

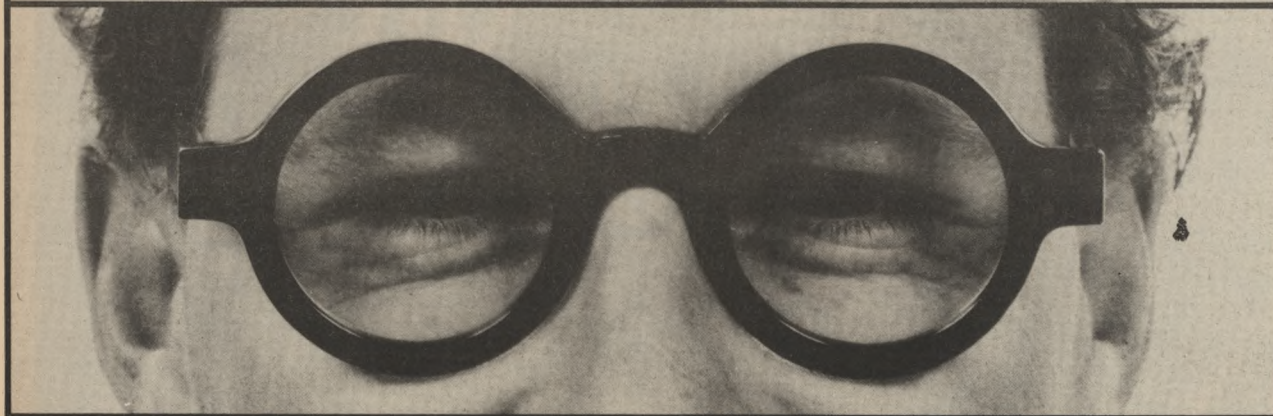
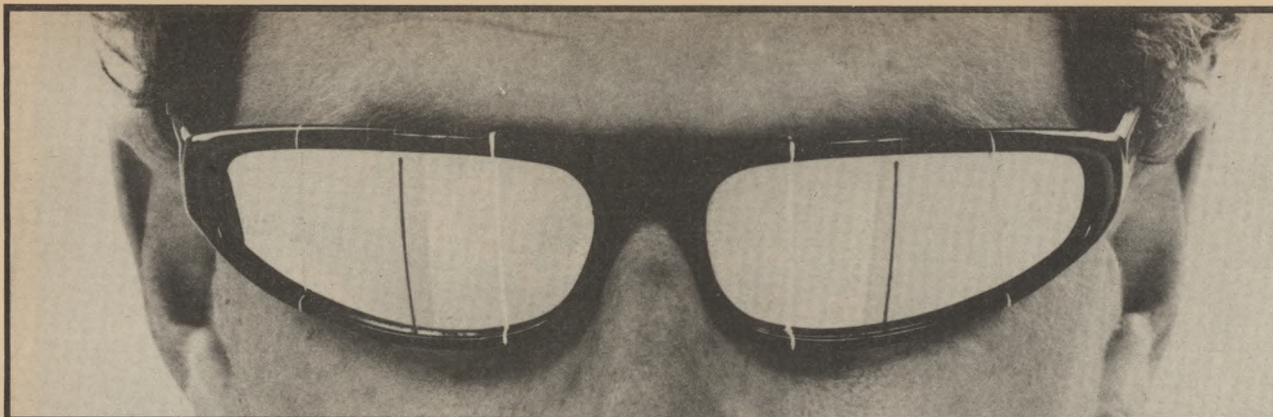
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MASUS 1994



Kia Ora Koutou Katoa,

This is the National Student Issue about national student issues. When the idea of a national issue of all of the country's seven student newspapers was first discussed in May, the elections were an obvious focal point.

Students are an important voting sector, and along with the rest of the youth sector, are often the target of politicians and their advertising agencies. This paper should provide you with some new perspectives on the issues that are both talked about and, in some cases, ignored.

Think of it as your consumer guide to the 1987 elections. As you wheel your trolley around the supermarket of life, exchanging your Ruth vouchers for the latest education specials from the bargain bin, we hope you will look beyond the glossy packaging.

Presenting the Otago viewpoint in the national issue, *Critic* have devoted their interests to anarchy and why not to vote, nuclear bombs and music.

Salient who hail from NZUSA country (that's Wellington), where they eat, sleep and breath cost recovery in education, could write on little else.

Chaff, from Massey, become the most "politically sound" paper of this issue, focussing on the issues of women and race relations.

'Save the cowpats' *Cacilin* came up from Lincoln, and jumped at the chance to examine the rural sector and the environment.

Nexus contributed a highly marginal piece about the election in general and the volatile local Hamilton West electorate in particular.

Craccum got orientated like the entire Auckland population and devised the election night game.

'Geoff drinks at our place' *Canta* wrote about the inner complexities of the electoral system in between flying from Christchurch to Wellington for drinkies with Dave.

Closet inter-campus prejudices come out as we examine the genus *studentia* in all its manifestations.

But if you are bored with the elections and media overkill, try our Snarks and Leaders game for a bit of light relief on election night.

All in all it's been an interesting experience for all of us editors to work together. The *Salient* office, where the paper was put together, was bursting with our combined egos, (and the fire extinguisher, courtesy of FP). All being such nice facilitory bods, no one wished to dominate the proceedings or halt the creative flow. We thought that with such brilliant literary minds co-existing, pithy, witty, one line headlines would be a snap. But at the vital moment, the creative juices clotted. We stared blankly into each other's eyes, no one wanting to speak first and place their paper's reputation on the line, until, in a rush of warm fuzzies, we all admitted that headlines never sparked until after a wee dabble or two in something (anything) mind altering. Confessions over, we fell to our allotted tasks. Turn the page and have a look at the finished product — we hope you enjoy it as much as we did.

Editorial Collective
August 3 1987

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This newspaper was put together by the following people:

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i say to you

Prime Minister David Lange admitted to being at the end of a strange day when CANTA assistant editor Andrew Cutler and photographer Michael O'Donnell interviewed him last month. With the boring bits edited out we print below the text of that interview.

What do you think will be the critical factors in this election? Your policies or the television and news media's attitude?

The critical factor in the election is that we have to have the confidence of people and their trust. And one achieves that by performance; by the fact that we have sustained the good will of people over a time of very considerable change.

The simple fact is that election campaigns are vastly overrated as to the impact they make on an electorate. People make their judgements over a very much longer term. In fact we formed the view in opposition that basic decisions were made as to who was going to win the next election by the convictions of people about a year out. You can actually determine the electoral tide in that respect. So, and also of course it is no secret, and I have said so from day one, that you are in the course of every day in the first term moving to consolidate your position so that you get the second term.

In that case, what kind of election campaign are you going to run? Are you going to go for the presidential style, like the British election campaign?

It's interesting how people have referred to the presidential style of campaigns as if it was a novelty. New Zealand election campaigns have always focused on leaders... All the hype about presidential campaigns overlooks the fact that there wouldn't be a single New Zealander over my age who could remember an election where the leaders didn't feature.

I'm referring to the adoption of a slicker approach to campaigning. It's been reported you will visit the provinces for media and photo opportunities and then return to Wellington for a press conference.

All sorts of considerations come into that. The timing of elections now has been put out of kilter. It was actually quite pleasant once upon a time to go out and campaign... I used to enjoy doing street corner meetings — balmy nights and daylight saving and you'd do it.

There is something of course very much more democratic about the style of campaigning which is undertaken now. The exposure to individual people is very much higher. The days of communicating with the electorate by a public hall meeting which was then faithfully reported the next day — but there's nothing that penetrates the New Zealand voters mind in those days anything like the degree it does now with the electronic communications.

It has been said of the overseas campaigns, Britain and Australia, that it is not a completely honest way of campaigning — creating media opportunities and images of the country that don't represent the whole truth.

I have never known an election campaign where the leader or any politician went around seeking to find discontent. I could spend the next five weeks down a shaft somewhere, or I could actually go out and promote the Government.

Since the election cycle has been put 'out of kilter' as you say, has that given the Government any advantage?

We actually will have gone for longer than previous governments did. We're going July through August which is about a month longer than the November to November cycle.

What has happened in this term however, is that the beginning was critical because we've actually had four budgets during the ostensible three year term. That has helped because the conventional political view is that in times of greater economic and social complexity, three year terms may in fact be detrimental to some sort of sustained development, or the advancement of a philosophy. We've had the three year term, but we've compressed a bit more into it.

As a lawyer you used to defend those who didn't have the resources to defend themselves. Does your Government still defend those people?

Oh yes. We've defended them in a number of ways. One of the facts that is of course invariably overlooked is that unemployment is now lower than it was under the last Government. And there has been an enhancement of work opportunities, especially for women. And those who scream and yap that it's part time — they weren't doing any time.

But we have actually, completely contrary to the perception that is put about, been an extraordinarily interventionist Government when it comes to income support. We can demonstrate that in each quarter that the real disposable income of what is harshly called in clinical statistical terms the lowest quinta — in other words the hardest up — their increases have been sustained, and they have in I think, the last five of six quarters been clearly ahead of the top group in real disposable income.

We are portrayed as being some kind of free market government. We have intervened. A free market government wouldn't be concerned about education, health, housing. It would be left to the market. What we have said is what the market can do best then we will let it have its head. But the market will never address — clearly it hasn't addressed — issues like sexual equality in terms of income.

You can think of a lot of things that we do [that] are not market driven. The market is never going to ensure that justice is available to the wage earner.

Universities are only mentioned twice in the Labour Party's education policy. Why only twice? Why are the universities being effectively ignored?

They haven't been effectively ignored. We're spending four hundred and ninety million on them, they're not being ignored.

But it can be said that the universities are in a state of crisis at present, and we might have expected a policy lead from your government for the next three years, and it hasn't come.

Oh yes it has, in the sense that the issues have been defined and the deliberations continued... The question of access to universities for those who wish to avail themselves of them and their support, and questions of university administration are the subject of specific working parties and reviews.

What you are able to discern from what we have said [is] that you cannot have a philosophy of user pays in tertiary education. If you did that you would further compress the range of people who could be participants.

So you have abandoned any policy of imposing user pays?

There has been a very long history of forms of cost recovery in tertiary education, and continuing education in universities has been specifically fee charged for donkey's years.

Other universities have moved to meet a — what could be best described as a market I suppose for special courses. Examples of that are forms of business administration colleges or faculties.

And that's where the problem arises, because as soon as you talk about that, students think — 'hello, they're going to introduce this all through the show'. And that's not the intention at all.

I think what the worry is that, in the current case of Massey University for example, the introduction of graduate and maybe undergraduate business studies courses for people willing to pay will set a precedent which may be extended elsewhere.

Yeah, well the precedent has been set for an awful long time, and that...

But never in such a blatant way. There has always been charging, but not in this way.

Hmmm, I think that's right. If you're talking about the mechanics of the Massey development, the principle could be argued to be consistent with other forms of recovery, but certainly the scale is different.

... We've never actually as a nation sat down and worked out what a university is. It's been a sort of incremental approach, so that it's expanded.

... There is a dilemma, there is a need to ensure that we have within our country a place which can actually engage in learning and thinking which does not have to be called to account by crude ledger keepers. And that's something that we really haven't addressed. And I think probably we've got slightly worse because the sort of sexy disciplines — the new business schools — get a lot of new resources which visionaries and philosophers don't see themselves getting.

One of the current crises is the increase of student numbers so that currently the university system is underfunded by 13.4 million dollars. The result has recently been attempts to limit entry. Why hasn't your Government committed that \$13.4 million?

You know the procedure as well as I do about block grants. There is a block grant that is capable of being adjusted. The claim of the UGC is that \$13.4 million is required. What we have done is we have warranted that that will be addressed when the tertiary review is completed, and that we will consider provisions for that at the time of the supplementary estimates. That is designed to ensure that we actually address that in clear time for the new university year.

Surely the agreement with the UGC was made before the tertiary review was begun. The tertiary review was nothing to do with the Government's agreement. Limitations are occurring now. Students are being excluded now.

Let me ask you where a student is being excluded from a course in July 1987.

Not now, but limitations have been put in place for 1988.

And I'm saying that we're going to address it before then. What we have to address as a government is whether we are prepared to let that situation happen.

Now what I'm trying to say to you is that it has been undertaken to the UGC that we are going to make that choice. But no student by reason of that increase in numbers has been excluded this year.

(The PM is correct that no exclusions have taken place this year, but due to the uncertainties of funding for 1988 and the time it takes to appoint extra staff, print University Calendars etc., the universities have already moved to introduce limitations for 1988. Even if additional funding is granted later this year, it will be too late to prevent limitations next year.)

If student numbers continue to grow, can the University system grow to meet the numbers?

What is so important to get across is that you can do all the efficiencies you want to in administration, and all the cuts, but there is an inevitable real increase in expenditure overall required because education is actually dealing with a totally different demand from what it did even a few years ago.

The inevitability is that we are going to have to spend a lot more money on education. I just think it's one of those areas that you can't write off and say it can somehow or other be done by someone else. It is a fundamental responsibility of the state.

SHOW US

Perhaps it was the Christian Dior silk tie, a tasteful yellow with discreet blue spots.

Perhaps it was the white silk handkerchief, matching the white shirt, discreetly peeking out the top of the suit jacket.

Perhaps it was the Thornesque hairstyle.

Whatever it was, when the receptionist at Parliament asked if I was from Television New Zealand I knew I had an image problem.

For me it's not that important. I don't want, for now, to be Prime Minister. But for Opposition leader Jim Bolger image is very important.

To gain power — let's be blunt, gaining the Treasury benches is not only a euphemism, it's also a redundant idea — he has to sell an image. The packaging has to beat that of the Prime Minister. That's been evident for some time. Now that the election campaign is underway it's also becoming evident that so much attention is being paid to image that voters are being presented with very little of substance.

So that's why this interview is presented in such a raw form. By giving it verbatim you get the chance to do what journalists normally do for you. Contrast what Bolger is saying with what the other lot are saying, give him points out of a hundred for consistency and substance.

But first to set the scene. It's five-thirty in the afternoon. We're on comfortable chairs in Bolger's office. Earlier in the day he made a flying visit to students on the steps of Parliament.

From start to finish he speaks slowly and carefully. From the time I enter his office, to when I leave half an hour later, he's totally pleasant and polite.

There's a Mr McLaughlin from the Wellington division of the National Party quoted in this morning's paper [The Dominion, July 17] saying essentially that the National Party has to sell its differences — make the public perceive the differences between the National Party and the Labour Party.

I don't have any difficulty with that.

Do you see a public perception there that people don't perceive [the differences]?

Well, no, no I don't in the sense that you put it at all.

The differences, I would have thought, are very clear — both in economic and social policy areas.

We totally reject the high-interest rate approach of Douglas in economic policy, which has been a component to New Zealand remaining with its extraordinarily high inflation rate.

[We] disagree with his policies that have directed money — that's investment money — out of productive industry where you are generating wealth that you can trade abroad and providing employment opportunity.

[We] disagree with his policies that are designed to denude the heartland of New Zealand of people — the provinces — and attract them all into the major cities. And I could go on.

What we have seen in three years is the volume of export production go down and the level of New Zealand's total overseas debt treble. Now that's a shortcut to economic disaster.

If you're looking at social policy, well we clearly have staked out a quite different position on education.

We've given our commitment to a reform from top-to-bottom; from pre-school, to even out the opportunities to the various modes of pre-school education that are available, [and in] the whole of the education system, to give the parents and guardians — in the jargon of some, consumers of education — a bigger say in the structure of the direction of the curriculum to require that standards in a range of key subjects are taught and that we do assess and mark on a realistic basis, rather than some generalised comment.

On the tertiary area we have introduced the biggest change in the training option that will make available to all — whether they are going on to university, whether they are going to a tech, or whether they are going on to an accredited private-sector trade training — and this is clearly going to reform the whole of the trade and related training areas in New Zealand in a fashion that has not been contemplated before.

It is a response to a demonstrated lack of formal skills that New Zealanders have by comparison with our international competitors.

It's designed to provide training in a more structured fashion than the various *ad hoc*, reactive, type of approach such as the Access scheme which is costing the best part of three hundred and fifty million dollars this year.

The question I put to Ruth Richardson [in an interview for Salient July 12] ... looking at the exercise on the steps of Parliament this afternoon ... was that people didn't perceive that as being much in hip-pocket terms. That they were saying "what does this mean to us?"

What it means to post-primary school is that they have the opportunity with some state support to achieve the training of their choice.

Take the training of their choice and, as I say, be partially funded in it, whether it be a university or technical or trade-training programme in some form, and that could be a very wide definition of trade training. In other words a training programme in some form as provided in the private sector.

That is clearly going to cost us more at that end but we are planning to save on the *ad hoc* side.

What we are saying in simple terms is that New Zealand is now putting a lot of money into remedial programmes that would have been better avoided by the appropriate training option as people came out of the secondary system.

That's the essence of it.

If I was to try and pin you down in dollar-and-cents terms?

Well, we haven't spelled out the bursary, quite deliberately because they change from time to time as costs change from time to time. Whatever people put it at this year would be outdated next year. That's probably understood by all students.

So you can't do that. All you can do is to give the commitment that you provide the opportunity. Providing the opportunity requires that the bursary is sufficient.

Now there will be debate — and there always has been debate on that word "sufficient".

At one stage I know that the students' associations all thought the National Party were terrible mean fellas, and they got the next lot in and decided they were meaner again. Now, I suppose that there will never be absolute agreement on what is sufficient.

But when we were there before I believe we responded fairly to the students and to the taxpayer — both of which have an interest in this. We developed the whole of the Job Search programme and put it in place on a permanent basis.

Tertiary training has for a long time ... been part state-funded and part self-funded.

Ruth Richardson has a fair degree of emphasis on that degree of individual responsibility, rather than state responsibility.

Well I'm not sure which way she put the emphasis on, but obviously there's an individual choice about where you're going, and with that choice goes a responsibility.

But the state has never said "you're on your own". We don't intend to say you're on your own.

It's one of the few votes we plan to spend a little more on immediately ... There's all sorts of scare tactics around that we're going to cut the education vote ... That's not true.

But it is a combined, or joint responsibility. I see little difficulty with joint responsibility.

The Australian election was described as being a hip-pocket election. Do you see the election here as being [one]?

Well, I suppose you could say in some ways the Australian voters by a very small margin rejected the hip-pocket offer of a tax cut, if that's the reason why they didn't change — I'm just using your analogy.

The Liberals were offering income tax cuts and the Labour Party wasn't. I'm not sure what they were offering in specific terms, but no doubt they were offering something.

I told journalists yesterday that the Government has promised to spend a few thousand million dollars extra in the last two weeks or less. The great bulk of it in buying more frigates. Some more on a new hospital. Nineteen or twenty million dollars on a new water supply scheme.

All at a time when they've been telling us for months there were going to be no election bribes — they've got two billion dollars already — we haven't got to the starting gates so God knows where they'll be by the end of the race.

... Now the statistics department, which has caused the Government all sorts of embarrassing moments of late, showed in its latest release ... that every quintile of New Zealanders are worse off in real terms now than they were at the change of Government.

So there are a lot of New Zealanders out there who have legitimate grievances that their hip-pockets have been unfairly treated by the Lange-Douglas Government.

That's not a promise for today but it's really looking at what's happened over the last three years. I think that will be a factor in the election.

We have a book that came out yesterday on New Zealand which says that there's a higher degree of poverty in New Zealand than any time since the thirties. That, interestingly enough, followed an earlier report today on radio noting how many hundred more status-symbol cars have been bought in the last twelve months.

In the morning we were told how the new rich were spending their money, by midday we were told how many of the new poor were in society.

I think it is without contest that New Zealanders have witnessed a greater division and gulf open up, between the very rich and the very poor ... a gulf, open up between town and country, that hasn't been around for a long time. We're seeing a higher degree of tension on racial issues.

So, Government's policy collectively has certainly created a lot of tensions. And a lot of divisions.

I would particularly identify the arrogance of the Prime Minister on these issues, who was elected on a policy of consensus, of uniting New Zealand.

He has displayed, since shortly after he was elected, an arrogance that has increased weekly.

But more significantly in the last few weeks.

Yes. But it has been — well, yes that's correct — but even if you go back further, he was telling teachers to piss off twelve months or so ago — that's one of the more remembered ones.

He has displayed an incredible arrogance. The other arrogance that is extraordinarily worrying is referred to by the Auditor General at the end of today for the second time.

That is with state monopoly on television and with the taxpayer's pocket behind it the Government has engaged in this series of party political advertising campaigns. Now, there are two very serious points.

One is the Opposition are denied the right to buy time even if they had the money, no Opposition can match the taxpayer. The law prevents an opposition buying time.

And two, the taxpayer is being forced to spend some millions of dollars to promote the Labour Government-dash-party. Two requests from the Auditor-General on this matter have been brushed to one side ... That's an arrogance that I find frightening. ... [the Auditor-General] ... is really been told to go and get nicked.

He can say what he likes but the Government's going to spend the taxpayers' money as it sees fit, even including party political broadcasts.

Which brings me to the other part ... you've made some [adverse] comments about the media. I'm intrigued with what you see as the motivation behind the things that you don't like about them.

I find that difficult. In the sense it's always difficult to understand motivation.

I said to one a few days ago [who it became clear a few days later was NBR political editor, Nikitin Sallee] that I don't accuse them all of being card-carrying members of the Labour Party at all.

