Values Party was formed in Wellington late in May, 1972, and will be putting up candidates in a number of seats at the coming general elections.

It has been described as both a humanist party and a quality-of-life party. It wants to meet the needs of people rather than the needs of the system, and it appreciates that human need is not definable solely in material terms.

It is concerned with the Environment in its widest sense. It seeks to create congenial and satisfying conditions of life wherein there is the widest possible scope for human development and happiness.

The party has branches not only in the capital, where its headquarters are situated, but in Auckland, Christchurch, and Dunedin. Its leader is a former Auckland journalist, Mr Tony Brunt.

If you should wish to become a member or help the party at election time our addresses in the main centres are:---

Auckland: 94 Brighton Rd, Parnell. Ph. 372-876

Wellington: P.O. Box 137. Ph. 896-180

Christchurch: 41 Whitefield St., Kaiapoi. Ph. 278-226

Dunedin: P.O. Box 6057, Dunedin North. Ph. 88-547

Policy Summary

POPULATION GROWTH

Great worth is seen in adopting Government measures which will lead indirectly to a stabilising of the population size. Zero population growth will have many beneficial effects. It will, among other things, ease pressure on the environment and reduce the growth of large urban areas with their accompanying social problems.

ECONOMIC GROWTH

Limiting and even halting economic growth is possible once zero population growth has been achieved. This section examines some possible economic benefits of ZPG and briefly considers the challenging problems that might arise in a planned, stable-state economy.

TECHNOLOGY

A warning note is sounded about the damaging impact that new technologies can have on human cultures. Technology is seen, not just as a threat to the environment, but as a possible dehumanising influence on man because of its extent and complexity. A form of technology control is suggested.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Job satisfaction, and not more money, is emerging as the greatest need of the modern worker. In a society where economic security is more easily attainable than ever before men and women want something more out of their work than the weekly pay packet. Ways of making work more satisfying are outlined.

CONSUMERISM AND UNEMPLOYMENT

In this section the problem of unemployment is examined. The conclusion reached is that full employment is unlikely in the future unless economic growth is boosted to an undesirable rate or a shorter working week is introduced so that work is spread. The latter course is seen as the best.

The problem of advertising and the creation of wants is examined. Examples are given of individuals and organisations who seem to see economic growth as an end in itself rather than as the means to an end. Measures against advertising are recommended.

CRIME AND SOCIAL DECAY

The breakdown of social stability is seen as flowing, in part, from the impact of industrialism, the growth of cities, and the social turmoil which results from the preoccupation with creating an affluent society rather than a healthy one. The strain on the "nuclear family" and the breakdown of community living and community spirit seem to result from this process.

FOSTERING COMMUNITY

The regeneration of community life is seen as an answer to much social disintegration and crime. The range of opportunities open to a Government that wishes to strengthen community bonds is wide. It ranges from the promotion of goal-setting at all levels of New Zealand society to decentralisation of power to increased financial support for community welfare and social service groups.

GOVERNMENT REFORM

A dispersal of power from central government to regional and local government, and to new units of community government, is vital. Reform of Parliament is urgently required and a novel scheme for creating a maximum term of office for MPs is outlined. More "open" Government where citizens are aware of the options available, especially regarding technical decisions, is highly desirable.

EDUCATION

New Zealand's traditional authoritarian school system, controlled by a centralised bureaucracy, in Wellington, is badly in need of reform. Regional education authorities should be created to bring administration closer to local needs and to allow a greater flexibility in curricula and teaching methods. National examinations should be replaced by internal assessment within schools.

ENVIRONMENT

Apart from the usual areas included under environmental affairs, policy deals with such things as control of motor cars and building heights, protection of old buildings, increasing the attractiveness of suburbs, and upgrading the town planning profession.

PENAL REFORM

Radical changes are proposed in this area with abolition of most prisons recommended.

SOCIAL WELFARE

In addition to traditional forms of welfare the problem of uncontrolled social change is examined, and ways of dealing with the harmful physical and psychological effects to which it gives rise are outlined. Preventive welfare is the best course of action and earlier policies on population and economic growth, technology control, industrial reform, and community development, will be powerful agents in this area.

RACE RELATIONS

A severe racial crisis is possible in New Zealand unless the Pakeha community acts decisively to foster a sense of racial identity among Maoris and Polynesians, rather than attempt to assimilate them. Recommendations concentrate on furthering Maori control over Maori welfare and Maori institutions.

FOREIGN POLICY

The Values Party supports a more activist and independent approach in foreign affairs and a movement away from collective security to regional co-operation.

DEFENCE

The reasons for New Zealand maintaining a military force are very weak. The increase in international stability and the decreasing relevance of Pacific alliances render our present defence force obsolete. The armed forces should be dismantled and replaced by a multi-purpose civil and social service organisation.

LAW REFORM

Changes in the laws relating to homosexuality, abortion, and drugs are some of the policies outlined. The drug question is widened to include alcohol.

MISCELLANEOUS

Other policy points deal with medicine, women's rights, housing, rents, monopolies, foreign investment, security intelligence, land speculation, and taxation.

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Population Growth

The New Zealand population growth rate of about 1.7 per cent per annum is fairly high by the standards of other advanced Western countries, but it is falling slowly. In the five years between 1961 and 1966 the New Zealand population grew by 10.8 per cent. This dropped to 6.9 per cent between 1966 and 1971.

Without active steps by Government, New Zealand is unlikely to achieve zero population growth (ZPG) for many decades. Mr E.M.K. Douglas, a sociologist at the University of Waikato, has estimated that unless New Zealand acts now it is unlikely to be able to stabilise population at less than 4.6 million (compared with the present population of about 2.9 million).

Why should New Zealand act decisively to reduce population growth?

1. Because of the harmful effects on the environment of unchecked population growth.
2. Because population growth results in urban growth with its attendant social ills.
3. Because continual population growth acts as a spur to continual change in society, with resultant harmful psychological and physical effects on people.

1. EFFECTS ON THE ENVIRONMENT

Population growth encourages economic growth which is the chief cause of the environmental crisis through which the earth is presently passing. Ecologists throughout the world are warning that population and economic growth must be stabilised in order to stop pollution and ease the pressure on natural resources.

The now famous computer study "Limits to Growth", carried out at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in March of 1972, predicts a collapse of the life-support systems on earth before the year 2100 unless economic growth is stopped. However, it would be unwise to halt economic growth before population growth, so the latter becomes the first urgent priority.

It may be argued that New Zealand still has room for expansion because of the small population but is there any convincing reason why we should have more people? Some economists argue that New Zealand needs a greater population for economic reasons (to expand industry and diversify our economy and exports, thus making New Zealand less reliant on imports and on exports of vulnerable primary products). But there is an obvious vicious circle here because as long as we continue to allow population growth we are going to have to continue economic growth to meet the expanded needs. Besides this, we would be unable to reach ZPG for many years, even with Government action, so that by the time we achieve a stable population the country will have more than enough people to satisfy even the most conservative of our economists.

The argument that we must industrialise in order to pay for our imports also has another weakness. In order to industrialise, New Zealand must import capital goods and all the paraphernalia of industrialisation. Thus we may find ourselves industrialising in order to pay for the costs of industrialising.

2. EFFECTS ON URBAN GROWTH

Zero population growth, or something close to it, will reduce urban growth. This is seen as desirable by many people.

Mr D.F. McKenzie, director of research for the Department of Justice, said at the National Symposium on Population, Resources and Environment, in Wellington, in May, that

overseas studies had shown that mental disorder was related to population density. The greater the density the more numerous were disorders. An urban person had to accept more complexity and be able to stand up to shocks. Increased population compression with increased pressures and tensions led to increased social disorders such as violence, alienation, and the emergence of deviant anti-social groups in society.

A recent statement by the United States Commission on Population Growth is just as applicable to New Zealand as it is to the United States. "Population growth has frequently been regarded as a measure of our progress," said the Commission. "If that were the case, it is not now. There is hardly any social problem confronting this nation whose solution would be easier if our population were larger."

Doctors throughout the world are beginning to realise that limiting population growth has become the most urgent public health challenge of the century. Fifty-five prominent British doctors have made a call for a deliberate ZPG programme. The Annual General Meeting of the Australasian Medical Students' Association decided to affiliate with the Australasian Association for Zero Population Growth, and the president of the Otago Medical Students' Association is on record that New Zealand should adopt the principle of ZPG.

To a certain degree the ills of urban areas can be reduced by intelligent town planning, but notwithstanding this, cities which grow too large are inviting social problems. As a noted American human biologist and environmentalist, Rene Dubos, has noted: "Congested environments...damage the physical and spiritual aspects of human life."

At the Wellington symposium a perceptive comment was also made by Professor W.R. Catton, a sociologist at Canterbury University. He said that the spacious habitat of the New Zealander has been an essential factor in making him the kind of human being he is, and loss of such spaciousness must inevitably change the character of the New Zealander.

"If we want to remain an egalitarian, democratic society, we would be well advised to keep population density low," he said. "Doesn't the New Zealand way of life depend on the safety valve of open space?"

3. THE IMPACT OF CHANGE

Population growth is related to economic growth and technological change and these factors cause wide-ranging change in society.

A growing population means that buildings are pulled down and bigger ones are put up, houses are demolished and flats erected, cities spread into what was once familiar countryside, motorways scar suburbs and city. Many scientists are now warning that the rate of change in societies throughout the world has become too great.

Rapid, uncontrolled change results in ill-effects at the psychological level with such things as a declining sense of "place" and "belonging" in people and a declining duration of friendships. Thousands of people in cities display confusion, mounting anxiety, erratic swings of purpose, and a panicky urge to escape from it all. They complain that they "can't cope." Alvin Toffler, an American sociologist, has coined a label for this modern day confusion--- "future shock." Future shock is the "dizzying disorientation of the individual brought on by the premature arrival of his future."

At the psychological level the greatest effect of constant change is loss of personal identity. At the physical level it is loss of health.

Rene Dubos says that until the past few decades most technological and social changes were gradual enough for people to adapt to them. Their physical and bodily characteristics underwent alterations to fit the new circumstances, and so did mental attitudes and social structures. But now too high a rate of change is causing sudden and profound disturbances in the lives of people.

"The simple fact is," says Dubos, "that we know very little about most chronic and degenerative diseases. We do know, however, that they are not inherent in man's nature, but are caused by environmental and social influences that are expressions of man's failure to respond successfully to modern ways of life... There is no doubt that man is still immensely adaptable, but it is also certain he cannot adapt to just anything and everything. And the rate of his biological evolution is so slow that it cannot possibly keep pace with the rate of technological and social change."

As Charles Reich says in his book, "The Greening of America":-

Most people are forced to move several times during their lives, and even if they stay in the same place, the environment is constantly being altered, so that it can no longer be recognised. We do not know what all this means to man.

In the spring, on the first, soft, breezy, gently stirring day after a long winter, man feels a pang, an ineffable longing. Could it be that he is not wholly without the need for land, place and folk memories? Man used to spend a thousand years in the same place, his roots went down deep; he built his life around the rhythms of the earth and his mental stability upon the constancies of nature. Can a hundred years change his physiology enough so that the need for these rhythms and certainties no longer exists?

Obviously we cannot go back to the stable societies of a bygone age, but we must try to take control of the basic change processes in our society in order to slow some of them down. One of the keys to control of change is control of population growth.

MEASURES TO REDUCE POPULATION GROWTH

Dr Erich Geiringer, secretary of the New Zealand Medical Association, stated at the Wellington symposium that surveys indicated that about half the babies born in New Zealand were unplanned. If only planned babies were born, New Zealand would be near achieving zero population growth. At least half the unplanned pregnancies occur in women who are strongly motivated against pregnancy and would seek abortions.

New Zealand's excessive population increase is, therefore, not a conscious spurt of reproductive endeavour which would require repressive Government action to subdue, but rather a failure of people to implement their own wishes. A significant step towards ZPG could thus be taken through increasing the contraceptive potential of the population.

PARTY POLICY

The Values Party believes that there should be a deliberate Government policy of population control as a means to reduce economic and urban growth, protect the environment, and advance the arrival of the four-day working week (see ECONOMIC GROWTH).

We do not agree that there should be direct Government limitation of family size. People should still have freedom of choice. Nor do we feel, at this stage, that there should be a progressive reduction in the family benefit in order to discourage larger families. This would be more of a punishment than an incentive.

We believe that there should be

- 1. A sex education programme for school children.**
- 2. Free availability of contraceptive advice and facilities.**
- 3. Liberalised abortion during the first three months of pregnancy.**

The party stand on abortion, however, is not based on the desire to reduce population growth, although it will have this advantageous effect. For justification and details of our abortion policy see ABORTION LAW REFORM.

We believe that these measures, combined with the natural slow decline in the New Zealand birth rate, will hasten ZPG.

Increasingly the tendency of the modern parent is to have only two or three children and these Government measures will better enable them to achieve this goal.

According to Newsweek magazine of June 5, 1972, America's birth rate has dropped down to a level of zero population growth, but population experts feel it will only be a temporary phenomenon because a large number of women born during the post-war baby boom have recently entered their fertile years, or are about to.

Britain's birth rate has also been dropping, especially since the liberal Abortion Act of 1967. According to an article in the Economist in May, 1972, Britain may reach ZPG in 1973. Until this year many had believed that she was unlikely to reach ZPG by the year 2000. Some are now saying that an actual decline in population in Britain is foreseeable in the future with adverse consequences for such a heavily industrialised country. Immigration laws may have to be reviewed and Government measures might have to be examined to offer incentives for larger families.

New Zealand is a long distance from ZPG and the dangers of population decline are completely irrelevant at this time.

For reasons to do with ecology, urban growth and the rate of social change, New Zealand must take active measures to reduce the birth rate. The Values Party therefore believes that zero population growth is a desirable goal.

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Economic Growth

As stated in the preceding section, economic growth is the chief cause of pollution and damage to the environment.

It is also related closely to technological "advice" and helps to increase the rate of social change.

If economic growth was halted while population was still rising there would probably be a reduction in the standard of living. It is vital, therefore, that a steady state economy be preceded by population control. Over the past decade New Zealand's economic growth rate has averaged about four per cent per annum. The population growth rate has averaged about 1.5 per cent, so there has been a surplus of economic growth over population growth each year--seen by many as desirable because of the need to expand the country's industrial base.

There are many problems connected with a policy of planned zero economic growth. The main one lies in maintaining a delicate balance without causing the economy to go into recession. It may well be desirable to couple ZPG with a small economic growth rate of one per cent a year, if this is sustainable with a stable population and with the maintenance of a congenial environment. A continuing surplus could be devoted to such things as social spending and overseas aid.

ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF ZPG

1. With zero population growth, the attainment of a good standard of living for all, and a decline in the need to expand the production of goods and services, a four-day working week could be phased in in many industries.

At the present time the Federation of Labour is advocating the introduction of the four-day working week without a reduction in pay, but such a policy may not be feasible while an expanding population makes expanding demands.

2. An easing of economic demand associated with ZPG may well result in reduced inflation.

Governments frequently try to reduce high rates of inflation by increasing taxes and pinching the money supply so that people spend less. Zero population growth will tend to stabilise demand in a more natural way.

DIGRESSION

Although there are no great barriers to stabilising the level of national economic growth through Government fiscal and monetary policies, considerable trouble may be experienced in curbing the impulse for growth at the level of the businessman, even with zero population growth. Non-expansionary economic controls by Government will tend to depress expansion at the local level but the forces which drive businessmen and executives to expand are complex and very strong.

Foremost is the desire for higher profit, but other factors are involved. Many businessmen are forced into growth by the need to remain viable as competitors expand and larger units develop. Many feel they have to expand in order to take advantage of the economies of scale and remain competitive with overseas firms. The growth syndrome is, therefore, probably one which cannot be tackled with complete effectiveness at the national level only, especially for a trading nation like New Zealand.

