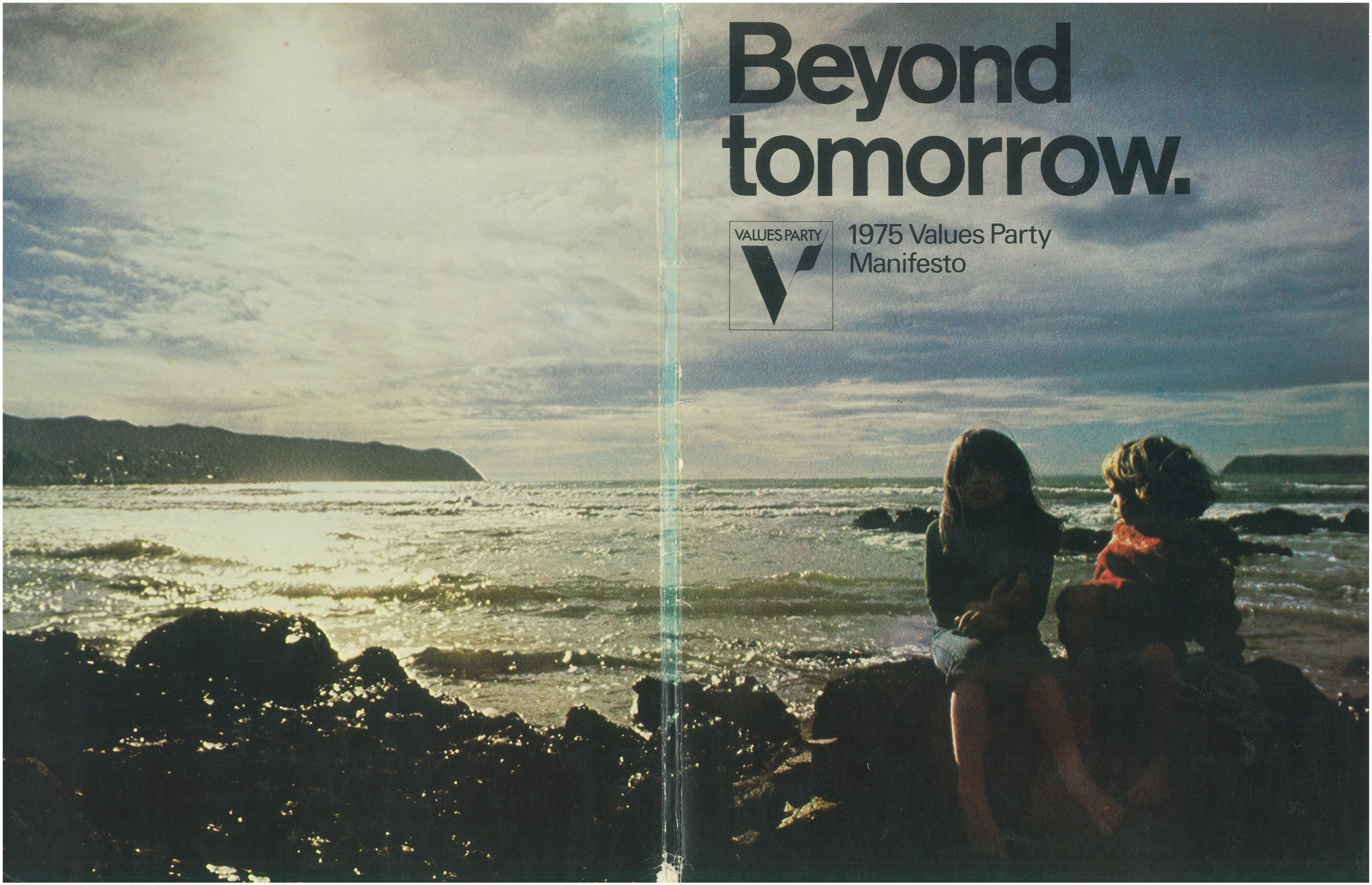
Beyond tomorrow.

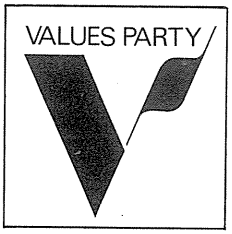
VALUES PARTY

1975 Values Party Manifesto



The New Zealand Values Party

Manifesto 1975



Introduction

"The earth has enough for everyman's need, but not enough for everyman's greed"

Gandhi

The Values view of the future of New Zealand is inextricably linked with the future of this planet and its limited resources. In 1972, a small group of people started to say, "We cannot afford to base our society on the values of the marketplace - consumerism, greed, envy, competition for monetary gain, and selfish individualism. These may gain us material goods in the short-term. They'll cost us the earth in the long-term." Values meant something to enough New Zealanders to enable this fledgling political party to field 42 candidates and attract two per cent of the total national vote in 1972.

This manifesto marks another stage in the growth of the Values Party and its ideals. It takes the concerns of 1972 and amplifies them into a body of comprehensive, detailed policy. It is a policy which re-thinks our system of economic management; rejects the idolatory of giantism (bigger is better); and is concerned with the needs of people, rather than the needs of the system.

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

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

The Values approach is positive. This manifesto shows how we can regain control of the system and reshape it to work for us. It shows how we can exploit less, consume less, pollute less, plan more, share more and conserve more. Our goal is to lay the foundations for a country which our children will find worth living in.

But Values' concern goes beyond New Zealand. For the first time in history all human beings live in a Global Village. The problems of each country in the world have become our problems. The fact that 40 million people are starving or likely to starve and a further 800 million are malnourished should worry every well-fed New Zealander.

This manifesto shows how the adoption of Values' policies will increase New Zealand's capacity to play a greater role, through trade and aid, in correcting the unfair distributions of the world's resources. The Values Party starts afresh with the economics of enough - enough for all, rather than plenty for the few.

The Values view is a long-term view. We dispense with the myopic focus of the other parties on short-term goals and the short term effect of their policies. We focus in depth on the long-term future of New Zealand and the long-term future of this planet. The Values Party has a dream - not a vision of an unrealisable utopia, but much more simply and practically, a perpetually sustainable blueprint for our survival.

The problems faced by New Zealand and the world will not disappear just because so many choose to ignore them. Starvation in the Third World, unwanted babies, poverty, injustice, inequality, frustration, despair, crime, aggression, dehumanising technological development, the befouling of our surroundings by industrial pollutants, overtaxed social amenities, are todays problems. They will not be solved by putting welfare band-aids on the raw festering sores within our society while we continue a life-style that is exploitive and polluting.

There is a new set of values emerging in society. The new current flowing in the country shows in the movements for more freedom and justice, in the movements which resist the intrusion of bureaucracy and technology into our lives, in the movements opposing immoral foreign policies, and in the movement by young people to build alternatives before the old system collapses. But protest marches are not enough; individual solutions such as opting out can only be temporary.

The Values Party is asking New Zealand to set an example to the rest of the world. New Zealand is ideally situated to do so and has done so twice before - under the Liberal Government of the 1890's and under the first Labour Government of the late 1930's.

But both the eras of social reform came in the aftermath of a major world depression. The Values Party hopes that it won't take another depression to produce the next era of social reform. Time is running out. We must take action.

In proposing its solutions, the Values Party begins at today and looks beyond tomorrow.

Thanks to all our friends who helped with their time, effort, knowledge and encouragement on this, our second manifesto.
Thanks also to all those photographers who freely contributed - often unknowingly - to make this manifesto more than simply a political document.

THE NEW ZEALAND VALUES PARTY MANIFESTO.
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errata: **Status of Women** (Sheet containing pages 59/60 wrongly positioned.) Pages should be read in the following order: Page 56, 59, 60, 57, 58, 61.

Survival

The Stable-State Society

Infinite growth is impossible. Resources are limited and most of them are not renewable. The development of synthetic substitutes creates problems as well as solving them, and reflects the growth mentality that must be altered if mankind is to survive. Population growth, economic growth and use of resources must be restricted if society is to meet the needs of man. Now is the time to do it, and New Zealand can lead the world in developing a new society, the new set of attitudes necessary to form worthwhile, satisfying communities.

Population

There is a maximum number of people which the earth can sustain at reasonable standards of living. Already a large proportion of the world's population is underfed, poorly clothed, and unable to reach its full mental, physical and social potential. The effectiveness of each and every individual, his happiness, and his ability to contribute to society will reduce as population numbers increase. Limiting population growth will enable present resources to be shared equitably around the world - without greatly reducing our present standard of living. Population growth must be reduced if "space-ship earth" is to continue voyaging through space. Education in family planning, contraception and human relationships is needed to achieve this.

A New Economic Recipe

The economic machine is geared to meeting material needs, yet it has failed to provide them for many people around the world, and for some in New Zealand. This same machine is also beginning to seriously threaten our natural environment. It is possible to develop an economic system based on co-operation, sharing and conservation, a system which meets our material needs and at the same time promotes the satisfaction of non-material needs such as friendship, play, self-expression, a sense of individual identity, social approval, self esteem, and peace of mind. Values' economic policies are aimed at producing a stable-state economy. Growth must be curbed, and existing wealth redistributed.

Primary Production

A flourishing and vital rural community is essential to New Zealand's future. Our most important economic assets are land, climate and accumulated farming skills. Measures which promote effective, efficient and rational use of land are needed to enable agriculture to cater for the needs of New Zealand, and to help it meet its commitments to the rest of the world. Farm incomes must be guaranteed. Forestry must be encouraged - but not to the extent of destroying an important natural resource, native timber. Fishing has so far been greatly neglected by the government, and deserves further encouragement.

Industrial Relations

Employees are too often not involved in decisions which affect their lives. This is a primary cause of industrial unrest, and workers must be given the right to be involved in management and control of industry. Restructuring of many industrial processes is necessary if people are to achieve job satisfaction. Unions have an important role to play in this area. Retraining schemes, the introduction of job-sharing and more flexible working hours will also greatly reduce industrial strife.

Consumerism

There are pressures on people to keep producing and consuming more. Much advertising creates artificial wants and promotes dissatisfaction - even though New Zealand is a relatively affluent society and the material needs of most people are met. Once basic material requirements have been provided, human needs are distorted by continued emphasis on material consumption. If society were operating sensibly, the more goods we obtained, the fewer we would need. Advertising should be regarded as an information process, rather than a persuasion process. Packaging of goods should be kept to a minimum. Firms should be given incentives to make longer-lived products. Consumer education is needed, and smaller, more personalised shopping centres should be encouraged.

Technology and the Future

Technology can do much to lighten the burden of work many people carry. It can make life easier and more comfortable, and give people more time to pursue leisure. But often, technology has made work meaningless, has replaced the tasks from which people derive satisfaction. Technology, instead of making human hands and brains redundant, should help them become more productive. The ethical, cultural and environmental implications of technological development should be assessed - and technology should be rejected where it does nothing to promote human involvement and awareness.

Environment

There is nothing wrong with man altering his environment. But it must be done carefully, so the alterations do not cause the breakdown of the natural systems on which every living thing depends. Limits to population growth and the development of a stable-state economy are essential if pollution is to be prevented. Products must be recycled as much as possible. The urban environment must be kept on a human scale, because one of the prime causes of social problems is the alienation of people in the places where most of us live - the cities and towns.