But in my judgement ... they have too willing to accept the message from the massive propaganda-stroke-publicity-stroke-propaganda machine that now inhabits the Beehive.

There's a huge image-media unit in the Beehive. And the journalists have been swayed by that. I think even worse that the journalists — I think a lot of journalists file copy, I know a lot of journalists file copy that never sees the light of day.

That some editor or sub-editor decides isn't necessary. There's one or two papers that gave higher priority to the predictions — a higher coverage — to the predictions that inflation would be two percent for the quarter than to the actuality that it was three point-three ... We have to work harder.

To change the tack a bit, looking at the philosophy of both the National Party and the Labour Party now.

Various commentators have been saying about both, that in some respects they're very confusing.

People I know who voted last elections, on both sides, are not sure whether to swap!

I think that's been inadequately put in front of the public in the sense that the public have been told too often that there is a confusion and that they should therefore be confused. To some extent therefore they are confused.

The Labour Party, by adopting what's in jargon known as free-market policies in terms of freeing up the financial sector, has caused some perception difficulties for some of the commentators, but in general terms I guess they [Labour] are demonstrating also that they have historic linkages.

They are unable, for example, to adequately reform the area of the labour market.

In the education decision I think they still show a prejudice that is not responding to the needs of the education system's clients.

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The area that I think that people have — and I have — the greatest difficulty with the Labour Party is their contempt for the pain they have inflicted on thousands of New Zealanders. That I find the most difficult.

To explain — if I was being objective — I think the economic freeing-up is totally explainable in the sense that it's the structure the western economy is moving to.

Bolger explains — correctly — that economic cycles go in cycles. That the mood of the West now is from top-heavy welfare spending.]

But it's the human side, rather than the economic side that I find difficult to understand. I really do. So what about the National Party?

The National Party has — from day one — had a philosophy of placing great importance on the individual and the choice of the individual.

That meant we have endeavoured to pursue policies as diverse as having schemes where people can buy their own homes — so that they can acquire a stake in the community and provide for themselves and their families... We've also had a view, and still have, that we should acknowledge the need for New Zealand's productive industries to be given an environment where they can compete, realistically, in the world.

We have to, in that sense, acknowledge that the world doesn't operate on any free market. There's visible and invisible trade barriers.

So we're not seduced by simplistic arguments in that area.

We have traditionally strongly aligned ourselves with what could be described as the western group of nations — the free-democratic nations of the world. I am very firmly that's the group of nations which is consistent with our standards and values in general terms. The present Government is very clearly moving away from that group of nations and moving to somewhere close to a non-aligned position.

Those are traditional demarcations in many ways.

Is the Labour Party still socialists or is that just a handy interjection?

Well, I think confused socialism would be the way I'd answer that. Because if they were true to their socialist origins they could not show such contempt for the poor.

So I think they're confused socialists. I think they're socialists in terms of foreign policy. I think on social policy they're confused. Economic policy they're now in about the mainstream in general terms... of what could be described as western economic thought.

Will the mood changes? If that cycle [of economic thought] changes, will they revert true to form?

As I expect, they lose this election there will be a complete shakeup of the Labour Party. I don't have any doubt about that.

Unquestionably one of the first to go will be Douglas.

Will it happen the other way round?

Our side?

Will there be a shakeup in the National Party?

I don't say that egotistically. No, I don't believe

The National Party, having gone through its shakeout in the last three years — it's factual that there was a growing concern in the National Party about some of the directions that the National Party was taking in its last years in government and that's what was debated.

Although in fact we had commenced, particularly in our own area [labour] a number of moves to free up and deregulate that would occur. But there was still a concern about other areas.

So we've gone through the shakeout in the last few years. And the party is... comfortable with the thrust of the National Party now.

We don't have an internal friction in terms of the philosophical direction of the party at all.

* * *

There's a touch of realism to that final answer. No ferocious denial that the possibility exists that National might lose the election.

But Jim Bolger should take heart for two reasons. The first is that he leaves an impression of a thoughtful, intelligent man. The sort of man that has the ability one day, even if not this year, to become Prime Minister. The second is that if he loses he would not be the first person to do it in more than one election — Norman Kirk took four.

And if Jim Bolger borrows my tie, who knows?

Wiggins is a Wellington journalist



WHO'S THE FAIREST OF THEM ALL

Public image is increasingly important to the world in which we find ourselves. Appearances, although often deceptive, are the meat and drink of those all-important first impressions, and since we've managed to gather representatives from every campus in New Zealand in the one place, we've asked them to contribute their perception of the public image of the university directly south of their own. Taking into account a slight geographical difficulty, we start with an Otago student's impression of the Auckland University stereotype.

Blessed are the chic for they are inheriting the Earth

Middle class matriculated minions of the market manipulating their way through the narcissistic nirvana of the nouveau and not-so-nouveau riche. Driving their Kuhlzemobile convertibles through the commercial of life with zinc on their noses and sunscreen on their egos. Muscled and money-minded, pumping iron and illusion in worship of the winner. Adverts for America.

Life in the fast lane with bidet on full. Fine, fit, futuristic and free — a credit to their commodities.

Marionettes of the mass media model meandering from money machine to money machine with all the tantalizing trendiness of a Taupo Tip Top Trumpet, while worldly wise wonderkids in a feeding frenzy of a fiscal fetishism peruse Petrocorp prospecti over Pierre Cardin pretzels. Me and the market and me.

Sucklings of surplus savouring shareclub success sit on top of their shiheap and look down on the rest. Daredevils of the dividends dabbling in death. Blessings of the market on you and blessings of the state.

Waikato

We asked twelve thousand Auckland students what they thought of Waikato students and they replied where is Waikato. South of the Bombays we replied. At this moment a startled cry was torn from the lips of the student mass, their eyes widened, their hands shook... You are telling us there is life south of the Bombays? Wow! Are they humans like us, are they peaceful, do they windsurf?

Hang about old trout, we, us, the vague life form born of fungus from the second floor, were asking you about them.

A small wisened grey haired old man (Richard Foster perhaps?) moved slowly towards our intrepid reporters slowed only by the Cafe queues and the need to find a car park.

"I have knowledge of the lost tribe of Waikato," he said. They are very much like yourselves, only lacking in wit, intelligence, dress sense and investment portfolios, in fact it has been claimed that some of the more esteemed members are indeed Aucklanders who enjoy dabbling in the country lifestyle, the fresh smell of silage being a world renowned tourist attraction. After this startling information had been disseminated at the local sperm bank other students came forward with tales of sightings which they previously had thought were imaginings of minds illegal.

The following information was obtained:

- Waikato students combine wellies and briefcases for all purpose dress.
- They use copious amounts of carpet cleaner.
- Are often heard to say 'This is it' when visiting Auckland.
- Drink and drink and drink to the Hillcrest's delight.
- Aren't too bad really if you put down newspaper before they arrive.
- are unaesthetically pleasing to the nostril.
- are conspicuously inconspicuous.



Massey

Dear Mommy, How's ya form? (Ooops, sorry. That one slipped out completely unintentionally. I know that I haven't been in touch for some while, but so absolutely glorious an experience had I on the 21st that I thought to myself "Pru honey", I thought, "you just must write home about this!")

I WENT ON THE AG STUDIES FIELD TRIP!

It was stupendous. We visited a multitude of small holdings, share milking operations, mixed croplands, organic growings, nurseries, from the very small to the very large, some using the most anti-diluvial methods, right through to those operations covering god knows how many hectares and using all the latest techniques. It was hilarious. We all tramped around in the damp grass, sniffing the clean morning air and fresh cow-dings.

I especially remember an operation which runs on methane. (They make the methane out of biogas from pig-droppings.) There was this farmer standing in the middle of his pigsty, wearing a swandri, jeans and gumboots, (like our own, unwashed) up to his ankles in sludge, telling us about his own time at varsity. (He was a bag too.) (No silly, not a suitcase, a Bachelor of Agriculture.)

Good form ay...

He was pretty uninhibited. Didn't worry about the way he dressed or spoke. We immediately recognised him as a caring person, not at all superficial, and felt a kinship bond. (Can you please ask Daddy if I can borrow his swandri and gumboots and send them down. Mine are wearing out.)

Anyway, afterwards we decided to be daring and nouvea riche, and went to a nightclub in town for a drink or two. (No bush-shirts in here.) We piled into Davies' Humber (Humpy the Humber).

It's a long story, but we were eventually kicked out — we wreaked our revenge later on.

Good form ay...

Well Mommy, you'd like it down here. The uni is really beautiful and green. So delightfully rural. Fergie's good and there's always something happening here: parties, marches, concerts, and of course, the occasional bit of work. But don't worry, we don't let it interfere. Good form ay... It is a truly exhilarating environment. Good form ay... Unfortunately the townsfolk seem a little wary of students, but I'm sure that in time they will get used to us.

Good form ay...

Please could the next cheque include a little advance — I have to go skiing. Keep up your good form ay... Toodlepip.

Victoria

The general co... Vic? what's Vic... why? In the f... why we mana... our vocal cord... and coffee... ing profundities.

Victoria degre... as pretentic... social advanc... business, law... business, arc... science and lo... they have a ple... yash, and busin...

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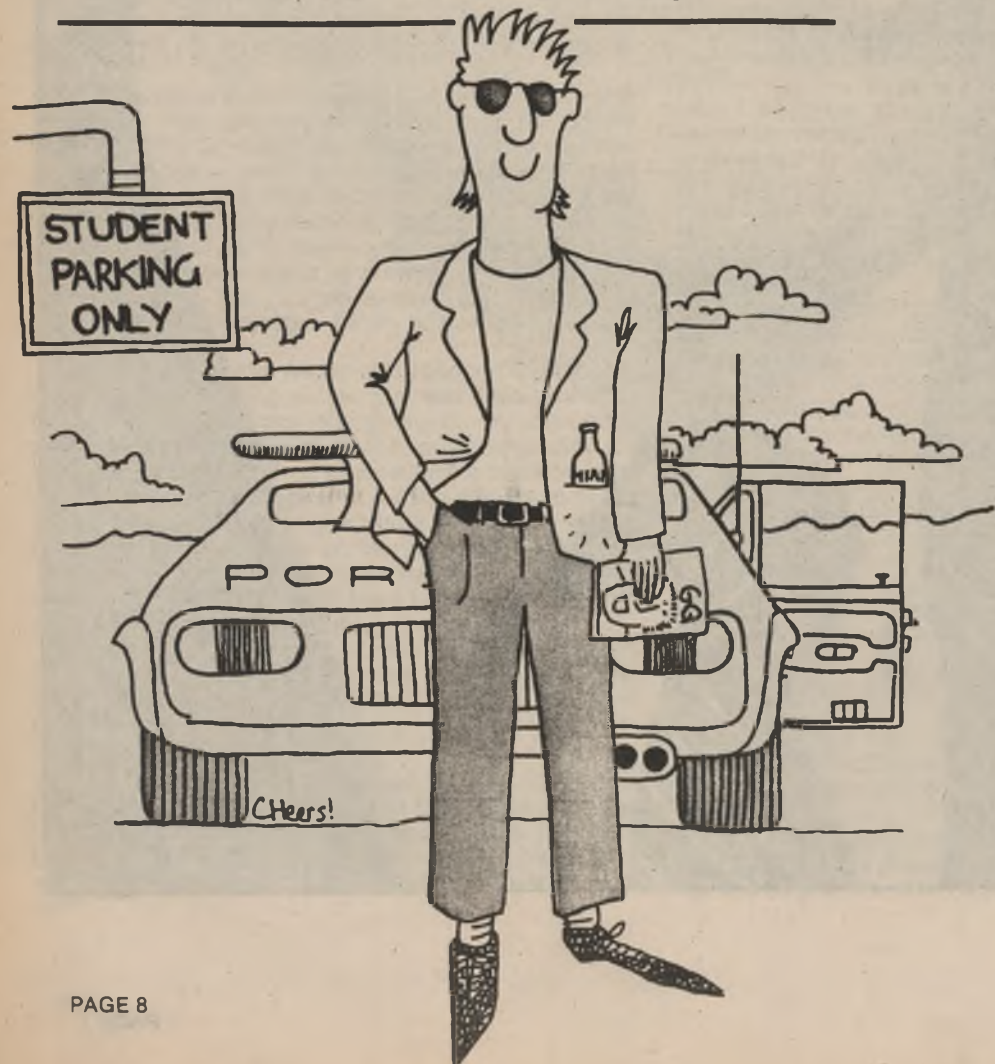
Their dress... real yuppies... words they sho... Black netball... respective of... money on the... their clothes. (I... inhabit damp... valley so they... munal mould.

Views of wh... time varied. Th... include: drinki... street marches... ing to parli... debates. And i... out and try to... inherent conse...

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This seethin... indicates that... view Vic as... Island's bum... at all.

We actually... who seemed... However their... of course!) to... otherwise.





Canterbury

Canterbury students are less diverse than the characters in Dynasty. Canterbury students wear 'Canterbury' sweaters out of a sense of loyalty. Canterbury students are innately superior to other students. Ex-Canterbury students refer to Ilam as "The Motherland".

Other students do not consider engineering students to be part of the campus.

Canterbury students all want to be Brendan Dugan when they grow up, and dress accordingly in \$12.95 western check shirts.

The Grafitti on Canterbury toilet walls is usually copied out of books.

Canterbury students are innately superior to other people.

Canterbury students think 'shandy' and 'cocktail' are synonyms.

Engineering students at Canterbury are less infamous than agriculture students only because the public refuses to believe that engineers can do with crescent spanners what ag students do with sheep.

Canterbury students think Roger Douglas is a socialist.

Canterbury students dress and behave like real people.

When depressed, Canterbury students think of England.

Canterbury student politicians model themselves on Churchill.

Engineering students still call the break between lectures 'playtime'.

Roman sandals with socks is the new thing at Canterbury.

The engineering school is 100 years old this year. This makes it about 20 years more modern than the attitudes of most of its students.

The Engineering school pursues a male only policy.

Canterbury students do not consider themselves to be part of Christchurch.

Cantabrians are more arrogant than Aucklanders.

Alcohol is in at Canterbury, and cigarettes are out.

Canterbury students think marijuana is a Mexican poet.

Canterbury students think heroin is a strong woman.

Canterbury students are superior to all other life forms, known and unknown, evolved and potential.

Many Canterbury students idolize James T Kirk. Engineers idolize Spock.

Engineers think short stories and baby jokes are synonymous.

It is Canterbury policy that you can't go into the Union building unless you are wearing a morning suit.

Beards are out at Canterbury.

Engineering males think that engineering females want to get married and have kids.

Politically sound Canterbury students are worried about owning a union building which is on Maori land.

Politically sound students on other campuses don't worry so much because, (a) they don't own their Union buildings, the Universities do, and universities are miniature fascist states, and (b) they know all the lyrics to Oma Rapeti and Pokarekare Ana and will be safe when the revolution comes.

Canterbury students own their own forest.

Canterbury students will never have to worry about the cafe running out of toothpicks.

Canterbury students think Bach is what you find in forests.

Canterbury students think they own their own Bach.

Canterbury students think Mozart is a variation on Cubism.

Canterbury students think "Cannabis" is what a prop says when he wants a beer.

Canterbury males all own red and black scarves.

Lincoln

A particularly popular subject of study by the enthusiast and layperson alike, Lincolnia certainly makes for interesting viewing. A curious if practical evolutionary response to the perhaps conflicting environmental demands of academia and the shovelling of manure about paddocks, this, the most extreme sub-species of Studentus is of all varieties the most readily identifiable in the field.

The obvious and universal recognition features are the feet. These are perpetually clad in a layer of tissue not totally dissimilar to rubber. The adaptive significance of this is unclear, but as Professor J.B. Strangetrousers has so often pointed out, "Who knows?". A degree of seasonal variation exists, with summer plumage (worn for a pitifully short time) being most easily identified by its similarity to human "Jandals". Not Thongs, not Flip-Flops, Jandals.

In winter the foot covering grows rapidly up the leg to encase much of the calf and produce the characteristic "Gumboot". These vary in colour, depending, it would appear, upon whether Lincolnia's summer migration was to a farm or a freezing works.

Lincolnia's plumage ranges between individuals from drab to mediocre. There are no obvious differences between male and female specimens in this respect, both genders cladding themselves in tones predominantly in keeping with the fields and forests they inhabit.

The behavioural patterns of Lincolnia are more than anything else a mystery to the observer. Little is seen of them by most, except during the weekly migration from their primary habitat, Lincoln, to their secondaries, known to observers as "The Carltown" and "Warners". Behaviour here can be described only as bizarre, focussing mainly on feeding and mating activities. Obviously neither are available in the primary habitat. It is here that we observe a phenomenon which we must accept as the basis of a primitive system of communication, employing mainly monosyllabic grunts and crude bodily gestures. One common example is frequently observed in the secondary habitats — when flocks of Lincolnia enter the habitat the males (and some females) grunt "Gizzafugginbeer", which according to some Primate-Linguists can be translated as "I say, do any of you chaps happen to know who's got the lemonade?".

Despite environmental hardships, physical disfigurement, and an ambitious selective breeding program (initiated by males of the sub species Studentus Cantabria), Lincolnia still survives, albeit in limited numbers, in one colony a few miles south of the South Island's southernmost civilisation. Numbers do not appear to be declining, and as long as their peculiar ecological niche exists we can probably expect to see Lincolnia on the Studentus scene for some time to come.

Otago

ATTITUDINAL SURVEY

Noting the current New Zealand infatuation with opinion polls, the editors of CACLIN in their collective wisdom, conducted a comprehensive, scientific and strictly impartial survey of Lincoln College student attitudes towards Otago University students.

The results of this path breaking study are presented below.

Would you	Yes — No
(a) invite an Otago student to a party at your flat?	75% — 25%
(b) pick up an Otago student standing all alone on the Desert Road?	67% — 33%
(c) Disinherit your brother/sister if they went to Otago University?	25% — 75%

Do you believe	
(d) that Otago University students have more scarves than pairs of underwear?	83% — 17%

What adjective would you most frequently use when talking about Otago students?

The more unusual responses included: "banana peel"; "born not of women"; "rigor mortis"; "trend setters" (I suppose if you come from Tapanui, that might seem the case, ed.); and "spermologers". However the most popular adjective, confirming the results above was "scarfies". We regret to say that one respondent answered "What's an adjective?"

Additional Comments?

These included: "Otago, the only place they let Southlanders out after 7pm"; "Opportunity shop clothes"; "Otago students are like pot plants — for decoration only"; and "Where is Otago anyway?"

Conclusion

From these results we humbly conclude that Lincoln College students are extremely hospitable, have a high likelihood of getting mugged on the Desert Road, love their brothers and sisters deeply, and know far too much about the personal dress habits of Otago dwellers.

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STUDIES FIELD

We visited a lings, share mill- ced croplands series, from the arge, some using methods, right- ations covering hectares and u- iques. It was ed around in the ie clean morning is. er an operation s. (They make the gas from pig- this farmer stan- spigsty, wearing gumboots, (lik-) to his ankles in t his own time at oo.) (No silly, not of Agriculture.)

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dirty old towns

If you were to take a diversion off the main State highway routes linking New Zealand's main centres, and instead travel via the small towns you would discover a land seemingly left behind. This article stems from a recent trip through Western Southland but it could easily be the West Coast, South Canterbury, the East Cape, Northland or any other of the innumerable backwaters in this country.

Whereas farmers in these regions have at least one hundred acres in which to spread their poverty about, the small town dwellers concentrate it in a quarter acre section. And it shows. It shows in the unpainted, weather-beaten houses; the ones with broken windows; the ones with the cars on blocks out front. It shows in every second store being boarded up and in the closed-down dairy factories and railway stations.

Once apparently these towns knew prosperity. Times when a place like Gore had the highest level of consumer spending in the entire country. Now the only business that has escaped stagnation seems to be the local pub. The "Speights" advertising signs look as shiny and new, and off-putting, as they do elsewhere in the country.

What has caused this decline?

Most of it has been going on for a long time, with the jobs and bright lights of the big smoke drawing the young people away. But there were always enough people who stayed behind to keep the schools, shops and garages ticking over. This export of young people from the southern

hinterlands always kept unemployment at acceptable levels.

The same cannot be said for the northern regions, where the pleasant climates and horticultural booms of the seventies attracted many who are now jobless. Worse still, these northern rural communities built up their infrastructure on the expectation of continuing population inflows, an expectation which has turned sour in the last three years.

These years have seen a growing schism between city and country. Whilst the service and financial sectors in the cities boom, the productive apparatus of the countryside lies neglected. The 'liberalisation' which has brought this about is largely seen as a joke by rural dwellers.

This is due to the uneven nature of the removal of protection from the economy. The policies of Muldoon led to a common perception of hand-outs to farmers, the most obvious being Supplementary Minimum Payments. In fact most of the benefits were captured by the agricultural service industries and the agro-industrial complex. The benefits that did accrue to farmers were quickly lost as land prices rose.

The key point to understand was that Muldoon's assistance to the rural economy was essentially a policy of tariff compensation. So in fact the recent economic 'liberalisation' has heightened the anti-export bias which has been a feature of New Zealand economic history. This has not surprisingly lowered the returns to the rural

economy, and at one stage last year it seemed that the resulting discontent was creating the conditions for a rural revolt.

Who are the targets of rural anger?

Undoubtedly the banks and financial institutions with their seemingly usurious interest rates. The increasing glitz and razzamatazz of the financial sector heightens the enmity of the largely staid provincial residents. The second group held to be responsible for the rural decline are the unions whose ability to organise and win concessions from capital has always irked small farmers whose attempts at imitation, mainly from cooperative movements, have never been successful.