An interesting thesis on the reasons for corporate growth has been propounded by the controversial American economist John Kenneth Galbraith, and, if accurate, it gives cause for hope about the possibility of tempering the rapacity of businessmen. Galbraith feels that executives will identify themselves with the goals of a business firm and serve it enthusiastically, only if the firm is identified with some significant social goal. Since the depression no other social goal has been more strongly avowed than economic growth. Given the agreement on national growth as a goal, therefore, the goal of the businessman and executive has had a strong social purpose.

Over the past few years, however, the tide has begun to turn and expansion is increasingly coming under attack, mainly by those concerned with the environment, but more and more by sections of the public who are concerned with the tendency of developed economies to invent increasingly trivial consumer goods in order to survive as the basic elements of economic security are obtained by most of the population.

At the public conferences which were held in Stockholm in June, in association with the UN Conference on the Human Environment, economic growth was savagely assailed by numerous scientists and ecologists. In the future, therefore, businessmen are likely to find economic growth stripped of its social purpose and, in fact, identified with global disaster. Using Galbraith's reasoning this will cause executives to gradually discard growth as a goal and focus on some other. It may well act to further increase the number of takeovers and mergers--passive forms of growth for they entail no new capital formation---which have been running at a high level in New Zealand since about 1968.

Economists and Governments of the future will be faced with many challenges by a planned no-growth economy. A whole new range of techniques of economic management may have to be developed to handle the unique problems that would arise. For example, a rise in unemployment with a stable population might draw forth a novel Government response. The normal method of easing unemployment---and one which was adopted by Mr Muldoon in his last budget---is to inflate the economy and attempt to boost its growth. To reduce unemployment without inflating the economy, Governments of the future may have to create jobs directly and selectively rather than indirectly through the medium of expanding industry. A work-for-half-the-day scheme may have to be introduced to share the jobs around but this may well come naturally even without unemployment.

Looking into the future, a substantial tax on advertising might be called for in order to keep a stable state economy in check. Advertising is the essential support of much useless economic activity, creating wants for a variety of dubious goods. (See CONSUMERISM AND UNEMPLOYMENT).

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Technology

The technological revolution of the past 30 years has provided man with many benefits. It has had a dramatic impact on the lives of people throughout the world. Now, however, it threatens to destroy both our humanity and our environment.

It seems that the children of the Depression were so astonished by the new scientific miracles and were so awed by the experts in science and technology who made these achievements possible, that they hardly questioned the purposes to which this power was being put. Henry Ford was seen as a man who put technology at the service of man. Military scientists were seen as key figures who could achieve security for their nations.

Technical decisions were uncritically accepted as lying outside the capabilities of ordinary people to question. Thus it was that the Anglo-French Treaty to build the noisy supersonic airliner, Concorde, was accepted without public debate. Thus it was that the Labour Government's decision in 1959 to raise Lake Manapouri by more than 80 feet was accepted without public debate. Thus it was that the world is now in the grip of an environmental crisis which threatens man's survival.

Luckily, he is at last moving to forestall such an occurrence. The Stockholm conference has focussed world attention on despoilation, and the National Government is beginning to address itself to the problem with more sincerity than it has done in the past, though just how far a party with an obsession with economic priorities can compromise is still to be seen.

Public awareness of the damage which uncontrolled technology can inflict on the environment is now at a high level and is unlikely to decline in the future. On the contrary it will probably increase. Thus action to save the environment from the machine is probably assured, at least in New Zealand. But action to save man from the machine is not.

Public education about the more subtle dangers of technology is urgently needed and public policies in this field are also required. The simple fact is that too much technology in life tends to dull the human spirit and limit its full expression. This is a more abstract criticism and is not as intelligible to the public as a polluted creek or a smoggy atmosphere. But it is an extremely important one. Unless intelligently used and controlled, technology tends to impoverish as it enriches. Social scientists and public figures throughout the world have been giving warnings of this very real threat to human happiness. Here are a few:-

Lloyd Geering, theologian: "The next 30 years will be a time, not just of change, but of impending crisis....Man is increasingly suffering from a loss of identity and is no longer sure what it means to be a spiritual being. He is becoming little more than part of a complex machine in a secular city. We are being crushed by the sheer weight, complexity and inhumanity of our technology. It will leave us little more than mechanised robots".

Paul Hoffman, former chief of the UN Development Programme: "Far too much of our technology has been applied without due consideration for its impact on the human spirit, on our cultures and on our way of life. Either we take fuller control of our technology and consciously turn it to more humanistic ends, or eventually our technology will control and completely dehumanise us."

Alvin Toffler, sociologist: "One has to be either selfish or irresponsible to want the technological juggernaut to roll on unmanaged, unguided, in a witless, short-sighted and life-imperiling fashion. There should not be a blind acceptance of every technological innovation that comes along simply because it is possible and profitable."

Charles Reich, law professor: "Technology and production can be great benefactors of man, but they are mindless instruments; if undirected they roll along with a momentum of their own... they pulverise everything in their path: the landscape, the natural environment, history and tradition, the amenities and civilities, the privacy and spaciousness of life, beauty, and the fragile, slow-growing social structures which bind us together."

New technologies have great power to change human behaviour and thought. For example two of the most profound influences on 20th century man have been the motor car and television. With new technologies there is a grave potential for harming as well as benefiting society. The car and television have given great benefits to man but have not been without their costs.

The spread and availability of cars has made young people more mobile and tended to cut down on communication in families. It cuts many off from nature: they spend spare time tinkering with crankcases rather than weeding the garden and planting vegetables and flowers (how many young people nowadays have "green" fingers?). It increases pollution of the atmosphere and destroys the quietness and spaciousness of our cities.

Television binds many to the home, cutting down on face-to-face contact between people and replacing it with social communication through an electronic gadget. It brings to our lounges programmes which bulldoze our habits and values, not always for the better, and brainwashes us with advertisements which glamourise artificial and unsatisfying life-styles.

Computers have made firms more efficient but they have also deprived many workers of a sense of occupational effectiveness. According to a spokesman for the American Management Association the introduction of computers and the expanding automation of management functions makes many executives feel cheated out of their traditional satisfactions. Harvey Wheeler, an American writer and political scientist, states that "intensive research on the cultural implications of the computer should be carried out before we start using it to make everything from shoes to teaching machines, flooding the consumer market with hastily conceived gadgetry."

Herman Kahn, an American social scientist, has predicted that these technical innovations will be developed within 30 years: Human hibernation for periods of months and years; new, more varied, and more reliable drugs for control of fatigue, relaxation, alertness, mood, personality, perceptions and fantasies; capability to choose the sex of unborn children; individual flying platforms; extensive use of robots; programmed dreams; extensive genetic control of plants and animals; and four things which will tend to limit normal and healthy communication between people: Home computers to run the house and communicate with the outside world; home education via computerised and programmed learning so that children will not have to go to school; cable television which will allow shopping and banking from home; and visual telephone where people can watch each other on a screen.

What will all this mean to man? Already the quality of human interaction in our society has deteriorated to a low level.

Experimental surgeons in Ohio are presently developing transplant techniques to allow "head swaps" in the future.

Many of these developments are likely to have disturbing effects on society and we must either prepare ourselves for them or reject them. Somebody ought to be worrying now about their ethical implications and their long-term effects.

There should be some body with a broad mandate looking into the future and assessing the likely impact on society of technological and scientific techniques being developed overseas.

In the area of technology such a body could educate the public on the costs and benefits of new gadgets and processes in an effort to dispel the belief that every new and profitable technology is necessarily beneficial to society.

As a simple illustration, such a body could have pointed out to consumers the likely costs and benefits of the motormower during its introduction into New Zealand in the late 1950s. Experience has shown that compared with the handmower the motormower has made grass cutting easier and quicker. On the other side of the balance sheet are these facts: motormowers cost much more and have to be replaced more frequently; more money must be spent on their maintenance with benzine and repair costs; they are frequently difficult to start; they cause noise and smoke pollution; they sometimes cause injuries; and they reduce the amount of energy people have to expend in an age when men are increasingly prone to heart attack through lack of exercise.

A technology watchdog could also have warned at an early date of the impact on New Zealand of shipping containerisation. It was only in July of this year that the Royal Commission on containers reported on the likely impact on port facilities and watersiders of this new technological innovation. It warned of the approaching redundancy of many waterside workers and the urgent need for retraining programmes; it recommended the strengthening of the National Ports Authority; and it called for continuing research on a national plane so that intelligent planning could be made for dealing with the consequences of unit cargo handling. These measures could probably have been foreseen long ago.

The recent British dock strike was precipitated by the threat containers posed to the jobs of watersiders. The economies that shippers and exporters hoped to gain from unit shipping over the next 50 years may have been wiped out in just three weeks.

The whole question of technological change is not one that can be adequately dealt with on a national basis. Only concerted action at an international level can slow down the continual adjustments society must make in order to accommodate itself to the needs of technologies produced, for the most part, by private citizens for private gain, but very often at great cost to the public. (See also Open Government---GOVERNMENT REFORM)

PARTY POLICY

-----The Values Party, believing that there must be international action to safeguard the natural environment and human cultures from the ill-effects of science and technology, would encourage action by the United Nations to establish a body to keep technological and scientific development under close observation.

-----The Party supports the establishment of a Science and Technology Assessment Board in New Zealand to assess the effects on society of technologies likely to be introduced into this country in the future.

Such a board could liaise and co-operate with such bodies as the Consumers' Institute, social scientists, and trade union and occupational groups, in order to gather and disseminate information.

The Board should be constituted so that it could receive public complaints and, if necessary, hold hearings. Its main role would be an educative one, though it could recommend to the Government rejection of a technology if such a technology was under Government control. If a privately manufactured productive or consumer technology was felt to be socially harmful, the board would have the power and facilities to mobilise public support to gain its modification or its outright rejection.

The Board should be funded by Government but be completely independent. It would be something like a technology ombudsman.

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Industrial Relations

Job satisfaction--and not more money and better conditions--is the most pressing need of today's worker. If New Zealand is to avoid the present lethargy of American industry it must take firm action to increase job satisfaction for workers.

"Too Many U.S. Workers No Longer give a Damn" (Newsweek, April 24) and "Many Americans Bored with Jobs" (Sunday Herald, June 18) are two recent headlines which give some idea of the trouble now afflicting American industry.

According to numerous reports many American workers expect more from their jobs than they are now getting. As economic security is achieved higher-order needs are becoming paramount. Workers' complaints are not primarily with wages, pensions, vacations, retirement programmes or other fringe benefits. Their discontent is more abstract. It results directly from a lack of job satisfaction.

In highly technical industries, and especially production-line industries, the tendency is for workers to feel dehumanised. An American economist Victor Fuchs has this to say about the phenomenon:--

For many decades, many psychologists and sociologists have maintained that industrialisation has "alienated" the worker from his work, that the individual is deprived of contact with the final fruit of his labour, and that the transfer from a craft society to one of mass production has resulted in depersonalisation...

In business firms and among executives, frustration tends to result from similar factors. An official of the American Management Association said recently that executives get frustrated because they feel like "spokes in a wheel." A highly successful American businessman named Robert Townsend, who wrote a best-selling book about ways of increasing job satisfaction in the white-collar field, had this to say about the "average company":--

The boys in the mailroom, the president, the vice-presidents, and the girls in the steno pool have three things in common: they are docile, they are bored, and they are dull. Trapped in the pigeonholes of organisational charts, they've been made slaves to the rules of private and public hierarchies that run mindlessly on and on because nobody can change them.

To try to reduce this dissatisfaction some firms in both America and Europe are adopting job-improvement programmes where the emphasis is not on re-organising jobs to make them more efficient, but on re-organising jobs to make them more interesting, more fulfilling, and less monotonous.

INDUSTRY (BLUE COLLAR)

Production Line

In production-line firms the emphasis is on giving workers more responsibility and more tasks to perform in order to reduce the monotony of narrow specialisation.

The Ford Motor Co., for example, is experimenting with a team approach to building some auto components, with workers moving along the line handling the project from start to finish, and actually seeing the product take shape beneath their hands. Chrysler allows production line workers at some plants to test drive the cars they have assembled.

IBM introduced a system at one of its electric typewriter plants where workers on the line do more jobs than previously. IBM calls it the "short-line" concept. Philips Electrical Industries has incorporated this idea in its factories in Britain.

All of these experiments have resulted, according to reports, in a great increase in worker morale, a reduction in absenteeism and turnover, and in many cases--and unexpectedly--an increased productivity.

These techniques of job-improvement appear to have great relevance for the disaster area of New Zealand industrial relations, the freezing industry, which is largely a production-line industry. The freezing industry regularly accounts for about half the work-days lost through strikes in this country each year. But freezing workers are not a more militant breed because they were born that way. The causes of many of the walk-outs are not the petty grievances usually reported in the Press (water on the floor, no scones in the cafeteria etc.) The real causes go deeper, and one of the main ones is the intense monotony of jobs which are unpleasant enough anyway.

Allan Geare, a lecturer at the Industrial Relations Centre, at Victoria University, has made a study of the causes of strikes at freezing works. He had this to say in a recent issue of the "Australian Journal of Industrial Relations":--

The intense monotony of the slaughtermen's work could be reduced if management encouraged, rather than discouraged, men to learn more than one skill on the 'chain', so that they could change among themselves after an hour and thus reduce the repetitiveness of the work. Some of the more experienced slaughtermen already do this, and most appear eager to try someone else's job... All that would be required is for there to be managerial encouragement for what is already an unofficial practice among some workers.

Geare also had other recommendations to make on improving jobs in the freezing works.

Production-line industries generally do not seem to be very satisfying places to work.

In an industrial survey published in the "New Zealand Herald", on August 14, it was found that "manufacturing industries which rely on production lines to maintain a high output are hard-hit by absenteeism."

The paper added: "A spokesman for a large Auckland clothing company said missing staff on the production line was a "terrible problem".

Worker Participation

Worker participation in decision-making is an essential part of job-improvement. Studies have shown that, if correctly applied, participation programmes can be extremely successful in increasing industrial harmony and job satisfaction.

Early experiments in this field with various forms of worker representation on production committees, work councils, and boards of directors, failed to get workers involved and interested in their work. Further experiments have shown that greater involvement does occur when workers are able to participate in decisions about matters which they understand and which immediately concern their day-to-day jobs.

In Norway many managements have increased industrial harmony and efficiency by letting groups of multi-skilled men organise their own production operations. These initiatives have only failed where training costs were stunted, when men did not have enough skills to be flexible in their allocation of jobs among themselves, and when groups were given an area of work which really did not require mutual co-operation.

These developments have not meant the death knell for foremen and production planners. They have converged with more productive and satisfactory roles. The foremen move into genuine managerial roles of planning and co-ordination on a weekly or fortnightly basis for the requirements of the autonomous work-groups. The foremen are freed from managing the day-to-day disturbances because the groups can usually cope with these themselves.

INDUSTRY (WHITE COLLAR)

Experience in a number of countries has shown that participation programmes are just as successful at the white-collar level as at the blue-collar level.

Townsend, in his personalised account ("Up the Organisation") said that the key to increased executive satisfaction and performance was to

dismantle our organisation where we're serving them, leaving only the parts where they're serving us....Try to create an organisation around your people, not jam them in to those organisation chart rectangles.

Townsend's emphasis was on trying to meet workers' psychological needs (mainly the ego and development needs) through enlargement of executive responsibility, reduced hierarchical formality, and experimentation on the job.

He used these techniques when he took over the Avis Rental Car Co., of New York, after it had been losing money for 13 consecutive years. Within three years he had the firm making a profit.

Depending on the circumstances, job improvement can involve such things as increased variety of work, fostering a team spirit, enlargement of responsibility to reduce underemployment, and worker participation in decision-making. All these are closely connected.

WORKER OWNERSHIP

In the context of increased worker democracy, representation on production councils and boards of directors becomes more meaningful.