Energy

The demand for energy is increasing at an alarming rate. New Zealand is being forced to develop more and more expensive methods of producing electricity, and is misusing its primary energy sources. The development of nuclear power is unacceptable to the Values Party, and there is a limit to hydro-electric and other electric generation potential. Energy consumption must therefore be stabilised. Transport is one of the heaviest users of fuels, and so the economic use of public transport systems must be encouraged.

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Justice

Rich World, Poor World

The gap between rich and poor countries is widening, and will never close if the present system of international trade and economic organisation is allowed to continue. The internal policies of our government are based on eliminating poverty and inequality - surely our external policies should have the same set of values? A just world order and a stable world economy is essential if starving millions are to be fed, homeless people housed, and illiterates educated to reach their full potential. Three main kinds of assistance are needed for the underprivileged areas: relief aid, development projects, and help with political, economic and social change. Multi-national corporations have too much control in too many foreign countries - including New Zealand.

International Relations

There is a great need for mankind to be united - to become one species on planet earth, rather than a multitude of fragmented and bickering "nations". The United Nations has a major role to play in any attempt to break down international differences. Just as it is essential for New Zealand to develop a stable society, a just, environmentally-sound world order must be developed if mankind is to survive. Control and use of the sea and the sea-bed is one area in which international co-operation could be readily achieved. The Antarctic is another. New Zealand must be independent and non-aligned if it is to give a lead in the new attitude to international relations.

Individual Freedom

Individual freedom must be allowed unless it is clearly outweighed by the interests of the community as a whole. In the matter of abortion, people must have freedom to plan their own families. The Values Party supports free and readily available contraception and sterilisation, as well as freedom of individual conscience.

Censorship inhibits the development of responsible adult citizenship, although some censorship may be necessary in the interests of children. There is a need for extensive safeguards to ensure the confidentiality of data collected on the affairs of individuals. The State should have no role in regulating sexual practices between consenting adults in private. Present drug laws are inconsistent and often make the problem worse - but the Values Party does not advocate the use of drugs in any form. Greater controls are needed on the use of firearms.

Status of Women

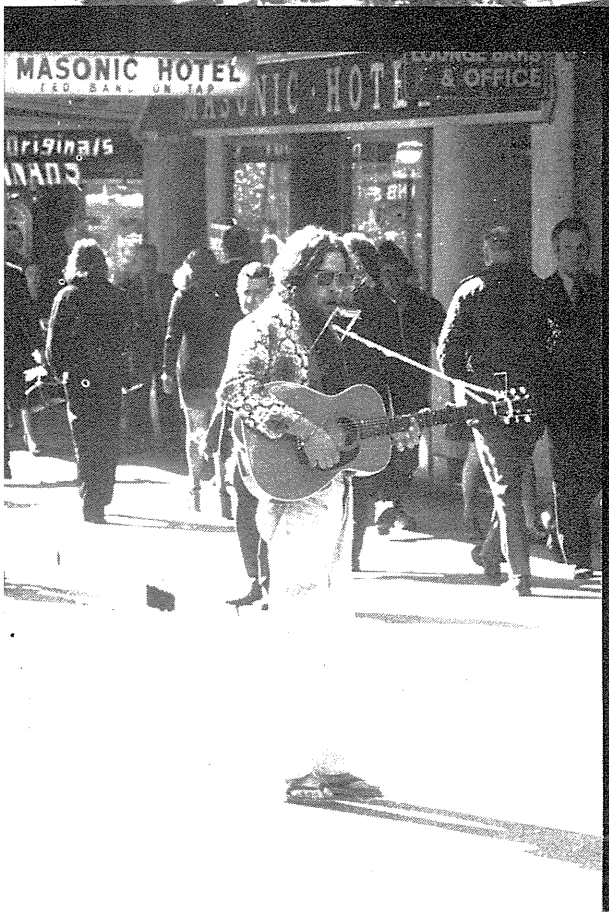
New Zealand practises a form of sexual apartheid. Children are taught concepts of masculinity and feminity which encourage boys to be adventurous, curious and rough, girls to be decorative, helpful and clean. There is no reason why both males and females should not share these qualities. Equality for women should not simply enable women to share a man's world on male terms. The status of the traditional female values which stress co-operation, nurturing, healing, cherishing and peace, should be raised, these are the values which are needed if everyone is to survive. Men and women should share work and home environments - there is no reason why both can't be breadwinners, and it is generally desirable for both to spend time bringing up children.

Race Relations

The task ahead is not to assimilate the Maori but to help him foster his racial and cultural identity. There is much in Maori society, particularly the traditional attitudes to land - which could contribute to a stronger, healthier total society - if the pakeha could accept it. The Values Party would encourage the development of urban marae, train police recruits and employers in race relations, and support unions which promote courses for immigrant Polynesian workers.

Crime and Punishment

Prisons isolate inmates from the community, and deprive them not only of freedom but also of their self-respect and humanity. This makes it difficult for released prisoners to readjust to society and increases, rather than decreases, the possibility that they will offend again. If a law-breaker must be imprisoned, the only punishment inflicted by society should be the deprivation of freedom, for this is the most valued of human rights. Emphasis should be placed on rehabilitation and on training offenders to live within the accepted norms of society. Alternatives should be found to prisons, and prisons themselves made as congenial and normal as possible, to reduce unrest and aid rehabilitation. The community should be encouraged to interact with prisons and other penal institutions.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Community

Community, Family, Children

Communities have become too big and families have become too small. Because of the sprawling nature of cities and towns, and because of increased family and individual mobility, the formation of small areas with a community of interest is now rare. New Zealand badly needs a set of clearly defined national goals with which the whole community can identify. Government should be decentralised, and people given as much say as possible in running their own affairs - in determining the type of community in which they live. Extended families - of grandparents, parents, children, and perhaps friends and other relatives - should be encouraged. So should other forms of communal living. Children should be under the influence of more than one adult, and child-care centres should be more than mindless baby-minders.

Education

The education system can be used to maintain the present system or to help develop an alternative. At the moment, our education system is not equipping young people with the skills they need to cope with life in a changing world. There is little point in simply updating the system so it caters better for a society which is fundamentally competitive and materialistic. Education should be geared to the development of a just, co-operative, community-based society. A major effort is needed to tackle many of the problems of modern education - there is a need for improved adult education, for greater retraining, and to improve facilities for minority groups. The decision-making process of education must be reformed, to allow for greater power at community and regional levels. There should be greater diversity of educational styles, to allow for individual preferences and differences.

Health

Everyone has a right to health care, when and where it is needed. Need should be the only criterion for receiving care. The health service should be decentralised, so that communities can decide for themselves the type of service they want. But because resources are finite there is a limit to the amount of money that can be spent, so services must be spread as equitably as possible. Prevention is better than cure, and the development of a stable society would do much to prevent many of today's diseases - the diseases of stress and affluence.

Welfare

An objective of all Values' policies is to create a society which has no need for social welfare as it is traditionally understood. A guaranteed minimum income would replace most benefits and superannuation schemes. The caring, cohesive community established once growth rates had been stabilised, would cater for most people's needs. There will nevertheless be a continuing need for the traditional forms of welfare, and "common situation" groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous should be encouraged.

Housing

Shelter is a basic need of mankind. People have a right to warm, dry, comfortable accommodation, at a reasonable price. Yet after many years of effort by successive governments many people live in poor quality housing at too high a price. It is very difficult to buy a house. Part of the problem is that speculators are taking advantage of people's need for housing. Part of it is that some dwellings are under-used. Building cannot keep pace with population growth. There should be tighter controls on speculation. More houses should be built, and money and other assistance made more readily available. Variety in housing, and alternatives in living styles, should be encouraged.

Local Government

Local bodies should be more concerned than they are with the wider needs of the community. Too often, important decisions affecting a local area are left to a distant bureaucracy. Decisions on matters such as housing, health, welfare and education should all be decentralised. At the same time, there is a need for a reorganisation of local government - regional, district and community councils should be developed. Rates should be abolished in favour of a local income tax.

Government Reform

Only a strong sense of community can counter the massness and alienation of modern western society. More power, more responsibility, and more autonomy must go to regional levels of government. Greater openness is needed in central government, and the public must be more involved in its processes. The present "confrontation" debating system should be reformed, and MPs given greater assistance in their work.

Survival

"An examination of the relevant information available has impressed upon us the extreme gravity of the global situation today. For, if current trends are allowed to persist, the breakdown of society and the irreversible disruption of the life-support systems on this planet, possibly by the end of the century, certainly within the lifetimes of our children, are inevitable" From "A Blueprint for Survival" [The Ecologist Vol.2, No.1, 1972]: Supported by 34 distinguished biologists, ecologists, doctors and economists.

Some people have dismissed the Values Party as sentimental nature-lovers. On the contrary, we know that nature is utterly indifferent to any one species and couldn't care less whether human beings survive or not. We disagree with environmentalists who believe man shouldn't interfere with nature at all. There is nothing wrong with altering our environment provided it is really in our interests - in the long term as well as in the short term.

The trouble is that much of our present intervention in the relationships between living species is not making the world a better place. It is not in the interests of any species.

It wasn't until this century that man found out
- how to make weapons that could destroy the world;
- how to poison and break down the atmosphere, and
- how to use up energy resources and minerals in a few generations.

No doubt you are already aware of the possibility of a nuclear holocaust. But the danger of ecological breakdown is more subtle, less obvious, harder to understand, yet just as real a threat to our survival. Our species depends for its survival on the predictability of ecological processes and on the continued resilience of the ecological networks of which homo-sapiens is an integral part.

The time has come when you can no longer take the survival of yourself, your family, your fellow countrymen or other world citizens for granted. You may argue that there'll be a last-minute miracle, that the back-room boffins will make a scientific breakthrough, and that man has always survived so far and thus will continue to do so.

We don't like the odds. The Values Party does not accept that the world can continue speeding recklessly along the path towards crisis in the assurance of a technological salvation on the way.

The Values Party exists to tell anyone who'll listen that we must start taking sensible action now in case our species does not find a last-minute escape route from the logical consequences of its greed and stupidity. If you want to ensure survival for your descendant help us start making provision. We are offering New Zealand a survival kit. As the Blueprint said:
"We do not need to destroy the ecosphere utterly to bring catastrophe upon ourselves: All we have to do is to carry on as we are."

The Stable-State Society

"What is quite clear is that a way of life which bases itself on materialism, that is on permanent limitless expansion, in a finite environment, cannot last long, and that its life expectation is the shorter the more successfully it pursues its expansionist objectives."
Dr E. F. Schumacher - Economic Advisor, British National Coal Board.

What We Want
In a finite world, infinite growth is impossible. Every person must be cared for in a limited amount of space and with limited resources. Common sense demands that the whole world develops a sharing, cooperative, decentralised stable society which ensures the satisfaction of both the material and the non-material needs of all of us, now and in the future.

The Values Party believes that New Zealand is a very good place to start and that the time to set the example is now. We have three priorities:

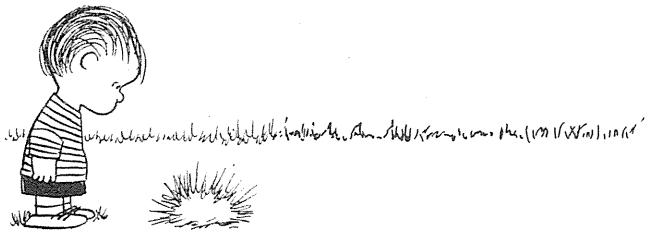
Survival of our species, of the environment it depends on, of our planet.
Justice a fair sharing of resources, wealth, and decision-making power, both between and within nations.
Community a face-to-face society where people are precious.