The major perceived crimes of the unions are their high wage demands, which are generally passed on to the rural sector by the service and input oligopoly. The final target of rural anger is the government itself, and its advisors, especially Treasury. One of the placards in last year's farmers march in Wellington summed it up perfectly. "Cut out the middle man — Vote Treasury instead." The anti-intellectualism of the provinces, which Muldoon exploited brilliantly, comes to bear in statements about economic advisors who have never seen beyond the covers of a textbook.

Given this rural discontent, do we have a *Grapes of Wrath* situation fermenting away in the hinterland? I think not. The Muldoon subsidisation of agriculture, although only mitigating the

effects of other protective policy, drew much publicity that urban taxpayers had a feeling of being ripped off to pay for some cockies Jag.

Thus a rise in rural unrest, like that seen in 1986, isn't likely to arouse the same sympathetic agrarian fundamentalism in the cities that it has in other western countries whose rural sectors have been equally squeezed. Evidence of this urban based agrarian ideology was seen in the making of Hollywood films about Mom and the kids struggling against the banks, the droughts and all other obstacles that Jane Fonda et al successfully traversed.

Instead we have a dichotomy between the growth dynamic of the large cities and the provinces, and an increasing polarisation in the countryside. On the one hand we have the rise of corporate farming entities such as Aglands and Cashmere Pacific based upon the sharemarket. At the other extreme is the trend towards farmers seeking seasonal work in the towns and cities (the freezing works have always helped in this) with the wages going to cover debt servicing costs.

Thus the New Zealand rural economy in 1987 sees a growing capital intensity amidst an increasing proletarianisation. Perhaps the next Booker Prize to come from New Zealand will be for our version of *How Green Was My Valley*.

Alastair Dixon



When Joseph Kuhtze arrived in New Zealand in the 1860's, he was a man with a mission.

From his homeland in Germany he brought an unquenchable desire to make a great beer. A beer he'd be remembered for.

So he established a brewery in the Cromwell district and began brewing beer. Good beer.

But they were tough times, and Joseph was, to say the least, something of a character.

A character who made a policy of standing up for what he believed in. So his life wasn't always trouble free.

But make a great beer he did. And he went on to become one of the true pioneers of New Zealand brewing.

Joseph Kuhtze was no ordinary man, and to honour him we've made a superb lager beer.

A beer that, like the man it's named for, is far from ordinary.



No ordinary beer.

CA 5423

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WHY NOT TO VOTE

Two Minutes of Illusory Power



Parrots are just One
Rung above Politicians.
You can always tell when
they're lying though:
their lips move!

Max Headroom

Once again New Zealanders are faced with the spectacle of Parliamentary elections. This is the season when parents lock up their babies (have you ever been kissed by a politician), and the disembodied faces and voices of politicians of all hues intrude into our everyday lives. Politicians are asking us to vote for them so that they will have power to make decisions for us over the next three years.

The farcical nature of parliamentary democracy is underscored by the reality that all participants in the voting game have no real power. The participants, both voters and politicians, are all part of the illusion created by the spectacle of parliamentary elections.

Where does the real power lie?

Contrary to popular opinion, real power in New Zealand does not lie in Parliament; it lies elsewhere. Power lies in the boardrooms of national and international corporations. Those who own the means of production are those who call the shots. If parliament had any real power we would not have poverty and unemployment in New Zealand because most politicians claim they are representing people's best interests and they want everybody to share in "The Good Life".

National and international corporations use the mechanisms of the state to reinforce their power. An entrenched public service bureaucracy, the legal and prison system, as well as the defence forces are methods by which those with power legitimise and maintain their power. How many times have states of emergency been called, rights suspended and so called "democratically" elected parliaments been overthrown by the military, when the power of those who own the means of production have been or are challenged?

The Role of Political Parties

All political parties whether right or left have one thing in common. They all claim that if we vote for them and give them the power they will be able to solve problems and fulfil promises that only radical change in power relationships could bring about. Electoral politics highlight the illusory nature of parliamentary democracy. In New Zealand we see the ludicrous spectacle of

politicians attempting to force us to vote (compulsory enrolment), to give them power (which they don't have), to make decisions for us over the next three years. If this farce did not have such tragic consequences for us it would make a good story line for a soap opera.

The Role of the Trade Unions

If you believe what you read, see, or hear on mass media you could be forgiven for thinking that power in New Zealand lay with the trade unions but they have never been or will be vehicles for social change in our society; Modern capitalism could not exist without trade unions. Trade union bureaucrats act as agents for capital. They channel labour unrest "up the right channels" and use the arbitration system to "further" workers demands. They ask workers to moderate their demands to what their bosses and the economy can cope with. All trade unions do is ask for a larger share of the cake. They do not encourage workers to take over the bakery. Did you know that every union is locked into the arbitration system? So much for the myth that trade unions are or can be vehicles for radical social change.

The Mass Media

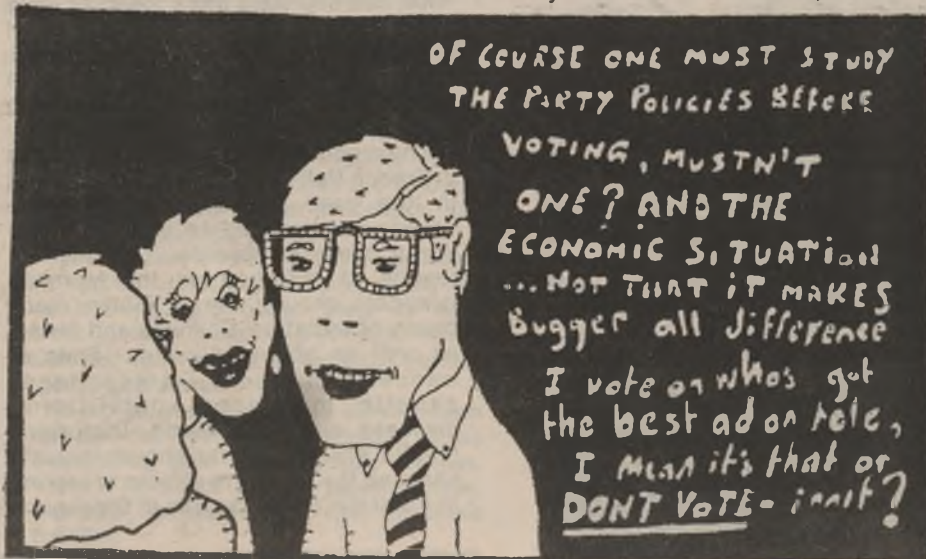
The mass media acts as the interface between reality and the "spectacle". The spectacle is the illusion that is fostered by newspapers, radio and television. We are led to believe that we have power over our lives. That we can make real decisions about how we live. If we look beyond "the spectacle", about the only decision to make

is those consumer goods we should purchase. The owners of mass media outlets have tremendous power in the battle for people's "hearts and minds". On the whole, the mass media reporters do not question the nature of our society, all they do is help to build and maintain and strengthen the illusion which our society is built upon.

Go back to Russia

Many people have the mistaken belief that Anarchism is synonymous with the life style found in Russia, China, Cuba or the Eastern Bloc. Nothing could be further from the truth. To quote an often-quoted phrase: The "free" world is not free, the "communist" world is not communist. Anarchist have nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist regimes in Russia, China, etc (hundreds of Anarchists languish in prison in these countries). The system of government that exists in these countries is not communism, but State capitalism. Yes that's right State capitalism.

In Russia and China the means of production is not in the hands of the State. The communist party through the State owns the means of production, distribution and exchange. In Russia as in New Zealand there are rulers and ruled. In so-called "communist" countries the legal prison system and the armed forces are the mechanisms by which the State controls those without power. It is obvious that, if we went to Russia or China, we would be imprisoned as enemies of the State because we wish the abolition of the State and the replacement of State power by a society based on community and workers' councils, based on



equal decision making power and an equal distribution of wealth.

Is Anarchy Chaos?

Most people who are initially introduced to an Anarchist are wary and look for the Anarchist's club foot, tail, horns, etc. When they see that an Anarchist has neither a club foot, tail or horns they make the statement "Doesn't Anarchy mean chaos?"

The word anarchy comes from Greek and it means "Without Authority". Anarchists are people who want a society based on equal decision making power for all and an equal distribution of wealth for all. They want a society which has no rulers or ruled. A society which is based on horizontal links, not hierarchical links.

People in power cannot envisage a society without authority and they assume if there was no authority, chaos would reign supreme. So they equate anarchy with chaos. Nothing could be further from the truth in New Zealand society today. In New Zealand the courts, police and the armed forces are necessary to maintain order. They are necessary because we live in an unequal society and the great majority are oppressed by a minority. So if there were no forces to maintain the status quo, society would degenerate into a chaotic mess.

On the other hand, an anarchist society is one of the most ordered known to human beings. Social cohesion is not maintained by external forces. It is maintained by the fact that everybody shares in the wealth produced by society. This means that a society without authority is a stable ordered society because it consists of individuals who have bonded together on the basis of voluntary egalitarian relationships.

What is a Self-Managed Society?

A self-managed society is a society based on equal decision making power and an equal distribution of wealth for all. Day to day decision making carried out in workers' and community councils. These councils define themselves. These councils would be open to everyone in that community or work place and everyone able to participate in the decision making process. THIS IS DIRECT DEMOCRACY.

Co-ordination of decisions which affect a number of councils would be carried out by recallable delegates. Delegates would be empowered by their local councils to carry decisions to these co-ordination meetings. They would only be able to co-ordinate decisions made by their local council. They would not be able to make decisions for the local council they represent. If the co-ordination meetings would be referred back to their local councils, for further discussion on the matter. **Horizontal links not hierarchical links are a hallmark of a self-managed society.**

In a self-managed society, majority decisions would not be binding on minorities. If a minority felt strongly enough about their decision they could be free to carry that decision out which may be against the wishes of the majority as long as it does not rob other people of their freedom. In the Parliamentary system of majority, even a 51 percent to 49 percent, always has power over the minority.

AS WE SEE IT...

Many people who have read this article may say "I agree with most of what you have said, but how can we create a self-managed society?" Anarchy cannot exist unless people wish to live in an egalitarian society. So the first step is to acquaint people with the principles of anarchism. It is important that the myths our society are based on, are exposed, that the "spectacle" is shattered and the people are confronted with the reality which surrounds them. Individuals who want to live in an Anarchist society should join together and begin building parallel structures in present day society. By creating our own parallel structures we create a dual power system situation which challenges the power of the existing social order.

Sainte Simon

For further information write to: ANARCHIST for DIRECT DEMOCRACY, P.O. Box 35-469, Browns Bay, Auckland.

peace vote

It would be not be unreasonable to think that maximising New Zealand's contributions towards creating a nuclear free world is the best way of using one's vote; in which case voting Labour would seem the simple prescription; but whilst, in general, this is probably true there are certain complexities which are worth pondering.

The ballot box, in a first-past-the post system, is an unreliable and often counterproductive instrument for bringing about reform and is a very insensitive instrument for conveying messages to politicians.

Imagine that Labour achieves a runaway victory on the 15th. Would it persuade the Government that the country is so solidly anti-nuclear that they can go ahead and strengthen their so far symbolic stance into something more substantial such as active support for Belau and Vanuatu, or moves to change the phoney nuclear free zone Treaty from a cover for nukes into an obstacle to nukes; or would such a result allow them to neglect their peace obligations, safe in the notion that they are sitting on a satisfied majority?

There is, moreover, a growing danger of the peace movement becoming identified in the public mind with the Labour Government. Not only would this induce the Government to think that they have us in their pocket and can safely ignore our demands, but it would soon produce a conditioned reflex among the people to associate peaceniks with unemployment, user pays education and health etc. Such a confusion of issues would make it difficult to achieve a united anti-nuclear New Zealand.

On the other hand, although keeping nukeships out of our harbours is a relatively minor measure among the many initiatives we, as a nation, should take to help humanity to lick the nuclear danger — nevertheless, because it has had an enormous symbolic impact across the world and because it is a first step in an essential journey, a defeat of the Labour Government at this point would be a real setback for the international peace movement.

If New Zealand is to emerge as an effective anti-nuclear force on the world scene, we must secure a bi-partisan rejection of the nuclear arms race, and of the doctrine of nuclear deterrence. This means the National Party must either be converted or destroyed as an effective opposition.

This requires a two-pronged attack: Bolger's declaration that "we don't want nuclear armed ships in our harbours" however belated and plainly opportunistic, must be welcomed as a significant advance from their previous atavistic position. At the same time it must be made clear that this sentiment cannot be taken seriously as long as it is tied to "trust your friends" policy with regard to the visit of warships.

In New Zealand nobody knows why you voted how you voted, and the parties like to kid themselves. For example, we cannot reward National for their step forwards because they would be sure to misinterpret every extra vote as an encouragement to return to the Pentagon apronstrings.

From these and similar considerations certain guidelines for the elections emerge:

1. We cannot vote National in any electorate because every National vote will be interpreted as a pro-nuke vote.
2. We favour the return of a Labour government but without allowing this attitude to cover up for Labour's stupidities either internally or, indeed, in the field of anti-nuclear politics where their record is far from perfect.
3. To encourage National along the anti-nuclear path we can in suitable electorates vote Democrat or refrain from voting, thus sending a signal that National is missing out on anti-Labour votes, and that there are votes to be picked up, once National embraces a truly bi-partisan anti-nuclear policy.
4. Voting Democrat in electorates where a National victory is not feared is also useful to disabuse Labour of the notion that the peace movement can be safely neglected because we have nowhere else to go, and that we will have to remain satisfied with a half-cock ship ban and a phoney nuke-free Pacific zone.
5. In elaboration of this point, there is no need to vote Labour in the five most safe Labour seats, nor in the five most safe National seats. Without altering the final result an increase in the Democratic vote or abstention will help to dampen the arrogance of government.

When the elections are over the time will be ripe to create an internationalist anti-nuclear 'Party', not necessarily to contest seats, but to hold a credible proportion of votes to offer to which ever party represents the anti-nuclear aspirations of humanity most credibly at the 1990 elections.

Erich Geiringer



the Unforgettable Fire

Nuclear bombs were dropped over Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945 turning the cities into ash and rubble, and killing an estimated 200,000 people. This estimate only goes partly towards including the number of victims who died from cancer in the years since 1945. A visit to the city of Hiroshima now will see a rebuilt and rehabilitated city, but there are still the reminders in the eyes of the people who survived "the unforgettable fire", and in their children who carry reminders through the radiation that was breathed in by their parents. It is possible that for several generations the effects and deformities caused by these effects will continue to show.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki will never be forgotten as they were the start of the nuclear age. But have the horrors of the use of these weapons been put in the past by the banning of such arms? No, the nuclear threat now hangs upon us with bombs that have one hundred times the explosive capacity of the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima. Nuclear weaponry has risen from the measurement of kilotonnes to megatonnes.

1 kilotonne = 1000 tons of TNT
1 megatonne = 100 kilotonnes

These warheads now exist in their tens of thousands!

The victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are not the only ones to have suffered from nuclear-fallout. Not only do the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France, and China all possess nuclear weapons, but they take it upon themselves to regularly conduct more nuclear tests. Because of their own recognition of the dangers of these tests, the United States, the UK and France have conducted numerous tests away from their own soil, and the victims of these tests have been the peoples of the Pacific.

There have been well over 200 nuclear bombs exploded in the Pacific since Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. From 1946 to 1958 the U.S. tested in the Marshall Islands, at Johnston Atoll in 1958 and Christmas Island in the early 1960's. The U.S. also carried out three underground explosions in the far north Pacific in 1965, 1969 and 1971 at Amchitka in the Aleutian Islands. The UK tested at three sites in Australia, and Christmas Island in the 1950's and '60's, while France, which detonated its first atmospheric test in the Pacific in 1966, has exploded more than 110 tests over and under the tiny atolls of Mururoa and Fangataufa. France is continuing to test nuclear weapons at Mururoa today, going against strong local and international opposition.

The medical effects of French testing in French Polynesia on the people living in the area are unknown because France has refused to release meaningful medical records. Documented results of radiation on the Marshall Islanders though, have shown many cases of radiation sickness and burns, as well as abnormally high levels of cancer, cataracts, miscarriages genetic mutations, debilitating diseases and early death. Disturbing results are also being shown in tests showing the longterm effects of testing in Australia on the people in the region.

No doubt the same results will come out if the same medical tests were conducted in Tahiti, and maybe even the whole of the South Pacific.

The effect on the indigenous peoples of the Pacific, from nuclear testing has shown a continuation of an imperialist age that many thought was left in the past. It has included the shifting of the people of Bikini and Eniwetok Atolls in the Marshall Islands to enable U.S. tests to be carried out. The shift was supposed to be temporary, but these islands will remain radioactive for thousands of years, and the islands the people were moved to have proved to be economically unviable. The refugees have been forced to depend upon U.S. handouts in order to survive.

August 6 is a day of commemoration of a tragedy, the destruction of the city of Hiroshima by a weapon that now exists in far greater numbers and with even greater destructive capacities. Furthermore this weapon continues to be tested in the Pacific, against its people's will.

As we are people living in the South Pacific, we must also realise the dangers that are present to us by testing in the Pacific, especially Mururoa. A comprehensive test ban treaty must be called for, or at least the stopping of testing in the Pacific by nations who live on the other side of the world.

Remember Hiroshima Day on August 6, and more importantly take action to make sure there are no repeats. Furthermore, make your view heard on issues such as nuclear testing, especially those in our home, the Pacific. When you hear of a nuclear test, ring the embassies in Wellington and let them hear your protest.

France 720 200
United States 722 068
USSR 766 113
China 721 382

On August 6, there is action taking place around New Zealand as a remembrance to Hiroshima.

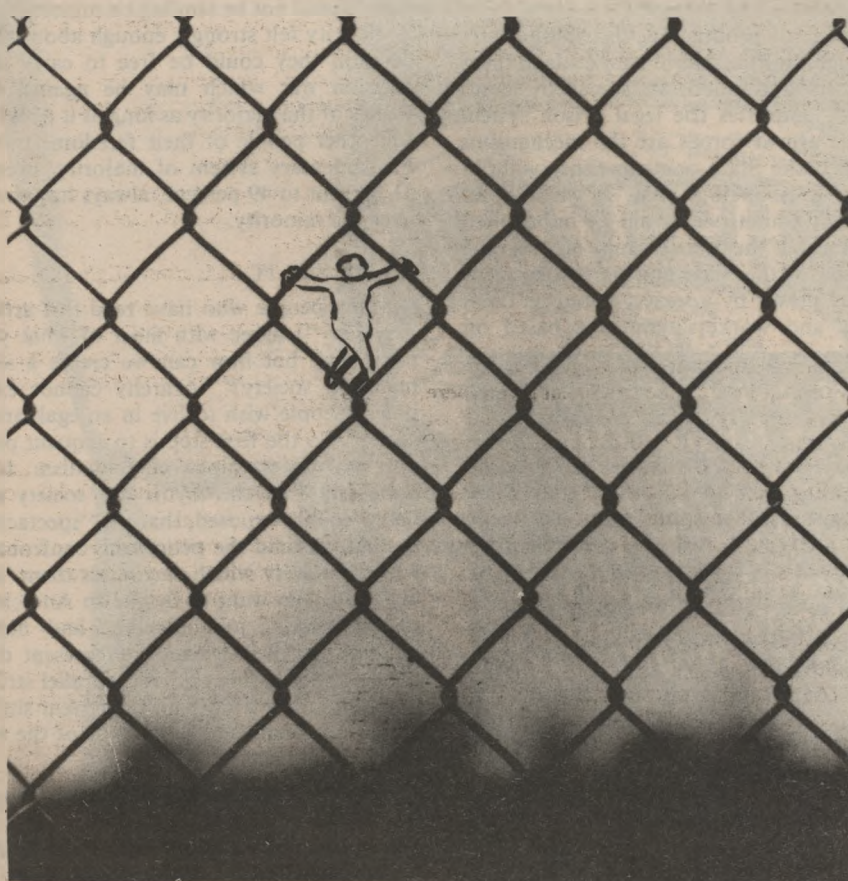
Wellington: 12.15pm Gathering at Civic Centre. 12.30 leaving for lunchtime march to the Cenotaph for the laying of wreaths and for speeches. There will also be white poppies sold all morning. During this week, there will be an International Peace Poster Exhibition at Turnbull House.

Hamilton: The Northern peace march enters Hamilton on August 6, where a gathering will be arranged before the march heads to Taupo where it will meet with the Southern peace march (from Wellington).

Christchurch: 9.45am A peace march assembles at Kauri St (opp. Riccarton Mall). Leaves at 10am for old Riccarton Railway Station. Peace Train leaves for Rangiora at 10.30am, Kaiapoi 11.15am and arrives at Rangiora at 11.30am. The Peace march then continues to the Recreation Centre in Rangiora, where speakers will include Dr Helen Caldicott. The Train returns at 3.30pm. Cost \$8 or \$4 for children and beneficiaries.