M.D. Sadler, of Christchurch, argues that increased worker ownership will reduce unemployment and the length of the working-week. He says that something like a 40 per cent employee ownership of equity capital (acquired gradually) would, in addition to ensuring profit-sharing, result in the inability of management to dismiss workers as increased technology improved productivity. He sees workers going on a shorter working week instead. Sadler very persuasively reasons that the present industrial system tends to create unemployment for some rather than more leisure and freedom for many. He also notes that worker ownership would reduce the need for strikes to force up wages.

On Sadler's evidence partial worker ownership would appear to have far more advantages for the whole community than simple profit-sharing schemes.

Even the New Zealand Monetary and Economic Council concurs. In its report for June 1972 it stated:--

...in principle the community and both sides of industry should benefit from successful attempts to draw labour and capital into closer association, improve their communications, enrich and enlarge their jobs, and encourage bargaining in terms of real value...

Worker participation can take many forms, among them involvement in ownership, and we consider that schemes to issue to employees equity shares in the enterprises in which they work should be encouraged in suitable cases as an important element of increased participation by workers in their job environment.

The Values Party believes that the present campaign by the Federation of Labour to achieve a greater degree of worker ownership in industry should be strongly encouraged, but active Government measures should initially be aimed at job-improvement in its wider aspect.

According to some observers, the likely effect of a nation-wide job-improvement programme would probably be to increase productivity, in addition to creating a more satisfied work-force. The introduction of a national job-improvement programme in Norwegian heavy industry in the early 1960s was prompted by a desire to increase productivity following a period of economic stagnation.

All attempts by the National Government to urge workers on to greater productivity without trying to increase the satisfactions of work, are doomed to failure. As Daniel Bell said in his book, "Work and its Discontents," for the average worker "his job must not only feed his body; it must sustain his spirit."

PARTY POLICY

- The Values Party believes that there should be a Government-encouraged job-improvement programme to increase job satisfaction and reduce industrial unrest.
- The programme could be implemented through a tax-incentive scheme in which production-line and heavy industries would be given a penal tax grade according to the degree to which they met job-improvement criteria laid down by a re-organised Labour Department.
- Support and encouragement would be given to efforts by workers to achieve a significant degree of worker ownership, although the extent of worker ownership would not form part of the Labour Department criteria.
- Immediate Government support would be given to the freezing industry to institute job-improvement programmes.

-----The Labour Department would be expanded to provide trained job-improvement experts to advise business firms and industry.

-----There would be encouragement for the establishment of a joint industrial research unit funded by both employers and trade unions which would study job-improvement in all its aspects. Such a unit exists in Norway.

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Consumerism and Unemployment

A frightening aspect of the New Zealand economy is that unless it is expanding at an alarming rate thousands of people find themselves out of work.

Thus in 1971 while economic growth kept pace with population growth, both at about one per cent, unemployment rose alarmingly. By mid-1972 registered unemployed totalled 7000--double the figure for a year before.

For the lovers of both social justice and the environment these facts are uncomfortable. They are even more disturbing when one considers that

- * Vast areas of inefficiency prevent higher unemployment.
- * Increased use of technology will cause increased redundancy.
- * Many of our workers are employed producing goods and services that are of dubious value anyway.

INEFFICIENCY

It is well known to every New Zealander that there are vast areas in private industry and in Government where workers do not have enough to keep them occupied. Many jobs are in fact created to give people employment. According to the Department of Labour there were about 2000 Government employees in July who had been taken on the State payroll to do artificially created jobs in order to get them off the unemployed rolls.

A nation-wide job-improvement programme reducing underemployment and making jobs more satisfying would probably mean the elimination of droves of workers.

TECHNOLOGY

Increased use of technology is likely to result in increased unemployment or in an increase in the number of artificially-created jobs.

The increasing reliance on machines creates an unstable situation. Investors who pay for the better machinery want a return on their money and they can only get it if savings are made on wages. Thus the occasion arose not so long ago when Crown Lynn Potteries Ltd, in Auckland, dismissed 120 production staff because of "improved management and greatly increased capital investment."

Redundancy is looming on the wharves as containerisation approaches. Increasing use of computers may also have a profound effect.

The Government is also advocating mechanisation in other areas. In the 1972 Budget the Minister of Finance, Mr Muldoon, said that the State would increase the grant to the Inventions Development Authority and make finance available through the State Advances Corporation for larger projects involving the development of inventions or prototypes to the production stage.

"In order to stimulate the application of new technology to industry the Government has decided to increase its assistance for the development of inventions and prototypes," he said.

A National Productivity Centre presently being set up will foster increased automation.

With the trend towards mechanisation, not even retraining schemes for redundant workers are likely to combat the advance of technology. Galbraith believes that increasing automation is regarded as more than a way of lowering unit costs; it also gives planners and management greater control over the factors of production and reduces the fear that output might be disrupted by militant workers.

CONSUMERISM

On May 16 of this year the economics editor of a national newspaper said: "The fact is that many thousands of New Zealanders are busily engaged in producing goods and services which we could well do without."

When one faces up to the fact that much of our economic activity is of questionable worth the problem of unemployment becomes dwarfed by the implications this realisation has for the whole way we spend our lives.

If our society was operating sensibly the more goods we obtained the fewer we would need. The decreased requirement to go on producing and consuming goods would mean that more of our time could be devoted to non-economic pleasures and pursuits. It is not working out that way. One of the reasons why it is not is the fact that we allow in our society advertising which is designed to create, and does create, dissatisfaction.

Much advertising is devoted to providing information but much is psychologically based. It plays on the mind of the reader or viewer. It creates wants. Advertising and its related arts help develop the kind of man the industrial system needs---one who reliably spends his income and works long and hard because he is always in need of more.

Much display advertising in newspapers and magazines, and most television and cinema advertising, attempts to sell a particular commodity by playing upon a supposed underlying need, such as sex, status or excitement. Although New Zealand is a fairly affluent society, television and newspaper "soft sell" will keep on trying to create dissatisfactions, trying to subvert our peace of mind, trying to maintain economic growth.

To a certain extent then, advertising is at war with increased leisure and an unspoiled environment.

No wonder that many delegates to the non-government conferences on the environment at Stockholm concluded that the costs of economic growth are now exceeding the benefits in affluent Western societies. Once basic material requirements have been provided, human needs are not served but distorted by continued emphasis on material consumption (see CRIME AND SOCIAL DECAY).

With this knowledge it is depressing to note that the most widely-used method to eliminate unemployment is to boost consumption and economic growth.

Consider the following examples of growth-mania culled from our newspapers in just one month (August):--

- * In its quarterly economic survey the Australia and New Zealand Banking Group called for an increase in consumer spending.
"While consumer demand remains slack, there is nothing to encourage producers to increase output, let alone expand capacity," the survey said. The ANZ group did not even bother to consider whether New Zealanders wished to spend more on material goods. Implicit in their statements was the casual assumption that man is an animal who will go on gorging himself the more money he is given.
- * The president of the Newspaper Publishers' Association, Mr M.A. Pattison, gave an address defending advertising. To strengthen (sic) his case he quoted a statement made by an Australian cabinet minister several years ago:--
"If we are to have national growth it will require the production and consumption of a rapidly increasing volume of goods and services. This requires selling and selling must have advertising." In this statement increased production is not seen as a way of satisfying needs; it is seen as a way of pursuing a mindless, unquestioned

goal, growth for the sake of growth. The quoted statement implies that increased production is really unnecessary because it will require advertising to sell it!

- * On August 23 the Wellington newspaper, the "Dominion" said, in an editorial: "Last year the economy was practically stagnant. There was hardly a sign of growth." The paper made this statement in the knowledge that in 1971 economic growth kept pace with population growth. The Dominion then went on to mention that while there was little growth, inflation was rampant. It observed that growth was needed to cure inflation--not apparently to meet genuine need.
- * Professor B.P. Philpott, an economist at Victoria University, sharply criticised those who speak out against economic growth. What were the reasons he gave for increased productivity? Was it to transform an impoverished nation? "If we do not have growth," said Professor Philpott, "we fall further behind other nations in the international economic league table."

The facts argue strongly that economic growth should not be regarded as the cure for unemployment. The best answer seems to lie in the movement to a shorter working week so that work is spread. In this situation one man does not continue to work for 50 hours a week while another remains completely idle. Full employment is gained by sharing the work. Alternatively, manpower could be diverted to more worthwhile tasks such as welfare and social work or provision of housing.

It is interesting to note that in order to combat the unemployment that would have resulted from the use of containers, Australian watersiders have moved to a 35-hour week.

This has encouraged the Australian Council of Trade Unions to press for the 35-hour week in areas of industry which they say can afford it on two counts: higher productivity through mechanisation and growing redundancy also through mechanisation.

PARTY POLICY

Advertising

In order to reduce unnecessary economic growth and other harmful effects on society of psychologically-based advertising, the Values Party supports the following measures:--

-----Newspaper and magazine display advertising and television advertising by profit-making bodies to be non-tax deductible.

-----If a product is a danger to human health and is advertised over mass media, the firm will be bound by law to pay for equal advertising space or time in the same media outlining the hazards of the product.

Unemployment

-----In order to maintain full employment without unnecessary economic growth, the Values Party believes there should be a movement to a shorter working week and a channelling of resources into areas of greatest social need.

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Crime and Social Decay

Crime and social decay cannot be separated from the type of society we have created to give us affluence.

Crime is part of the price of affluence, or more precisely, of the social disintegration that affluence gives rise to.

There is every reason to believe that the social ills at present afflicting New Zealand ---increasing crimes of violence, delinquency, vandalism, alcoholism, drug addiction, suicide, illegitimacy, neuroses, marriage breakdowns, loneliness, and insecurities---are all closely related and result from the disintegration of social stability, from a breakdown in community spirit and community living.

It is fanciful to suppose that they can be checked by treating each in isolation. They are symptoms of a social disease which has its roots deep in industrial society.

Saul Alinsky, a celebrated community organiser in the United States, said this recently about the American middle class:--

They've worked all their lives to get their own little house in the suburbs, their two cars, their colour TV, and now the good life seems to have turned to ashes in their mouths. Their personal lives are generally unfulfilling, their jobs unsatisfying, they've succumbed to tranquilisers and pep pills, they drown their anxieties in alcohol, they feel trapped in long-term endurance marriages or escape into guilt-ridden divorces. They're losing their kids and they're losing their dreams.

They're alienated, depersonalised, without any feeling of participation in the political process, and they feel rejected and hopeless. Their utopia of status and security has become a ticky-tacky suburb, their split levels have sprouted prison bars and their disillusionment is terminal...

Their society appears to be crumbling and they see themselves as no more than small failures within the larger failure. All their old values seem to have deserted them, leaving them rudderless in a sea of social chaos."

Richard Goodwin, an aide to the late President Kennedy, says the same thing in a more analytical way:---

Widespread discontent and the consequent desire for change is not simply some psychic phenomenon---it is caused by realities, by the fact that something is going wrong in the United States...

Wealth has brought not liberation, but increasing confinement. The pleasures of place, of neighbourhood and street, are eroded by physical decay and psychic evictions; work, the principal object of human vitality, declines from satisfaction to obligation to pain; the organic units which provide one with the acceptance and respect of fellow---family and community and place---crumble under powerful, ill-comprehended forces of dissolution. The individual realises that he no longer shapes the conditions of his existence, that he has become an instrument, an object, of some uncontrollable social process...

Our present afflictions are fundamental. They are not produced by malfunctions or poor administration, but flow from the operation of a social and economic process unsuited to modern conditions."

This is the present condition of the materialistic society New Zealand is using as a model for development.

Professor Michael Banton, a sociologist at Bristol University, recently told the British Association for the Advancement of Science, that "increased disorder is part of the price we pay for the adaptation of our social arrangements to an economic system which brings us such great material benefits."

The simple fact is that in our quest for economic security we have paid too much attention to satisfying our material needs and not enough to creating a healthy social environment to meet our deeper, non-material needs.

Two important changes in social organisation took place as a result of the striving for affluence which grew out of the Depression. Firstly, people came together to service technology and the result was the creation of large, badly planned urban areas. Secondly, the family unit was reduced to the bare minimum as it struck out on its own to find the Good Life.

The result is that communities have become too big and families too small.

URBAN AREAS

Massness

It is the natural characteristic of mass societies in a technological age that they tend towards shallowness and artificiality in human relations.

Because of the sprawling nature of cities and towns, the formation of small areas with a community of interest is a rare phenomenon. Sociologists say that once we pass the level of the village we reach a level of social organisation that has not often been achieved by the human species.

If a society grows too large the bonds holding it together become progressively weaker and eventually disintegrate. It is significant that a recent study in America has revealed that the crime rate appears to be proportionate to the size of the city. Violent crime **per capita** increases with size.

Mobility

It is difficult to create sound societies when people are constantly moving from place to place. In such conditions the towns are not made up of people who have grown up together and among whom bonds have had time to develop, but simply of people who have been thrown together for various random reasons.

The fact that their places of work are generally situated outside their communities also tends to impair the growth of a close community of interest.

THE FAMILY

Before the drift to the cities began in New Zealand and before the three-bedroom house the quarter-acre section and the other symbols of guaranteed happiness became the dominant goal of the average New Zealander, households tended to be quite large.

In rural areas or low-density towns and cities, grandparents, unmarried brothers and sisters, and sometimes even an aunt or uncle were part of the family circle. Then within a short space of time complex social and economic forces stripped the family to its basic number--parents and children--and caused a reduction in the number of desired offspring.

The result was what psychiatrists now call the "nuclear family", the unit of father, mother and children.

Many social observers now say that the nuclear family, living in a self-contained and isolated house in the suburbs, may not be the healthiest environment for parents and children.

They say that technological society draws the members of the modern family outward and disrupts the stability that children and adults need. Jobs, career, school, friends, values, and morals, and all kinds of technologies and social institutions impinge on the fragile family unit. The suburban household becomes little more than a place to sleep.

Professor Norman Ashcroft, an anthropologist at Adelphi University, in New York State, said recently:--

I believe that the suburban nuclear household, even in the best of circumstances, does not afford a healthy or happy life. It does not provide a stable or emotionally satisfying relationship in the home, nor an environment that children want to live in.

"In fact, the more we have isolated this domestic unit behind the walls of the suburban home, the more we have alienated children from their parents--and husbands from their wives...

"In buying this kind of family arrangement, we hoped to achieve economic independence and personal affluence. But what we gain in one sense we lose in another.

Professor Ashcroft is one of many who are advocating the enlargement of family units.

Thus in society at the present time two powerful factors seem to be operating to produce social strain and social disintegration: the distorted quality of the family environment and the low quality of the communal environment.

The first cannot be the subject of very penetrating political or governmental action. Governments can endeavour to provide families with good housing and good education and welfare services, but they cannot and should not tinker with the family unit.

Only through natural evolution and individual experimentation will the modern family adapt itself to the conditions of a technological society. If it becomes widely accepted that larger families are more desirable, it is to be hoped that the nuclear family will be extended by the addition of grandparents and relatives, rather than through an increase in the number of offspring. As has been pointed out earlier, the ecological arguments in favour of slowing and halting population growth are very powerful.

Communal-living experiments which draw together two or three families under one large roof, are much in evidence in our major cities, especially among the younger generation, and seem to be very successful. They may be a guide for future social change.

While a Government cannot do much to improve the quality of family life it can do much to improve the quality of communal life.

"COMMUNITY" AND CRIME

Man in industrial society as it has developed overseas--and as it is developing in New Zealand--tends to be deprived of a satisfactory social environment.

An alternative society made up of decentralised, self-sufficient communities, in which people work near their homes, have the responsibility of governing themselves, of running their schools, hospitals and welfare services, in fact of constituting real communities, would appear to be much happier and healthier places to live in.

In these conditions its members would be likely to develop an identity of their own, which many of us have lost in the mass society we live in. They would tend, once more, to find an aim in life, develop a set of values, and take pride in their achievements as well as in those of their community.