We have a three-fold programme:
Short-term what we want the present Government to do.
Transitional what steps must be taken to transform New Zealand.
Long-term what we want for New Zealand and the world ultimately.

How To Get What We Want
Our policies are concerned with:
Causes rather than symptoms.
Prevention rather than cure.
Preparation before the event.

We want a social order that we can expect to be sustainable. We must live within our means and use only our just share of the world's resources. In every area of our lives, there are thresholds beyond which mankind pays too high a price for growth. Society must decide which levels are best (for people and for the environment) and then stick with them until such time as there is a change in the information on which the decision was based.

The Values Party proposes that New Zealand aim to stabilise its levels of:
Population. We must bring into the world only as many people as society can care for justly.
Economy. Once the population has been stabilised we need a Stable-state economy: we must produce and consume only as much as the environment can stand.



This is what the Values Party means by stabilisation:
Analysing the information affecting limits in the light of social goals rather than economic goals.
Determining what level is the best (which is not the same thing as trying to have as much as possible!).
Discontinuing growth when the optimum level is reached and maintaining that level until there is good reason to alter it deliberately, in a planned orderly manner.

Growth
What really makes the Values Party different from the other political parties is that they all believe in continuing economic growth, irrespective of what has grown and who if anyone has benefited ultimately. We say that infinite growth in a finite environment is impossible. Limited controlled growth in areas such as education and culture enrich society without endangering it.

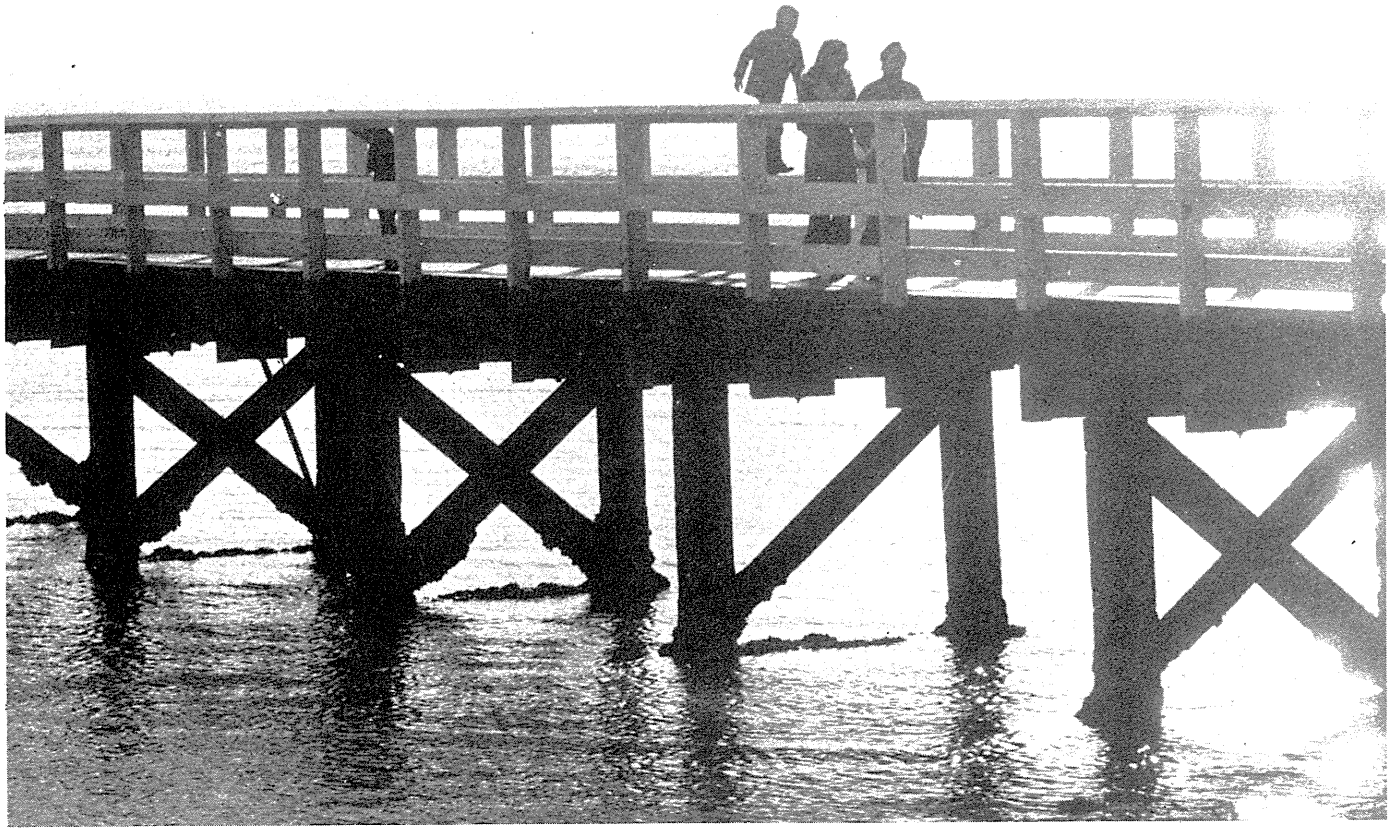
But what of pathological growth which like a cancer, renders unhealthy the living organism it feeds on? Cancer cells are defined as cells which have lost the power to control their reproduction. They divert energy from other essential parts and if not stopped or removed, they spread through the body and kill the victim.

The world today has two cancer-like problems-- population growth and industrial growth. Neither is critical yet in New Zealand, but the dimension of these problems overseas constitutes a warning we must heed.

Most population experts and ecologists give our civilisation a slim chance of reaching the end of the century intact unless world population growth is checked. The now famous computer study of the future of mankind, "The Limits to Growth" predicts the irreversible breakdown of the life-support systems on earth by the year 2100 if industrial output continues to grow exponentially.

What causes dangerous and unnecessary growth? In societies where industry is controlled only by the people who contribute the capital, the pursuit of profit overrides all considerations such as the quality of life of the workers, the length of life of the product, or the security of the environment. When demand is satisfied, the profit-oriented industry must continue to grow somehow.

And so, such industries pressure the public into demanding things they do not really desire. More and more items are manufactured to wear out quickly or to break. In addition, the obsession with regular changes of style and fashion make people throw things away while they still have a useful life. In the context of a



world which is rapidly running out of its non-renewable resources, these practices are unforgivable, and a Values government would discourage them.

Growth caused by unnecessary industrial activity can also be stimulated by the fear of unemployment. Today one man can produce what twenty years ago it would have taken ten men to produce. Some automated factories can work with hardly any workers at all. This can lead to unemployment. The traditional remedy is to stimulate economic growth and start up new industries to employ the men so displaced.

We are told that we cannot terminate the Comalco agreement because it would put 700 people out of work. We are told we must start a beech-felling industry on the West Coast in order to provide employment. We are told we must dig up and sell our Mount Davy coal resources in order to provide employment. The space project in America is largely justified in terms of the employment it creates, in spite of the massive waste of resources. Even the Vietnam war was justified in terms of the jobs it gave people.

We are not against all growths -- only that growth which forces us against the limits of the environment or human nature.

Growth in the education or health services, growth in the arts and in the sciences, and growth in music and culture are all wholly good. It is only growth in the rates at which we consume raw materials, pour pollutants into our water and atmosphere, and increase the pace of life and the size of cities which threaten our humanity.

By diverting energy away from dangerous growth, we will be able to encourage beneficial development. In our efforts to provide material security for ourselves and our children, we have gone astray; for happiness

does not come through having more, it comes through having enough.

Stable-State Advantages

To ensure that resources are conserved, pollution minimised and life expectancy maximised, we must have as small a turnover of people and products as can be feasibly obtained. In other words to achieve an effective stable-state economy we must not only stablise our population and production of goods, but also ensure the average life expectancy of both people and products is maximised.

This means low levels of births and deaths (for example, families averaging no more than two children) and lower levels of production and consumption (cutting back on 'luxuries'). The cutback in production and consumption levels will mean an increase in leisure time and it is not difficult to imagine how sharing of jobs and fairer sharing of wealth can ensure that this increased leisure time will be an enjoyable asset rather than a hardship.

Because the total stock of goods and services is maintained constant, a stable-state economy calls loudly for fairness of distribution of that wealth. An expansion economy drowns out any call for fair shares in the clamour for a bigger cake.

A stable-state economy embodies a call for co-operation in its global application while an expansion economy is very much an "everyone for himself" situation.

A stable-state economy also differs from an expansion economy in that, to ensure the conservation of natuural resources which are utilised, it emphasises the re-use and recycling of materials.

Finally, the stable-state has the advantage of being much easier to control and manage in a decentralised manner, while the problems of the expansion economy support the calls of the bureaucrats for even more centralised power to attempt to manage and control the economy. The centralising of economic power into the hands of even smaller numbers of government and commercial bureaucrats is no guarantee of improvement in the life of the average person. Common sense tells us that the things we need can be more easily achieved if we work together.

Your Choice

Politics is concerned both with ends and with means. Unfortunately, means often become ends in themselves. Economic performance was originally a means but it has tended to become an end in itself for the other three parties in New Zealand. These parties disagree about what is the more efficient means of producing goods and providing services. One thinks it's "public ownership", another prefers "private enterprise", the last puts its faith in "monetary reform". But they all agree that material wealth is the object of the exercise.

The Values Party believes it has its priorities straight. We reject "econo-think" which is what Alvin Toffler (in his book "Future Shock") calls the assumption that even non-economic problems can be solved with economic remedies. We are more interested in the health of our society than in the health of our economy. To us, the latter is only a means whereas the former is a worthwhile end to be concerned about.

We don't want a society operated according to the values of the market place. We don't measure progress in terms of material and monetary profit. We are concerned with social and spiritual profit. Our goal is a new age in which community is more important than materialism and man learns to live in harmony with the rest of Nature rather than against it.

A party which warns of threats to survival and the need to limit and control affluence is unlikely to have instant appeal to the "man in the street". If this country is like a driverless train rushing headlong for a cliff, he might as well shrug his shoulders, sit back and enjoy the ride. After all, there are already three political parties in New Zealand vying with each other for the chance to make his seat as comfortable as possible.

The Values Party doesn't offer short-term bribes and distractions, but it offers hope. We can show you where the country is heading, how to take control of its development, and how to change direction. We have hope in the ability of mankind to clean up the mess it has been making of the planet and start building a better society. We're starting in our own backyard.

Politics is all about satisfying human needs. Unlike the old politicians people are used to, we are concerned about the needs of future generations as well as those of the present. Unlike the other three parties we put as much emphasis on non-material as on material needs.

The Values Party presents all New Zealanders with a challenge. Can we adjust our values, refashion our economy, and create sharing, caring local communities where each person feels useful and wanted? Dr E. F. Schumacher in his book "Small is Beautiful" (1975) believes we can:

"I have no doubt that it is possible to give a new direction to technological development, a direction that shall lead it back to the real needs of man, and that also means to the actual size of man. Man is small and therefore, small is beautiful. To go for giantism is to go for self-destruction.