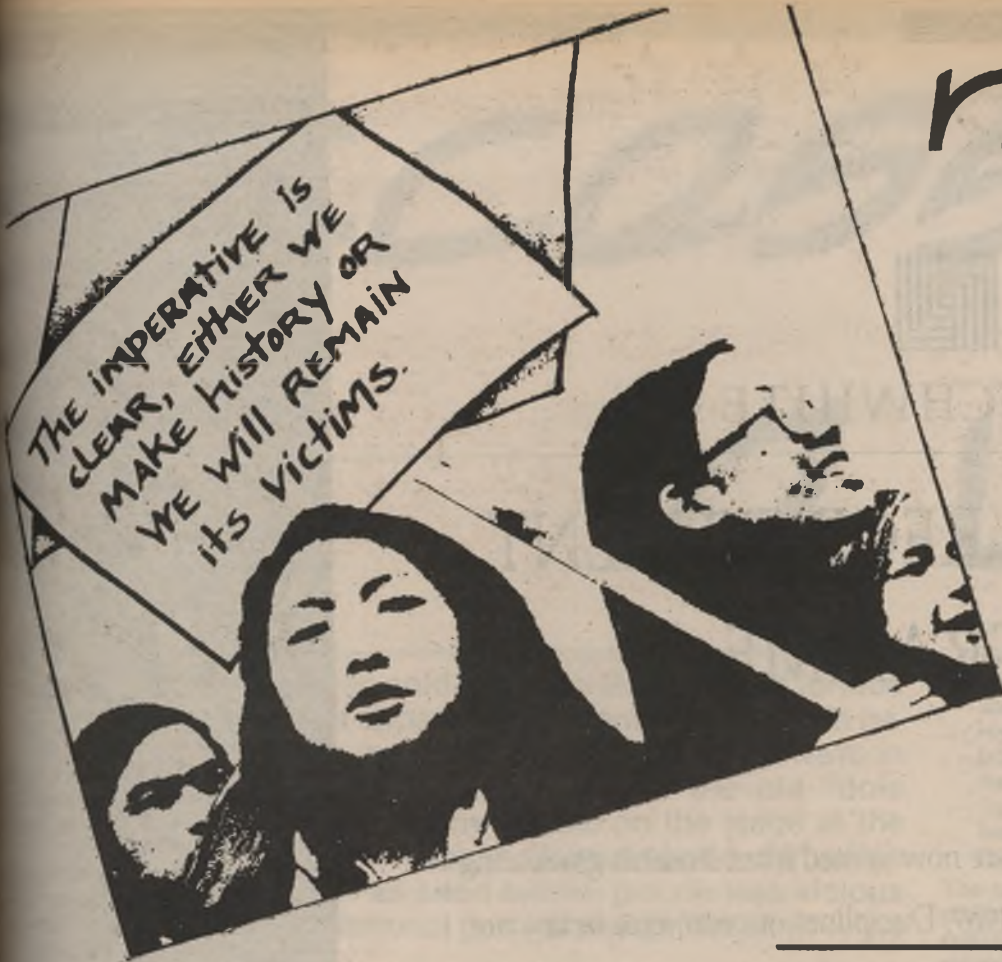
Auckland: Auckland's activities were last week, with a rally at Queen Elizabeth Square. Speakers included Dr Helen Caldicott and Bruce Kent.

Tony Boyd



William Wegman, Fence, 1978, ink on black and white photo, 18 1/2 x 18".

making the most of your majority



Women have a lot of power as voters — we are 51% of the population. Yet either we tend not to use that power to put in the government that will work most effectively for us, or governments pay only lipservice to our demands.

Of course all issues are women's issues. However, we are forced to keep fighting for "women's issues" because no one else will.

Men choose not to think about some issues. For example, Trevor de Cleene says about the Ministry of Women's Affairs: "I don't know much about it — I'll be honest. I jokingly sometimes say that I'd like to be Minister of Pakaha and Male Affairs."

Men also believe women already have it made. "I think women have equality legally and in many other ways" de Cleene says.

It is important to know where your candidate stands on issues of concern to women. Vote for the one who will work hardest for women.

Women on campuses have identified and worked on several key issues this year:

Women in Tertiary Education

Quite apart from the impact generally, women students will be one of the most drastically affected groups when cost recovery is implemented. Despite what National and Labour say, increased costs are in the wind.

There are still many parents who consider it more important for a son to have a tertiary education than it is for a daughter. Increased costs may necessitate a choice of support for a son, rather than a daughter.

Humanities and social sciences, the so-called "soft-options" are the disciplines most likely to lose out, particularly if National's policy of "entitlements" is brought in. These are the areas in which women predominantly participate. A system where the consumer chooses could magnify the current boom in strictly vocational cases.

Women are already under-represented in post-graduate work. Thirty percent of masters candidates are women, while only 26% of PhD students are women. This representation is unlikely to increase if it becomes economically unfeasible for women to continue their education. National's Ruth Richardson already says they won't fund post-graduate study.

Recommendations for courses and training to counter sexism in curriculums, and affirmative action legislation for equal appointment/promotion opportunities were made at the recent Women in Tertiary Education Conference.

Equal Pay for Work of Equal Value

The Equal Pay Act has been in place since 1972 but women still earn on average 75% of the average male wage.

The 1972 Act has prevented some of the more blatant forms of discrimination but has failed in its overall aim. Women tend to work in a limited number of jobs, and there are often no men doing the equivalent work. If there are men doing the jobs, then their wages too will be depressed because of working in a female intensive occupation or class of work. Whole areas of women's work are undervalued. For example, caring and support work are simply seen as an extension of work in the home.

What's this got to do with students? It is just as important. In summer jobs, female students get paid less on average than male students. Yet vacation work contributes approximately one-third of a student's annual

income. Graduate unemployment for women is also higher than men's.

The only way for women to achieve real equal pay is to measure the skills, effort, responsibility and working conditions required to perform "womens work" and compare it to skills, effort, responsibility and working conditions within male — dominated industries or classes of work. This is what equal pay for work of equal value says should be done.

Pornography

The Women's Action Collective of NZUSA organised the pornography Week of Action from July 27-31.

Women have long been concerned at the prolific production and availability of degrading and woman — hating material. According to Women Against Pornography (WAP), such material shows women as mere sex objects, willing to be hurt and enjoying pain, manipulation and exploitation by men.

On July 15, Justice Minister Geoffrey Palmer announced a Committee of Inquiry into pornography.

Palmer says violent, degrading attitudes in pornography are not acceptable, as they promote the message that women are sexual subordinates to men. They also condone violence against women.

Two of the three member committee will be women, one of whom will chair the inquiry. Among other things they will examine the relevant legislation and the criteria for determining whether material should be prohibited or restricted.

At the moment there is a range of laws, with their own individual criteria and modes of operation. These include the 1963 Indecent Publications Act, 1983 Films Act, 1985 Video Classification Act and 1986 Video Recording Act.

Group like WAP want a comprehensive law that is effective. They also want an independent tribunal of women responsible for examining material which might be pornographic.

Ministry of Women's Affairs

This Labour Government initiative should not be underestimated. Even the National party has reversed its earlier decision and decided to retain the Ministry.

The Ministry's role is to ensure the views of women are taken into account in the decision-making process. Most of their work involves monitoring policies, legislation and the work of all the other government departments.

It recognises that all issues affect women and has been represented on working parties examining child care, domestic violence, tertiary assistance grants, parental leave, women's refuge and breast prosthesis benefits.

The Ministry funds women's projects through its Project Fund. For the financial year 1986/87 its budget was only \$50,000. With the introduction of Community Organisation Grants, the responsibility for apportioning funds fell on local government. Women's groups now have to compete with other groups to gain the necessary extra funding from local authorities. The Project Fund budget is pathetically low.

Why is the government funding Men Against Violence groups and at the same time cutting funds to women's refuges and Rape Crisis? The Palmerston North groups had their funds cut by one third and one half respectively, and in contrast to the men's groups, they are not recognised on a national level. Even though all parties support the Ministry, the new government must give it more resources for direct funding and actively support its role.

Michael Cox, National's spokesperson on Finance believes "its role under a National government will probably change. We would bring the ethics or philosophy of the National party as opposed to a socialist party".

Fertility Action

Women students were shocked this year by Sandra Coney and Phillida Bunkle's revelations about treatment for cervical cancer at National Womens Hospital in Auckland.

They discovered that over a twenty year period, patients with signs of cancer of the cervix were left untreated at the hospital. The government has since set up a committee of inquiry into the treatment given there.

The inquiry offers a very important opportunity, amongst other things, to improve the treatment of women in hospitals, including their use in research and practise for medical students, and to ensure women are properly informed of the treatment options available to them.

It is important the new government follows up any recommendations and recognises the need for women's input into health services.

The Womens Electoral Lobby (WEL), a pressure group not affiliated to any political parties or organisations, has identified further vital issues.

Corporatisation of Public Services

— to question the social cost of applying market forces and "user pays" concepts.

Nuclear Free New Zealand

— to support strongly the New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone, Disarmament and Arms Control Act.

Childcare

— to have good quality childcare available to the community at a price all people can afford.

Flexible Work Patterns

— to make more opportunities for job-sharing and permanent part-time work with conditions and rights equivalent to full-time paid work.

Revision of the Contraception Sterilisation and Abortion Act

— so that women actually do have access to abortion services, and that women alone make the decision.

Project Waitangi

— to recognise the Maori as tangata whenua — to act on the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi

Strengthen the Human Rights Commission

— the act needs to include recognition of discrimination on the grounds of: disability, age, sexual orientation, employment status, previous criminal convictions and positive aids tests.

Care of dependents

— more support, relief services and financial services for those who care for dependents.

At the time of writing, only the Labour party had released their policy on women. Ann Hercus has committed the party to more money for voluntary organisations, early child care and education.

Labour will review domestic violence legislation, establish a family law committee, and review the C.S. and A Act. The party pledges to complete the review of the Equal Pay Act and continue family support for lower income families. According to Jim Bolger, National will also continue with family support as a means-tested benefit.

Bronwyn Labrum



FAY, RICHWHITE

GRADUATE RECRUITMENT PROGRAMME

Applications are now invited from students graduating at the end of 1987. Disciplines of commerce or law are the preferred options although other candidates will be considered.

The Fay Richwhite Graduate programme will be for 2 years and cover all aspects of their operation including money market and securities trading, foreign exchange advisory services, equities, investments, corporate banking and their support services.

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ACCESS

to what?

New Zealanders have been sold a lie. The Government funded ACCESS advertisements appearing so prominently on the nation's television screens in recent weeks are the first wave in a propaganda assault designed to resurrect the old "dole bludger" label and neutralise any debate on the issue at the forthcoming election. The Labour Government's campaign against the unemployed has been subtle, but no less vicious than the more up-front National party stand of "no work — no pay".

In three years, while we have held our breaths watching the massive restructuring of the State sector, there has been no action to reduce unemployment or relieve its effects (multi million dollar advertising schemes just before the election aside). This fact only points to the true story, that large scale unemployment is one of those 'short-term pains' that the Labour Government believes will disappear within the next three years — when the new entrepreneurs lead us into the economic wonderland.

So how to deal with it meantime? The tactic is simple but effective; an appeal to the Protestant work ethic and an attempt to widen the traditional rift between those with work and those without.

The policy was put in place by the announcement of Social Welfare Minister Anne Hercus that the dole would no longer be paid to those who refused to take up training.

This represented a radical shift in Labour party thinking. Up to this time the problem of unemployment had been admitted and the policy of both parties had been to attempt to find work, if necessary, by job creation, for the unemployed. The ad hoc VOTP and PEP schemes (inadequately) fulfilled this role. While traditional attitudes against the unemployed remained, the

philosophy acknowledged the community's responsibility for any solution.

The Hercus announcement changed all this. Blame could easily attach to a government that accepted the burden of solving unemployment and yet stood by and watched as figures for the numbers out of work steadily rose.

So a lie was created and sold to the New Zealand public. It runs like this: Our economy is going through a period of change, there are enough jobs for everyone, the unemployed just don't have the necessary skills to do them. Training everyone, even against their will, to fit these new job opportunities will solve the problem of unemployment.

The policy sounds sensible enough. On the basis of it, Labour launched its ACCESS scheme in mid 1987. But it is a policy open to serious objections.

1. There are not nearly enough jobs for the unemployed in New Zealand. A recent Labour Department survey says there is less than one job vacancy for every eight unemployed in New Zealand, so no amount of training will ever get the majority of those unemployed in work. The ACCESS scheme plans to train 70,000 people for a mere 11,000 jobs.

2. The policy openly shifts the blame for unemployment to the unemployed. They aren't trained and those who show resistance to training are immediately labelled ignorant or lazy. The Government can hardly be unaware of this effect of the scheme, given the disparity between the theory and the reality that the figures graphically demonstrate.

The amazing feature of the ACCESS programme is how easily the New Zealand public has swallowed the whole story. Admittedly, they had help from the overkill advertising campaign. Even MPs are fooled. Fran Wilde, in a recent visit to Victoria University, exuberantly announced that you had only to look in the paper to see the jobs available! The shortage of shorthand typists in Wellington was acute she said. What clerical and typing jobs advertised in Wellington papers might have to do with unemployed freezing workers on the East Coast or coal miners on the West Coast is hard to see.

The recently released National Party policies with their catch cry of "no work — no dole" is only a more up front version of the Labour philosophy — unemployment is the fault of the unemployed who need to be encouraged, coerced, to find the new jobs the changed economy offers. As if the belief that the unemployed are unwilling to find work had not been totally shattered by the over subscription to the ACCESS scheme. Phil Goff had to stop the advertising early because of the demands.

What makes matters even worse is that ACCESS isn't even achieving its prime goal — the provision of more training places for the unemployed.

This point was highlighted by the protests of unemployed workers at the launch of the regional scheme in Wellington. Mark Thomas of the Wellington Unemployed Workers Union pointed out that the Labour

Department's own figures show only 60% of the places on previous schemes in Wellington will be replaced by ACCESS. The Group Employment Liaison Service fieldworkers in Wellington say the 1987-88 budget for employment and training programmes in Wellington has dropped to almost half that of the previous financial year.

But the worst aspect of this situation has been the disillusionment of thousands of young unemployed who applied for places on ACCESS in response to the media advertising and were turned down. And there is still to come the bitter disappointment of thousands more who have entered these schemes and will find no jobs at the end. It's hard to see the whole affair as anything but a cruel hoax.

This still leaves the larger question — what will either party do in the next three years about the problem of unemployment that the whole country faces. The Budget has allowed for an increase in unemployment of 23% in the next year, which would take the overall figure of unemployed to over 140,000.

Will either party pick up the call of the Maori Economic Development Conference 1984 for Maori control of funds to organise marae and community based work trusts?

Can we expect appropriate control of finance markets and interest rates to channel investment into job creation?

Will the current policy of both parties, which results in blaming the unemployed for their plight, be altered and the serious question of solving unemployment addressed?

The social costs of unemployment on the present scale are high enough to effectively wreck any other improvements that might be made in the economy. The problem must be addressed now.

Tom Bennion and Lisa Biggs



SNARK & LEADERS

A BORED
GAME FOR
ELECTION
NITE

8 OH NO!!
YOU HAVE
JUST LANDED ON THE
LOCKWOOD SMITH
NASTY SQUARE!
HERE UNTIL HIS GRIN
FADES OR THE NEXT
TOOTH PASTE AD.

9 HAVE AN
EXTRA TURN IF
YOU KNOW
THE NAME OF
THE PRIME
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6 ANARCHY!!
BURN THE TV,
STEAL A DRINK FROM
THE PERSON ON YOUR
LEFT AND MOVE
AS FAR AS YOU LIKE

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IN PALMERSTON NORTH
TAKE THE GREAT
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→ FOUR
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MISS A TURN EVERY AD
BREAK TO GO OUTSIDE
AND DIG YOUR NUCLEAR
FALL OUT SHELTER.

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-GO BACK 2
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16 SELWYN GOES TO
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TO THREE FREE YEARS
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ALL THOSE
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ON DISAPPEAR ONCE
YOUR FAVOURITE PARTY
GETS IN POWER....SO
WHAT'S THE POINT?
YOU KNOW YOU'LL
PLAY THE GAME AGAIN.

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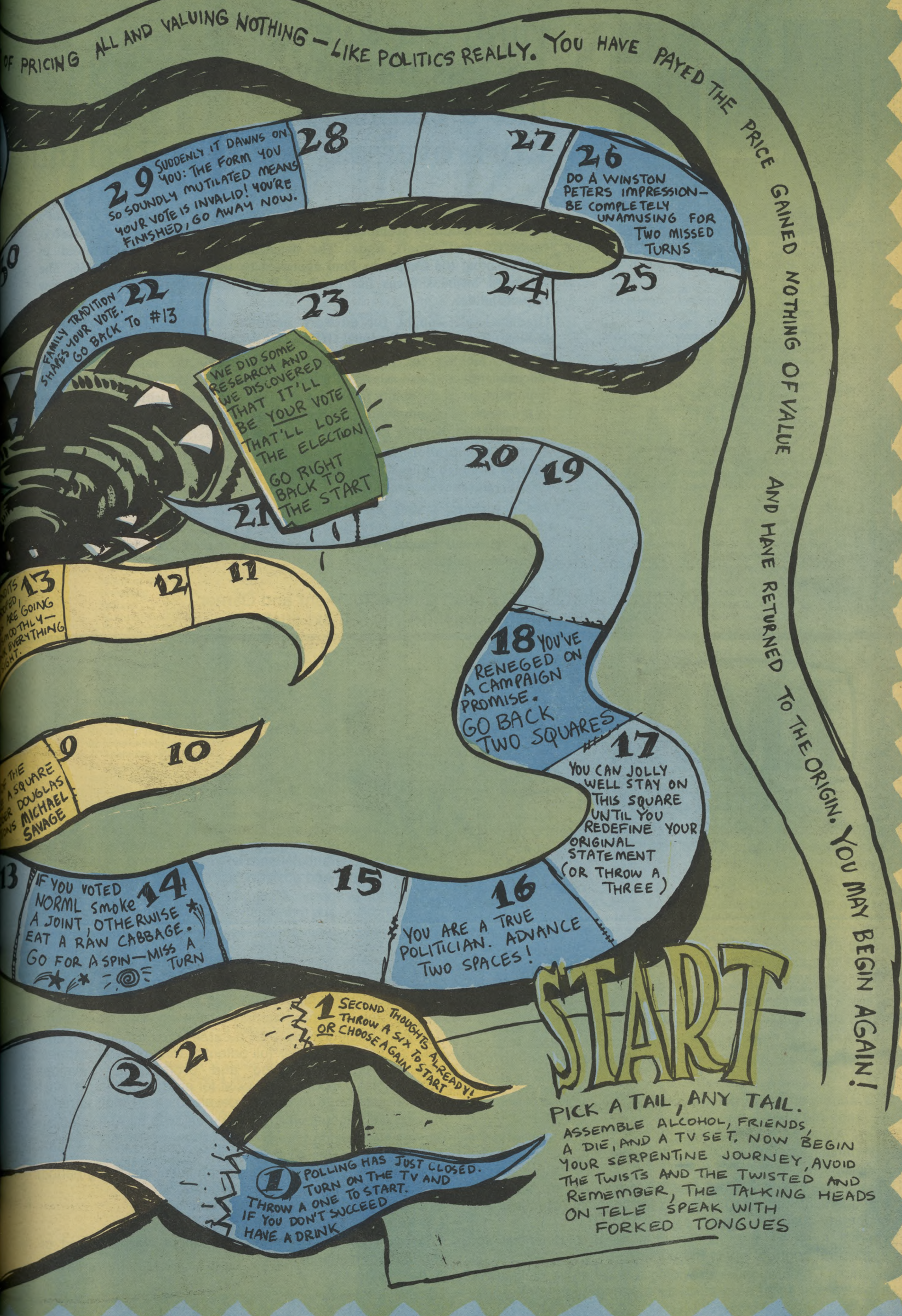
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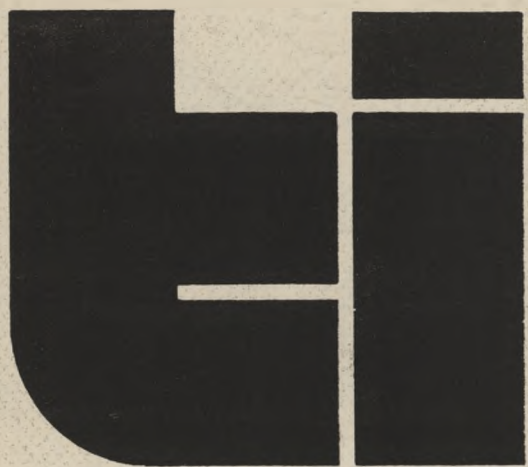
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GO OUTSIDE
YOUR NUCLEAR
SHELTER.



START

PICK A TAIL, ANY TAIL.
ASSEMBLE ALCOHOL, FRIENDS, A DIE, AND A TV SET. NOW BEGIN YOUR SERPENTINE JOURNEY, AVOID THE TWISTS AND THE TWISTED AND REMEMBER, THE TALKING HEADS ON TELE SPEAK WITH FORKED TONGUES



enjoy variety
possess initiative
like a challenge
work overseas for New Zealand

The Department of Trade and Industry has the task of fostering New Zealand's economic welfare by promoting and encouraging the development of industry, commerce and export trade. The department is now well advanced in implementing the Corporate Plan approved by the Government in 1986. The expanded business focus has involved the department in a range of new responsibilities.

Graduates are sought for advisory positions in Head Office, based in Wellington, and in our Regional Offices in Auckland and Christchurch.