It is the absence of just these things that is rendering our mass society ever less tolerable to us and in particular to our youth, and to which can be attributed the rise in drug addiction, alcoholism, delinquency, and mental and emotional disorders, all of which are symptomatic of a social disease in which society fails to furnish its members with their basic psychological requirements.

To propose that New Zealanders completely restructure their society and form into small closely-knit communities is to propose a move that might be attainable in the long term but which does not address itself to the pressing need for a more vigorous sense of community right here and now.

There is no doubt that activities which bind people together are the best insurance against crime and social disintegration.

Not only does commonsense indicate this but so does observation.

An American study published in the Archives of General Psychiatry, in March, 1965, showed how in one community, the rates of crime drastically declined as the citizens became involved in vigorous civil rights activity. Communist China, a mass society but one where the sense of community and collective effort is very strong, has an extremely low crime rate.

What New Zealand must do is clear: It must foster community at all levels of society.

Fostering Community

GOVERNMENT ACTION

Foreign Policy

A Government can provide a sense of national purpose and direction if it acts with courage and independence in the field of international relations. But it is difficult at the present time for New Zealanders to take pride in their country.

As a group of young Labour Party workers recently stated:--

As a community that relates to the outside world, we appear uncertain, with some meanness of spirit developing. While quick to give material goods we are slow to take an independent moral stand. Officially we still follow a crude and outdated anti-communism which stronger friends foisted upon us. Indeed our international behaviour suggests that we are insecure in our own identity as a nation, somewhat mistrustful of former close friends, and suspicious of moving towards new ones. In the world at large New Zealand has declined in stature, begging to retain its affluence, unfaithful to its reality as a multi-cultural society, and in danger of being gobbled up by big multi-national corporations.

The Government can help increase the sense of community in New Zealand by acting in a manner which will encourage pride in the nation's stature rather than shame.

Goal-setting

The only national goals New Zealand has are the goals of the National Development Conference and the whole emphasis of these is on increasing economic growth.

What New Zealand badly needs is a set of clearly defined national goals with which the whole community can identify and which address themselves to improving and using the non-economic capacities of the population.

Increasingly as economic security becomes routinely obtainable the attention of the community should be focussed on more challenging and uplifting goals such as the regeneration and enrichment of community involvement and human relationships. Debate should be encouraged by Government at all levels to get the community involved in the formulation of national goals. This would be indicative planning of a revolutionary nature.

Participants in the National Youth Congress, at Otaki, in 1971, turned their talents to goal-setting and came up with a list that is much more imaginative and relevant than those recently drawn up by the Social Council of the National Development Conference.

The Youth Congress adopted the following values as a basis for discussion and action by the community:--

- * **"We believe we need to change our attitudes, feelings and ways of relating to each other as well as seeking to achieve political change through working together. We believe the first complements the second.**
- * **"We need to create a human environment where concern for the person rather than for material gain is paramount.**
- * **"We call for genuine individual participation in crucial life issues; a redefinition of politics which is integrated with, and not separated from, our lives.**
- * **"We seek the formation of communities which will avoid the depersonalisation and anonymity of mass society.**

- * "We want the freedom to live our own life style, to determine for ourselves social and moral values, in the area of private conscience without the imposition of uniform cultural standards.
- * "We believe in an economic system based on the sharing of resources and the satisfaction of the basic material needs of all people.
- * "We desire to preserve our environment unspoilt by pollution and ugliness."

The basic fault of the National Development Conference was that it subordinated social and environmental goals to economic goals. The sensible procedure would have been to reverse the process, to decide on the quality and nature of the society desired by most New Zealanders and then shape the nation's economic goals in the light of this vision. Such a procedure might have resulted in something more than the economics of growth; it might have caused major modifications in the very system of free enterprise and commercial behaviour which exists in this country.

Regional Development

A decisive regional development programme must be implemented by Government, at least while economic growth continues.

This is necessary for two reasons. Firstly, the development of large urban areas like Auckland and Christchurch must be arrested because of the progressive breakdown of community bonds which comes with increasing size. Secondly, such a policy will regenerate country centres which are being sapped of their young people, their industry and their vitality by the drift to the major cities.

The Government has been placing national growth ahead of regional growth in the mindless helter-skelter to meet the targets of the National Development Conference. This policy has been followed in spite of warnings from countless observers of the social costs involved.

Ways of pushing development in favour of smaller centres and of actually decentralising existing industries sited in congested areas should be examined and implemented.

Measures to promote regional development could include an inducement, like the introduction of differential freight rates to allow manufacturers and producers in the smaller centres to get their products out to the main markets at an economic cost.

A "big stick", such as the imposition of a "social consequences" tax for firms choosing to relocate in congested areas, could be introduced. This idea has been suggested by Mr H.A. Morton, a senior lecturer in history, at Otago University. Mr Morton says that industries which set up in densely populated areas should pay this tax in order to ease the burden which their presence would impose on ratepayers. The prospect of such a tax would also discourage relocation. Shareholders should not be allowed to benefit from the advantage of location if burdens are placed on the shoulders of others.

Government must also grapple with ways of making the smaller centres attractive living areas for young people. Adequate cultural and entertainment activities must be provided.

One possible step would be the acceptance by Government of the role of "pop" music entrepreneur, establishing in the Internal Affairs Department an entertainments branch which could bring overseas rock groups and popular artists to New Zealand for a tour of provincial centres. At the present time many well-known overseas entertainers are brought to New Zealand but frequently only play in one or two of the main centres. The Government could subsidise performances in smaller centres where shows could not run at an economic cost.

This is just one of many possible ways of breathing new life into these communities.

Decentralising Power

In the GOVERNMENT REFORM section a dispersal of power from central government to local government and to new units of community government, is proposed. This could be a powerful instrument for increasing community spirit.

At the present time the average New Zealander tends to be fairly uninterested in the activities of local government and in local body elections. The reason for this indifference is quite understandable: the average Kiwi knows where the real power is--at the central government level, not with local government.

It is the responsibility of our leaders to give citizens a real stake in the running of their own communities, to encourage participation in the governing process right down at the neighbourhood level, and this can only come about through a radical restructuring of Government.

Town Planning Direction

The lack of direction of the National Government and its shallow outlook and conception of the "quality of life" have left our town and country planners wallowing in a goal-less vacuum, uncertain of the sort of societies they should be building.

A firm direction from Government on the nature of the communities that New Zealand should be designing is urgently needed. Such direction should encourage the maximising of community life as far as this is possible through town planning. Community centres should be provided for and Scandinavian innovations such as cluster housing could be examined.

Aid to Community Groups

Government should encourage the expansion of voluntary agencies and groups working in the area of social welfare and social service in the interests of greater flexibility and more citizen participation. There should be increased financial support that does not suffocate and co-ordination that does not direct.

As the young Labour Party policy study group recently concluded, Government departments can play a very limited role in preventive welfare work because the prevention lies in a vigorous community where there is a maximum of citizen participation. Voluntary groups can more readily harness willing volunteer work by people associating themselves in organisations of their own choice.

COMMUNITY ACTION

The best and most constructive way of binding people together is to unite them in service to others.

Emerging in our cities at the present time are a number of community groups devoted to serving others and coming to grips with the new problems of the urban environment: loneliness, isolation, racial tension, drug addition, and the disillusionment of youth. Government must be responsive to the needs of these groups as well as to groups involved in the more traditional forms of welfare work, such as care for the disabled, the Plunket Society, etc.

A spirit of innovation and bold experimentation needs fostering. Traditional approaches are not wholly appropriate anymore. The "dead hand" of Government needs to be brought to life.

The new-look groups emerging, which could be the subject of increased Government support, include the Community Volunteer Scheme; which will allow volunteers of all ages to spend some time in community work; the Youth Action Centre, in Wellington, which has organised youth "happenings" and helped establish the "Big House", a communal city centre; the Black Panthers Maori group, in Otara, which is providing a focus for aimless youth; HELP, in Dunedin, which is involving young people in schemes helping pensioners and the infirm; Youthline, in Auckland, a telephone counselling service; and many others.

The Values Party also believes that there is an important place in society for groups who operate outside the law in a non-violent manner in order to "humanise" the cities. The squatters movement, in Wellington, which is opening up empty houses for occupation is one such group. The Friends of Brutus, which "liberated" Albert Park, in Auckland, in 1969, is another example.

Business firms should also be encouraged to provide community volunteer fellowships which would allow executives to spend some time in community work on full pay.

PARTY POLICY

The Government should encourage the regeneration of community life through

- A principled and independent foreign policy which encourages pride rather than shame.
- The encouragement of debate on desirable social goals and values at all levels of New Zealand society.
- A regional development policy revitalising rural communities and arresting the growth of large urban areas.

- A dispersal of political power to regional and local government and to new units of community government (see GOVERNMENT REFORM).
- Community-minded town planning.
- Increased support for voluntary agencies and groups involved in community work.
- Incentives to industry to allow executives and workers to spend time on community work on full pay.

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Government Reform

The structure of Government as it exists in New Zealand will not survive in its present form.

This is because centralised government is now too big and too clumsy to cater for the rapidly changing needs and values of people in a technological age. Needs are being pressed from below which the modern State with a centralised power structure and slow-moving bureaucracies cannot handle quickly enough to avoid strain and sometimes violence.

People throughout our society are feeling alienated and more and more powerless to resist the forces that are shaping them for the worse. The American negroes did in the 1960s and that is why they burned and looted. The Paris students did in 1968 and that is why they put up barricades in the street and went berserk.

Recent signs of unrest and frustration in New Zealand suggest that the stress in this country is dangerously above the safety level.

Only major changes in the structure of Government can make public institutions more responsive to individual needs and encourage much-needed public participation in decision-making.

The obvious direction in which Government must head is towards decentralisation. The movement advocating more responsibility, more power, and more autonomy for local government, is gaining increasing support in New Zealand and, indeed, in most advanced, urbanised countries in the world.

Public administration experts, town planners and political scientists, are advocating that central government should become subordinate to local government in matters of particular community interest, such as education, medical and welfare services, town planning, and housing provision. In as many areas as possible Government should grow upward from the smaller local units in society in order to maximise individual involvement and ensure that social welfare is responsive to local need. In these areas central government should become a "learning" body rather than a "telling" body.

Such decentralised government is also valuable because it helps to foster a sense of community. This feeling of kinship and interdependence, whether at the suburb level, the neighbourhood level, or the person-to-person level, has great possibilities for modifying the impersonal nature of societies like ours which are urbanised, competitive, materialistic and filled with technology which tends to separate people.

Only a strong sense of community can blunt the massness and alienation of Western society. And this feeling of "togetherness" and involvement can be promoted to some extent by doing in an intelligent manner what many radicals and anarchists are calling for: "Power to the people!"

DECENTRALISATION

There should be an expansion of the functions and autonomy of local and regional government in New Zealand with local units having some source of finance as of right, to help them fund their activities. At the present time local government can only raise money through rates and public loans.

The Government introduced a petrol tax last year in order to provide local bodies with a small extra source of income but this was to help them fund their present functions.

What is required is the acquisition of new powers by local government, especially in the social field, with a consequent reduction in the functions and size of central government. This could be accompanied by distribution to local government of a share of income tax along similar lines to that already adopted in Australia, Canada and a number of other countries. In Finland about 60 per cent of national taxation is spent by regional and local government.

The decentralisation of education is advocated (see EDUCATION) with dispersal of the major powers of control to regional bodies. These regional bodies could co-operate closely with local government and react more readily to local need than the centralised Education Department could do.

In the field of accommodation the Government could provide local authorities with money to provide locally-planned housing instead of centrally-planned State housing. Government subsidies are presently paid to some local bodies to provide housing but the scale of such activity is not very great.

There should be a move towards the establishment of regional welfare centres, with the Department of Social Welfare head office concerned primarily with allocating resources to the regions and disseminating information between them. The basic structure of the welfare services would resemble that of the proposed Education system.

The main function of the regional centres would be to gradually develop and maintain community welfare centres in local areas which would provide the full variety of welfare services--medical and psychological services, social workers, domiciliary services, probation, child welfare, family planning etc. Such centres have been advocated by a number of people including Professor J.L. Roberts, of Victoria University, and Dr W.B. Sutch.

The opportunity to participate in decisions affecting local welfare should be available to citizens.

The role of voluntary agencies in the system of welfare should be greatly expanded to provide greater flexibility and more citizen participation.

Other departments, such as Maori and Island Affairs and the State Advances Corporation could be regionalised and localised to a greater extent than they are at the present time.

Community Government

Experiments in community government should be started, with the formation in certain test areas of neighbourhood councils with specific functions. This would require a facilitating Act of Parliament and probably a grant in aid from Government. An initial neighbourhood meeting could establish the council and the body need not necessarily be elective at first.

These experimental councils should be established in areas where the need is greatest, such as Porirua and Otara, and their relationship with present local government units would naturally have to be worked out first.

With the restructuring of Government the "centre" would still have to remain as co-ordinator and distributor of money, and would still control such things as defence, foreign policy, justice, immigration, and governmental functions of a national nature.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

The Values Party believes that there is an urgent need for reform of parliament in order to make it a more effective and relevant body.

Enlargement

Political observers see the present size of Parliament as too small for effective performance, particularly in those areas of public policy requiring expert knowledge, a very high level of ability, and an increased Parliamentary workload.

There are four main reasons for enlargement of the House.--

1. With more members a greater pool of talent would be available for the selection of ministers. New Zealand requires a higher proportion of very able ministers than appears to have been in Cabinets in the last generation.
2. An increase in members would relieve existing members of some of their increasing burden of work, both in the business of examining legislation and in scrutinising departmental administration.
3. A greater number of Parliamentary seats would provide a greater opportunity for able people to enter Parliament.
4. A greater number of members would permit a better representation of different areas and interests in the community.

R.M. Alley and A.D. Robinson, of Victoria University, believe that there should be about 120 MPs instead of the existing 87.

In order to quickly raise the number of MPs without dislocating the present electoral boundaries they recommend a two-vote system where voters cast a vote for the local candidate and one for a party list in his zone. New Zealand would be divided up into four zones, with each party putting forward a list of zone candidates in order of preference.

The number of zone candidates who could be elected to Parliament would depend on the size of the population in each zone but the overall number would be sufficient to raise the size of Parliament to about 120.

The zone candidates would be elected on a proportional representation basis. For example if the Labour list received 50 per cent of the vote and the National list the other 50 per cent, then the first five in each zone list of, say, 10 candidates would be elected to Parliament.

The system would have many benefits, perhaps the most important being that it would place in Parliament men and women who would have the interests of the region at heart rather than the interests of an electorate. Many problems facing New Zealand require regional solutions, which are not helped by the single-member electorate system.

The selection of Albany as the site for Auckland's new university was the product of intense Parliamentary lobbying by National Party MPs from the North Shore area, and went completely against regional considerations which indicated quite clearly that the best sites would have been in the South Auckland or Whangarei areas.

Time Limit

Within the context of an expanded Parliament in which there was a greater pool of talent than at present, a maximum term of 12 or 15 years could be considered in order to produce a gradual turnover of MPs. This would have the following benefits:--

1. It would further increase the flow of talented people into Parliament.
2. It would enable fairly swift promotion for able back-benchers, and generally increase the attractiveness of a short Parliamentary career. At the moment many able people are discouraged from seeking Parliamentary service because of the long apprenticeship usually required before promotion to Cabinet and front benches.
3. It would ensure that mediocre and unimaginative politicians did not overstay their welcome as many have done over the past 30 years.
4. It would encourage more dynamic behaviour by MPs and a greater willingness to adopt needed Government reforms (such as decentralisation) which threaten the status quo and vested interests of career politicians.