"And what is the cost of reorientation? We might remind ourselves that to calculate the cost of survival is perverse. No doubt a price has to be paid for anything worth-while. To redirect technology so that it serves man instead of destroying him requires primarily an effort of the imagination and an abandonment of fear."

Population

"If the earth must lose that great portion of its pleasantness ... for the mere purpose of enabling it to support a larger population; I sincerely hope, for the sake of posterity, that they will be content to be stationary, long before necessity compels them to it."
John Stuart Mill, 'Principles of Political Economy', 1857

Stabilising the population (sometimes referred to as zero population growth, or ZPG) is central to all Values Party policies. New Zealand's present rate of population growth of about two per cent adds approximately 60,000 people to the population every year - enough to populate a city the size of Lower Hutt. All of these people must be fed, clothed, housed, educated and employed. (A new primary school is needed for every 200 children, for example.) Moreover, every child has a right to be a wanted member of a family and of society, yet figures indicate that many births in New Zealand are unplanned and unwanted. Government statistics indicate that New Zealand's population will be approaching 5 million by the year 2000. Even if we begin an immediate programme to encourage population stabilisation it is unlikely we could stabilise our population below that figure.

Why do we need to stabilise our population?
The world has finite resources. The needs of a rapidly increasing population are already putting unsustainable strains on our resources and our physical environment, yet on current trends the world's population will double within the next 35 years. The average New Zealander currently consumes approximately 30 times more resources than the average Asian - far more than our share of the world's rapidly diminishing resources. We can hardly urge other countries to reduce their rate of population growth unless we are prepared to do the same ourselves.

Although relatively underpopulated in terms of numbers in relation to its size and environment, New Zealand is not underpopulated in relation to its role in the world economy. This role is, and will be for the foreseeable future, almost entirely that of producing food. Our production of food is already efficient and highly developed and any increase will result from technology rather than an increase in the labour force. We largely depend on the sale of our agricultural products for our living in the world. Yet at a population of three million we already consume almost half the food we produce. New Zealand's contribution to the world food pool decreases as we eat more of our own produce and turn more farm land into residential land.

We live in an industrial society where population growth entails more industrialisation with harmful effects on the environment.

Population growth results in urban growth with its attendant social ills.

The Values Party believes that the only hope for survival in the world fast running out of basic resources is stable-state economics (see 'The Stable Society', 'An Economic Recipe'). A pre-requisitite of this policy is a stable population.

What effects would stabilising our population have?
Three key areas would be effected - our economy, our social environment and our physical environment.

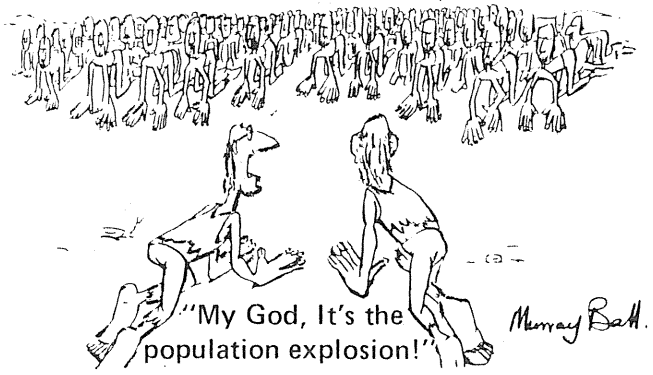
Economy
A stable population would mean an enormous increase in per capita national wealth. It is estimated that up to one fifth of our national income is currently spent on providing the basic needs of more and more people in the future, rather than on making things better now. With a stable population this wealth could be released to help improve the quality of living for all, and to give more than token assistance to more needy populations overseas.

Working hours could be substantially reduced.

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

A growing population means that buildings are pulled down and bigger ones put up; houses are demolished and flats erected; cities spread into what was once familiar countryside; motorways scar cities and suburbs. In such an environment people start to lose their sense of "place" and "belonging". Thousands of people in our cities display confusion, mounting anxiety, erratic swings of purpose, and a panicky urge to escape from it all. They complain they "can't cope". American sociologist Alvin Toffler coined a term for it - "future shock".

A stable population would greatly reduce the rate of change and the pace of life, to bring it back to a rate that people can cope with. There would be fewer unwanted pregnancies; greater social stability; more opportunities for individuals to develop in their own ways. Our housing, health, education and welfare services would be able to cope with our needs. Planning for our needs could be based on more predictable factors than at present. With a reduction in the rate of change and the rate of urban growth the climate would be right for a revival of the sense of community.



Physical Environment

Population growth encourages economic growth which is the chief cause of the environmental crisis. Ecologists throughout the world are warning that population and economic growth must be stabilised in order to stop pollution and ease the pressure on natural resources. The increasing demands of an increasing number of people will inevitably destroy the natural environment, regardless of any controls which might be put on industrial pollution.

We can already see the environmental effects of current trends in such proposals as the utilisation of the South Island beech forests and the exporting of Mt Davy coal.

A stable population would reduce the demands we make on our environment. It would ensure that New Zealanders continue to have access to wild, open spaces and outdoor living.

How the Values Party would stabilise the population

Surveys indicate that about half the babies born in New Zealand are unplanned. New Zealand's excessive population growth is, therefore, not a conscious urge to reproduce which would require repressive government action to subdue. Rather, it is a failure of people to implement their own wishes. Values policies are aimed at giving people a real choice in having children, and the ability to implement that choice.

We do not believe there should be any direct government action to limit family size. People should still have freedom of choice. Nor do we feel, at this stage, that there should be any financial disincentives to discourage larger families. Such measures would only be detrimental to children.

While we do not believe that abortion should be regarded as a population control measure, it is probable that the Values Party policy on abortion would also have a substantial effect on population growth.

Education in human relationships, in responsible parenthood, and in the social, ethical and physical aspects of sexuality is essential for all New Zealanders. Present provisions for such education are simply not adequate, as is indicated by the fact that in 1973, 9206 live births (15.16 per cent) were ex-nuptial and in 1974 over 10,000 New Zealand women had legal abortions here or in Australia .

The Values Party supports

- The extension of such education to all sections of society. In particular, the school curriculum should include a realistic programme of sex education and family life education.
- The making of all contraceptives and contraceptive advice free and freely available to all regardless of age, sex or marital status [therefore repealing Section 2 of the 1954 amendment to the Police Offences Act 1954].
- The provision of free, voluntary sterilisation in an approved manner for both men and women, subject to adequate medical advice and professional counselling.
- A government-sponsored family planning programme which would include subsidies for organisations giving contraceptive advice and a general expansion of birth control facilities.

Immigration

Immigration should be considered as part of an overall population policy. The Values Party believes that the number of immigrants to be admitted should reflect emigration figures so that the base of our population is not increased. The Values Party contends that as long as New Zealand continues to import skills, rather than train New Zealanders in these skills, the need for substantial immigration will continue, placing pressure on resources to support an increased population. We see a need for some continued immigration at present to maintain the level of skills in our economy; however, this should be accompanied, and eventually replaced, by a parallel programme to increase the level of skills within our indigenous population.

The immigration of Polynesian Pacific Islanders

The Values Party believes that New Zealand can best meet its special obligations to these economically deprived areas of the Pacific in two ways.

Firstly, through increased trade, and substantially increased aid and development programmes, New Zealand could help these countries to better support their own population without people having to suffer the personal and cultural dislocation of emigrating to a pakeha-dominated society with a totally different value system.

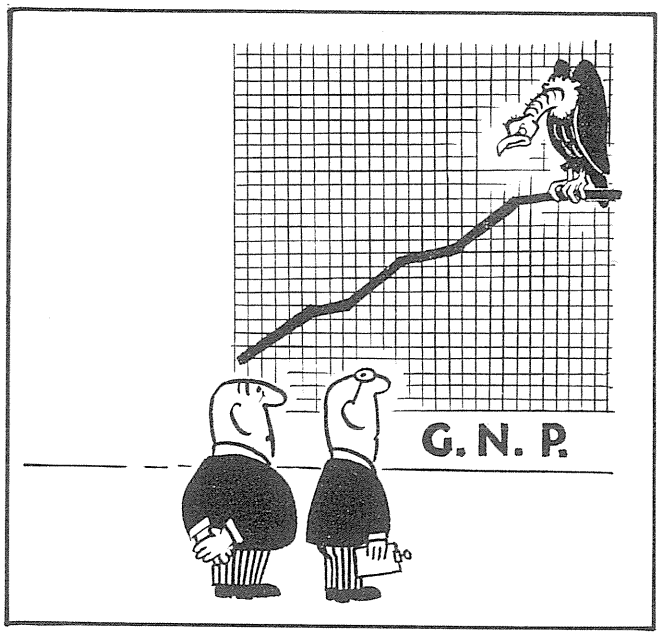
Secondly, because the above would take time to achieve, New Zealand should continue to welcome a controlled number of Pacific Islanders as part of a total immigration policy to maintain a stable population.

A problem facing many immigrants, especially those from the Pacific Islands, is adjusting to the different social patterns encountered in New Zealand society. An immigration programme should include assistance in obtaining housing and suitable work, and in generally adapting to New Zealand society. At the same time, efforts should be made to help immigrants retain useful and valuable aspects of their own culture.

A Values Government would

- Set annual quotas for immigration, based on emigration figures from New Zealand, so that the base of our population is not increased through immigration.
- Continue to allow a restricted number of skilled immigrants into New Zealand to provide skills we need within our economy.
- Aim to eventually replace skilled immigration through training for skills within our own population.
- Continue to welcome new settlers from the Pacific Islands while at the same time increasing aid to the Islands themselves.
- Set up a comprehensive orientation programme for all immigrants to help them adjust to New Zealand society. This programme would guarantee low-cost quality housing if required, help immigrants to find suitable work, and help them adjust to different social problems.
- Increase immigration on humanitarian grounds, for example, of refugees and stateless people.
- Ensure a right of permanent residence for spouses of New Zealand citizens and for parents and grandparents of a permanent immigrant.

Economics



Introduction
Economics is that part of our culture through which we seek to satisfy our material needs - our needs for goods and services. Realising that our material needs are only a part of all the needs human beings have, we must be sure that they are met in a way which does not restrict our chances of meeting our non-material needs.

At present the economic machine is geared completely to meeting our material needs, but while it provides many of us with some fantastic gadgets it has failed to meet the most basic material needs of some New Zealanders and most of the world's people. Furthermore, it has begun to threaten the well-being of our natural environment.

The destruction of the human spirit caused by both excess material poverty and by excess material wealth, and the destruction of the natural environment caused by the latter, is a direct result of an obsolete economic system - a system based on greed, envy and selfishness.

The Values Party is proposing an economic system based on co-operation, sharing and conservation. We do so in the belief that it is possible to meet the material needs of everyone, in harmony with nature, and in a way which not only does not restrict, but actually promotes, the satisfaction of our non-material needs, such as friendship, play, self-expression, a sense of individual identity, social approval, self-esteem and peace of mind.

It is a basic belief of the Values Party that for too long economics has been the dominant preoccupation of our culture. Overtime, a colour TV and a second car have very little to do with true happiness. We must develop an economic system which enables us to place more emphasis on the non-economic aspects of living.