We are looking for results oriented people with the capacity to work independently and also as part of a team. Research and report writing skills are important; as is the ability to relate well to others. Liaison with representatives of the commercial community, other government departments and overseas is an important part of many jobs in the department.

Tertiary qualifications in Commerce, Law and Economics are particularly relevant although other degrees will also be considered, especially when backed up with relevant experience.

The department's staff development programmes ensure maximum career opportunity through the provision of skills training, rotation, project based assignments and regular review of individual career plans. All staff are eligible for overseas postings.

For further information contact the Recruitment and Career
Development Officer on (04) 720 030 ext 8547



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Working at AMP is working for New Zealand because we have interests in just about every aspect of the country's economy through our investments.

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- ☐ Share Analysis — reviewing sectors of the economy and the companies operating within them, leading to investment decisions.
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- ☐ Financial Corporation — providing a wide range of financial services for both corporate clients and high net work individuals.

- ☐ Sales — continuing success depends upon a high performing sales force and many graduates have become career agents, gaining substantial financial rewards, and performed sales management and advisory roles.

- ☐ Valuation/Property Management — valuation, investment investigation and management of a large portfolio of properties.

- ☐ Actuarial — application of mathematical techniques to a wide range of practical situations in life insurance, superannuation and other areas of the finance industry.

- ☐ Superannuation — management of superannuation schemes — a rapidly growing area of life insurance.

- ☐ Marketing — expert support for the vigorous sales team.

The AMP Society aims to be a career organisation and seeks to develop its staff to their full potential through work experiences and appropriate training and professional development programmes. Opportunities exist for staff to transfer to Australia at some later date for further development of their careers.

Among the benefits which may be enjoyed by AMP staff are:

- Flexible working hours.
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- Housing/vehicle finance (after an initial qualifying period).
- Subsidised superannuation scheme.
- Subsidised fitness centre/cafetaria.

For further information contact:

The manager of any office throughout New Zealand or the recruitment manager:

AMP Society
PO Box 1290
WELLINGTON

he iwi kotahi tātou ?

The government of Aotearoa should be working towards biculturalism, say some of Massey University's Maori students. The students discussed their views of social inequalities with *Chaff* recently. They identified political change as particularly necessary in the areas of education, language, land and health.

"Every government department needs biculturalism awareness and respect — not tokenism," they say. The political parties need to recognise Maori rights as tangata whenua.

The following social policy objective, initiated by the 1986 Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori perspective for the Department of Social Welfare, is seen by the students as an important guideline:

"To attack all forms of cultural racism in New Zealand, that result in the values and lifestyle of the dominant group being regarded as superior to those of other groups, especially Maori by:

- a Providing leadership and programmes which help develop a society in which the values of all groups are of central importance to its enhancement; and
- b Incorporating the values, cultures, and beliefs of the Maori people in all policies developed for the future of New Zealand".

"You can't put a price on Maori values, but they should be regarded as equivalent to those within the Pakeha structures — the government should strive towards that; with that will come biculturalism," one Maori woman student said.

In order for this social policy objective to work, change is necessary in several areas.

Matauranga (Education)

The present education system is seen as having disadvantages for Maori pupils.

"There are white figures in authority, and the transmission of knowledge and curriculum are Pakeha-orientated", one student, who is majoring in Education, commented.

"The education system is not set up to tap the potential of Maori children, and many teachers lack cultural awareness, despite the introduction of Taha Maori in schools". One example was a boy who wouldn't eat his lunch at school as there were no karakia (prayers) beforehand.

A separate school system — of tribal wharewananga — was seen by some as the best solution to tribal inequalities; "Then Maori kids could get into positions of power without having to become Maori-Pakehas."

That any Maori students reached university was "a miracle" considering the obstacles they faced.

"It is interesting to note that many Maori students are older — it takes four to five years for a Maori to come to terms with the Pakeha education system — it means we are retarded by 4-5 years," one B.Ed. student claims.

Many Maori students at Massey do not attend until they are over 21 years, and do not have Higher School Certificate, he says.

The introduction of user-pays in university education, will have a "devastating" effect on the numbers of Maori who can attend. Many Maori students come from low-income families, and would be unable to pay cost-recovery fees.

Trevor de Cleene (Labour MP for Palmerston North) says; "In the schools we are trying to get people into more bi-lingual studies . . . but pride and esteem do not get you jobs . . ."

However, Peter Bradley (Social Democrats-Porirua) sees the lack of compulsory Taha Maori in schools as racist; "The Maori people are an oppressed nation".

Te Reo (Language)

The Kohanga Reo programmes need to be followed through in schools, as the bilingual children of the Kohanga Reo are not catered for once they leave. In Palmerston North, for example, there are four Kohanga Reo, yet only one primary school has a Taha Maori programme.

The recent Maori Language Bill aims to make Maori an official language of Aotearoa.

"To make the language official just means it will be one of the languages used here — it should be the constitutional language — this would encourage biculturalism in all things", one woman student says.

"Language is just the beginning — culture is bound up with this . . ."

The Maori language bill has "been criticised for not going far enough, but all the time we have to face the reality of trying to minimise the backlash which is very potentially there", says Labour's candidate for Manawatu, Dave Robinson.

Although he sees the encouragement of Maori language as positive, National's Manawatu MP Michael Cox has reservations.

"You've got to be very careful not to force it . . . you will get an enormous amount of resentment the other way".

Te Whenua (Land)

Land protests — such as those at Bastion Point and the Raglan golf course in the 1970's — have had some effect, the students believe.

"The young people are now understanding the issues that the old people have talked about for years — its nothing new".

Land is Maori turangawaewae; "it has spiritual connotations and values, you don't have to make money on it".

One student told of how his umbilical cord was buried at a special spot on the family land, as his father's and grandfather's had been before him.

"When you don't have land you're a drifting spirit . . . when I go home the land — whether it is barren or whatever . . . has an aura . . . you can still hear the sounds of battle."

The students see the recent Court of Appeal ruling on land as positive. It involved a decision to halt the transfer of land to State-owned enterprises, until Maori rights had been safeguarded.

Trevor de Cleene, Labour MP for Palmerston North comments:

"I think the issue of Maori land is much exaggerated personally, and there are a lot of Maoris in this community now that are not members of tribal groups . . . we are all New Zealanders, some Maori, some Pakeha, and I don't think it does much going back in history to 1840, that's just a personal view . . ."

The recent Court of Appeal ruling on land is "a big step forward" says Peter Bradley (Social Democrats candidate — Porirua)

"But the decision did not derive from a change of heart by those in power — it was a progressive decision, really resulting from the 1970's struggles — Bastion Point — which forced concessions".

Giving the land back is not the solution, according to National MP for Manawatu Michael Cox.

"I don't think you can suddenly, three generations later take the land from someone who has farmed it for the last three generations . . . but there must be compensation of some sort."

Waiora (Health)

The Maori view of health is holistic; it involves spiritual, mental and family wellbeing, as well as physical wellbeing. There is a need to provide more resources to cater for Maori health needs, the students believe. For example, hospitals need better facilities to cater for the dying. A Maori patient needs and expects all her/his whanau to stay at the bedside. But this is often difficult and awkward with current hospital resources.

The high rates of lung cancer amongst Maori women, and the death rate of Maori babies were also identified as matters requiring urgent government attention.

Cultural insensitivity is present in many areas of everyday life.

Tangi (funerals) are one example. Maori families want the deceased's body straight away. This is culturally important; the wairua (spirit) must return to the whanau (family) to be "placated". There are often problems getting coroners to come promptly, the students say. Bereavement leave only applies to immediate family, yet in many Maori situations, an aunty, or uncle can be as "immediate" as parents.

"Employers don't recognise Maori kinship".

The students see the new PSA act, which permits leave with pay, as a positive step, although the granting of leave is at the discretion of the employee's controlling officer.

Whichever party comes to power, they should give equal status to Maori Cultural values; "the Government should strive towards that; with that will come biculturalism".

About 10 Maori seats are needed if Maori MPs are to be representative, the students say. Present Maori MPs have "ineffective" portfolios. A Maori minister of Social Welfare is needed, as this is an area in which many Maori are involved.

There needs to be recognition of the different management structure of Maori society — the leader is at the bottom, and dependent on backing from the iwi (tribe).

"The government constantly talks to the wrong people, and appoints the wrong people to advise tribal groups — like those from different tribes."

The students see change as happening in Aotearoa, but "very slowly and tokenistically."

"People are scared — they've been led to believe all this crap about us all being one people, it's easier . . . and they feel threatened when this is challenged — yet the move to biculturalism has advantages for everyone".

Rebecca Lancashire

clayton's

It is late in 1989. Minister of Education, Ruth Richardson signs another letter to a university Vice-Chancellor:

"If your University provides competitive courses you will have all the enrolments you need. When we receive your 1990 enrolment figures together with the entitlement certificates you will collect from your students, we will forward a cheque for the appropriate amount."

Prematurely grey academics cluster uneasily around the advertising agency's presentation:

"The bottom line is where it counts folks. If you want to keep your jobs you've got to get those enrolments up. The kids need to feel that taking your course will make them a success. Part of that is smartening up your image. We'll have the clean cut look with Italian suit for the Classics people, and this is our 'Miami Vice' range for the Social Science team..."

A group of students gather in the cafe:

"My rent cheque just bounced. — I thought this entitlement was supposed to get me through my first degree."

"Tell your land lord to ask Ruth Richardson, maybe she can explain it to him."

"Hey what's with the biology text book? I thought you were going in for Business Studies."

"Oh sure, me and who's bank balance? So many people want to do it — they can pick and choose who to take. You have to pay at least \$5000. . . ."

"How was your language lab?"

"We're not having them this year. They didn't know if they'd have enough students to be able to afford new equipment, its been ordered now, but it hasn't arrived."

A post-graduate student sits over a pile of essays. She is working as a tutor to finance her Master's degree. She hasn't been able to get a loan to study Philosophy:

"Enrolments are falling in this department. I'll be the first to lose my job. Perhaps if I gave all the students 'A' grades they'd all want to come back. . . ."

A Vice-Chancellor and a Registrar gaze in glum despair at their financial report:

"We've got nothing left to sell."

"Private enterprise already owns all our research and half of our staff."

"We can't plan ahead, we can't buy resources, we can't keep staff, we can't pay for the Library. . . ."

"We're going out of business. . . ."



choice

Maybe it won't be that bad . . . Maybe it will be worse. National's policy is to provide an educational entitlement enabling tertiary students to receive a first qualification or degree. They describe it in terms of funding the student. This is misleading. It is really a formula for funding (or under-funding) tertiary institutes.

The entitlement itself is not money in your hand, it's a voucher. You give it to the university/tech/"learning centre" that you enroll at, and they cash it in with the Government. That is all the Government funding which tertiary educational institutions will receive.

It is supposed to give us 'choice' — meaning that we can go to any 'accredited' institution we like, including any private 'accredited' institutions which may develop.

It is also supposed to improve the performances of the tertiary institutions, by making them compete with each other for our patronage.

Will it really give us 'choice'?

At the moment universities are funded through the University Grants committee which gets a five year block grant. This means that universities have some idea of their budget for the next few years. They can plan for increasing resources in areas of growing demand, so that the staff, and the equipment are there ready for you at the beginning of the course. If the universities don't know what their income will be in advance, they can't do that sort of forward planning. The present funding arrangements are definitely not perfect, but they do provide some degree of stability, with room for re-allocation when actual enrolments vary significantly from those predicted. The entitlement system depends entirely on actual enrolments, making funding less predictable, and preparation more difficult.

This affects our choice because buildings, staff, equipment, text books and planned courses can't be produced overnight. We may find ourselves in courses which have not been properly prepared for. We may find that universities require us to enroll six

months in advance to enable them to plan. Meaning we would have to choose our course before we have our exam results.

A likely course of action for universities would be restricting enrolment numbers in many courses, so that resources are not overburdened.

If there are only a set number of places available in a given course, and more people apply for it, how will the universities choose who gets admitted? One possible means of selection (especially tempting to underfunded institutions) would be to charge high fees to students wishing to take the course. This would cut down the numbers applying for the course and increase the university's income.

When courses are over subscribed, it will not be a case of students choosing the institution, it will be the institution choosing the students.

This is where private institutes enter the picture. A course in short supply with a high demand creates an ideal business opportunity. So some bright entrepreneur sets up a college providing a high demand course. Now this is a business venture designed to make a return on the entrepreneur's investment.

The first thing that happens is that they get a state subsidy through the 'vouchers' of the students they enroll.

The second thing is that high fees will be a certainty. So the private courses will only be available to the rich. The under-resourced university courses will be the only 'choice' available to most of us.

What creates demand for courses in the first place? Some of us choose our courses because we think they are interesting, many of us choose them because we want to get a good job. This means the labour market is choosing, not the students.

What happens when the demand for management graduates falls off? Students are half way through an expensive course with no job at the end of it. Universities can't reallocate their resources to another area until students start enrolling in it. Even then they have to find more trained staff to run the new popular course. Private business ventures go broke, or suddenly change directions.

The whole cycle starts again.

The resource base provided for education is too small to cope with the demand. People are already missing out, this system will

make it worse.

To make all this chaos seem attractive to students the National Party have attached our bursary to the entitlement.

It is still only going to be a grant-in-aid, (that is, not enough to live on) instead of living allowance.

If you want to do medicine you'll get a bursary for the whole course, but if you want to do a Bachelors degree followed by a Master's degree, you'll have to get a loan for the second qualification. Who says National is not introducing 'user-pays'?

National will give us the bursary, along with the entitlement for three years or for the first qualification whichever is longer. At the moment we get two degrees or five years whichever is shorter. For many of us, National's proposal means a shorter period of financial assistance.

What's the result of the Richardson 'Entitlement' System?

The Students Are Not Happy: Our 'choice' consists of

- a) under resourced university courses
- b) competition (probably financial) for entry to high demand university courses.
- c) expensive private enterprise courses
- d) taking a course or going to an institution we didn't want because its the only place we can get
- e) giving up on education and joining the unskilled labour force or the dole (if it still exists) queue.

The Universities Are Not Happy:-

- a) they can't plan ahead which makes it harder to do their job properly.
- b) they spend more time on marketing themselves and 'being competitive' than on educating students
- c) they spend more time on looking for additional sources of income than on educating students.
- d) they employ plenty of public relations, advertising, marketing people but they can't find enough academic staff in the right subject areas at the drop of a hat.
- e) they have to cut 'unprofitable' subjects, research and students.

The Academic Staff Are Not Happy:-

- a) they don't know how long their jobs will last
- b) they have to 'sell' their subject instead of 'teach' it

c) their research is determined by the companies that pay for it.

The Entrepreneur Might Be Happy: If

- a) they charge enough to make a quick buck before the market demand changes
- b) enough students can afford their fees
- c) they only wanted a short term investment anyway.

The Advertising Agencies Are Very Happy. They have lots of new customers

And Ruth Richardson; Is She Happy? . . .

So what about the alternative . . . ?

Russell Marshall, the present Minister of Education has assured us that "this government has no intention of introducing the kind of 'user-pays' which would require students to pay even more than they do now" (Massey University, Winter Lecture Series, July 10, '87)

That's all very fine and dandy, as far as it goes.

But it is important to recognise that National's 'entitlement/voucher' system is only an extremely exaggerated version of something that already exists.

Labour may be the lesser of two evils, but they are certainly not the student's dream.

When you are choosing who to vote for, make sure it's a candidate that cares about education, and one with sensible ideas about how the state should run the education system.

And first thing after the election, make sure your MP knows that universities are owed \$13.4 million by the government, and that we expect to get it.

Bidge Smith
President: NZUSA

P.S. Ruth Richardson would like to make Students Associations voluntary. Its very likely that would mean:

- no one to find out about government education policy
- no one to protest against destructive education policy
- no submissions to government on your bursary, fees, etc
- no student newspapers or radio stations
- no voice for students.

Think about it when you vote.

THE FAKING OF THE PRESIDENT

A general election is very like the Olympics. (Whaddya mean, "a general election is like the Olympics?" An elephant is very like a coffee table: they both have four legs.)

Every four years, athletes from all over the world converge on a given destination for a fortnight-long celebration of youth, fitness, and corporate sponsorship. Individuals and teams pit their knowledge, skill and fitness against each other in competition for prizes that are inherently worth very little. The real prize is the glory: the glory of representing something bigger than oneself, and proving that this particular something is better, braver, brighter than all the other somethings.

The "something" is, of course, a major multi-national drug company. And the best drug company is the one that can produce drugs that allow athletes to win events, whilst avoiding detection in the increasingly bewildering array of tests available to sports officials.

("In Chile they're just about to have a general election. And we all know which Generals are going to be elected . . .")

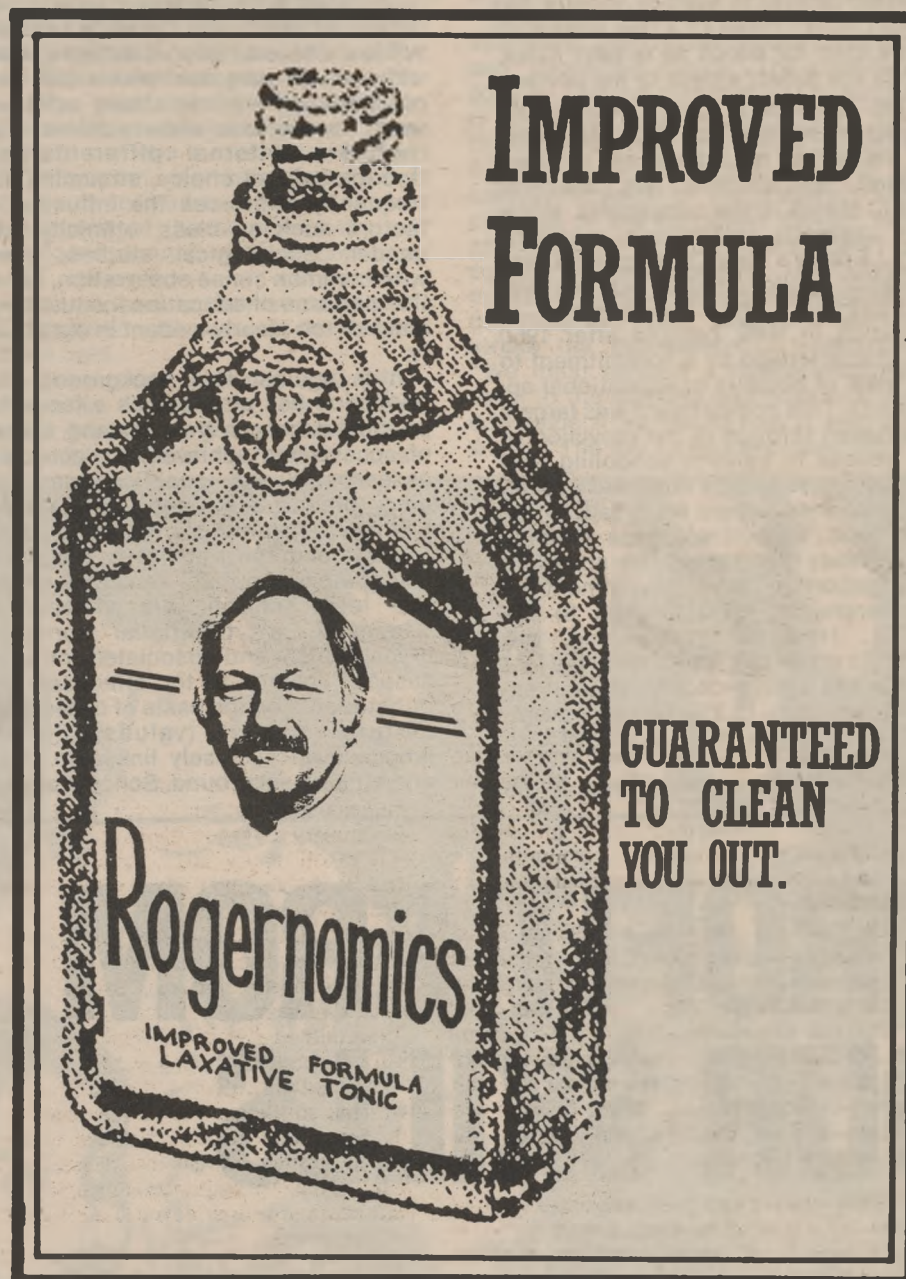
Every New Zealander who is too fat, too old, too uncoordinated, too poor, too doped, too stupid to aspire to the Olympics wishes that they could be there. They dream up other, paler versions of Big Sport: the Golden Shears, the Young Farmer of the Year, Top Town, University Challenge. Or they set up clandestine competitions like the Gumball Rally, illicit and largely unheralded games which run on for years without most of us ever knowing that they're happening. The whole computer industry is a giant game to see who can charge clients the most for the least efficient service or the most insignificant object. The share-market is a competition to see who can contribute least to the economy whilst taking most out of it. And a general election is, first and foremost, a giant game for the amusement, edification, and aggrandizement of the advertising industry.

("Someone broke into the Kremlin yesterday and stole next year's election results . . .")

I do not, of course, mean to suggest that parliamentary democracy has always been an essentially corrupt and fraudulent business. There were indeed "good old days" of democracy, the golden days where voters were bought, fair and square, for cash-up-front. The golden days of the great American party machines, when valuable social services were provided in exchange for votes. But those days are gone forever. Electors now give away their votes for nothing; those who are members of political parties even pay for the privilege. And all to the greater glory of whichever advertising agency manages to manipulate them most successfully, using subliminal selling techniques and this new fangled neuro-linguistic programming.