5. It would increase the number of former MPs in the outside community who would subject Parliament and Government to knowledgeable scrutiny and criticism. This would make New Zealand a healthier democracy.
6. It would tend to lessen the "iron" discipline of the present two-party system which is produced, to a large extent, by the knowledge that in crossing the floor to vote with the opposing party on a matter of conscience or principle, particular members are placing their parliamentary careers "on the line."

This was highlighted recently by Sir Leslie Munro who said that he believed his vote with the Opposition against the News Media Ownership Bill, of 1965, cost him a Cabinet post. He felt that Sir Keith Holyoake never forgave him.

Without the prospect of a long Parliamentary career many MPs would probably give greater weight to principled behaviour in both voting and Parliamentary debate. The swifter turn-over in MPs would also mean that those bearing a grudge because of the opposing vote would not always be in a position to ensure discrimination.

With the introduction of a maximum term of service a generous "readjustment" or superannuation payment would have to be introduced to smooth over the transition from MP to ordinary citizen at the end of the term of office.

The most predictable objection to the proposal of a 12 or 15-year term is that particularly able Cabinet ministers and MPs would be subject to removal. This, however, is not a convincing argument when it is realised that in an expanded Parliament with a greater depth of talent, there will probably be many talented MPs who could be promoted to the Cabinet or front bench posts left vacant.

No man has a monopoly on wisdom or efficiency. By the end of 12 or 15 years most politicians are stale, bored and utterly dependent on their own cliches.

Youth Representation

Some form of youth representation should be introduced into Parliament either formally or informally.

At the present time the middle-aged and elderly are grossly over-represented. Youth representation is essential for two reasons:--

Firstly, young people appear to be those most sensitive to change in a technological society. They must have a voice in Government in order to make their needs known and release steam in a constructive way. A tragedy of modern life is that the experience of the middle-aged can no longer serve as a good guide for young people because of the great amount of social change which has occurred over the last 30 years. The "generation gap" may continue to be a cyclical phenomenon.

Secondly, young people have a sharp eye for the defects of their present society and they must have a say in how it is being shaped for the future, because that is the world they will inherit and pass on to their children.

If New Zealand is to have a true democracy it must be a "forward" democracy with young people in Parliament helping to shape their future.

Voting Age

Because young people mature earlier nowadays than preceding generations the voting age should be lowered to at least 18 years. Persons aged 16 years and over should automatically be eligible for voting rights upon marriage.

Grievance and Suggestion Forum

The Values Party was examining the idea of a Parliamentary forum where ordinary people could put forward their ideas or grievances when the leader of the Opposition, Mr Kirk, made a similar suggestion early in July. The idea is an excellent one.

Mr Kirk envisages the council as having about 10 members under the chairmanship of the Opposition. The council would consider all representations received and report each one to Parliament through the Speaker, when they could be debated.

This would provide people with a means for greater participation in Government and increase the effectiveness of Parliament.

Review Procedure

An institution that sets the legal framework of our social and economic life and authorises the expenditure of some \$2000 million a year by Government agencies might be expected to have some systematic procedure for reviewing the results of its deliberations. The opposite is however the case. As A.D. Robinson has noted, Parliament does not operate according to modern principles of management but according to methods developed centuries ago.

He proposes that Parliament should move to a new legislative pattern whereby every new bill introduced contains a statement of the objectives that are expected to be achieved, the estimated costs and benefits of the enactment of the law, and a specified time before a review of its operation. This should not exceed 20 years.

Flexibility of House Financial Rules

Standing orders of the House should be made sufficiently flexible to permit private members of the Opposition to propose increases in expenditure on particular programmes subject to their specifying the source of the increase, either in the form of increased taxation or in compensatory reduction in some other programme.

The public requires alternatives to be clarified, to be debated, and placed before it, with their financial implications. If an opposition has criticisms of the Government's planned pattern of expenditure and revenue raising it should be enabled and encouraged to present its own alternatives. The present financial procedures of the House prevent this.

Observers now feel it is time for a more liberal attitude to prevail towards attempts in Parliament to alter the Government's financial programme. The public stands to gain much from a rigorous analysis of alternative policies than is presently the case.

In-service Training

There is an increasing trend throughout the professions and the skilled trades for periods of on-the-job training to gain new knowledge and skills. The Parliamentary profession has no entry requirement other than election, and no in-service training. This could be used to develop a thorough understanding of the public accounts, of economic policy, of social policy, of methods of political analysis, and so on.

Society and economy are becoming very complex and require greater effort at understanding than even a decade ago. To maintain the ability to handle issues with the same competence as senior public servants, and to restore Parliament to a position where its debates are regarded as contributions to the understanding of policy problems, some measure of in-service training for MPs seems urgent.

CONTROL OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Decentralisation of Government will almost certainly increase the responsiveness of public institutions to the changing needs of the populace. There is still a need, however, for more effective political control of the administrative arm of Government and for making Government bureaucracies more dynamic bodies than they are at the present time.

Appointments

The present appointments procedure for top Public Service positions (usually the top two in each department) should be replaced by one in which elected politicians have substantial say. At the present time appointments are made by a committee in which public servants are in a majority.

This procedure is clearly undemocratic in that it enables powerful officials to be appointed by other powerful officials. It is also exclusive in that it effectively prevents persons of great talent--and unbureaucratic imagination--from outside the Public Service becoming heads of departments.

Under-secretaries

In the opinion of many political observers the number of politicians running the executive branch in New Zealand is probably far less than is desirable to run a modern state. It is important to have a sufficient number of politicians running the executive for a system of Parliamentary democracy to operate effectively.

One possible answer is the appointment of more Parliamentary under-secretaries--either from within the governing party or from outside Parliament. Their purpose would be to assist Cabinet in its operations or a particular minister.

Job improvement

The techniques of white-collar job-improvement (see INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS) should be applied to the public service, as well as to industry, in order to make the bureaucracies as mobile and responsive as possible. Such a programme might involve a reduction in the size of the public service in order to eliminate under-employment.

"OPEN" GOVERNMENT

The centralisation of government has not only made it less responsive to the rapidly changing needs of people--it has also placed too much power in too few hands. This is the conclusion of an increasing number of social scientists and political observers throughout the world.

More and more people are coming to realise that democracy slipped through their fingers while they were busy struggling for the Good Life, watching science and technology prove their apparently limitless capabilities. The large public and private bureaucracies have been having things all their own way.

In the political field all that most people possessed was one solitary vote every three years; in the private field the democracy of the market mechanism was just as suspect--manufacturers began to create demand instead of react to it.

As Anthony Wedgewood Benn, a former British Cabinet Minister, has noted: "Now, all of a sudden, people have woken up to the fact that science and technology are the latest expression of power and that those who control them have become the new bosses."

The Technology and Science Assessment Board, advocated in the TECHNOLOGY section, will hopefully enable some measure of social control over privately produced and controlled technology. But the decisions made by central government must also be socially controlled to a greater extent than they have been in the past.

Decentralisation of Government in areas of educational and social administration will allow greater public participation in decision-making in these fields.

Yet most far-reaching decisions of a technical nature will still have to be made by central government: the construction and siting of motorways; motorways v. public transit systems; the nature and siting of power projects (e.g. the Manapouri and Clutha schemes); the import quota for new cars; the approval and banning of defoliants and drugs; the acquisition of new military weapons; the introduction of cable television; etcetera.

A greater amount of democracy in the making of these decisions can only come about through greater "openness" of Government.

At the present time most Government decisions are made behind closed doors. The public tends to be unaware of the information and arguments being used by pressure groups in their confidential relations with Government, and by public servants in their relations with the political executive. With the castrated nature of Parliament in the modern two-party state, decisions tend to be made by Cabinet and caucus and then presented to the public as faits accomplis (remember Manapouri and the siting of Albany University). Only with the greatest difficulty can a dissenting public reverse these decisions.

The obvious need is for greater voluntary openness in decision-making by the party in power. Ideally it should give some indication of the alternatives that the Government is considering in order to draw out public feeling and choice, but such behaviour might be difficult to guarantee.

Apart from the Parliamentary Forum already outlined, and several other measures contained in the PARLIAMENTARY REFORM section, two further measures could be taken to facilitate public influence on decision-making.

Freedom of Information

A law should be enacted allowing members of the public access to all Government records as of right. Such a law exists in Sweden.

At the present time there is no access as of right, although Government officials have stated that they will allow fairly liberal access to public records.

A new law could perhaps allow department heads to deny access to certain types of information but such decisions could be open to appeal to the Ombudsman. Very soon a body of practise regarding public access to public records would build up.

Referenda

The possibility of increased use of referenda, perhaps in certain specified areas of public policy, such as environmental affairs, should be examined.

The Values Party believes that there is a great need for reform of the present Government structure. In the preceding pages it has outlined a number of reforms but accepts that others may be needed.

It also believes that the measures outlined should be duplicated in a flexible manner and where applicable, to units of local government.

The Values Party believes that the process of alteration in the structure of Government is as necessary for the nation state as it is for any firm which finds technological change destroying its old management structure and requiring it to adapt itself accordingly.

Examples of modernisation in New Zealand Government over the past 30 years include the abolition of the Legislative Council, the streamlining of Parliamentary procedure during the 1960s, the establishment of the Ombudsman, the establishment of the Public Expenditure Committee of the House, the beginnings of an increase in the number of MPs, the payment of research personnel of the two Parliamentary parties from public funds, the amalgamation of a number of allied Government departments, and local government rationalisation.

All these steps have been palliative measures. Major changes are now called for. The process of political obsolescence in New Zealand is far outstripping the attempts at modernisation and we can ignore it only at great risk to the future stability and health of our society.

PARTY POLICY

- Partial decentralisation of Government with more power for local units in order to make Government more responsive to the changing needs of people, and to allow greater public participation in decision-making.
- The establishment of experiments in community government in Porirua and Otara with the formation of neighbourhood councils with definite powers.
- Parliamentary reforms involving:
 - a. Enlargement of the number of MPs to about 120.
 - b. Consideration of a 12 or 15-year maximum term for all MPs.
 - c. Establishment of a Parliamentary Forum for the public to air grievances and suggest policies.
 - d. A regular review procedure for all legislation passed.
 - e. In-service training for MPs.
 - f. Introduction of some form of youth representation.
 - g. Lowering of the voting age to at least 18 years with automatic voting rights for persons aged 16 years and over should they be married.
- Increased political control over the Public Service through:
 - a. Greater control by politicians of the appointment of department heads .
 - b. The increased use by Ministers and Cabinet of under-secretaries who could be co-opted from outside the public service.
- Increased public access to Government records as of right in order to encourage more "open" government.
- The flexible duplication of these reforms wherever applicable to local government units.

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Education

Our most progressive educationists are saying that our school system has become outdated.

They say it is not equipping young people with the skills which they need to cope with life in a changing world. The speed of change in society has created a need for greater flexibility in curricula and modes of instruction in schools. At the present time many of the subjects which our children are being taught are irrelevant to their needs, and the way in which they are being taught renders them of even less value.

A number of new approaches to teaching should be tried. Headmasters and teachers should be given scope to innovate and experiment with teaching methods in order to find those which are most successful.

Some time ago the Post Primary Teachers' Association requested the Education Department to establish six experimental schools to try and assess the worth of different approaches to teaching but the request was refused.

DECENTRALISATION

Our educationists maintain that the creative thought and ability necessary for innovation already exists among the present teacher force but the Education Department is not encouraging or stimulating its expression. They see an urgent need for the reform of the present system of Government control over education.

The Education Department, as with most centralised bureaucracies, is somewhat out of touch with sentiment and enthusiasm at the local level and is unresponsive to the need for change and innovation. For this reason great need is seen for partial decentralisation of control over education with newly-formed regional education authorities exercising substantial control over primary and secondary schools.

The Education Department, in Wellington, would act as distributor of funds, disseminate information between regions, and maintain the inspectorate.

GENERALISM

In loosening up the presently highly formalised and traditional education processes there should be a swift phase-out of the system of early specialisation in secondary schools. Children are now being streamed into narrow courses at an age when many do not know what they want to do.

Emphasis should be placed on providing a more general education, although with options so that a student can pursue a specialised line of education (e.g. the sciences or languages) if he or she so desires. The Education Department has accepted the need to stop the early specialisation of education in secondary schools but has taken little action to correct the situation.

CURRICULA

The Social sciences constitute one of the most neglected areas of education at the secondary level.

The flexibility in curricula should allow greater opportunity to study subjects like sociology, psychology, political science, international affairs, and economics, which are confined largely to the universities.

These give pupils a greater understanding of human behaviour and social institutions.

An improved liberal studies course is being introduced at the third and fourth-form levels but is not carried through to higher levels.

Family living and parenthood classes should be introduced into the education system.

With the increasing trend of parents to have only two or three children--usually in quick succession--many young adults have their first experience of child care only when they have their first child. The view of many child-care experts is that this situation can be a dangerous one--mainly for the baby.

There is also a second reason for such courses. A Department of Justice publication, "Crime and the Community," published in 1964, stated that the campaign to get at the roots of crime would not be complete without educating young people in the fundamental activities of marriage and family living. The causes of crime are frequently traceable to poor family environments and broken marriages.

"Education in living together and in rearing children is the urgent requirement of every group in the community," said the book.

Maori studies and elementary Maori language lessons should be introduced at all primary schools and should be carried on through intermediate school. Such courses should, however, be optional at secondary schools.

The reasons for the compulsory nature at the lower levels are two-fold. Firstly, they give European children an appreciation of the Maori culture and thereby encourage a greater understanding between the races. Secondly, they give Maori children a sense of racial identity in a society where the education system has, until recently, tended to concentrate exclusively on the European culture.

Not surprisingly, it has been noticed that Maori children perform extremely well in Maori study classes. Such lessons during the early years of education will help to foster a truly biracial society and alleviate the crippling identity crisis that many Maoris go through.

POLYNESIANS

Special treatment in the areas of class size and financial aid must be given to schools containing a large number of Polynesians.

At the present time Polynesian pupils are at a handicap in the school system because of language difficulties and cultural differences. In an endeavour to provide all school pupils with equal opportunity of success within the education system and within society, Polynesian pupils must be given special treatment.

EXAMINATIONS

Regionalism and the increased flexibility in education will require that the national examination system at the School Certificate and University Entrance levels be phased out.

This is seen as beneficial by many educationists as at the present time the thrall of examinations tends to distort our education system and encourage learning by rote and by sterile memorisation. The emphasis in a changing society should be on creative education with pupils learning to understand, to discuss, to store and retrieve knowledge on a discriminating basis, and learn how to find out answers and knowledge.

National examinations should be replaced by internal assessment within individual schools rather than regional examinations.

Such a system will not give universities or employers any uniform criteria for comparing and selecting school-leavers, and studies will have to be made to seek solutions to this problem. But if New Zealand is to have an education system that will provide its children with the skills to cope with life and work in the contemporary world the examination system has to be phased out.

The changes in the school system advocated in brief here will require changes in tertiary and teacher-training institutions. But we must hold up the ideal school system and then reshape the education "tributaries" to produce the ideal system.

The present unrest in our intermediate and secondary schools is attributable, in large degree, to the fact that our education system has not changed quickly enough to meet the changing needs of the modern school pupil. The pupil wants now to be treated like a human being rather than a component of mass production shaped to meet the needs of a national examination system.

PARTY POLICY

- The rigid control from Wellington of New Zealand primary and secondary schools should be ended by partial decentralisation, with newly-established regional education authorities taking over the major powers of supervision.
- The present system of national examinations for school certificate, university entrance and university scholarships should be phased out and replaced by internal assessment within schools.
- Secondary schools should be geared to provide a broad education for all pupils right up to the 7th-form level, while at the same time providing opportunities for specialisation at the pupil's choice.
- Greater flexibility in curricula and modes of instruction in the school system with headmasters and teachers being given scope to experiment in styles and approaches.
- Compulsory parent-training classes at the secondary school level.
- Compulsory Maori studies and elementary Maori language classes at primary and intermediate schools
- Special aid for primary and secondary schools containing large numbers of Polynesians.
- Increased expenditure on education to reduce class sizes.
- Increased attention to making schools more congenial environments for pupils.
- The expansion of preschool education facilities, especially for Polynesians.
- The expansion of adult education opportunities.