The economic policies of the Values Party are designed to bring about a stable-state economy in New Zealand. A stable-state economy is one in which expansion is curbed.

Individual areas may have increases in their population through movement of people away from more congested areas but the total number of people does not increase. Individual industries may increase their output through movement of resources away from other areas (for example, movement of building materials from luxury yachts to hospitals) but the total stock of physical wealth remains constant.

So while a stable-state economy allows for growth in any particular sector and for short term fluctuations in the total population and the total stock of physical wealth, in the long run it means that these two factors are stabilised at optimum levels.

The following principles form the starting point of Values economic policies:

- The introduction of a stable-state world economy is necessary to the survival and well-being of mankind.
- The establishment and maintenance of a stable-state economy is dependent upon an equitable distribution of wealth both between nations and within nations.
- The Values Party's economic policies are based upon long-term proposals to secure this type of stable-state economy. In pursuing our long-term aims our intermediate policies must, of necessity, be concerned with the equitable distribution of the products of our economy and the preservation of its basic resources.
- We hold that there is a minimum level of income below which, as of right, no-one should fall. (Provision of this minimum would replace social security benefits and superannuation.) We further believe that excessively high incomes are a travesty of human justice and therefore oppose the tradition of inherited wealth and support a steeply progressive tax scheme.
- Values Party economic policies will lead towards community control and management of production, finance and distribution. Initial steps will be based on the concept of co-operative enterprise, which provides for equal control of an enterprise by its workers, its consumers, the suppliers of its finance and its local community.
- An important aspect of New Zealand's future is its role as an important supplier of agricultural products and expertise in a hungry world. Values policies would support the farming community in the fullest possible agricultural production compatible with sound environmental principles and the food needs of the world.

- The Values Party sees a major role of the government in economic matters as one of promoting and maintaining regional balance. Planning and co-ordination will also seek to ensure that economic enterprises serve social purposes compatible with the values of the community. Government will be guided in this by the ongoing public forum on the one hand, and on the other by social, environmental, and technological research units, independent of the government.
- The Values Party seeks to promote decentralisation of political and economic activities, with delegation of administrative decisions to the lowest possible levels of operation.

The Market Mechanism

Given
- Investment funds directed by community representatives; (see "Community Control")
- A system of ownership that equitably distributes income and wealth;
- A decentralised, descaled, community-based economy;
- Adequate control of the use of resources;

then the Values Party believes that the free market is the best mechanism for allocating goods and services through consumer choices as expressed by demand.

In the meantime, controls on the market mechanism are necessary for the development of a just society and to prevent abuses. Values' taxation and investment policies are therefore designed in accordance with social priorities. (See "The Transition".)

The Economics of Enough

Expansion is the idea that having more (regardless of what it is or what you will do in the process of getting more), is a good thing.

The idea that having more is good is not only foolish - it is dangerous. Yet our "leaders" and their "advisers" are still fine-tuning the engine, stoking the boilers, and generally yelling "giddyup" with little or no comprehension of the consequences of their actions or the direction in which we are heading.

The world cannot continue to have more because the resources required to make things (such as planes, factories, supermarkets, cars, guns) are in short supply.

The world cannot continue to have more because continued attempts to do so are damaging the environment. (For example increased industrial outputs go hand in hand with increased outputs of polluted air, wastes, litter and destruction of nature.) It is our present approach to production and consumption which is causing pollution.

The world cannot continue to have more because continued attempts to do so are creating jobs; cities and whole ways of life that make us less than human. No one should have so much that they are upset by their excess, especially when there are so many around them who do not have enough to lead human lives.

The world cannot continue to have more because attempts to do so are widening the gap between the rich and the poor. Expansion economies are controlled by the already rich on their own behalf while the poor do not yet have enough.

Expansion is also closely associated with the continuance of nationalism (when individual countries place their own interests more highly than the global interest), and the rise of giant companies (these "multinational corporations" also place their interest more highly than the global interest).

The Stable Economy

The attempts to continually expand our economy have resulted in human, environmental and, more recently, economic problems which now concern all of us. Faced with these problems and a growing realisation that our planet is indeed really a spaceship with many travellers to support, common sense is telling us that we (especially in the rich countries) must stabilise our production (see "Investment") and consumption (see "consumerism"). Values' economic policies are designed to establish and maintain a stable economy, as a base for the stable society. (See "Stable Society".)

Population

The number of people to be served by an economy and changes occurring in that number will obviously be an important factor determining the nature of that economy. Consequently, Values' policies concerning population stabilisation are closely related to the economic changes necessary for the achievement of a stable society. (See "Population").

Incomes and Wealth

Without a prior redistribution towards quality of income and wealth, other Values' economic policies would be insufficient as judged by the party's standards of social justice and democracy.

As is happening on a global scale, within New Zealand the gap between the very rich and the not so rich is widening. The high inflation rates of recent years have allowed the wealthy to make fortunes by investing in inflation (especially land speculation) while those who earn just enough to live on lose out every day (at current rates of inflation savings bank depositers are losing eight per cent a year on their savings).

While the Values Party sees it being necessary for the government to initiate the redistribution through its taxation policies, over time the role of government in the distribution of wealth will decline as the rights and responsibilities of individual communities increase. (See "Community Enterprise", "The Stable Society", "Fostering Community", "Decentralising Government".)

The Values Party would

- Establish both minimum and maximum income levels. The maintenance of the minimum would be the responsibility of both employers and government. Income above the maximum would be taxed completely away. While the minimum would initially be a low one and the maximum a high one, a Values Government would, over a period of time, seek to have the maximum and minimum brought closer together.
- Change the graduated tax scale so as to relieve the present burden on lower and middle incomes and increase taxation revenues from high incomes. Heavier taxes would also be applied to unearned incomes.
- Apply negative taxation to all income levels below an agreed national minimum to bring them up to that minimum, with the proviso that any person able but unwilling to work full time would not be entitled to the minimum income. [Negative taxation means that instead of the individual paying money to the Government, the Government would pay money to the individual. By 'work' we mean any services which are beneficial to the community.]
- Use the national minimum income to replace unemployment and social security benefits and government superannuation and to provide an income for anyone who works in the home caring for any person or persons who are partially or titally dependent for reasons of age or health. Another result of the national minimum income would be the automatic right of all retired citizens to have a normal basic living from current production, without premiums or means tests. The Values Party believes that in time society will come to recognise that some level of minimum income will be everyone's equal right.
- Immediately bring all pensions, and other government funded allowances, to a level which ensures adequate living standards for those receiving them.
- Tax excess wealth, using as a basis a compulsory declaration of assets.
- Tax inherited wealth exceeding an allowable minimum [for such things as personal possessions, the family home or farm] on a steeply progressive scale rising to 100 per cent.
- Favour the phasing out of regressive indirect taxation on comsumer goods, subject to the selective use of indirect taxes to control consumption in the short and medium term.

Investment and Company Taxation

Investment which does not promote the objectives of a decentralised, co-operative, stable economy will be discouraged. On the other hand, a Values Government would encourage investment in desirable sectors of the economy or declining regions.

The Values Party would discourage growth-oriented investment in undesirable sectors of the economy or overcrowded regions by the progressive removal of depreciation and investment allowances.

The Values Party would encourage investment in desirable sectors of the economy or declining regions by the use of depreciation and investment allowances and the subsidising of investment rates. (See also "Regional Balance".)

The following new taxation measures would be introduced progressively and in a manner which would ensure minimum disruption and hardship.

- All enterprises would face a graduated taxation structure designed to encourage small firms and help break up monopolies.
- Co-operative enterprises would face a lower tax on their profits than would non co-operative enterprises. [See "Co-operative Community Enterprises".]
- Company taxation would be used to control the promotion of consumption by disallowing promotional advertising as a deductible expense. [See "Consumerism".]
- To ensure that taxes owing in New Zealand are paid in New Zealand, a Values Government would do away with double taxation agreements with foreign countries as they apply to companies.

These investment and taxation measures would be aimed at discouraging undesirable economic activity, ensuring that social priorities are achieved, and promoting the development of smaller scale, more labour intensive technologies which are more in harmony with the needs of people and our store of natural resources. (See "Technology".) In particular there is a need for the development of a technology for the re-use and recycling of resources.

Classification of Industry

As a guide to investment and company taxation policies the Values Party advocates a classification of industries as follows:

- Industries essential to subsistence and foreign aid, such as essential building, basic foods, and those capable of contributing knowledge, finance and resources to underdeveloped countries.
- Industries which earn New Zealand's living in the world, such as agriculture and some manufacturing industries.
- Industries which provide accepted products for modern living. (For example, manufacturers of household appliances.)
- Frivolous industries and industries which have a heavy impact on the environment, such as some cosmetics industries and aluminium smelters.

A Values Government would encourage industries in the first classification.

Those in the second classification would also receive encouragement but any assistance would be dependent on the industry's social, technological and environmental effects.

Government attitudes to industries in classification three would be neutral. A close watch would be kept on prices and profits, product durability, and market strategies.

Classification four industries would face a tax structure which would act as a disincentive. Polluting industries would be required to clean up their own pollution.

Foreign Control

The Values Party strongly condemns all foreign control of New Zealand enterprises and as government would move to discourage foreign control.

It should be noted that the principles of co-operative community control ensure the long run domestic control of New Zealand.

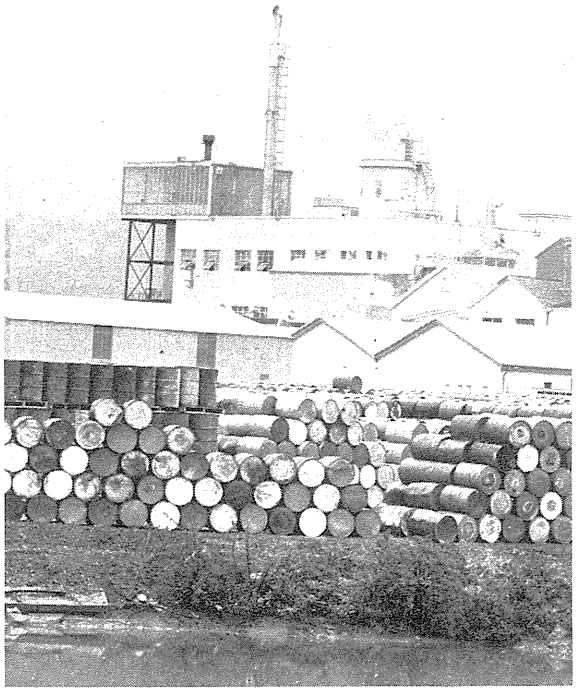
Community Control

With the development of large corporations wielding enormous power within both New Zealand and the world economy, it has become increasingly obvious that the profit motive is not necessarily consistent with community benefit. In fact the activities of some corporations show that private self interest is often directly contrary to the interests of the community as a whole.

The Values Party believes that the principal motivation for economic activity must be community benefit rather than private profit. To ensure that community benefit is the principal motivation of economic activity we propose the application of the principle of community control to the means of production, finance and distribution within the economy.

The system of community control does not suffer from the problems of private profit associated with the traditional capitalist system, nor does it suffer from the problems of State power associated with the traditional socialist system.