(" . . . these people could sell you sawdust if they put their minds to it. And judging by what I had for breakfast this morning, they already have done . . .")

But wait a moment, I hear you saying. Surely an election is a contest over possession of the Treasury benches, fought between concerned individuals working within the framework of broad ideological groupings called "parties"? Sure. But only if the Steinlager World Cup Rugby commercials on TV were aimed at getting people to support rugby, rather than at sneaking beer ads on telly.



No, no. Parties, candidates, policies: they're all just so much sawdust waiting to be sold. One of the first rules of advertising: the product is almost invariably irrelevant. (The obvious exceptions are those things like toothpaste, which people have to buy every week. There the product does have to maintain a certain minimum standard, because the objective is to get people to buy the product not once, but many times. Mind you, the minimum standard required is pretty low: consider the fact that many people happily accept McDonald's as a substitute for food.)

With an election, the objective is slightly different. You are trying to sell one product every three years. Consider, most consumers change their car more often than they vote. And just because their last 3-seater Kamikaze had no pick-up, no brakes, and an amazing tendency to shudder at anything more than about 65 k's, that's no reason to assume that they won't replace it with a later model of the same brand. Look, it has colour design by Chris Amon and was off-road tested by Aucklander Jan Beck. It is, in effect, a new product. At every general election, every political candidate is a "new product", even if they've been in the House for thirty years. The fact that Margaret Thatcher has spent years and years doing to England what Winston did to the choirboy has been completely irrelevant in the last

three British elections. The fact that Ronald Reagan probably can't remember the last time he did it to Nancy is equally irrelevant to politics stateside. When election time rolls around, the new, improved product slips onto the shelves: old Zippo in the all new wrapper.

The second rule of the game is as follows: where the product is relevant at all, the one that shows the most likelihood of selling is the one that has least distinction. That is to say, the one that stands out least; that is to say, the most mediocre. What this means is that political parties tend to converge on each other, to become remarkably similar as time goes by. To return to the sporting analogy, one need only consider the convergence of possible speeds for running races. Where once new records were set in terms of whole seconds, nowadays, even over marathon distances, tenths of seconds are becoming too short to distinguish competitors. The differences between political parties and political candidates becomes smaller and smaller, and the concept of a parliamentary opposition becomes completely notional: If Coke and Pepsi were the only drinks on the market, would this constitute a "choice"? After this particular election, regardless of who wins, GST will remain in place, user-pays education will be implemented, the health service will be flogged off to the North Shore and Khandallah,

the Treaty of Waitangi will continue to be ignored. The wants of the wealthy will remain more important than the needs of the poor.

The tendency towards mediocrity is one of the stabilising factors in the sport of politics, just as certain rules and predictable factors stabilise Olympic sports. These factors are the things which can be taken into account during preparation for the actual race. More interesting than the "rules" are the randomising factors, those little, unexpected things over which no-one has any control. Zola Budd running barefoot. The rumour of grey fur found on a leg of the Colonel's chicken. Norm Jones's brain tumour.

In politics, as far as randomising factors are concerned, "party policy" is certainly the most vexatious. Advertising executives have a reasonable amount to say in what is accepted a party policy. However, there is a kind of double-sale going on here. A political party has to sell itself to the public in order to get elected; but it also has to sell party membership subscriptions in order to remain financially viable. Advertising agencies know that if party membership falls, they don't get paid. Fortunately, most of those involved in political parties are playing a wee game of their own. The only objective is to get elected, and this is a greater priority than any adherence to any ideology or coherent system of beliefs. But for advertising agencies, party politics is rather like that unappetising, grey, slimey by-product of tallow-rendering that has to be sold as face-cream. That the policies of the working-class funded Labour party should be successfully marketed to the white collar sector, and the policies of the essentially bourgeois National Party should be embraced by the working classes, is a tribute to the dexterity of the advertising industry.

To you who are reading this, of course, the whole affair will be completely irrelevant. Student votes have no impact on the result of elections, which after all are won or lost on the back-and-forth of five or ten marginal seats. Students almost never live in marginal seats. If they are flatting, they live in safe Labour seats. If they live at home, they're in safe National seats. (One could argue that the career-trajectory of graduates is an attempt to return as quickly as possible to the bosom of the National Party in which they were raised). Either way, their votes have little or no impact, and advertising during elections will be roundly aimed at the ten thousand or so New Zealanders whose votes change governments. If it all seems irrelevant to your needs and wishes, it's not surprising: it's not your vote they're after.

If the whole business seems decidedly shabby, I couldn't blame you for abstaining. However, if it's your first time voting, I'd recommend that you do it, just so that you can say you've done it. Because whoever wins, it's your last chance. If Bolger gets in, there'll never be another election, and the whole state school system will be integrated into the Catholic education network. If Labour gets back in, the military will do a Colonel Rabuka and put Bolger in anyway.

Either way, Colenso, Mackay-King, and all the other agencies are going to have record years.

Washington Irving



Making and guesses

Education in this country has rarely been an election issue, but this year is different. Labour will essentially maintain a system of publicly funded education, and extend the set of liberal reforms associated with Education Minister Russell Marshall. National, on the other hand, will radically reassess State-provided education, and promise more accountability and consumer choice. Both the parties see education as being in need of reform, while both remain committed to the general ideal of equality of educational opportunity. Their paths towards this goal, however, are markedly different.

This article seeks to place these competing policies in their social-historical context. The major aspects of the education policies Labour and National have announced for the forthcoming election, are then briefly stated and commented on. Tertiary education, as it is covered elsewhere in this paper is only briefly dealt with. Rather, my focus is on issues of access; funding and control; curricula; assessment and credentials; particularly as these pertain to the compulsory sector of education — primary and

secondary schooling.

In the post World War Two years, both Labour and National continued to support the egalitarian educational ideology espoused by Peter Fraser, then Minister of Education, in 1939: *The Government's objective, broadly expressed, is that every person, whatever his (sic) level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he lives in town or country, has a right, as a citizen to a free education of the kind for which he is best fitted, and to the fullest extent of his powers.*

This statement has become oft-quoted as the most apt short statement of the aims of education in New Zealand, and indeed has assumed mythic status in the community. While it is currently undergoing reassessment, Fraser's goal has underpinned education policy. Following post-war readjustment, the development of education in New Zealand after 1950 was characterised by a commitment to this ideal of equality of educational opportunity. This commitment was largely undertaken through (i) the provision of free access to uniform schooling, and (ii) attempts to ensure improved access and attainment levels for disadvantaged groups. Pursuit of these policies saw a steady rise in education spending (as a proportion of net government expenditure) from 1950 through to the 1970's. However, reflecting the country's economic difficulties, the last decade has seen a decline in such expenditure (from 15.2% of net government expenditure in 1975, to 11.3% in 1985).

While the gains made must be

recognized, both the above approaches remain at best only partially realized. While we have a national school system with many common provisions and practices, differences clearly exist between the various state schools. Furthermore, internal differentiation, through subject choice, streaming etc, frequently reinforces the influence of factors such as class, ethnicity, and gender. Sociological studies, along with common sense observation, tell us that patterns of education inequality remain all too clearly evident in our society.

It is against this background that education has emerged as a focus for political debate in New Zealand. Issues of access and achievement; curricula, assessment and qualifications; funding, organization, and control have been to the fore in such debates. Both the left and the right offer diagnosis and their appropriate remedies. From the left, schools are viewed as dominated by traditional curricula, credentialism and associated forms of assessment that all too effectively sift out students on the basis of differential cultural capital (values, norms, language, etc), closely linked to class and ethnic background. Schools are ac-

cused of suffering from social, sexist, and ethnic discrimination; of outmoded practices such as caning and uniforms; and of stifling student autonomy and limiting parental involvement. From the perspective of the right, schools are seen as in the grip of liberal social engineers, who are emphasising "frill" subjects and social skills at the expense of "basic" subjects and academic skills. Peace studies, "sex" and health education, and bicultural programmes are attacked for undermining "the basics" of reading, writing and arithmetic. It is argued that students are increasingly leaving school ill-prepared for entry to the labour market. In his book "New Zealand Education in Crisis", Merv Wellington claimed that there was a dangerous trend toward mediocrity, a trend linked to the abolition of public examinations and a drift from "the basics".

The competing ideologies are obviously not as clearcut as these two capsule summaries suggest, but clearly the battle lines are drawn. To a considerable extent, the policies of the current Labour Government represent the liberal wing of education, while the Labour education policy for this election spells out a programme of more of

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the same. On the national education associated with the right-wing perceived failings and the free philosophy norm the dominant factor Labour Party policies.

Labour's Russell Marshall, for this Government, is the jewel in its education system. Massive cuts in national administration, Marshall, has reassessed the general approach to make it more relevant, and more relevant to national needs. The "basics" of reading, writing and arithmetic. It is argued that students are increasingly leaving school ill-prepared for entry to the labour market. In his book "New Zealand Education in Crisis", Merv Wellington claimed that there was a dangerous trend toward mediocrity, a trend linked to the abolition of public examinations and a drift from "the basics".

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the same. On the other hand, the National education policy, closely associated with Ruth Richardson, is a kind of right-wing criticism of the perceived failings of the school system, and the free market economic philosophy normally associated with the dominant faction of the Parliamentary Labour Party. Let us examine the two policies.

Labour
Labour's Russell Marshall has claimed that, for this Government, "education is the jewel in its crown". Inheriting an education system severely affected by massive cuts under the previous National administration, Labour, argues Marshall, has restored both morale and essential programmes, and gone on to lift the general quality of the system: "to make it more equitable, more relevant, and more responsive to the educational needs of young New Zealanders". The Minister can point to some substantial achievements underpinning this rhetoric:

- a 22% increase (in real terms) in expenditure per child in primary and secondary schools;

conceded that Labour's record in the past three years is an impressive one, at least in qualitative terms.

Moreover, these policies have been implemented during a period of general economic stringency, with social services the target of much of the calls for "efficiency" and "accountability". Some political commentators have seen Russell Marshall as fighting something of a defensive position against more hard-nosed cabinet colleagues. Rumours of a post-election cabinet reshuffle, with Marshall replaced by Richard Prebble, provoke disquiet in many sectors of the education system. Prime Minister Lange has observed, perhaps a shade ominously, that "Education is a major investment and we are entitled to a fair return for it". A review of the administration of education is planned, while a number of recent reviews — of curriculum, assessment, and tertiary education — have grappled with some of the issues at stake here.

So, what does Labour's education policy offer. Essentially, more of the same: a general, on-going commitment to a system of publicly funded educa-

— review secondary school zoning arrangements.

National

National's education policy (*The way ahead: Education Policy for the Future*) offers a very clear alternative to Labour's. In its own words, National "challenges New Zealanders to reassess radically their attitudes to education." It does this by stressing "democracy" and "accountability" in education, tackling the State monopoly, and "conferring choice". The established New Zealand commitment to equality of educational opportunity is still there, but the path to it is now markedly different. National's policy begins by identifying some of the present shortcomings of the education system, emphasizing the high proportion (33%) of school leavers entering the labour market without a recognized education qualification. Like Labour, National stress the importance of education: "We must achieve a radical improvement in the quantity and quality of our education if we are to foot it with the world". The key to this improvement is

school, however, is largely determined by the nature of its clients — the pupils' socio-economic background and the attendant advantages and disadvantages in terms of levels of aspiration, motivation, and ability to succeed within the school setting. Change the intake of the school and you change the nature of the school. Accordingly, the factors that make a particular school initially attractive to parents, factors probably largely associated with its former zoning, will inevitably be altered by offering choice and changing the intake.

Ruth Richardson, with her constant reference to "choice" and "voting with your feet", defends the National market approach, and argues that schools which successfully attract students will send "signals" to other schools who will then be forced to sharpen up their act. This seems both unrealistic and wasteful of schools' energy and resources. The education system's ability to respond quickly to the changing requirements of demand and supply is very limited due to the large capital outlays involved (plant and equipment) and the specialised human resources (trained teachers) required. Popular schools, says Richardson, with more applicants than available places, will select students on whatever criteria they choose. This seems to deny the logic of her position — in order to truly provide choice, schools should have to accept every student. A further problem with choice and competition, is that for people to make logical, informed and equitable choices they must have reliable information to base their choice on. The market economy approach to education which National is



- improved teacher/pupil ratios throughout the system;
- increased intakes to teachers' colleges;
- "significant investment" in computer education, special education, and Maori education;
- the particular emphasis placed on early childhood education, where spending doubled;
- changes in secondary school assessment, enabling greater proportion of pupils to enjoy a measure of "success";
- the LINK programme, which gives young people 'hands on' experience in part-time courses at polytechnics while they're still at secondary school.
- intervention programmes for the disadvantaged, most notably through the very successful reading recovery programme.

Thus baldly stated, some of these provisions gloss over the difficulties associated with them. For example, the rearranging of credentials in the upper secondary school may well lead merely to further "qualification inflation" as a higher proportion of pupils stay on for a seventh form year to gain U.E. Without a strong job creation policy, school to work transition programmes merely contribute to the disillusionment of the unemployed. Nonetheless, it must be

tion, but with greater attention to what Lange identifies as the fundamental issue in education — "how we make sure that the system delivers the kind of education we need". Establishing just what such an education consists of, means moving the responsibility for what's taught, how it's taught and where it's taught "a lot closer to the public than it is now". (This, as we shall see, sounds like something of a preemptive strike on National's emphasis on consumer choice in education).

Labour has firmly rejected the "market" approach to education offered by National, arguing that "there can be no real equality of opportunity in New Zealand unless the government acts to ensure that all of us, not just some of us, have access to high quality education". (Lange)

More specifically, Labour promises to:

- implement the recent *Curriculum Review*, particularly with regard to greater parental involvement;
- pay greater attention to the link between school and work (ACCESS);
- review the administrative structure of the public education system;
- complete the review of tertiary education; and

to be the offering of greater consumer choice, and allowing market forces to prevail. This means giving the consumer — parents and their children — direct access to education funding, rather than channeling the State's educational funding straight to the schools themselves. State control would be de-emphasised, though the Government would retain a custodial role over quality.

The two key policy planks here are

- (i) to abolish zoning and ensure at the early childhood and schooling stages, through capitation funding for schools, that funding reflects the parents' choice; and
- (ii) giving every young New Zealander three-year entitlements to tertiary education and training, whether they choose academic or professional, trade or technical skills. These entitlements will be redeemable at any accredited institution.

The key question to be asked of this "free market" approach is: is it appropriate for education, and will it produce equality of educational opportunity? As critics of the policy point out, correctly in my view, education cannot be compared with other commodities. The quality of the food in a restaurant is essentially independent of the restaurant's clientele; the quality of a

stressor is in fact not new. Entitlements, usually termed vouchers, have been experimented with overseas, most notably in the United States. They were unsuccessful, with no evidence to show that the voucher approach improves pupils' achievements.

I have concentrated on this aspect of National's education policy as it constitutes the central difference between it and the Labour position. There are, however, additional differences worth noting. Concerned at standards of pupil attainment, and critical of Labour's changes to the public examinations, National promise an achievement-based system of National Awards for Forms 5 to 7, emphasizing the maintenance of national standards. Critical of Labour's support for subjects such as Peace Studies, National stress pupil mastery of "essential knowledge and skills" within a nationally-defined curriculum, translated into practice by schools and the communities they serve. National offer a more rigorous approach to ensuring teacher effectiveness, with the use of performance contracts and Education Audit teams.

Roy Shuker

a sense of proportion

In a so-called democracy a New Zealand government hasn't been elected by a majority since 1954, and voters are rarely offered a choice between more than two parties. This is the fault of the our 'first past the post' electoral system. Charlotte Denny looks at why elections don't have to be two-horse races.

The buildup to this year's election is beginning to resemble one of the more surrealistic parts of Alice in Wonderland. Amid the hype and razzamatazz of presidential style openings of American proportions, the two major parties are paying Tweedledee and Tweedledum with each other's policies. Labour have discovered the ultimate political weapon is to completely undercut your opponents by adopting their policies. National can only try and look credible while trying to explain that EX TAX is completely different from GST.

But as the third party supporters have discovered in the last few decades a protest vote against the two major parties has very little effect. The New Zealand Party, despite gaining a respectable proportion of the votes last election, failed to gain a single seat. In fact a sense of proportion seems to be what is drastically needed. The Royal Commission for Electoral Reform recently recommended a system of proportional representation to replace New Zealand's 'first past the post' system that discriminates against the minor parties. Proportional representation involves dividing the seats in parliament according to the number of votes cast for a party, rather than the results of individual electorates.

Proponents of proportional representation have been arguing for a long time that the present system effectively disenfranchises some voters. Supporters of minor parties can vote till they're blue in the face, but if their votes are widely spread round the country they are unlikely to affect the final result. Because our electoral system is based around electorates, it is the number of seats each party wins that is important, not their proportion of the vote. Small parties like the Social Credit party (20.7% in '81) can gain a respectable proportion of the vote without gaining many seats. Their support was too widely spread round the country and not concentrated in any one electorate.

It's not only the minor parties that are disadvantaged under the present system. In 1978 and 1982, the Labour party won more votes than National, but the National party formed the government because they won more seats. In the 1981 election National won a seat for every 14,900 votes it gained, but Labour only gained seats every 16,300 votes. Meanwhile out in the political wilderness, it took an average of 186,000 votes to elect a Social Democrat MP.

The 'first past the post' system is a hangover from our colonial past. In England the emphasis on the number of seats each party has, as opposed to the total number of votes, stems from the fact that there was a parliament and MPs long before there were political parties. When the English parliament became an accepted part of the constitution back in the thirteenth century, its role was strictly to advise the monarch not to govern. MPs represented their local community and had a responsibility to present the grievances of that community to the crown.

The rise of political parties in the late eighteenth century disturbed this cosy relationship between MPs and their constituents. Parliament changed in character from an advisory body to a governing body. Control of the House was decided by which party had the majority of seats. It was this metamorphosis in the function of parliament that resulted in our present uneasy 'first past the post', or simple plurality system, as it is technically known.

Prior to the 1984 election, the prospects of change to this system were remote. The

ruling National party were not unsurprisingly committed to the status quo that regularly returned them to office. The Labour party, despite regularly losing at the polls with a higher percentage of the vote, could not see the need for any reform either. Amongst the political parties the only support for changing the system came from the Social Credit party.

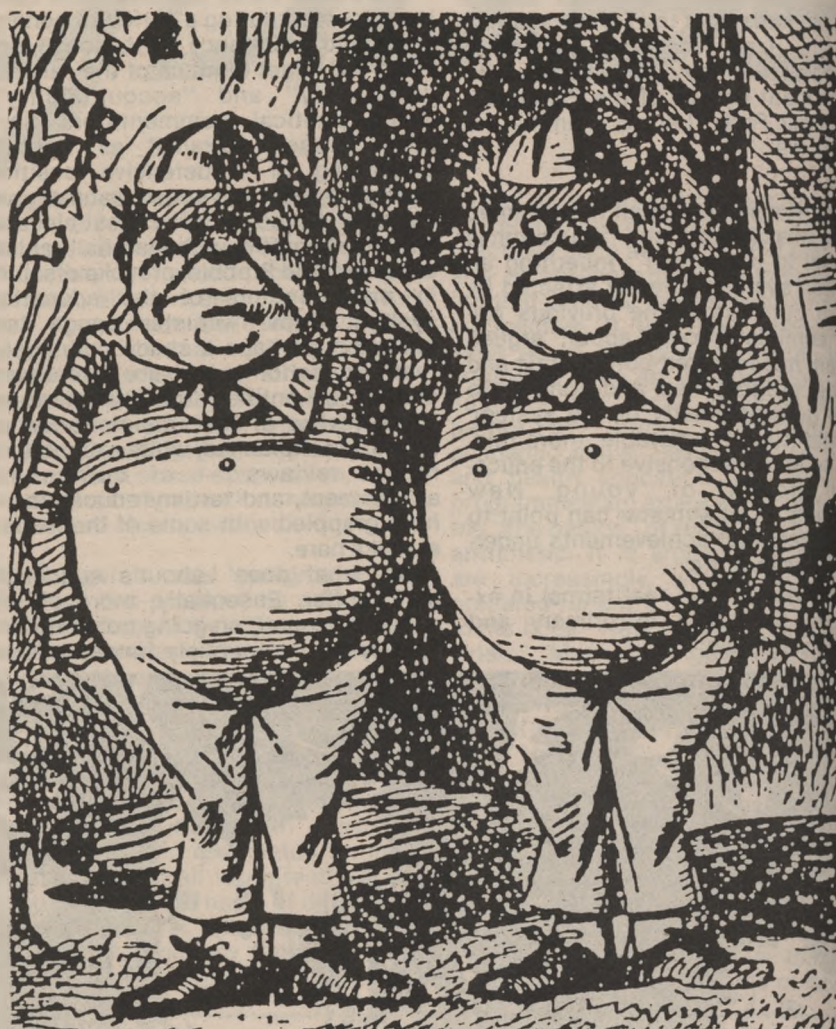
But public support for some features of the electoral system was declining. Since 1954, New Zealand governments have been elected with the support of less than half the voters. In 1981, only 38.8 percent voted for the party that won, National. Contradictions such as this within the system lowered its legitimacy in public eyes. By 1982 a Heylen poll report stated that only 40% supported the 'first past the post' system. At the same time other features of the electoral system were causing discontent. The four separate Maori seats caught flak from both sides of the political spectrum, from those who didn't see why the Maori deserved 'special treatment', and from Maori people who argued that four seats were just tokenism. There was also a growing school of thought which believed the term of Parliament should be extended to four years, to allow for longterm planning, and time to implement macro-economic policies.