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The Environment

Man should not try to conform to the environment created by social and technological innovations; he should instead design environments really adapted to his nature.-----Rene Dubos.

THE MOTOR CAR

To a great degree we have designed our cities to meet the needs of the motor car instead of the needs of people.

Decisions regarding the format and use of our inner city areas have been governed to too large an extent by narrow engineering considerations giving undue weight to the accommodation of vehicular traffic. The uncontrolled use of the private vehicle has resulted in steady increases in noise and smoke pollution, in mounting interference with pedestrian movement, in increasing congestion at peak times of public transport, and in the constant harmful exposure of the visual senses to the chief symbol in our society of the "rush" mentality.

Voices can now be heard protesting at the dangers inherent in considering only the problems of traffic and ignoring all other aspects of physical form.

Mr J.A. Beard, a Wellington town planning consultant, said in 1971:
".....the rising ratio of cars per head of population combined with greater and greater daily use has already made vast inroads on the amenities of Central Wellington..."

A visiting American academic criticised Christchurch recently for turning Cathedral Square into a parking lot and bus depot. "The city's surrender to the motor car," he said, "is more complete than in most English cities."

-----**The Values Party would provide financial encouragements to local government to**

- a) **Restrict and prohibit the use of motor vehicles in inner-city areas,**
- b) **Establish adequately grassed pedestrian malls and rest and recreation areas in inner-city areas.**

-----**The Party would place more emphasis on the provision of public transport, especially rapid-rail transit systems, as a means of improving public access to cities, and less emphasis on building urban motorways and roading to improve the access of private vehicles.**

It is disturbing to contemplate the increase in roading within the next few decades which will be necessary to maintain the status quo. It is therefore vital that we seek sensible transportation alternatives.

It is clear that broadly-speaking the only alternative is public transport--a mix of rapid mass-transit by road and rail. Rail, especially, should never have been allowed to run down to the degree that it has. The power requirements for transporting freight by road are five to six times greater than by rail, and the pollution is correspondingly higher. The energy outlay for the cement and steel required to build a motorway is three to four times greater than that required to build a railway. The land area necessary for the former is estimated to be four times more than for the latter.

Public transport whether by road or rail is much more efficient in terms of per capita use of materials and energy than any private alternative. It can also be as flexible, provided it is encouraged at the expense of private transport.

This is the key to the provision of a sound transportation system. First the vicious spiral of congestion slowing buses, losing passengers, raising fares, losing more passengers, using more cars, creating more congestion, etc. must be broken. A commitment to drastically reduce the construction of new roads and to use the capital released for the provision of public transport would be an excellent way of doing this.

Arguments that restrictions on the use of the motor car in inner city areas may lead to a fall-off in patronage of central city stores and services can be countered by the suggestion that the increased attractiveness of the business area will provide suburbanites with an added incentive to visit the central city.

Experience in many overseas cities has shown that unless centrally-located businessmen provide shoppers with an extra attraction, they will tend to use suburban centres. This movement towards suburban shopping, which has led to the decay and enervation of central cities throughout the world, has begun in New Zealand and is most evident in Auckland.

The conscious conversion of our cities into places for people rather than for motor cars, is the only possible way of improving patronage of present uneconomic public transport systems.

BUILDING HEIGHTS

Tall buildings, remote from any human scale, disturb the skyline of a city and bring shadow and a sense of unreality to our streets.

The increasing incidence of high-rise buildings in New Zealand is another disturbing reflection of the belief among architects and planners that the American model of urban development is identifiable with social progress.

Apart from making cities even more jarring on the senses, tall buildings frequently deprive property-holders and occupants in other buildings of long-held views.

In Wellington high-rise development along the Terrace and Oriental Parade has ruined, if not wholly at least in part, views accepted in consensus as highly desirable.

As one Wellington town planner has noted: "It is seldom that individual developers, or the community, consider in any systematic way the visual implications and impact of new developments on the community landscape."

In Auckland the Harbour Board's downtown development scheme involves the construction of tall buildings along the waterfront. The Board is blocking off a view of the sea and the North Shore to future generations. It is too late to stop the scheme now.

-----The Values Party supports the introduction of architectural and town planning codes incorporating a system of maximum height controls for buildings, in order to keep building height on a human scale and protect the visual resources of the community.

CONSERVATION OF MAN-MADE RESOURCES

Buildings which lend character to our cities and promote a satisfying quality of timelessness are being demolished and replaced at an increasing rate.

In the campaign to preserve the natural assets of the country the preservation of man-made amenities is being ignored.

The Wellington district and regional schemes list only a small number of buildings as of historic or scientific interest or worthy of preservation because of natural beauty. The historic Alexander Turnbull Library, recently called "one of the rarest gems in the Thorndon setting" by an historian, is soon to be demolished in the name of progress. It was not on the list.

A senior lecturer in geography at Auckland University, Mr Warren Moran, has recently pointed out the pressing need for Auckland to retain older buildings, both single and in larger groups, in a carefully planned and deliberate fashion.

"A city's character--the non-economic reasons for existing--derives partly from its history and the physical presence of buildings of earlier times," he said. "Older buildings give people both a greater sense of identity with the past and of belonging to a particular city."

Both the Town and Country Planning Act, of 1953, and the Historic Places Act require the designation and registration of objects and places of historical or scientific interest or natural beauty, and both seek the preservation of amenities to safeguard the physical and mental health of people.

Yet in practice there is little evidence to suggest that the preservation of amenities throughout the country generally, is given any particular emphasis.

-----The Values Party would promote the preservation of older buildings and public amenities in New Zealand cities in order to preserve the character of the cities and protect them from "progress."

ZONING

The main tool of land use control in New Zealand is zoning, a process of control by type of use. Town planners are now realising that it is over simple and that flexibility and variety are necessary. Another tool being used overseas which appears far superior to the prevailing zoning ordinances is a system of land classification in accordance with performance standards. This involves consideration of the impact of the actual user and his activities--- whether he is a private citizen or state department.

-----The Values Party supports a revision of the system of land use control in order to improve environmental quality.

HOUSING

Studies have shown that occupants of State or Council houses are more likely to allow the condition of their homes and properties to deteriorate than residents who own their own homes. The reason is simple and obvious: ownership encourages responsibility and pride in appearance. Many tenants in rented dwellings fail to identify with their houses and properties.

-----The Party would provide generous incentives for the purchasing of State houses by their occupants.

Non-ownership of dwellings is also one of the main factors in the poor appearance of large areas of State housing.

-----The Values Party does not support the massing of large areas of State housing. It supports a joint approach to housing with private and Government developers working together to provide "mixed" communities.

SUBURBAN VARIETY

One of the most depressing aspects of urban sprawl in New Zealand, especially in Auckland and Christchurch, is the monotony of housing design and land use. Houses of similar appearance tend to be sited in exactly the same manner in the middle of properties for street after street.

Home Architecture

The lack of variety in home appearance is not something that can be easily tackled by Government. It requires a more imaginative approach to environmental quality by private developers and prospective home-owners themselves.

One way in which Government can act to increase the appearance of middle and low-income housing is by ending the fairly uninspired approach of the State Advances Corp. to home design. At the present time the corporation is reluctant to extend home loans to couples wishing to build homes whose design departs too far from the norm. The corporation is also reluctant to build State homes which do not conform to fairly uniform standards.

-----The Values Party supports a more liberal loans policy by the State Advances Corporation towards applicants who wish to build homes of unusual design.

-----The design of State Homes themselves should be more imaginative and less monotonous than has previously been the case.

-----In order to slow the development of new suburbs and cater for the desire of many young people to live in more homelier dwellings, State Advances loans would be allowed for the purchase of old houses as well as new ones.

As the great American social observer, Lewis Mumford, has noted: "Our technology has overemphasised in every sphere of life, the factor of...mass production and standardisation; it seeks to decrease variety in order to promote quantity. Our aim should be to promote variety in order to curb this monotonous quantification."

House Siting

The code of ordinances contained in the Town and Country Planning Act are fairly rigid and encourage the positioning of houses in the middle of sections. This is a powerful factor in the monotonous appearance of suburbia. The ordinances were designed to encourage this style of land use for technical reasons which are no longer very relevant.

-----**The Party would review the code of ordinances contained in the Town and Country Planning Act in order to allow greater flexibility in the siting of houses on properties.**

Roading Width

One of the features of New Zealand suburbs which has tended to reduce their visual quality and make them less congenial environments, is the excessive wideness of most roads, even in areas of low traffic use. This is another example of the undue weight given to the accommodation of vehicular traffic.

Narrower streets bring houses closer together and tend to foster an atmosphere of intimacy instead of isolation.

-----**The Values Party supports a reconsideration of planning practices regarding road-width in order to halt the tendency towards wide roads with their damaging effect on visual quality and human interaction.**

TOWN PLANNING

As readers may now suspect, many of the problems of the urban environment in New Zealand result from the fact that civil engineers have had too great a say in the way our communities have been designed.

Unlike town planners who are trained in the humanities and in the social impact of community structure, engineers tend to think in fairly mechanistic terms. They give great weight to technical and economic factors which seldom lead to the best use of land.

Of all the cities in New Zealand only Wellington and Dunedin have town planners who are not subordinate to the city engineer. Many cities do not have properly qualified planners.

-----**The Values Party supports the upgrading of the town planner in New Zealand local government.**

In preceding pages some of the problems which have resulted from the emphasis on technical factors in town planning have been outlined. One other important problem in this area can be highlighted.

PLANNING APPROVAL

Many engineering and structural decisions which have a profound impact on the format and living conditions of a community are not subject to planning approval.

While a private home-owner must first gain a planning permit before he can erect a garage on his property, no permission is required for more far-reaching actions like the widening of roads, the installation of traffic lights and pedestrian crossings, the changing or re-routing of public transport routes, the construction of port facilities, and the siting and nature of new power projects.

The planning division of the Ministry of Works was not consulted by the Electricity Department on the Manapouri power project, nor on the various schemes drawn up to flood parts of the Clutha Valley.

It was characteristic of the outlook of technicians that the inter-departmental committee which examined the Electricity Department's Clutha proposals, made no attempt to analyse or assess the social effects of the various schemes on communities in the valley--although they dealt at length with the effects upon wildlife.

-----The Values Party would widen the area of civil engineering and technical decisions subject to development planning approval.

RURAL ADVERTISING

Advertising hoardings are fairly widespread throughout the New Zealand countryside.

Thus, for the average Kiwi, visions of the rural outback include not only expanses of native bush and crystalline streams, but signs that declare the worth of Tomoana Dog Food and affirm the unanswerable American slogan: "This is Firestone Country."

There is probably a need for rural advertising to warn motorists of approaching facilities such as service stations and tea rooms, but the pointless hoardings which advertise goods and services unrelated to the likely needs of the motorist should be eliminated to enhance the visual quality of the countryside.

The majority of advertising billboards in rural areas are erected on property owned by the New Zealand Railways Department. The Department has apparently found the hoardings a lucrative source of income.

-----The Values Party would require the Railways Department to end the use of railway property for rural advertising purposes.

-----Ways of eliminating other rural advertising hoardings which have no relevance to services offered in the immediate locale would be examined and acted upon.

CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

-----The Values Party firmly believes in the conservation of New Zealand's natural and scenic resources.

To this end it has adopted a policy of zero population growth (see POPULATION GROWTH section). A stable population will provide the most effective brake on the progressive use of New Zealand's natural assets. Most notably it will reduce the need for the expansion of power projects with their resultant harmful effect on the environment.

-----The Party supports the establishment of a procedure requiring talks between conservation groups and Government before the raising of lakes and rivers or any action concerning lakes or rivers.

POLLUTION

Population and pollution are also closely linked. A stable population would thus be a major step forward in this area as well.

Additionally the Values Party supports the following measures:--

-----The introduction of a multi-faceted public education programme on environmental and ecological matters.

-----The requirement of the Consumers' Institute to take into account the ecological effects of relevant products when it publicises recommendations on them.

-----The enactment of legislation to stop manufacturers phasing out returnable containers for non-returnable containers of metal, glass, or plastic compounds. Coupled with this would be measures to effect a gradual phasing out of most non-returnable containers.

-----Support for the re-utilisation of industrial wastes.

-----A thorough review of the use of pesticides and fertilisers because of their threat to plant ecology and human and animal health.

-----A more stringent policing of temporary permits allowing the discharge of industrial and community wastes into classified waters.

-----A review of the water classification and permit systems to assess their effectiveness.

-----Immediate financial support by Government for the construction of sewage treatment plants by local bodies.

Penal Reform

There is a growing awareness in society that those who offend against its laws should be removed from the community only as a last resort. This is because the chances for successful rehabilitation are less in the unnatural environment of the prison than they are in the community.

Where a law-breaker is given some form of imprisonment or detention, the only punishment inflicted by society should be the deprivation of freedom, for freedom is one of the most valued of human rights.

Our penal institutions, and especially our medium and maximum security prisons, have one basic weakness: they not only deprive inmates of their freedom but tend to deprive them of their self-respect and humanity as well.

Our Government policies should be shaped by the guiding principle that the life of prison inmates should be as normal and as uplifting as is possible within the restrictive confines of a penal institution. It is only in an environment of normalcy that the difficult process of rehabilitation can begin. Character reform is almost impossible in the debasing environment of many of our prisons.

Such environments actually increase the maladjustment of criminals by uncovering and worsening personality weaknesses. Self-respect is assailed; initiative is curbed. Dress, food, reading, getting up and going to bed are no longer matters of choice. The inmate cannot fulfill his role as a worthwhile human being to parents, wife, children or friends. He is as unproductive and dependent as a child.

By taking the prisoner's freedom and then reducing his responsibility almost to vanishing point, society makes the inmate less fit than ever to comply with the demands and pressures of modern life when he is released. Many ex-inmates, when asked which was the worst--going to prison for the first time or coming out of prison upon release--have commented that it was the latter. The sudden change from one style of life to an infinitely more complex and demanding one produces great psychological disturbance. Indeed, some prison reformers do not consider that a man is responsible for his actions after his release from prison, as he is in a profound state of shock. To them recidivism (returning to prison) may be seen, not as a failure of the individual to be rehabilitated, but as a failure of the individual to recover from the shock. Instead he simply returns to prison where he has identity and acceptance.

Total abolition of prisons may not be desirable, but imprisonment should be reserved for only the most uncontrollable and dangerous criminals. Most of those presently in our gaols are not in this category.

An immediate start should be made on developing new alternatives to prison, apart from the present alternatives of probation, periodic detention, and fines.

Simultaneously steps should be taken by Government to make remaining prisons as congenial and normal as possible in order to reduce unrest and aid rehabilitation.

The policy outlined below will deal firstly with improving present prison conditions, contemplating no movement to "open" institutions, and secondly, with possible alternatives to prisons.

PRISON CONDITIONS

Pay Rates

A determined effort must be made to increase the sense of purpose and responsibility of inmates. This can best be done in New Zealand prisons by providing prisoners with proper

jobs and paying them realistic wages so that they can pay a realistic amount towards board and lodgings, pay off debts, contribute towards the maintenance of any dependants, and save up sums in preparation for use on release.

At the present time the poor payment in prison is not conducive to enthusiastic work. Inmates receive between 12c and 56c for an eight-hour day, 40 per cent of which can be spent in the canteen and 60 per cent of which is saved for release, or paid to dependants. The payment to the prisoner is only in the nature of pocket money while any dependants go on Social Security. The earnings are far below what most members of the Justice Department would like to see paid, but they are shackled with a Government which is more concerned with winning votes than with improving prison conditions.