The achievement of community control is dependent upon redistribution of wealth between individuals and regions in the economy, the decentralisation of political and economic activities and the regaining of the spirit of community; (all topics which are covered elsewhere in this manifesto). However within this section we will be considering the principal operation unit of a community controlled economy: The Co-operative Community Enterprise.



The Co-operative Community Enterprise

An economic enterprise is established to satisfy human needs. In particular a modern enterprise, if it is to be successful, must satisfy the needs of its staff (workers and management), its customers, the suppliers of its finance and its community. All these groups have made important investments in the enterprise. While all four groups, and the co-operation of all four, are obviously important to a successful enterprise (for any one group can cause disruption), at present only the suppliers of finance are officially recognised as being important and groups such as trade unions, consumers and environmental groups (as examples of representatives of, respectively, labour, the market and the community) are given inferior positions relative to the financiers. The Values Party recognises the equal importance of these four groups to a successful economy and their equal rights in the enterprise by virtue of their investments in it. The principle of Co-operative Community Enterprise is based upon giving all four equal power in the decision processes of the enterprise. This would:

- ensure that staff receive fair payment, job security, safety, and some enjoyment from their work;
- ensure that customers, both present and potential, receive goods and services which are what they want and which satisfy their needs;
- ensure that the suppliers of finance receive security for their savings and a fair return;
- ensure that the needs and interests of the wider community are served by the enterprise;
- ensure that conflicts between different interests are resolved through an increasing awareness of the advantages of constructive compromise.

At present the four groups are more often at odds than working together for a synthesis of interest and the attainment of their respective goals.

Therefore the Values Party proposes the progressive application of the principle of co-operative enterprise to medium - and large-scale enterprises. (Small enterprises are usually already co-operative in nature, because of the personal relationship between staff, customers, finance suppliers, and other members of the community.)

The Co-operative Community Enterprise, be it a mine, a bank, an insurance office, a wholesaler, or a big department store, can best be described by reference to the following two types of boards.

A Policy Board

A Policy Board can be seen as replacing the old board of directors. It would be composed of representatives elected from the staff of the enterprise, its customers, its suppliers of finance, and the community at large. This board would set the goals of the enterprise and have the authority to ensure that they were met.

A Management Board

This can be seen as replacing the old managerial group.

It would be composed of the elected representatives of the staff within the firm, and/or personnel appointed by the policy board. Blue and white-collar workers in the plant would be represented on a proportional basis. This management board would make the operational day-to-day decisions of the enterprise.

The myth that "only enterprises making a high return on capital are efficient" must be challenged. The true criterion of performance must be the extent to which an enterprise meets the needs of its component groups.

The Values Party believes that the change to community control can be made without disruption to the economy.

The most important effect on the rate of change-over to the co-operative community enterprises will be the desire of the people in their communities to take over their new roles. As more people come to realise the value of running their own lives the pace of change will quicken.

However, a Values Government would retain the right to require particular enterprises to become co-operative. For example, enterprises involved in the production, distribution and sale of alcohol, as well as banks, insurance companies, and stock and station agencies, would be required to change over in the early stages of a Values administration. A Values Government would also provide incentives, such as differential tax rates, to motivate other enterprises to change over.

Economic Planning and Co-ordination

The Values Party believes that there is an urgent need for government involvement in long-term economic planning and co-ordination to ensure that the objectives of a stable, community - controlled economy are attained.

In the foreseeable future the government will need to be an action initiator, and a watchdog to ensure that enterprises serve purposes compatible with social goals. However in the long run the communities themselves would preferably take the major responsibility, with the government acting mainly as a forum and overseeing such special functions as the use of resources, energy, trade, transport and communications.

The government would be continually guided in its activities by technological, environmental and social consequence research units which would be independent of government, and by a continuing, community-based public debate on the setting of social and economic goals.

As we have already seen, an important role for the government is the broad control of investment activity to ensure the proper development of the economy (see "Investment".)

Regional Balance

The Values Party sees a major role for the government in promoting and maintaining regional balance in the economy. As we move towards a stable economy it will be important to ensure that no community has too little economic development and that no community has too much.

The development of large urban areas should be arrested because of the progressive breakdown of community bonds which tends to come with increasing size. We must also regenerate country centres which are being sapped of their young people, their industry and their vitality by the drift to major cities.

The Values Party would seek to encourage people and industry away from the congested areas and towards areas which have been suffering decline.

Positive inducements to industry would include a differential freight rates scheme and taxation savings for enterprises setting up or relocating in less developed regions. Negative inducements would range from the designation of areas where no new industries may be established, to the establishment of a sliding scale "social consequences tax". Industries considering setting up in over-developed areas would be faced by a tax which would be proportional to the added burden their presence would represent to the community. The prospect of such a tax would discourage anti-social location decisions by industries.

The distribution of people is at least as important to regional balance as the location of industry. The Values Party believes that there is much which can and should be done to prevent the decline of communities, and to regenerate communities. The location of industry is certainly an important factor influencing the distribution of people, but we must not overlook the importance of the provision of services and a sense of community. (See "Health", "Education", "Welfare", "Housing", "Fostering Community".)

The decentralisation of government and the development of community government can also play an important part in the attainment and maintenance of regional balance. (See "Government Reform", "Decentralising Government".)

While all these government actions, and others covered in other sections of the manifesto, are vitally important to the achievement of a decentralised, co-operative, stable-state economy, perhaps the most important task of the government is the provision of information and stimulation of public debate on the new economy and the implications of community control of the means of production, finance and distribution.

Inflation

The problem of inflation is fundamental to the type of economic system we have at present. Without a major restructuring of our economic system, based on the redistribution and stable economy policies already outlined, it is impossible to foresee a real solution to the problem of inflation.

It is difficult to isolate the New Zealand economy from the disturbances in the world economy. Therefore until such time that other nations restructure their economies we must expect some inflation to result from our dealings with those nations. Only the adoption of a stable economy on a global scale would enable world inflation to be brought under control.

Before we attain the goal of a stable economy the effects of inflation (for example, on pensioners) would be minimised by our policies on income distribution, health, education, housing and welfare. Opportunities for speculators to gain by contributing to inflation would also be minimised by our policies on taxation and land.

Inflation is a problem of the expansion approach to the economy.

With increasing demands from a growing population for a dwindling supply of natural resources and a fixed supply of land, the laws of supply and demand mean that the inevitable result is one of rising prices.

Inflation is also a problem of an unfair economy, an economy which does not share what it has equitably among its members. When there are unfair shares it becomes a case of "everyone get as much as he can". Those on lower incomes strive to catch up by demanding higher wages, and those on higher incomes try to stay ahead. As a consequence the desire for higher profits and the need for higher wages drives prices up.

In the short and medium term a Values Government would continue to use monetary and fiscal policies to combat inflation, while ensuring that hardship caused by inflation was minimised through support for people on fixed incomes and maintaining the availability of necessities such as food and housing even if that policy required price controls which had to be financed by the government.

Land

Under the laws of supply and demand, the inevitable result of an increasing demand for a non-increasing supply of land is increasing prices. And as prices increase, land becomes a commodity open to speculative capital gain. In the last three years the price of land has doubled, and New Zealanders trying to purchase their first home or farm now find prices prohibitive.

Obviously the government must intervene to remove land from the mechanisms of the laws of supply and demand.

The Values Party, recognising that land is a resource of the whole community and noting the dangers inherent in speculation for capital gain, is investigating a comprehensive policy on land.

This investigation will assess the costs and benefits of varying the conditions of land ownership and use with a view to eliminating abuses and misuses. It will recommend the most suitable form of community acquisition and administration of land having regard to the rights of Maori land owners to the occupation and use of ancestral lands; the need to avoid a centralised bureaucracy to administer any system of land ownership and use; the need for preservation of some areas of land in their natural state for the ecological health of the country and for the present and future enjoyment of the people.

The Values Party believes

- **Land cannot remain within the present marketing system, although our policy would not affect private improvements on land [for example, housing construction].**
- **Nationalisation of land is neither necessary nor desirable.**

The importance of the bond between the land and the people who regard it as home, a bond well-summed up in the Maori word "turangawaewae" (the place where I put my roots), is recognised by the Values Party not simply for its psychological and cultural benefits but also for its guaranteeing of the ecological health of the country. Enlightened self-interest alone dictates that caretakers do not abuse their assets. The Values Party feels that nationalisation would destroy this bond.

Trade

Given the importance of trade to New Zealand's economy, changes in trading policies will have to be carefully managed. Of necessity, a Values Government would retain many existing trade policies in the short and medium term.

Import substitution

A Values government would encourage the development of complete industries where this does not conflict with the interests of underdeveloped countries.

This would be Done By

- **Discouraging imports of products that are made up of materials which we have previously exported in a less processed form. We would carry out more processing of our own resources.**
- **The development of import-substitution industries based on New Zealand resources.**
- **Encouraging the prudent use of our domestic resources.**

Agriculture

"Ma te turangawaewae ka kitea te mana o te rangatira."
"The stability of the land upon which you stand will determine your security."

Sir Eruera Tirikatene

Values agricultural policy is based on the principle of optimum sustainable production from our land resource.

We believe that this country's greatest economic assets are its land, climate and accumulated farming skills.

We believe New Zealand's future depends on the rational use of these assets.

We believe that fundamental to the fulfilment of our objectives in agriculture are long term policies aimed at ensuring a flourishing and vital rural community.

The rural land of New Zealand is the nation's most important economic, recreational, and ecological resource. Managed wisely it will support and provide for future generations of New Zealanders. But rational management must be more than a pious hope if it is to remedy the mistakes of our forefathers. Four generations of European settlement have seen vast ecological changes - changes which have amply demonstrated the vulnerability of both our native forests which protect the watersheds and the farmlands which feed the nation. Primary industry, farming and forestry, is the mainstay of the New Zealand economy. Agriculture alone, being only partially dependent on scarce non-renewable resources, endows New Zealand with a significant comparative advantage in trade, so that the primary sector must be seen as the basis of the economy for many years to come.

New Zealand's economy is unique. No other country in the world has managed to maintain a similar standard of living on a basis of primary industry. Today we are at a crisis-point.

In recent years there have been calls from farmers and others, including economics, for taxpayer support of farmers' incomes. When these demands first became vocal in the late 1960s the common reaction was one of surprise. How can the taxpayer support the industry that supports the national economy? Nevertheless, input subsidies were introduced, then cash grants such as the sheep retention scheme - all ad hoc measures just to keep farms producing. Today there are few informed observers who doubt that New Zealand's much vaunted farming industry is going to be a continuing drain on the taxpayer. Why?

Farmer dependence on government assistance has coincided with high rates of world inflation, which boosted our internal cost structure to the point where land-based industries which compete on world markets can no longer afford to maintain production.

New Zealand now has to decide whether primary industry must live a welfare existence or whether it wants to restructure the economy so that agriculture can maintain efficient production and cater for the wider needs of the New Zealand people. The problem is not that New Zealand agriculture is inefficient, rather the reverse. The point is that agriculture can no longer carry the cost of New Zealand's industrialisation policies alone. Declining farming communities provide a barometer for rural prospects. Farm incomes have been squeezed between rapidly rising domestic production costs and relatively static overseas prices. Farms have necessarily been amalgamated to ensure an increased income for farmers. Farming districts have become socially desolate as labour has departed to urban environments, home of protected industry.