So despite the inertia of the major parties there was a mood for change when Labour came to power in 1984. In addition, an influential member of the new Labour cabinet was Geoffrey Palmer, who had written about the need for constitutional reform when he was observing the system from the outside as a law professor at Victoria. Palmer was instrumental in setting up a Royal Commission to examine the electoral system, from the question of Maori representation, the method of party funding to whether or not there was any need to change 'first past the post' system. When they reported back in late 1986 their report came out strongly in favour of proportional representation (PR) along with a host of other recommendations.

The Royal Commission found other advantages in changing to a system of PR as well as ironing out the anomalies in the present system. The two party system encourages decision-making by conflict rather than by consensus. It has for a long time been a common public perception that politicians waste far too much time in petty heckling sessions and confrontation in the House. While politicians are quick to point to the unpublicised cooperation that lies behind many of the Select Committee decisions, it seems ridiculous that this cannot be extended to discussions in the House. Decisions are made along party lines without any great regard for the fact that the truth may well lie somewhere between the two extremes.

Under PR there would be a greater variety of opinions exchanged in Parliament and not the same incentive to divide things into black and white.

There are a bewildering variety of systems of PR, some of which are used in various countries around the world and some of which exist only on the drawing board and in the fevered imaginings of political scientists. The most obvious form is a system of party lists. Voters choose the party they prefer and MPs are chosen from lists made up by each party in proportion to the total number of votes each gained. The party lists can either be closed or open. If closed, the list is fixed by the party in their preferred



order. This method gives a lot of power to party hierarchies as to who makes it into parliament. Open party lists involve complicated ballot papers allowing voters to choose who they prefer from the list supplied by the party. It's confusing and can result in a lot of invalid ballot papers. Party lists have disadvantages. One of the strengths of plurality is that constituents have some form of redress and remedy if they are unhappy with their local MP. In a system of party lists, the MPs are not elected by any one area and do not have that same close relationship with their constituents.

Instead of party lists, the commission recommended that New Zealand change to a system of mixed member PR. This combines the best features of plurality with PR. In a House of 120 MPs, 60 would be elected in electorates as happens now. In addition, 60 MPs would be chosen from party lists to ensure the total number of seats for each party was in proportion to the total number of votes. For instance if Labour won seats in 43 constituencies but gained 50 percent of the vote they would get 17 more seats so they had 60 seats in the house or 50 percent. If minor parties did not win an electorate they would gain seats for MPs on their party lists according to their share of the vote.

According to the Royal Commission, one of the distinct advantages of PR would be the greater representation of minority groups. As the English Labour party has found out, supporting the cause of minority groups can make you very unpopular with the average voter. With a system of PR, minority groups could obtain representation in their own right. In addition, the major parties are likely to place under-represented groups near the top of their party lists. This trend has been noticed in West Germany and other countries that use party lists.

Proportional representation has been criticised for electing unstable coalition governments. Because one party is unlikely to win a simple majority of votes to form a government they must come to some agreement with other parties. Overseas experience has shown that this form of government need not necessarily be unstable. West Germany has been governed by basically the same party for decades in

coalition with various others. Unlike our present two party system, PR does not produce wild swings in policy every three years with each change in government. As government is consensus based, policies need not be automatically thrown out because they belong to the 'opposition'. To prevent a proliferation of minor parties, it is probable a threshold would be set before parties gained representation. The usual figure is something like a minimum of 5% of the vote must be won before any party gains a seat. The commission recommends that any such threshold be waived in the case of Maori parties. The whole question of Maori representation under any new system is bound to be controversial. If New Zealand shifted to PR then the commission believes the Maori seats should be abolished. They see PR as a definite advantage to Maori voters as the parties would have to campaign for their votes on a national basis where they are a significant voting block. Party politics would have to appeal to Maori interests and if they did not there is a strong possibility that a Maori party could win list seats. However, Maori leaders calling for reform of the present system want special status of Maori as tangata whenua recognised in Parliament by a specific proportion of the seats. Whether PR could make allowance for this beyond waiving the 5% threshold is debatable.

Electoral reform isn't the kind of issue that gets the voters out on the streets calling for the return of the death penalty. It certainly hasn't been high profile since the Royal Commission reported back. The likely outcome of their recommendations is uncertain. If National get back in then the recommendations for PR will probably get lost at the bottom of the list of parliamentary priorities. Support in the Labour party seems to come mainly from Geoffrey Palmer. It's hard to say whether or not Palmer's influence is enough to get into motion all the complex machinery of a referendum.

On August 15 most of us will be casting our votes with a degree of cynicism as to our actual contribution to the process of democracy. Unless you live in Taupo of course...

The Labour revolutionised service when had not intend away. When i the Departmen and Forestcorp Survey Depart it had stated t only be given for farming an From then corporations Department w job. That is v unstuck. Over the Government's

around and w part these mi with which many cases available - allocations w by corporatio their empires This was a experienced with the co Landcorp tl George Mc director-gen Department. he was able one agency t The Gov abolishing Commissio first meeting with public allocations horsetrading by restricti public intere The corpo the fact that was not in e were made. What wei In total made up c Protection Clubs and

the last great landgrab

The Labour Government, which had revolutionised many areas of the public service when it came to power in 1984, had not intended the land allocation to go awry. When it decided in 1985 to set up the Department of Conservation, Landcorp and Forestcorp from the former Lands and Survey Department and the Forest Service, it had stated that the corporations would only be given those areas primarily used for farming and forestry.

From then on the officials of the corporations and the Conservation Department were left to get on with the job. That is where the allocation became unstuck.

Over the following months the Government's intentions were twisted

Some pundits described it as "the conservation story of the decade". Others described it as "the greatest land grab of the century". Whatever way you looked at it, the recent land allocation between the new corporations and the Department of Conservation contained the ingredients of a dramatic story - secret deals between officials, gross mistakes including areas of national parks going to a corporation, and the last minute intervention by a pressure group which managed to stop many key conservation and recreation lands being placed in the hands of the corporations.

discovered at least 600,000 ha of land had been wrongly given over to the Corporations. At stake was the free access to these areas and the continuation of recreational rather than commercial activities.

amount of information - approximately 3000 misallocations were turned up and presented in a report to Palmer.

These fell into two categories:

(1) obvious errors such as the misallocation of entire mountain ranges, national park lands and shorelines which were protected by other policies, and

(2) land transfers that resulted from secret deals between officials - where for example, small parcels of regenerating native forest, wetlands and tussock lands were given to the corporations because no information was available on their conservation value.

Palmer moved swiftly to rectify many of the first category of mistakes; the mountain ranges and riverbeds were passed over to the Conservation Department, as was the 600 ha block of Whanganui National Park. Of the twenty percent of land that was contested, fifteen percent was immediately placed in the correct hands.

The remaining five percent of land still under contention is being reviewed by a committee charged with overseeing the transfers by the end of 1987. The recent Court of Appeal ruling means that areas of Crown land under Maori claim will go through a similar process.

The area of land now under contention is in the low hundreds of hectares, but much of it forms small, scattered patches. Many of these are simply favourite picnic spots and local beauty spots which may still be excluded from public use if pressure is not maintained on the allocation process.

The nature and speed of the whole episode has meant that much of the action has been centred in Wellington. As a result the options for participation by non-specialist groups have been limited. We cannot let this understate the importance of what could have, and may still happen to our public lands.

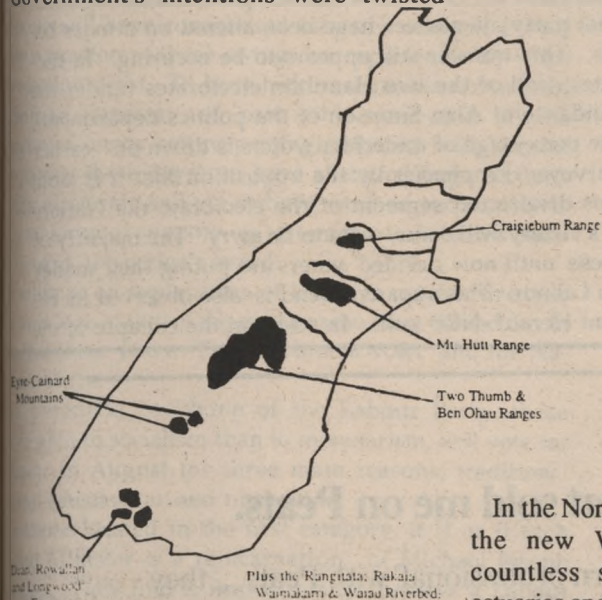
Not only has the Public Lands Coalition managed to uphold the public's right of access to many of these magnificent areas - it has also saved the Crown (i.e. we taxpayers) a considerable amount of money. This is because any land transferred to the corporations that is later found to have high conservation or recreation value will have to be bought back by the Government.

In the rush to privatise, the natural heritage of ordinary New Zealanders to enjoy the right to tramp, fish, hunt and climb where they want, regardless of wealth, was endangered. Even if the Coalition should be successful in returning the ownership of the remaining land to the people, we should all take note of how easy it is for our hard won rights to be ditched by profiteering land-grabbers.

The case of the land allocations is proof that an aware and watchful public is the best safeguard against such assaults on people's rights.

John Gibson and
Gerald Hutching Forest & Bird

The extent
of the initial
reallocation.



In the North Island this included parts of the new Whanganui National Park, countless small parcels of wetlands, estuaries and coastline in the Auckland and Northland district, and riverbanks and picnic areas in the Pohangina Valley near Palmerston North, the Coromandel Coast and the Rangitikei River near Bulls.

In the South Island the magnitude of the misallocations was enormous. It included whole mountain ranges such as the Craigieburn, Ben Ohau and Two Thumb in Canterbury which are used by vast numbers of trampers, skiers and climbers. Just about every significant fishing riverbed in Canterbury was put in the pocket of the corporations, as were the largely unsurveyed biological treasure troves of the Eyre-Cainard mountains in Southland.

From the time the allocation maps were made public, the Public Lands Coalition had only a few weeks to make their views known to the Government. In order to gain time, an initial report was forwarded to Deputy Prime Minister, Geoffrey Palmer showing the results of investigations into just three regions of Canterbury.

Palmer was sufficiently impressed by this report to extend the deadline for submissions by a further few weeks. The Coalition then contacted their network of local people - all volunteers - to scrutinise the maps and attempt to have a look at any areas that were to go to the corporations.

This they did, so that by mid-June the Coalition had assembled an impressive

around and wholesale errors were made; in part these mistakes resulted from the haste with which the exercise was done - in many cases maps of the areas were not available - but in part the disastrous allocations were deliberately carried out by corporation officials in order to extend their empires.

This was aided by the fact that the most experienced land administrators took jobs with the corporations. In the case of Landcorp the interim chief executive, George McMillan continued on as acting director-general of the Lands and Survey Department. In filling the two positions he was able to secretly pass lands from one agency to the other.

The Government did not help by abolishing the Crown Estates Commission (CEC) before it even had its first meeting. The CEC had been charged with publicly reviewing the contentious allocations. Its demise aided the horsetrading which appeared to take place by restricting the information flow to public interest groups.

The corporations also took advantage of the fact that the Conservation Department was not in existence when many decisions were made.

What were some of the misallocations?

In total the Public Lands Coalition - made up of the Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society, Federated Mountain Clubs and the Acclimatisation Societies -



highlight

two parties in search of

IT IS HARD TO BELIEVE IT IS THREE YEARS SINCE SIR ROBERT MULDOON CALLED FOR AN EARLY ELECTION. THREE YEARS OF TREMENDOUS CHANGE IN THE BALANCE OF POLITICAL POWER, IN THE ELECTORATE, IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE ECONOMY, AND IN THE MOOD OF THE NATION.

And in a matter of weeks the New Zealand electorate will vote in another government. There is something strange about this election. The latest New Zealand Herald-NRB poll gives Labour a 57% backing (27 point lead). This would translate into an electoral landslide of monumental proportions.

And it is in the key seats, in the very marginals that Labour's lead is showing, such as the two Hamilton electorates, Hamilton East and Hamilton West. Hamilton West is crucial, it has always fallen to the government.

At the moment sitting MP Trevor Mallard enjoys an 8 point lead over National Party opponent Dr Doug Simes, this in a poll taken just prior to the budget. There are other figures that count for much because Hamilton West is seen as such an important political

indicator. For instance, almost five times as many people disapprove of National's performance than approve of it. (70% disapproved, 15% approved). Exactly half of the Hamilton population approves of Labour's performance while 39% do not.

Approval of the way the economy was being handled was not surprisingly, the most commonly mentioned reason for supporting the government according to the Waikato Times-University Poll organiser, Dr Alan Simpson. The same poll showed that one in five felt that the opposition has the image of a party doing badly. "The government is streets ahead in terms of arguing policy", Dr Simpson says. And in terms of the issues, the economy pulls a huge 69% as the issue most likely to influence the way people will vote, even before the budget, which has got to be good news for Labour. More good news is the fact that unemployment which in April had a 19% rating as the most important factor in people's choice of candidate had dropped to 11% at the beginning of July. Education and Welfare both took a jump, but only to 4.5% and 5% respectively. Law, order, and moral issues are steady on 7%.

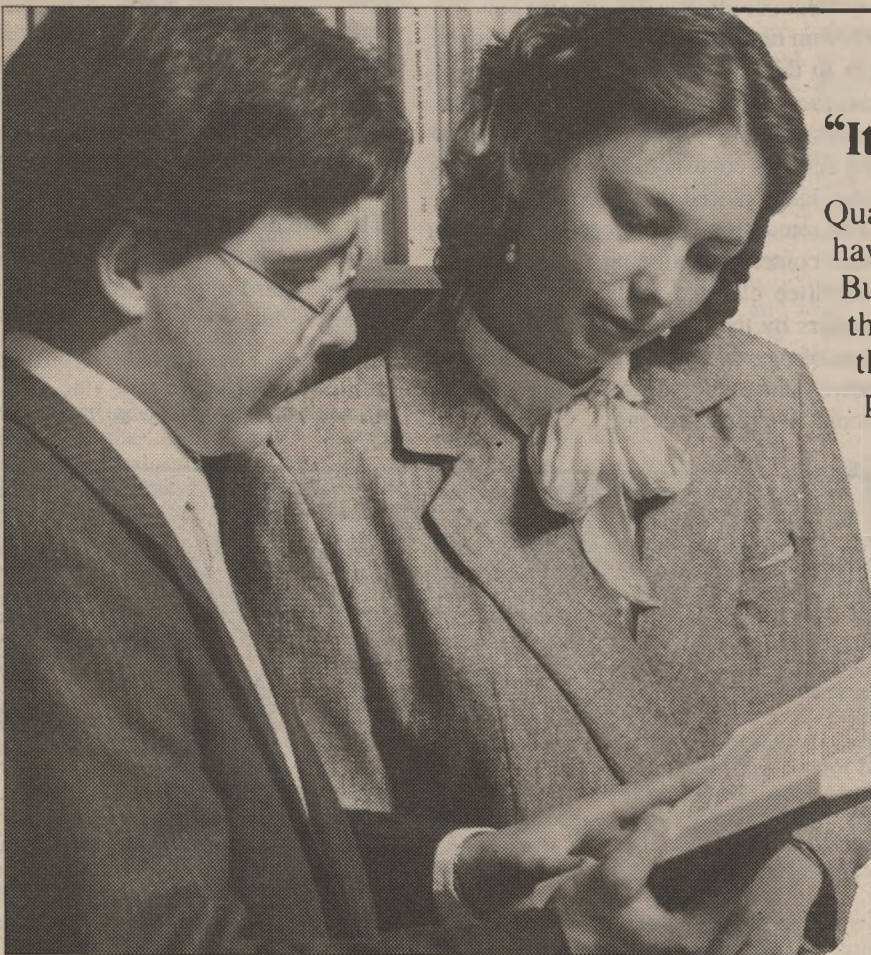
Also shown in the poll, David Lange has stretched an already long lead as the most favoured PM up to 33% from 25%. (54% approve of his performance, 37% dis-

approve.) Sir Robert dropped from 18% back to 15%, Bolger reached 13.5% and Geoffrey Palmer received a 9% beating. Says Dr Simpson, Bolger is not seen as being as offensive as Lange, but he is also not seen to be as strong a leader.

Given Labour's clearly strong position, all that remains to be asked is why?

Who, in 1981 for instance, would have believed that the Labour Party would be so well placed? Labour, where the ideals of socialist democracy have been exchanged for the moderate appeals of social democracy and then some.

That the opinion polls overwhelmingly point to a second term for the fourth Labour government signifies that party allegiances have been altered on a mass basis. This transfer still appears to be occurring. In the latest poll of the two Hamilton electorates (under the guidance of Alan Simpson of the politics department), the percentage of undecided voters is down on earlier surveys. Prophecies by the opposition that it is from this disaffected segment of the electorate that National's victory will come, seem to be awry. The majority of these 'until now decided' voters are putting their money on Labour. This apparent trend is also observed in recent Herald-NRB polls. In addition, the collapse of the



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third party vote since 1984 seems to be favouring Labour by wide margins. And Labour appears to be picking up all those scorings.

National is losing almost twice as much support to Labour as vice-versa; 16% of former National voters have gone to the left, while Labour is to lose 9% of its former voters to the opposition. Of the third party vote, 60% of former New Zealand Party supporters have gone Labour, only 26% to the Nats, and 2% remain faithful to NZP. (12% undecided.) The Democrats will be losing 5% of their support to the government, 27% to the opposition, 9% will remain and a big 24% are undecided, interestingly, men are changing a lot more than women.

Labour will have consolidated gains made in 1984 if only a fraction of these swings are represented by votes on election night. To have been responsible for such an immense amount of 'pain' (this word rolls off the tongue of every self-respecting politician with painful frequency these days), to have alienated large sections of the electorate and yet to have retained such an obvious majority of support is testament to Labour's ability to read the nation's mood.

To attempt an explanation of Labour's current strength we will look at two of the groups who have missed out in the last three years. The 'traditional voter' and the National Party.

The perennial backbone of the Labour Party, those more akin to socialism than to monetarism, will vote for Labour in August for three main reasons; tradition, partial satisfaction, and opposition.

For those located in the first category, it is as if each Prime Minister is a reincarnation of Michael Joseph Savage. They find it impossible to conceive a Labour government which would betray the workers.

There are others who see the present government's small range of 'progressive' measures as an indication that a major re-distribution of wealth is just around the corner. They are impressed by Labour's commitment to the Nuclear Ships policy, to a Ministry of Women's Affairs, and to Family Support. That this is only a partial satisfaction, however, is reflected in the following way.

Firstly, these policies fit nicely into the urban liberal's policy basket rather than into that of the urban socialist. Second, there is no guarantee, indeed it seems increasingly unlikely that wealth produced will eventually be wealth shared.

The third group, the opposed, are not so in respect to the government but to the National opposition, whose promised policies they fear and whose past performance they resent. These people wished and worked hard for a Labour party victory in 1984; it matters not that their party has paid more attention to the free market than to the free lunch. Their number one priority is to keep National away from the Treasury benches. This has entailed crying shame at the antics of Ruth Richardson, Jonathon Banks and Winston Peters and National's attitudes towards unemployment, nuclear warship visits and industrial relations. As well as laughing at Jim Bolger - quarter of Hamilton's population he him as weak.

The PM has been particularly careful to foster this emphasis on the dangers of National. With the release of every policy plank from the opposition has come the inevitable chorus of condemnation from cabinet. While this may be the usual tactic for the party in power, it is somewhat unusual to see Labour party members asking, 'Where will the money come from?' and 'What will happen to the deficit?'. Paul Keating and Bob Hawke have been doing the same in Australia with obvious success.

In the same vein, it is not only National's less extreme ranks which go largely unexamined (Michael Cox, George Gair and Doug Graham for instance) for the activities of Douglas, Prebble, Caygill and co. have hardly come under the microscope of the opposed.

There may be better prospects in the near future for this group. Instead of having to rely on Russell Marshall to oppose the Cabinet Free Market Triumvirate and play search for the socialist in Phil Goff, Anne Hercus and Geoffrey Palmer the opposed will be able to turn to the new old-Labour representatives. Sonja Davies and other members of the Friends of Jim Anderton Club are a reason for this third group to maintain their allegiances to Labour.

IT IS LITTLE CONSOLATION HOWEVER, to many traditional Labour supporters (low wage earners, beneficiaries) that the drought of 1984-7 will end with the election of a handful of traditional representatives. Neither is it credible.

For the Labour voters we have just considered, it can be maintained that they speak for "policies without a party" to carry them out. When we consider the National Party we might claim that, running up to the election, the reverse holds true.

It is only with the rapid succession of policy statements that National has finally begun to shake off the interventionist label of the past. That word, intervention, is to be avoided at all costs in the new era of politics, (only the Democrats are willing to use it). It has truly been a long haul for National over the past three years. From the start there were voices within the party arguing that National's only chance against a near free-market Labour government was to take a more free-market approach. Even now the spectre of Muldoonism (not held in quite the same respect as Roger-nomics) hangs over the opposition. For although his popularity finally seems to be slipping the former PM retains over 15% of opinion poll support. (Down from 18%) If National's attempt to regain its usual postwar position, as government and as party of the middle class, is to be a success it will have to present the image of a strong opposition, united behind a firm but appealing approach to governing and, preferably with policies to match.