In many of our prisons, especially the medium security institutions, prisoners have barely enough work to keep them occupied, and when reasonable jobs are provided there is little incentive to work because of the ridiculous pay rates.

Productive work habits are an essential part of the shaping of a man and the teaching of work discipline is of particular importance in the life of the offender because it decreases his feelings of restlessness and worthlessness which come with idleness.

In 1966 the Justice Department stated that it hoped to introduce award rates of payment into prisons, but the proposed reform has never eventuated. Instead the Government is adhering to the "pocket money" concept and periodically raises the pay scale a few cents. At the present time the Parliamentary Public Expenditure Committee is reviewing pay rates but there is no intention of moving to the award rate concept.

There are a number of administrative and bureaucratic difficulties involved with this system of payment but none that a determined Government could not overcome.

Attempts should be made to increase the responsibility of inmates in other areas of prison activity and administration.

Humanising Influences

In an attempt to recreate a normal social environment within the prisons, a number of reforms should be introduced. Homely furnishings should be used as widely as possible; there should be greater attention to the provision of grassed exercise yards (all exercise yards at Paremoro Prison are paved); there could be regular small liquor rations for inmates who imbibe and who are not suffering from alcoholism; a variety of dress and clothing should be allowed, and there should be greater flexibility in timetable in order to reduce the monotony of prison life.

Interaction with the Community

A high priority should be given to measures to increase interaction between the prison and the community.

Prison visiting, at present encouraged by the voluntary organisation, the Prisoners' Aid and Rehabilitation Society, needs to be increased, with persons willing to adopt prisoners. These people can provide inmates with deep contacts with the outside community. At the present time many prisoners receive no visitors.

A scheme to encourage former reformed inmates to take part in a visiting programme should also be considered. According to reports, ex-inmates returning to prison can have a profound effect on criminals--seeing one of their own kind volunteering to help them. In borstals this could be good as trainees are usually too impatient of authority to take notice of anyone connected with the "establishment."

There should be an expansion of the home-leave scheme to allow inmates other than first offenders to receive leave. At the present time adult inmates serving their first sentence of imprisonment may be granted up to three days home leave plus travelling time, once every four months. It is generally restricted to married inmates. The scheme should be open to all categories of offenders with the principle criterion for home leave being the likely threat to public safety. Home leave should also be allowed far more frequently than at present.

Regular supervised telephone calls by inmates, to families, friends, and relatives, should also be allowed.

The possibility of allowing supervised group outings of trustworthy inmates to Rugby matches, rock concerts, and selected amusements, should also be examined.

Overcrowding

Many penal institutions, especially of a medium security nature, are badly overcrowded, and more accommodation and better facilities are urgently needed. A Justice Department publication, "Crime and the Community," said several years ago that there had been understandable public reluctance to spend money on institutions, and referred to "public indifference." The book's author must surely have known that the public will never provide a lead on penal reform and that a poor prison system is the product of governmental indifference and expediency.

Instead of building large centres like Paremoremo, small ones should be constructed to provide for different types of sentences, age-groups, and categories of inmates, and to avoid the impersonality of large institutions.

Adjustment

Care must be taken to reduce the shock of transition from prison to the community.

At the present time there are pre-release hostels designed to fulfill this function. They are provided mainly for borstal detainees, but there are pre-release hostels for adults in Christchurch and Auckland. There is an urgent need for a pre-release hostel in Wellington to help the adjustment of inmates at the medium security prison at Mt Crawford.

Post-release hostels exist in various centres to assist the adjustment of inmates and the advisability of expanding the number of these should be examined.

Prison Staff

A penal system can only be as good as the men and women who serve as prison officers.

Tim Shadbolt, in his book, "Bullshit and Jellybeans," stated that **prison guards are important people in a prison. They're examples of what a prisoner should aspire to. They are the only examples the prisoners have of a good law-abiding citizen. They are society's ambassadors to the criminal world. If...prison guards and prisons are no good, then the prisoners think that the rest of society is no good either.**

A one-year Certificate in Criminology course is offered at Auckland University but only five prison officers out of 550 are selected annually to attend the course. As Shadbolt said: "Improvements made on such a small scale--but when the need is so great--are no more than a bad joke."

ALTERNATIVES TO PRISON

The suggestion that prisons can be all but completely eliminated without increasing the danger to the community, is not as fanciful as it may sound.

A study group for the Governor of Wisconsin recently recommended that all adult prisons in the State be closed by 1975.

An increasing number of penologists believe that the prison system must be phased out because it has proved unable to rehabilitate criminals. A Harvard law professor, James Vorenberg, said recently: "You have just got to close prisons down, but you've got to develop some real alternatives."

A number of countries and some states in the USA are presently experimenting with imaginative alternatives.

Massachusetts

In Massachusetts in the last three years all juvenile training schools (the equivalent of our borstals and youth detention centres) have been abolished. Young offenders are rechannelled into:--

- * Group homes where eight to 12 youths live with an adult couple under supervision by local agencies (at greatly reduced cost per capita to the State than under the old "training school" system).

- * Foster Homes
- * Their own homes, under a buddy system where a university student spends 20 to 25 hours a week with the delinquents.
- * To outdoor activities such as cleaning up parklands and going on pack and survival trips.

Florida

The State of Florida has begun putting convicts into small suburban hostels on the theory that the isolation of prisons is one of their biggest weaknesses.

The hostels are spacious and have a relaxed and open atmosphere, with the men working in the community during the day and being allowed normal facilities and rights, such as television and air conditioners in their rooms, and visitors of either sex every evening until 10 p.m. with all day visits allowed during the weekend.

Carolina pioneered in such centres 15 years ago and now has 63 of them. Released inmates have an incredibly low reconviction rate of less than 2 per cent. This compares with a reconviction rate of about 20 per cent for Witako, New Zealand's most enlightened adult penal institution, and a rate of about 60 per cent to 70 per cent for inmates released from our medium and maximum security prisons.

Denmark

The Ombudsman, Sir Guy Powles, recently drew attention to a Danish "prison", the Herstevester Institution, which is both open and maximum security in nature. It was strikingly successful, he said.

The evidence seems to suggest that in locking the criminal away and treating him as if he is dangerous, society is encouraging the very behaviour it seeks to eliminate. The overseas experiments suggest that if a society is bold enough to give the criminal an amount of "controlled freedom" or "relaxed captivity" which fosters responsibility instead of eliminating it, significant behavioural change does take place.

PARTY POLICY

-----An immediate start should be made on the gradual phasing out of most New Zealand prisons and their replacement by a large number of small "open" suburban hostels.

While closed prisons are in existence, the following measures should be implemented:--

-----The provision of adequate and suitable work for all inmates in order to decrease idleness.

-----Award wages in order to provide an incentive work, and to help inmates maintain their dependants and save up sums for use on release.

-----Greater humanising influences, such as homely furniture and decorations, grassed exercise areas, regular small liquor rations, variety in clothing, greater flexibility of prison timetable, prison cinema, etc.

-----Encouragement of prison visiting.

-----Expansion of home-leave scheme to other than first-termers.

-----Regular supervised telephone calls by inmates to relatives, family and friends.

-----Supervised group outings of inmates to sports matches, rock concerts, and other amusements.

-----Immediate construction of a pre-release hostel for Wellington.

-----Greatly expanded provisions for prison officers to take the Certificate and Diploma courses in criminology at Auckland University.

Social Welfare

WELFARE AND CHANGE

Preventive

Throughout the "Blueprint" there has been an emphasis on preventive social welfare — on stabilising population and economic growth, controlling technology, fostering community, improving the working and living environment of the citizen, in fact of adjusting the system to meet the needs of people instead of adjusting people to meet the needs of the system.

The measures outlined will, hopefully, have the effect over the long term of slowing down the pace of life where it is too fast, and controlling the rate of change in important areas of society. As was stated in the POPULATION GROWTH section, the rate of change has tended to accelerate so that people and institutions find enormous difficulty in adapting to the new fluid circumstances.

In many areas, however, change is urgently needed; in education, penal policy, government structure, and in other areas dealt with in this document. In some respects the change that is now required is change that will bring our institutions and laws up to date. The rapid change of the last 30 years now apparently produces another cycle of change as our institutions modernise in order to face up to present day realities.

Clearly, the supreme test of any Government of the future will be the ability to combine continuity with change.

Supportive

In spite of the emphasis on preventive social welfare and its slowing effect on some change processes, there must be supportive welfare measures in the "change" field.

In EDUCATION there was an emphasis on teaching children to cope with change. This must be supplemented by new kinds of counselling service for people caught up in transitions. They need to analyse the life changes they are passing through. They need a chance to talk to other people who are in the same fix.

There should be an expansion of "common situation" groups like Alcoholics Anonymous and Solo Parents Inc, bringing people together to discuss changes in their lives. People who have moved house many times have some wisdom to impart to those who are relocating for the first time. People who have undergone divorce can help those who are still caught in the painful process. People who are promoted, demoted, who have gained a child or lost a spouse, can be helped to make the transition by simply being able to talk with others who have been there before them.

Traditional definitions of social welfare must be enlarged and brought up to date. Governments must now grapple with all sorts of aches and pains, psychological and otherwise, that have until now been ignored by politics.

As the 1971 youth Congress stated: "We call for...a redefinition of politics which is integrated with, and not separated from, our lives."

PARTY POLICY

-----The Values Party supports an expansion of "common situation" groups, such as Alcoholics Anonymous and Solo Parents Inc., to help people caught up in life transitions.

TRADITIONAL WELFARE

The Values Party believes that there should be the maximum possible equality of wealth and opportunity in New Zealand.

PARTY POLICY

- Social security benefits should maintain dignity and well-being in times of sickness, hardship, unemployment, and old age, and every effort should be made to remove entirely the need for supplementary assistance.
- Benefits should be expanded to cover areas of hardship which threaten the survival of family units e.g. benefits for solo fathers, dependency allowances, handicapped children benefits.
- Correcting procedures should be built into the social security system so that inflation does not result in any inequities.
- Great worth is seen in the Labour Party's proposal for a national superannuation scheme making income-related benefits available to all sections of the community.
- There should be a movement towards regional welfare centres which would develop and maintain community welfare centres in local areas in order to increase sensitivity and accessibility of service and community participation.
- There should be a change in the head office functions of the Department of Social Welfare so that its primary functions would be co-ordination, research, training, and maintenance of standards.

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Race Relations

Unless decisive action is taken in the near future a severe racial problem is likely to overtake New Zealand.

Although the country prides itself on its record of racial harmony there is a growing unease among many observers of the racial situation in New Zealand. They say that among Maoris there is a sense of grievance which is simmering below the surface and which bodes ill for the future stability of the country.

"All is not well with the Maori people," says Mr Koro Wetere, the Member of Parliament, and social statistics confirm his judgement.

In school Certificate examinations the Maori pass rate fluctuates between 19 per cent compared with a national average of 50 per cent; in 1965 85 per cent of Maori pupils left school without any recognised educational qualification; the average convictions for crimes against the person and property per 100 of the male population between 1954 and 1968 was nine for the Maori and two for the European.

The facts are clear: the Maori is not succeeding in the Pakeha world. Why he is not is also clear: the drift to the cities has tended to erode his social and cultural institutions and thus the sense of personal identity from which he previously derived his mental stability and satisfactions.

Pakeha society has tried to assimilate the Maori; it has tried to turn him into a brown-skinned European. Until recently there were no Maori studies in our schools. Our urban architecture has ignored the Maori culture, banishing Maori carvings, statuary, and frescoes to Rotorua. Our Government intends to phase out the four Maori seats from Parliament. Only three million acres of land remains in Maori hands.

The task ahead is not to assimilate the Maori but to foster his racial and cultural identity. We must strengthen Maori institutions, not legislate them out of existence. Maori institutions that are strong, respected, and accepted by the Pakeha majority can contribute to the well-being of the nation by preserving the Maori culture and its alternative values and satisfactions, and by re-integrating into Maori society a number of its members, especially in the younger age groups, who are dissident and alienated.

PARTY POLICY

In the interests of regenerating Maori culture and the Maori language, and improving educational and economic success, the Values Party has advocated compulsory Maori and Polynesian studies up until the secondary school level, with optional courses beyond, and increased aid to schools with a high Polynesian pupil ratio.

In addition to these reforms, and believing that the best judges of the needs of the Maori race are Maoris themselves, the Party supports:--

- Self determination for Maoris within the framework of their own institutions (i.e. non-interference from Government).
- An increase in the number of Maori seats in Parliament to seven, a figure proportionate to their population size.
- An expansion of pre-school education for children from Polynesian backgrounds.
- The appointment of Maoris and Islanders to positions of authority within the Department of Maori and Island Affairs.
- The appointment of a Maori as Minister of Maori and Island Affairs.
- The appointment of more young Polynesian welfare officers specially trained to work with young people in the cities.
- Action to ensure the retention of Maori lands.
- Ready availability of finance for the building of urban maraes and community centres.
- Increased use of Polynesian policemen in urban areas where there are large concentrations of Polynesians.
- Thorough race relations training for police recruits.
- Introduction of the "duty solicitor" system in Magistrates' Courts to ensure that Polynesians, among others, receive adequate legal advice.
- An investigation into the practicability of a separate Magistrates' Court system for Polynesians, involving among other features, a Polynesian judiciary.

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Foreign Policy

New Zealand is regarded by many as one of the moral pygmies of the world community. Its tendency in the last 20 years has been to place trade before morality in foreign affairs and to slavishly follow the lead of the United States on most international issues.

The first tendency was obvious in the motives that led to active involvement in Vietnam and to the weak Government measures against the French tests at Mururoa Atoll. The second has been obvious in our predictable behaviour at the United Nations and in our attempts to re-open contact with Communist China only after President Nixon's visit there early in 1972.

-----**The Values Party supports a more activist and independent approach in foreign affairs while still maintaining close links with our traditional allies.**

SOUTH AFRICA

The Values Party believes that the New Zealand Government should make clear at all international forums, especially the United Nations, its abhorrence of apartheid. At the present time New Zealand is regarded as a diplomatic ally of South Africa because of the Government's active support of the 1973 Springbok tour and because of this country's faint-hearted voting record at the United Nations on resolutions condemning apartheid.

The Party condemns the systematic repression of South African non-whites in the political, economic, educational and social fields.

It believes that there is a growing international consensus about the need to isolate South Africa in sport, and wishes to adhere to the resolution of the General Assembly, of November 29, 1971, calling on governments to "promote adherence to the principle" of selection of sports teams on merit (New Zealand abstained).

-----**Accordingly the Values Party believes that the Government should ask the New Zealand Rugby Union to withdraw its invitation for a Springbok team to tour in 1973 unless the side is selected after multi-racial trials.**

CHINA

-----**The Values Party would take immediate steps to establish diplomatic relations with Communist China. This would be pursued, if need be, at the expense of severance of diplomatic relations with Taiwan.**

The Peking Government represents the real Government of China and a policy of non-recognition of the most populous nation in the world is totally unrealistic.

The National Government has said that it will pursue efforts to establish relations with China but not at the expense of the severance of relations with Taiwan. Judging from Chinese statements in the past such a stance would be totally unacceptable to Peking.

There is no reason to believe that trade ties with Taiwan would end as a result of non-recognition. Diplomatic ties are not a pre-requisite for trade, as New Zealand exports to Communist China have shown. Exports to Taiwan account for only a tiny part of New Zealand's annual overseas income.

The Labour Party's policy on China is obscure and its last policy statement, made several years ago, was ambiguous. The Taiwan ambassador in Wellington, Mr Konsin C. Shah, has been extremely energetic in promoting the interests of his island, and a number of Labour MPs have travelled to Asia as guests of the Taiwan Government.

VIETNAM

-----The Values Party is opposed to continuation of the war in Vietnam and is opposed to any political military or economic support for the war by New Zealand.

NUCLEAR TESTS

The Values Party is opposed to all nuclear testing in the atmosphere or underground.