While the New Zealand farm population has been declining both in absolute terms and as a proportion of the total population the rural industries have been required to expand production at a rate sufficient to meet the increasing consumption needs of a growing population and the increasing export income requirements of an expanding economy.

The Values Party believes that the well-being of those who manage rural land is vital to the economic future of the country and to the well-being of the land itself. We also believe that many of New Zealand's urban social problems arise from the stresses of forced urbanisation - a drift to the larger cities which could be reversed by the introduction of an enlightened farm incomes policy.

The Values Party would

- **Introduce guaranteed incomes for the average efficient farmer.**

Equity alone would be a sufficient reason for this action. However, economic necessity makes it imperative. Until New Zealand achieves a stable population the growth of her agricultural production must match further increases in the nation's population if living standards are to be maintained. The reasons for this are two-fold; first, the Values Party believes that New Zealand has a moral responsibility to increase food production in a malnourished world; and secondly, we depend on agriculture for our very survival as a nation. We now consume more than one-third of our static food production. The neglect of agriculture at the expense of industrial growth has been a recurring folly which has hampered the economic and social development of Third World countries. The continued neglect of agriculture in New Zealand is a formula for economic suicide.

The regional development or assistance plans of the National and Labour parties are an acknowledgment of the slow death by depopulation of rural New Zealand. Encouraging industry into provincial areas with

"incentives" does little to solve the basic problem. The answer lies in our economic base - on our farms. The Values Party believes that given stable but adequate farm incomes, the multitude of rural servicing and processing industries will thrive in the smaller urban centres. The stop-go policies of the past, with their inflationary side effects (in times of high prices) and recession and redundancy (in times of low prices) will be effectively countered.

Recent economic events have made it apparent to many farmers and to the Values Party that New Zealand agriculture is desperately in need of an equitable rural, social and economic policy which will guarantee technically efficient farms, a reasonable standard of living for our farmers, and will help make rural districts better places to live.

The Land

Utilisation and Ecology

The Values Party's ultimate aim is to discontinue all land-use practices which are inconsistent with the objective of a stable land surface and sound ecological principles. Where producers are significantly affected full and adequate compensation would be instituted.

Values believes that in general, land should be reserved for those purposes for which it is best suited - and therefore definite standards and guidelines of land use capability would be established. A detailed water and soil survey would be initiated by the DSIR to determine the precise nature and extent of our water and soil resources. This more precise clarification is regarded as an urgent priority to provide much-needed accurate information on which sound town and country planning land use decisions can be made. Arable land requires survey at a more intense scale than non-arable hill country. In the long term this information would be used as the accurate base of land classification for the assessment of an annual land rating.

Because so little of New Zealand's farm land is naturally fertile those soils which have a high arable or intensive farming potential would be carefully protected from housing, industrial or other encroachment.

Land is not only an economic resource. It is also the nation's most important recreational asset and as such belongs to the people of New Zealand. With this principle in mind a system of walk-ways and natural reserves giving access to areas of natural beauty would be encouraged by a Values Government. Regional communities would be empowered to declare residual aras of native bush, forest or vegetation in farming districts as natural reserves.

The Values Party would

- **Expand agricultural research in two major directions. Firstly, develop new technologies to increase agricultural production where appropriate. Secondly, develop new technologies which are more in keeping with sound ecological principles than those currently in use.**

Values believes that while most New Zealand soils are naturally deficient in phosphate the current means of remedying this deficiency through application of superphosphate may not necessarily be the best, from the point of view of either achieving maximum sustainable production or following sound ecological principles.

Research would be aimed at:

- developing plants and production systems which minimise the need for artificial fertiliser;
- establishing the precise nutrient and trace element status of farm land so that farmers can apply fertiliser in scientifically measured amounts rather than by rule of thumb (Values policies would immediately change the present system where large quantities of fertiliser are sometimes applied purely to avoid tax).

One of the strengths of New Zealand agriculture is the development of legume-based systems which biologically fix nitrogen, thus eliminating the need for artificial nitrogen fertilisers whose production uses up non-renewable energy resources. Further research will be aimed at the continued development and improvement of biological nitrogen-fixing systems.

Development of two-tier farming, mixing grazing and forestry, will be given priority under Values.

Photo. Ian Bilson

Differential tax rebates would be implemented to ensure a wide variety of trees, including natives, are planted and research would be aimed at selecting the most suitable species for different areas and end-uses. A major aspect of this policy would be the encouragement of tree-crops such as nuts which so far have been largely neglected as a valuable source of protein production which complements rather than competes with the traditional production of animal protein.

Various trials in New Zealand (almost exclusively using pinus radiata) have demonstrated that two-tier farming can increase pasture production, stabilise land, decrease nutrient run-off and make better use of available nutrients in the soil.

The Values Party believes that the Agricultural Chemicals Board must be composed of suitably qualified objective members without vested interests in the industry, and given sufficient powers to ensure that natural ecosystems and the farming industry are protected from the indiscriminant use of expensive, potentially dangerous and frequently unsuitable pesticides and herbicides.

Research would be aimed at the development of plants and animals which are naturally resistant to parasites and diseases; and the development of specific chemical control, and biological controls for insect pests and diseases.

The Values Party would

- **Seek to restore stability to the basic renewable sources of soil, water and air. This would be part of an overall strategy toward eliminating pollution and instituting conservation of New Zealand's basic non-renewable resources. Such a policy would follow common principles throughout New Zealand and would be applied equitably but with due regard to social priorities.**

The Values Party recognises that the precarious instability of many of our human-controlled enterprises, involving loss of soil structure and fertility in many areas, susceptibility to plagues of insects and bacterial and virus diseases, is due largely to the artificial simplicity which we have imposed on nature. Values would seek to maintain the stability of natural communities in order to achieve permanent high production at optimum sustainable yields and minimum energy expenditures.

A Rural Economic Policy

The New Zealand farming industry works on the economic principle that world price, less costs of production, equals farm profit. The rest of the economy works according to the formula - cost of production, plus profit margin, equals local selling price.

Because New Zealand's comparative advantage lies in our primary industries New Zealand agriculture in the short-term must be placed on an equivalent basis.

This would necessitate an intermediary council to co-ordinate the marketing of agricultural produce. Working through existing market channels the council would buy-in at prices which would give the average efficient farmer a reasonable return on his investment and wage for his labour. It would sell the produce to the best of its ability on the local and overseas market. If the Government wished to hold consumer prices it could implement consumer subsidies. It is essential that the co-ordinating council represent all national interests because the produce would in effect be owned by the whole country.

If the selling price were less than that paid out to the farmers the council would seek government export credit assistance. (The nation determines the cost of production which determines the price paid to farmers. It therefore must accept responsibility if that price is higher than the overseas market can realise.)

A number of points arise:
- market demand and consumer preference would have to be taken into account in setting the prices paid to farmers;
- farmers would no longer receive subsidies, they would receive a just price;
- production would be maintained at a high and increasing level while this was necessary;
- since the public would in effect own the produce, it would take a greater interest in its fate and pay far more attention to anything that had a detrimental effect on its acceptability overseas.

The system outlined would imply a change to trading with countries which have a greater need for our produce. The principle of mutually beneficial trade should be allowed to operate freely. Bilateral trade agreements with Third World countries would be undertaken.

The Values Party calls for a more responsible New Zealand attitude towards the world wheat production shortfall, in the form of a government guaranteed minimum price to farmers equal to, or more than, the imported price of grain.

Rural Land Policy

The general consequences of the structural adjustments that have been taking place in New Zealand agriculture are fewer farmers, larger farms, and an increase in the size and complexity of the farm business.

The Values Party's longer-term policy aim is to secure nearly all revenues at the point of basic resource use rather than on earnings and it is Party policy to introduce resource taxes proportionate to the availability of resources. With these policies in mind, a Values Government would

The Values Party would

- **Gradually reduce the emphasis on income taxes for farmers and would increase per-acre land rates on farm land. The value of farm**

production in excess of an assessed rating level would be free of income tax. The land rate would be adjusted over time to provide rural people with incomes comparable to those in urban areas.

The Values Party believes that rural depopulation is not in the national interest because amalgamation of farms in the long-run, despite technological advances, leads to declining per-acre production.

Values believes that production per unit of area and not per man should be the yardstick of economic performance within the agricultural sector.

High capital values of farm land are a barrier to young people of modest means who wish to go farming, encourage land speculation, and tend to hinder the most productive use of our farming resources by those best able to utilise farm land productively.

Traditionally, the capital gain made from the sale of a farm has been viewed as a farmer's superannuation. In the face of fluctuating and generally inadequate farm incomes and a high rate of income "plough back" the sale of a farm on retirement provided security for a farmer that he otherwise would not have been able to enjoy.

However with the adoption of a guaranteed farm incomes policy it would be inequitable for farmers to continue to draw untaxed income from the sale of farm land - especially when developed from pre-tax farm income. Also, in a period of high inflation, the influence of land speculation on farm land values will continue to exact a high economic and social toll.

Fifty per cent of New Zealand farmers are over the age of 45. Many - if not most of them - would like to be able to sell their farms to their heirs if it was possible for the heirs to be able to accrue enough capital to pay the deposit. With the capital value of most farms now well in excess of $100,000, where does an aspiring farm owner start?

The only effective solution is to increase the turnover of farm land ownership:-

The Values Party would:

- In the short term, to facilitate this, a Values Government would remove farm land from the free market. All sales of land excepting sales at valuation from one generation to the next within families, would be through a district land commission. The capital value of rural farm land would be frozen at market worth at the time the scheme was introduced, with increases in value allowed for only on increases in productive worth.
- sales would be conducted by ballot. All ballotees would have to demonstrate their ability to manage land wisely and productively before being eligible for pastoral or arable farms.
- the scheme would be supported by mortgages up to 95 per cent through the Rural Bank. As land sales values would move on to the basis of productive value any average efficient owner would be assured of meeting his mortgage commitments. these mortgages would also be available for father-heir sales. Where in the initial stages, the pegged value of the land exceeded its productive worth, the state would pay the difference to the vendor as an annuity.

This, combined with Values Policy of reducing values of farm land to real productive worth, would open the land market up to people best able to utilise farm land productively. The private ownership of farm land would not be affected. Values recognises that the ownership of farm land by a family gives that family a place of belonging - a "turangawaewae" - and puts an obligation on the owners to care for the land. The ambition of most farmers is that their children should farm the land after them - an attitude which ensures the land is not wantonly exploited.

In order to meet changes in land use, the commission would be empowered to subdivide or aggregate land into larger or smaller ownership units. The criteria for determining the size of a holding would generally be that required to provide one family with a reasonable living. Larger holdings would be allocated according to demand from co-operative farming groups.

Because land is a scarce resource which is easily destroyed or damaged,

The Values Party believes

- Land ownership should generally only be open to New Zealand citizens.
- Land should only be occupied by the people who own it. The generous mortgage provisions outlined above would generally eliminate the need for trust or company ownership of land by families.
- Co-operative or group owners would have to be permanently domiciled on the land. A family or individual would be able to have shares in only one such rural land owning group. Each group would have to be registered as a legal entity - company, trust or society - before being eligible for ballot. In general, the same rules applying to individuals would apply to groups owning farm land.
- That encouragement should be given to the development of hamlets and villages with full servicing facilities whereby a farmer or a farm worker can retire to a rural environment. This will encourage the rural retention of population.