In order to swing voters away from the government, National cannot be certain of a huge protest vote, as with Labour in 1984 after nine years of a government and one omnipresent leader. (The bulk of any protest vote is likely to come from rural communities and from provincial voters, not quite the traditional labour voters.)

Moreover, Labour's advantage as opposition in 1984 over National's in 1987 grows when we consider that not only did Labour represent an alternative party but an alternative policy framework as well. National cannot offer such a revolution; rather they present a platform of opposition based on 'whatever they can do we can do better'.

The present attempt by National to regain the middle ground has involved appealing to that vocal group of government supporters who can't quite be described as middle class (in the hope that support from the powerful will rub off onto the electorate in general). For example, given that leading business people have long been calling for a deregulation of the labour market and that it is National's clear intention, it might be expected that Labour would be deserted by the business round table. However, National have found it difficult to attract the financiers and urban rich (instead of the now abandoned manufacturers and urban poor.)

National may succeed in attracting the Rogernomics

inspired entrepreneurs between now and August 15th. However, the leader of the opposition's latest appeal regarding capital punishment indicates that considerable emphasis is being placed upon rousing traditional conservative support.

In addition, the defence policy release can be seen as an attempt to woo voters whose opposition to National rests solely on the controversy over Nuclear Warships visits. And, finally, the pledge contained in Waikato MP Rob Storey's latest leaflet promising, 'honesty, truth and integrity' against Labour Trendy whizzkidds, financial manipulators, so-called intellectuals and smart lawyers' is a sign that even if this election is to be fought on economic issues, the language and arguments are unlikely to be those of the economists. Which makes the notion of another 'secret economic agenda' from Roger Douglas particularly interesting food for thought.



But perhaps the bottom line is very simple. The change has been a huge movement in 'National Outlook', in the generation that will be deciding New Zealand's future. And that is reflected in Hamilton. The young and urban, many of them basically conservative between the ages of 20 and 50 (yuppies), will be voting Labour. They want nothing to do with the tired old guard on the opposition benches, and will not return to National until the new breed of Ruth Richardson, Simon Upton, Michael Cox (who looks like losing his seat) Paul East and co. come through to the front benches. Bolger and Gair are everything but dynamic. The two Hamilton MPs Bill Dillon and Trevor Mallard fit into the new category. Younger, urbane, and very sharp. In contrast we have Sandra Shearer, ex-wife of an ex-member now flown to Auckland - Ian Shearer. And Dr Doug Simes a long time History lecturer at the University of Waikato.

Dr Alan Simpson says that one of the lessons to be learnt from the polls that he has been running is that the new faces in the National Party must be allowed to come to the fore if the Nats are to regain their dominance in this country's place in the political scheme of things. McClay started it, but the old guard stopped him. And until the National Party realises that the mood has changed, Lange's prediction that Labour will become the natural party of government has some weight behind it.

Robert Ayson



CLASSIC

EYE DIZAGRI

Dear Peapul,
We mite hav verri small brayns, but eaven
we kan sea that Mr Raigun iss dooing ay
verai gud jorb.
Yirs Dimly,

All the Buffalos

TEA FOR ME

Dear Grant,
I must thank you on behalf of all the covert
tea drinkers at this university, for the brilliant
article which appeared on your pages last week.
I have secretly used herbal teas for years,
afraid to tell my parents, and not willing to ex-
pose myself to the ridicule of my friends and
workmates. Now that the issue is out in the
open I feel free to come out of the closet so to
speak, and let the world know about my habit.
Now that the issue is more widespread maybe
we can set up a support league, or set up a
regular column in *Salient* to dispel the confu-
sion about our infusions.

What about it?
Yours thankfully,

Bertea

BE JUDGED

Grant Dearest,
Your reply to my reply to your reply was
nicely patronising, but I did not fail to notice
that it completely failed to address the point —
which was that you seemed to think that "value
judgements" are going out of style. They
aren't.

Yours in all sweetness and light
(and gagged to inhibit my bite)

Vivienne J.

*Vivienne Dearest: You judged that I judged
that value judgements are going out of style,
but I judge that your judgement is misjudged.*

*Yours all sour and dark
(and doped to stifle my bite)*

Grant

HORSE WITH LAUGHTER

Mr Ed,

Are you a real talking horse? It's obvious
you can read and write so why not say
something about your life as a talking horse.
We know it's not as exciting as TV but we feel
that you are not addressing the serious issues
involving horses today. The alienation of horses

has reached such levels, that as a significant
minority; talking horses are being denied access
to education and so remain in unskilled work.
In racing circles you have heard the expression
'horses for courses', but why not 'courses for
horses', this would solve one of the basic in-
equalities in society.

Don't horse around, its basic horsesense, get
down off that high horse and support horse-
power, Horse Liberation in 1987.

The Cappuccino Brothers

P.S. If you disagree with Mr Ed just remember,
you get it straight from the horses mouth.

S & M

Dear Craccum,

As regards the proposal for a bonk space I
think this is a fab idea. For years I have been a
dedicated bonkophile enjoying many a good
hard bonk with my male flatmates.

It's disgusting the way people who are simply
after a saucy bonk must lurk around lavatories
trying to solicit a fellow bonker. Bonkpace I
think will at last give bonkers a chance to meet
and experience the forbidden bonk subculture
in privacy between consenting adults. Don't get
me wrong, I'm not a pedeobonker or anything
and I like the feel of a good hard bonk with my
girl friend Walter as much as with any trendy
guy, it's just that bonking is a kind of social
no-no, and the varsity has a duty to satisfy my
urges in this way.

Most people think bonking is an illness, a
perversion or something. It's not! It's a natural
trusting giving experience, something that
62.5% of males feel for each other but must
hide because of a few Victorian bigots.

Support for Bonkpace must be found. It's
clean, hygienic and doesn't involve monkeys or
lamas. As a Christian Bonker I don't think that
God has abandoned me or anything, he gave
me this urge and despite what so called correct
Christians say I know that having a hard sweaty
bonk with three or four chums is a good thing.

Bonking is safe and fun and we appreciate
the chance to bonk without fear of interruption
and exposure. Maybe even a men's room could
be made available where bonkers can meet
without fear of harassment.

What is a good bonk? It's feeling your mate
strike you right between the eyes with a small
rubber mallet in rhythm to your brain. It's un-
ique, fun and quick and a friend with a strong
right arm is a must.

So I for one support bonkpace if it's used
purely for the purpose of furthering insights in-
to the mind. Bonk space should be for bonkers.
As for using the bonk rooms for sex; that's
disgusting. What kind of animals would do
things like that. Yuk and Phew. Some people
have the sickest minds. . .

Yours feeling like a bonk

Archie

KINDY COMMERCE

Dear Craccum,

Returning to University this year I was shock-
ed to find that at stage III level in the com-
merce department they no longer require an
essay on 'What I did in the holidays'.

I must say I am greatly upset by this as I
have spent a great deal of time ascertaining the
content of said essay and had one all ready.
Since they don't want it, I feel the need to
share it with you. Thus . . .

In the holidays I went to the beach and the
pictures and the zoo and the park and Aunt
Margaret's place and got lots of toys for
Christmas and played with Jason from next
door and I got sunburnt and had lots of fun.

Luv Boris Hugh Jorgau

P.S. I also saw a big red fire engine.

. . . DID KUBHLA KHAN

Dear Charlotte (the apple of my pie),
At last . . . a letter columnist!

Three score years and ten ago, when my
grandparents decided to come to this green and
pleasant land, this island in the sun, this land
of hope and glory, it was the fervent hope of
my grandmother that there would be DB on tap
for all.

Alas, she did not live to see the day, in fact
of course they took a slow boat to China, my
father in turn took the last train to Clarkville,
and it was let to me to carry out the family
dream.

Here I am, and here I'll stay.

It has not been easy. I have said to myself,
more times than I care to remember "Que Sera
Sera?" but always it has been a long and win-
ding road. I don't wish to complain of course,
but sometimes I feel like a motherless child,
which I am technically, my mother having been
ritually disembowelled by Khathestani tribesmen
back in '62. But you get my drift I think. Yes?

So imagine my delight, whilst idly reading
your latest letters column, to find a letter from
your correspondent Ludwig, a person of great
delicacy and substance, a true citizen of the
world, just a man but so much more. No doubt
he has his own feelings on the matter, and of
course I do it my way, but maybe, just maybe,
we will get to sing beautiful songs together. My
current favourite is "Walk Like An Egyptian"

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LETTERS

... may not be entirely appropriate.
... meantime I remain in your debt.
... you for giving me something to hold on-

... a bonk space I
... years I have been a
... g many a good
... mates.

... ple who are simply
... around lavatories
... er. Bonk space I
... a chance to meet
... bonk subculture
... adults. Don't get
... onker or anything
... iard bonk with my
... with any trendy
... i kind of social
... luty to satisfy my

... is an illness, a
... not! It's a natural
... nothing that
... other but must
... in bigots.

... t be found. It's
... olve monkeys or
... I don't think that
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... r brain. It's uni-
... d with a strong

... ace if it's used
... iering insights in-
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... or sex; that's
... als would do
... . Some people

Archie

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... er require an
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... the need to

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... is Hugh Jorgun
... red fire engine.

N

pie),

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... d be DB on tap

... ie day, in fact
... to China, my
... to Clarkville,
... the family

... id to myself,
... ber "Que Sera
... long and win-
... ain of course,
... rless child,
... er having been
... stani tribesmen
... I think. Yes?
... idly reading
... a letter from
... rson of great
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... ater, and of
... s, just maybe,
... s together. My
... An Egyptian"

Hedwig.

AT AIRPLANE . . .

... Lottie,
... thought your leading article on Harewood
... excellent. Your illustration of the aircraft
... upgrade down was sheer brilliance. The in-
... and spiritual challenge of working out
... significance of this has been quite ex-

... t first thought was that maybe the inten-
... to symbolize the fact that the U.S.
... machine is totally out of control and
... really know what the hell it is doing.
... many hours of further cold sweat and
... I wondered if it could mean the
... have something to hide.

... after sleepless nights, three unwritten
... countless laps of the Student Union 1st
... corridor and several visits to the bog (the
... didn't provide the answer) I came to the
... ble conclusion that the whole thing was a
... balls up on CANTA's part. I've
... argued that the most profound
... are unintentional. I'm forever in
... yours sincerely,

Fred Bergen

WILMINGTON WIND

... dear,
... a recent visit to your fair campus, and
... heard wondrous tales of UCSA's stu-
... facilities, I made my way to the much
... cafe to sample some of the culinary
... I had heard resided within its sturdy

... the dim sims, the golden roasties, the
... of vege delights . . . argh! The re-
... an ID card!

... sort of an operation are you running
... I mean to say, what an elitist clique! Has
... mouth of Cook Straight ever heard of
... solidarity? Where is Canterbury's sense
... antism — slamming the weary

... with a twenty percent surcharge?
... tioned I must return to the wind-swept
... of this mighty nation's proud capital,
... and sundry are welcome to participate
... in the exorbitant cost of nutrient ab-

... in nourishment

FP

COMPLAINS

... editors,
... to express my distaste for the headline
... Critic referring to the police as pigs.
... I feel this only perpetuates the false
... of pigs as dirty, nasty animals. We
... honest and clean and we have no desire
... power trips, enforcing arbitrary morals
... complete strangers.

... demand a public apology to all pigs.
... Snuffle

Polly the Pig.

VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS

... Critic,
... to comment on the letter "Homosex-
... " by Kristin Jack (July 14), about
... equality curing sexual inversion.

... do not think it logical to summon
... to defend one of the Christian views
... homosexuality. For example, when the
... killed gays it was with the connivance of
... nists, some of whom are still alive to-

... you will remember that many Christians
... killed at the same time.
... I don't think that 'gays' who want to
... sermons could ever be a cross-section
... gay community. So the experiment was
... I call science.

... ally, our assumption of grace is a
... and this is why we are asked not
... age.

... brother in Christ,

gdh

VALUES

Dear everybody

I am writing this letter out of a deep concern
for the falling values that are becoming all too
noticeable in the student population at large. It
seems that any absolute values or moral stan-
dards that have always been fundamental to
man's (sic) survival are being almost totally
abandoned in this new 'do what you feel like
doing' society in which we all live.

I think it's about time the youth of this na-
tion woke up and started to think as individuals
rather than following the crowd. The amount of
trash music, trash movies and trash videos com-
ing out at an ever increasing rate are rotting the
very principles that our society is based on.

I urge everybody to take time out to think of
the longer term consequences of their 'fast liv-
ing' lifestyles, after all, we are the future.

Signed

Concerned 2nd year Psych Student

IMPRESSED

Dear CHAFF editors,

Congratulations on your first issue for 1987.

I've been thoroughly impressed by its content
and have read it through a number of times,
since picking up my copy today.

Your inaugural issue exudes a remarkably
high professional edge, and this augers well for
CHAFF's success during 1987. Allied with this
feature is the very approachable nature of the
paper's editors, to whom I now write, Bronwyn
and Rebecca. It's a pleasure to have this oppor-
tunity to contribute to a paper, via its letter sec-
tion, run by two such engaging personalities.

When first I walked into your office to
deliver this letter, I could only be impressed by
the efficient and effective layout of its sur-
rounds. The organisational side that concerns
this part of the paper's operation can be regard-
ed as a credit to its editors. The atmosphere is
undeniably of a happy, friendly nature. This,
added to my delight in reading such an ac-
complished first issue, suggests that CHAFF in
1987, is indeed a promising and exciting
medium. I sincerely hope the students of
Massey University make good use of it and the
editorial talents of yourselves, Rebecca and
Bronwyn.

Yours Sincerely,

Barry Booffly

BALL-ROOM?

Dear Editor,
I say old boy, just a word concerning this Grad
Ball Lark. Simply marvellous do, and all that,
but to my tiny mind it seems a tad poor that
some of my spiffiest chums missed out on the
festivities; through no fault of their own, mind
you. Rum thing what?

Not meaning to point the finger or anything
equally tasteless, but one has an inkling that
perhaps the ladies and chaps on the organisa-
tional side of things may have committed a
teeny weeny faux pas in limiting ticket sales to
a very meagre 250. What can they have been
thinking of, I wonder? Well I mean gosh, there
were over 500 new graduates this year, weren't
there? When one considers that not all of their
doubtless charming escorts were graduates one
might be forgiven for reaching the rather distur-
bing (although pessimistic) figures of over 300
graduates denied the opportunity of attending
this glittering event.

Goodness gracious, my heart goes out to all
those poor things whose socialite aspirations
were so callously thwarted by circumstance.
Quel dommage! Mes pauvres jeunes! Oh dear,
this letter will be quite damp with tears soon;
I'd better conclude.

Nevertheless, I feel it my duty to end on a
note of tentative hope for those faced with the
awful prospect of a similar debacle, botch-up,
what have you, next year. With a little foresight
on the part of the aforementioned organisers we
might enjoy the luxury of a function held in a
rather larger venue graced by the shining
presence of more than just a lucky few, don't
you know.

Toodle pip, etc . . .

Nigel Hawthorne Bagle-Brown, etc . . .

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POETRY

I loved my daddy
but not myself
my daddy left me
and my self despised me
who was I standing in a crowd
crying
for love
and trying
to mould
myself into something
worthy
of my daddy's love.
to
fit you must hide the ugly
eradicate the flab
tuck away insecurity
and bestow love
with generosity
to fit you must open yourself to hurt.
open your legs to men
and open your mind to wonder,
you must shut your ears to hate
turn away from the mirror of truth
and follow the rules.
"Daddy's girl" will be bestowed upon the
brightest and the best —
but not I.
I will be any mans girl
because daddy
won't have me.

CR

JOINING THE BLUES CLUB

I was his shining harbour, he was very sick. He was a town slut, easy to move, easy to stone, easy to lay, a habitual thief and regularly beaten by his friends. He was ready for the jail house, for he stole from everyone he knew, looking for some happiness he had not found the means to accomplish; and as his host I was bored and tired of living a blameless life; hermiting was okay for a while but in youth it is not good to be alone too long, and neither in age; for my kinship with the birds was very like the one I had with any other family; temporary, full of affection and completely devoid of ties.

We made it down to the Cook a couple of times, but never stuck it out; my friends disapproved of the difference in our ages, and I from the natural discretion cultivated from the wild weed men whose constant pursuits had learnt me quick feet and fast fists, to run and fight more often than not. Settled, as was proper, for the kind of relationship he chose, which varied from brother to sister to mother to father to son and lover intermittently. For in the search for some quality he had not yet discovered in himself. He had less discretion than my cat in his choice of bedmates, and I did not regard it as a particular privilege when he chose me some nights. In those weak moments between waking and sleeping; for the first time I had invited him he had been speeding for three days and his heart beat and breath so irregular I turned from the other man besotted on me or greedy for a score. Since the story of that liason had throttled neither end of town the following week and set to return to him his powers of thought by the constant stimulation of his rather thin frame, so his strength was renewed.

From there I fed him until he had stolen so much from me I could no longer adequately feed myself, and waited for the pendulum to swing back in some direction where his taking might end, and giving start. For he had come so far as to give me as a master give scraps to his dog, but did not recognise from my outward displays the feeling I carried for him. For full of faith where he had none, I stored and freighted his passions jealously, and released them back to him as little boats swing across the water of a passive lake, and filled him when he was empty, and was rewarded with my own soft tears, the reflection of my sorrow.

I enjoyed having nothing, and little to hope for; my petitioners deserted me, and I was left with the clean, warm fire he made, and the soft autumn wind, beating the hedge outside the house, and a thousand faced lament, the song of his love for me.

Sue Heap

INDIGO JOURNEYMAN

I will be journey man in the corner
Still without bearings foreign with old fear
Robed in deep water seeing
Otherwise, thinner, turning believer
I'll hold out for sky-blue third pupil mirror
Pronounce ocean promises sand
But you will come river over the railway
Under the table stemming from memory
Keeping the passengers from me
When you find me lose language
I'm tiring of riding
My mind's eye is siding with the view
This is a spell as sung to me
last winter's wrapped and burnt dream
This is just a spell.

Alastair Galbraith

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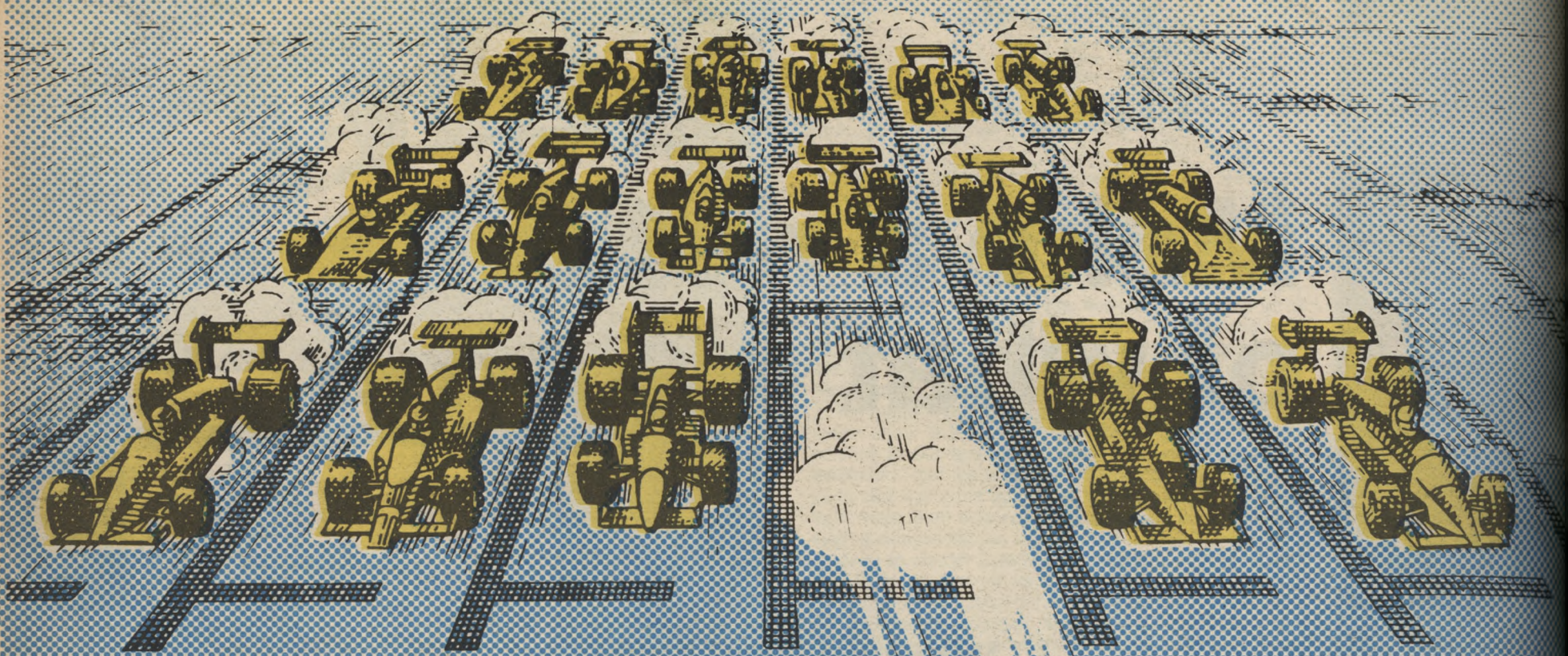
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