It realises that the greatest threat to the health of New Zealanders and her neighbours is posed by French tests in the atmosphere at Mururoa Atoll.

-----If French tests are mooted in the future the Values Party supports Government action well in advance of the test period to prevent them.

Such action could take the form of economic sanctions where possible, the convening of an international conference, or the placement in the test area of a New Zealand frigate.

OVERSEAS AID

-----The Values Party believes in a generous overseas aid programme.

The Pearson Commission on International Development recommended several years ago that each developed country should increase its transfers to 1 per cent of the GNP no later than 1975 and should devote 0.7 per cent of this to official development assistance.

In 1970 Mr Muldoon announced that New Zealand agreed in principle with the Pearson Report and accepted the aid targets as a goal. Yet until recent Budget, New Zealand's official development assistance had remained stable for four years at about 0.22 per cent of the GNP. Total aid flows hovered around the 0.3 per cent mark.

In the June Budget, Mr Muldoon announced a fairly substantial increase in official development assistance, but even if this rate is maintained in the future it would be decades before we reached the one per cent target.

There should also be a comprehensive examination of the past effectiveness of development aid given by New Zealand. No such assessment ever appears to have been made. Some observers say New Zealand has been bombing indiscriminately with dollars.

The developing nations import schedule giving tariff preferences to goods from specified developing countries should be liberalised and New Zealand should assist developing nations, especially the Pacific Islands, in birth control programmes to reduce overpopulation.

The birth rates in Tonga, Fiji, the Gilbert Islands and Samoa, are extremely high by world standards and bode ill for the future of those islands. Increasingly emigration to New Zealand is seen as the only way of easing population pressure. Inevitably the real answer must lie in improved birth control.

IMMIGRATION

-----The Values Party would maintain the present level of immigration into New Zealand, though some reduction may be necessary in the future in view of the party's proposed economic and population policies.

At the present time the immigration policy for people from non-Pacific nations is definitely racialistic in nature with the Government generally allowing in European immigrants only.

-----The Party would like to see a greater racial mix in New Zealand. It would cut back on European immigration and introduce a restricted liberalisation of immigrants from Asia, Africa and South America.

-----There should be an absolute right of permanent residence in New Zealand for spouses of New Zealand citizens and for parents and grandparents of an immigrant.

-----There should be improved Government measures for helping immigrants, especially Polynesians, adapt to the complexities and dangers of urban life.

ALLIANCES

The increased stability in international relations and the optimistic world outlook brought about by the decline of the Cold War have made military pacts--at least in the Pacific--almost obsolete.

The great powers are disengaging from Asia, leaving their role of policemen, and the smaller nations are now finding that they must work and grow together in common co-operation rather than rely upon the outmoded practice of collective security which maintains the status quo through fear.

Seato

-----The Values Party supports withdrawal from the South East Asia Treaty Organisation

Seato was an alliance forged in 1954 at the behest of the former American Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles. It was a Cold War pact designed to contain China. Now however, it is increasingly irrelevant, as Mr Nixon's recent trip to China demonstrated. China, if it was ever aggressively expansionist, is no longer so.

Seato never inspired the hearts of enough countries in the region to give it the Asian character it needed if it was to appear as anything but a vehicle for the preservation of Western interests. It only attracted three Asian states, the Phillipines, Thailand, and Pakistan. Pakistan, which took no active part when it discovered Seato could not be invoked in its dispute with India, withdrew in July of this year.

New Zealand's continued membership in such a blatantly anti-Chinese pact acts as a hindrance to closer relations with China and Japan. The latter is extremely keen to improve relations with China and hence is rather fearful of too close an identification with South Pacific members of Seato.

Anzus

New Zealand's membership in Anzus has bound Australia, New Zealand and the United States, in common security since 1952 and has traditionally been the cornerstone of this country's defence. The global reduction in tension over the past few years has made the alliance of doubtful value.

-----New Zealand's membership of Anzus would be re-examined with a view to withdrawal.

Anzuk

This five-nation association embracing Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia and Singapore, is an unsteady alliance underlined by political uncertainty and without any clear requirement of New Zealand intervention if Malaysia or Singapore are threatened by aggression.

Malaysia will probably find its desire for the New Zealand troop presence increasingly difficult to reconcile with its advocacy of regional neutralism.

The Anzuk agreement also requires that New Zealand possess four frigates---three for duty in South-East Asia and one for use in New Zealand waters--in an age when frigate replacements will cost in excess of \$40 million. This compares with New Zealand's total defence budget for 1972-1973 of \$128 million.

-----The Values Party would review New Zealand's commitment under Anzuk with a view to withdrawal.

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Defence

It is not possible to define any future threat to New Zealand's Shores.

The concept of hostile Asian hordes waiting to invade the South Pacific is no longer accepted. Even in a regional sense, the need for New Zealand forces maintaining a presence in South East Asia has all but disappeared. China, once regarded as the major threat to this country, can no longer be regarded as expansionist.

The absence of any credible threat to New Zealand severely undermines the need for a defence force. This is reinforced by two further realisations: any major conflict between East and West in the future is likely to involve nuclear weapons, and the deterrent effect of these weapons, and the increasing interdependence of nations through trade, travel and communications, reduce to vanishing point the likelihood of such a conflict occurring in the Western hemisphere or in the Pacific.

Nor do we need a defence force as a form of psychological security in international bargaining on trade, strategic, or other matters. The wildly adventurous behaviour of vulnerable Rumania, right under the disapproving eyes of Russia, is one indication among many that a nation does not require power in the traditional sense, nor a collective security arrangement, in order to carry on an independent and influential foreign policy.

If New Zealand is to face up to the realities of the present day and the certainties of the future it cannot justify the existence of its present defence force. The present world transformation requires not just a **change** in traditional strategic thinking; it requires its complete **disappearance**.

-----The Values Party favours the dismantling of the armed forces and their replacement by a multi-purpose civil and social service organisation.

-----Such an organisation would retain elements of the present army, navy and air force with a capability for serving overseas, but reshaped to provide only social and technical assistance.

The best contribution New Zealand can make towards peace in the world is by helping to build up living standards in neighbouring countries and by giving the world an example of a viable nation living in peace and strength with other nations but **without a military**.

Such a vision is not idealistic or utopian: it is the direction in which every nation must travel sooner or later. The world is waiting for a precedent. New Zealand can lead the way.

Possible functions of the organisation could include civil defence; a land, air, and sea-borne search and rescue arm; a fisheries protection fleet composed of patrol craft, perhaps with the retention of one converted frigate; and a capability to perform UN peace-keeping duties.

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Law Reform

DRUG REFORM

PARTY POLICY

-----The Values Party does not support the legalisation of marijuana at this time but would institute a thorough investigation of the implications of legalisation before making a final decision.

-----It does, however, believe that the following changes should be made in the law relating to marijuana:

1. Marijuana should be removed from its listing as a narcotic on the first schedule to the Narcotics Act, 1965, and listed under a separate schedule.
2. The maximum penalty for the illegal possession and use of marijuana should be a fine of \$100 and where first offenders are concerned, consideration should be given to their being discharged without penalty under section 42 of the Criminal Justice Act.
3. That the maximum penalty for trafficking in marijuana be substantially reduced from its present 14 years.

-----Expansion of treatment and rehabilitaion facilities for drug users.

REASONS

Re.1. Marijuana is listed with heroin and other opiates on the present schedule to the 1965 Act and gives a misleading impression that these drugs are of equal danger. The deterrent and educational functions of the law lose their force when they fail to discriminate between a powerful drug like heroin and the far less potent marijuana.

Re.2. The penalties imposed for all drug offences should bear some relationship to the harmful character of individual drugs, and therefore there should be a clear differentiation in the penalties imposed for using a drug such as marijuana and heroin, for example. At present the maximum penalties for all the drugs listed on the schedule are three months in prison and a \$400 fine, or both.

The first offender should also be encouraged to avoid repetition of the offence and consideration should be given to a discharge under section 42 of the Criminal Justice Act. This would lessen the consequences that conviction for a drug offence may have on a career.

Re. 3. It also follows that there should also be a substantial reduction in the penalty for trafficking in marijuana where this is the only drug involved in the offence.

Alcohol

While the average New Zealander tends to think of drug abuse largely in terms of those drugs which produce a strong physical dependence, such as narcotics, there is overwhelming evidence that the drug which is causing harm to the greatest number of people is alcohol.

The prohibition of alcohol is not practicable, but society should try to arrest the expansion of alcohol consumption and establish public control over liquor outlets.

At the present time most of the liquor industry is in private hands. The emphasis is on expanding production in order to maximise turnover and profit. However, in 1946 a Royal Commission on Licensing observed that "alcoholic liquor is a commodity which differs from the ordinary commodities in trade in that its maximum production and consumption do not

mean maximum public benefit." The Commission recommended nationalisation of the breweries but this was never heeded by the Labour Government.

The Values Party does not support nationalisation in its traditional form because this usually involves the formation of large, centralised bureaucracies distant from the public.

-----The Party would establish a commission of inquiry to bring forward recommendations on the best means of placing the breweries and their outlets under public ownership and control.

HOMOSEXUAL LAW REFORM

PARTY POLICY

-----The Values Party would amend the present law prohibiting homosexual acts between males so that homosexual acts in private between consenting males, 18 years of age and over, will not be an offence.

-----Homosexual acts in public and homosexual assaults will remain offences as at present.

REASONS

+ The homosexual urge in most homosexuals is as strong as the heterosexual urge in the majority of people. An Auckland clergyman said recently that to deny the homosexual the right to express love in the way that he wants to is like asking him to commit suicide.

+ To change the law would significantly reduce the sum total of human suffering in our midst. The individual homosexual suffers under a social strain and a fear of public humiliation which are hard enough to bear without the addition of a sense of legal guilt and fear of public prosecution. The primary function of the criminal law is not to make people happy, but if a direct result of our present law is that a substantial minority (about one in 20 males) suffers avoidable unhappiness, this is not something we can readily ignore.

+ The present law discriminates between male homosexual acts which are criminal and lesbian homosexual acts which are not.

+ The present law is hypocritically and very haphazardly enforced yet the risk of prosecution is ever present for all practising homosexuals

+ The existence of criminal sanctions severely discourages homosexuals or latent homosexuals who need help of one kind or another, from seeking it. Homosexuals who desire treatment could be directed to specialist advisers of known competence. Counselling may enable lonely and suicidal non-practising homosexuals to come to terms with their own condition.

It should be stressed that homosexuals and paedophiliacs--men who interfere with children--are two almost entirely exclusive categories and the amendments to the law will in no way reduce the penalties for assaults on children.

The age of 18 years rather than the age of consent (16 years) was chosen as the age at which consenting acts in private should be legalised. This is because many young men go through a latent homosexual phase in their teens which disappears with time. To legalise homosexual acts at 16 might be to entice a teenager into active homosexuality, reinforcing a tendency which might have declined later on. Worth is seen in trying to stop latent homosexuals from making the plunge because of the sorrows such a decision can cause in a society which persecutes the homosexual.

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ABORTION LAW REFORM

PARTY POLICY

The Values Party believes that abortion is the least desirable form of birth control and should not be regarded as a substitute for contraception.

Accordingly it supports:--

- The extension of education in human relationships to all sections of society, particularly schools, where social, ethical and physical aspects of sex should be taught.
- The provision of Government subsidies for organisations giving contraceptive advice, with a general expansion of birth control facilities .
- Making all prescribed contraceptives freely available on Social Security.
- Making sterilisation available on Social Security for men and women who choose this form of birth control.

Abortion

-----The Party seeks abortion law reform so that a woman may choose whether to continue an unwanted pregnancy or obtain its termination, subject to the following safeguards:-

1. Every abortion must be carried out by a registered medical practitioner with his or her consent in a public hospital or other approved place.
2. Counselling should be available before a woman makes her decision and contraceptive advice must be given to avoid further pregnancies.

SOME REASONS FOR ABORTION LAW REFORM

+ The number of abortions performed in New Zealand each year is reliably estimated at more than 6500. In spite of criminal sanctions, despairing women still persevere in obtaining termination of unwanted pregnancies.

Many of the illegal abortions are the work of ill-qualified abortionists who perform extremely hazardous operations in squalid and degrading conditions. Abortions will continue to be sought and the law should therefore be changed to take them out of the hands of ill-qualified abortionists.

New Zealand anti-reformers frequently assert that the 1967 liberal British Abortion Act, of 1976, has not reduced the number of "back street" abortions there. However, in an article in the "Guardian," of May 3, 1972, two Oxford University researchers, H.L.A. Hart and D. Soskice, examined statistical evidence and concluded that illegal abortions had declined and were likely to continue to do so.

+ It is known that a number of doctors in New Zealand will find a legal reason for abortion if offered enough money. A medical practitioner told an anti-abortion meeting at Newlands, early in July, that "if you have \$300 you could get an abortion (from a doctor) anywhere in New Zealand tomorrow." The present law therefore discriminates between the affluent and the less well off.

+ The present law often prevents doctors from doing what they consider best for their patients.

+ Inability to obtain abortion contributes to a number of social ills. A Swedish doctor, Dr Hans Forman, reported in 1966 that after a survey of the children of 197 women who had been denied abortion and a comparison with a "control" group of similar size, it was found that criminality and psychological troubles were more than twice as frequent among the former group, and twice as many males were rejected for the army.

"Shotgun" or forced marriages have a higher breakdown rate than free-choice marriages and the children of forced marriages are more likely to become disturbed than other children. Marriage breakdown itself is socially undesirable.

OTHER POLICY POINTS

- Reform of the Police Offences Act to make it less arbitrary and open to abuse.
- Reform of the libel laws to make them less restrictive.
- Reform of the divorce laws to make them less discriminatory towards males.

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Summary of other Policy Points

(Not comprehensive)

A medical policy involving enlargement of the medical schools in Christchurch and Wellington to full medical schools with a concomitant increase in the number of students; creation of a post-graduate training school for psychological medicine in Auckland of sufficient dimensions to make a realistic impact on the chronic shortage of psychiatric staff; a realistic increase in the General Medical Services benefit; and a realistic increase in the specialist benefit.

A women's rights policy with measures to reduce the sexual stereotyping of women, especially in the area of education; adequate provision of child-care centres with the encouragement of community involvement; a study of ways of providing payment for child-care services of a parent who remains in the home; research into ways of restructuring employment so that both parents get the chance to share "home" and "work" and children.

A housing policy geared to alleviate the present shortage through expanded construction of State and council housing and a more liberal State Advances Loans policy. Rent control.

Strict controls would be placed on foreign investment in New Zealand, and the acquisition of New Zealand land by foreigners.

A monopolies and investment commission would be established. It would guard against the development of industrial monopolies and, in order to stop a repeat of the JBL collapse, would grade according to risk all loan and debenture issues.

A nature programme involving total Government subsidy of the high cost of the Milford Track walk (about \$70 for food and Government guide); establishment of an Outward Bound School for Polynesian children and others who are not so exclusively "leadership" material; encouragement for counties to ease restrictive bylaws on land subdivision in order to allow young people to purchase small holdings for self-contained farms; re-organisation of the Civilian Settlement Scheme, of the Lands and Survey Department, so that the criteria for farming Crown Land is liberalised from the present two-point policy of profitability and "breaking in" potential.

A substantial reduction in the budget of the Security Intelligence Service.

A thorough inquiry into land and property speculation for capital gain,. The terms of reference of the inquiry would extend to the costs and benefits of gradual nationalisation of land.

Taxation. Many Values Party reforms would not require much money (e.g. ZPG, law reform, technology control, community development, industrial relations) and some policies would result in substantial savings (reshaping the penal system and dismantling the military). Where additional funds were required revenue would be gathered through a more steeply progressive taxation of personal incomes, a heavier tax on unearned incomes, and through a cutback in the rate of investment so that the nation could consume more of the national income now, rather than plow something like 20 per cent of it into future economic growth.

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