The Co-operative Enterprise in Agriculture

The Values Party believes that the family, extended family, or co-operative farm is likely to be at least as efficient as corporate farm enterprises in the long term.

The Values Party supports

- Communal farming [ohu] and research into alternative forms of co-operative ownership and assistance to groups wishing to establish a co-operative group.
- The establishment and development of co-operatives in the supply of agricultureal inputs and the processing and marketing of agricultural products. This would be a means of improving producer bargaining power.
- The provision of a framework for facilitating continued improvements in marketing efficiency, based on both on both a central producer board, and regional co-operative marketing.
- The establishment of farm machinery pools and the associated obtaining of farm capital equipment.

Fishing

The Values Party supports the principle that both the sea and the sea-bed are the common heritage of mankind and that all nations, whether coastal or landlocked, have the right to benefit equally from them and to participate fully in decisions concerning mankind's use and care of them.

The Values Party supports the extension of New Zealand coastal waters to 200 miles. This area, with particular emphasis on the continental shelf, would be subject to strict management on behalf of the present and future world community. To this end the following further policies would be applied by a Values Government:

- Financial assistance would be provided for the development of a deep water fleet with particular emphasis on taking diversified types of fish for the world markets.
- All seine trawling within 20 miles of the coast would be prohibited.
- Assistance would continue with the development of freshwater fish farming and salt water shell fish farming.
- No box net site would be approved without a prior hearing of interested parties.
- The Marlborough Sounds would be classed as a special area and no long line or set netting would be permitted.
- Foreign control in the New Zealand fishing industry would be discouraged.

Forestry

**"They took all the trees
and put them in a tree museum
and charged the people
a dollar and a half to see them."**

Joni Mitchell, "Yellow Taxi".

Forestry is an increasingly important part of our way of life. This year's Forestry Development Conference committed the forestry section to putting 135,000 acres of land each year into exotic plantations, mostly pine. But much of the expansion will be at the expense of the existing native forests. More than a million acres of native forest are included in lands that the Forest Service regard as "suitable" for conversion to pine.

Given the past destruction of irreplaceable virgin forest, we believe that further expansion of planting must be on wasteland and marginal agricultural land rather than on land now covered by virgin forests.

The Values Party would

- **Classify all indigenous forests as either protection or production forests with the object of preserving our remaining virgin forests.**
- **Place an upper limit on commercial pinus radiata acreages and increase planting of alternative species, especially fine timbers, including natives.**
- **Separate the production-related divisions of the NZ Forest Service from the environmental forestry division.**

Beech Forests

The proposed West Coast beech forest scheme which would have resulted in the logging of 663,000 acres of native forest and the conversion of more than 300,000 acres to exotic pine forest has been temporarily shelved by the Government. But it has only been deferred pending investigation of a new and broader proposal involving the entire northern half of the South Island.

The Values Party would

- **Oppose the establishment of a Kraft mill to exploit West Coast beech forests.**
- **Halt all clear felling of West Coast beech forests and take no action on proposals for large scale milling pending a report from an independent study group.**
- **Prevent exotic conversion of Southland beech forest but permit continued management on a continuous yield basis.**

Industrial Relations

Industrial relations are the relations between those who own and run industry and those who work for the owners. Industrial disputes arise from the conflict of interests between these groups, a conflict which is aggravated by the alienation of the worker.

Alienation
Workers are deprived of control over their own work, and, so become alienated from it. This alienation is heightened by the use of production technologies which make many jobs oppressive and meaningless. All this leads to growing dissatisfaction which takes many forms; staff instability, absenteeism, lack of interest in the work, indifference to quality, a fall-off in production and an aggressive attitude.

What is more, these things are not limited to blue collar workers. White collar employees and management staff in industry, banks, insurance, and public service are also finding their work becoming monotonous, fragmented, depersonalised and failing to offer sufficient opportunity for the use of judgement and initiative.

Hours
Despite all our "progress", working hours remain long and sometimes excessive with often very inadequate time for rest and leisure. Long hours not only contribute to the oppressive nature of work but also to strain on family life and the breakdown of community interaction.

The Values Party supports a cut-back in working hours and the length of the working week and believes we should begin with the reintroduction of a 40 hour week which returns a living wage.

Work should respect the workers' life and health, leave free time for rest and leisure and enable workers to serve society and achieve self-fulfilment by developing their personal capacities, as well as providing a satisfactory, secure income.

The Values Party believes that the best judges of these things are the people involved in the work.

Workers must be given their rights in the management and control of industry; to be instrumentally involved in the decisions affecting their working lives. In addition we must make progress on the development of more human technologies. (See Technology.)

Job Satisfaction
Thousands of members of the New Zealand work force do not achieve any real satisfaction from their work.

Vague talk about "better communication" between workers and management fails dismally to come to grips with the need to humanise work, to make it more worthwhile, more satisfying.

There is an urgent need for government initiatives to encourage job satisfaction through work-place innovations such as the rotation of jobs and the broadening of tasks, including allowing workers to finish a whole job and to work in independent teams.

However while many overseas "job satisfaction" experiments have been successful, none constitutes a complete solution to the problems of industrial relations.

In his report to the ILO conference held in Geneva in June this year the Director-General of the ILO said "the question must be considered ... of the participation of workers in decisions affecting conditions of work and the working evironment in general".

Industrial Democracy
People must be given a greater say in the running and organising of their work.

Industrial Democracy means that all the staff of an enterprise, either directly or through their elected representatives, are instrumentally involved in the decisions relating to the operation of that enterprise.

The Values Party

- **Favours the immediate initiation of a study of forms of industrial democracy currently in operation in the world's industrial nations [for example West Germany and Yugoslavia] with a view to early introduction of full participation of wage and salary workers in decision making at all levels of industry.**
- **Would give immediate support to the freezing industry to institute job enrichment and worker participation programmes. Urgency would be given to the introduction of full industrial democracy in this industry.**

As well as direct moves towards industrial democracy, the Values Party believes that the development of co-operative enterprises (see Economics) would lead to a much greater degree of democracy in the work place.

Critics who say that New Zealand workers do not seem interested in sharing in the responsibilities of management and workshop supervision ignore the fact that a large part of the work force has been trained to expect, and adapt to, an authoritarian work environment, to regard their employers as simply providers of wages to whom 'loyalty' - if any, is due only until the whistle blows.

Unions
The Values Party

- **Recognises the need for unions to protect the interests of their members under the present social and economic system and therefore does not in any way associate itself with the present campaign of denigration of unions.**
- **Sees present industrial conditions requiring the retention of preference provisions in existing industrial laws.**
- **Believes that unions can play an important role in the transition to, and the success of, a co-operative economy.**

Employment Opportunities, Redundancy and Retraining
The Values Party realises that its policies to encourage

a movement towards a co-operative economy will have an effect on employment patterns and opportunities.

Values Party would develop

- Government, community and individual enterprise retraining schemes.
- Alternative employment schemes which would endeavour to use existing skills in more socially and/or environmentally sound enterprises.
- Shorter working hours complemented by adult education in a wide sense.
- Encouragement of shared employment.
- Payment for homeworkers to ensure that no homeworker is forced by hardship to seek outside employment.

As the transition towards a stable economy progresses more attention will have to be paid to helping people adapt to the tasks of the new economy, especially where old jobs are being phased out because of their incompatibility with community objectives. Elected bodies at all levels, as well as individual enterprises, will become involved in retraining and redeploying some members of the workforce (for example into the field of recycling).

Health Hazards

The problem of industrial relations is compounded by the disturbing situation regarding occupational safety and health. In New Zealand there are some 65,000 industrial accidents a year, about 75 of which are fatal and some 1,000 of which result in permanent disability.

Chemicals and other pollutants are causing health problems, mechanisation and automation are causing mental health problems and often the growing complexity of tasks faced by managerial and technical staff is causing exhaustion and breakdown. All this adds to the picture of modern industry as an extremely unhealthy activity.

The Values Party Believes

- That industrial education, legislation and incentive measures should be investigated and implemented as part of an urgent programme to overcome health hazards.

The problems of industrial relations will not be solved without the progressive introduction of cooperative community control of enterprises, or government, community, union, employer and individual efforts to increase job satisfaction and make industrial democracy effective.

Consumerism

"In a natural society man gets exercise by swimming or dancing or in the course of his work; today he needs a car and a bag of golf clubs or a yacht. In a natural society, he gets status from his skills; today he needs to purchase status-symbols. Once, his fantasies were supplied by a human story-teller; now they need the elaborate machinery of television. Where he made his music by singing or playing he now depends on radio and gramophone. But is the satisfaction they yield as great? We need to establish a need-oriented society in place of our present goods-oriented society."

G. Rattray Taylor, "Rethink" 1972

Consumerism is the strong right arm of the expansion economy. We are continually being told, asked and recommended to "buy more stuff".

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

Much commercial promotion is devoted to providing information, but much is psychologically based. It plays on the mind of the reader or viewer. It creates wants. Advertising and its related arts help develop the kind of people the industrial system needs - people who reliably spend their income and work long and hard because they are always in need of more.

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

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

Once basic material requirements have been provided, human needs are not served but are distorted by continued emphasis on material consumption.

Without the pressures of consumerism we would be much more likely to find satisfaction with what we have, and much of the threat to the survival of nature and the sanity of human-kind would be diminished.

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

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

The pressures on people to consume are wrong for the following reasons:

Economic Consumerism stimulates economic expansion regardless of real needs and the worth of the goods produced, and it wastes resources such as energy, materials, and time.

Environmental Its harmful effects include using up non-renewable resources unnecessarily, and polluting the environment through the wastes of manufacturing processes, packaging and visual pollution.

Community Consumerism fosters individual acquisition and selfishness, not community sharing.

Individual worth Consumerism persuades us that we can achieve non-material things such as love and respect by merely possessing and consuming material goods. The ability to possess such goods is seen as a measure of our worth.

Apathy Consumerism gets us into the habit of passively "consuming" life as it comes to us, rather than becoming actively involved in making life happier for ourselves and others.

The Values Party would combat the problem of consumerism by regarding commercial promotion as information. The Party supports a change in the law of contract to make illegal the use of any claim that is meaningless, misleading or unable to be substantiated when advertising a product, or service.

In the long run the Values party would ensure that consumer information is provided in an impartial manner. At present individual advertisers present only information which serves their own interests. The facilities of the Consumer Institute should be expanded to enable greater provision of impartial information to consumers and biased information should be phased out.

The Values Party would

- Regard commercial promotion as an information process.
- Require that all advertising give the name of the product, a clear description of what it does, the name of the manufacturer and if possible the price.
- Prohibit the sponsorship of sport for advertising purposes Replacement funds would be granted through the Ministry of Sport and Recreation.
- Keep one TV channel entirely free of advertisements.
- Reduce the number of TV advertisements to half the present ratio.
- Limit the number of times an advertisement could be shown on TV each week.

Packaging

- Keep packaging of goods to a minimum in keeping with the life and needs of the product.
- Require packaging to give, among other information, the name of the product, a clear, accurate description of what it is and does [including in the case of foodstuffs its ingredients and their relative quantities], unit price and the date of manufacture or time limit on consumption, and the name and address of the manufacturer.

Planned Obsolescence

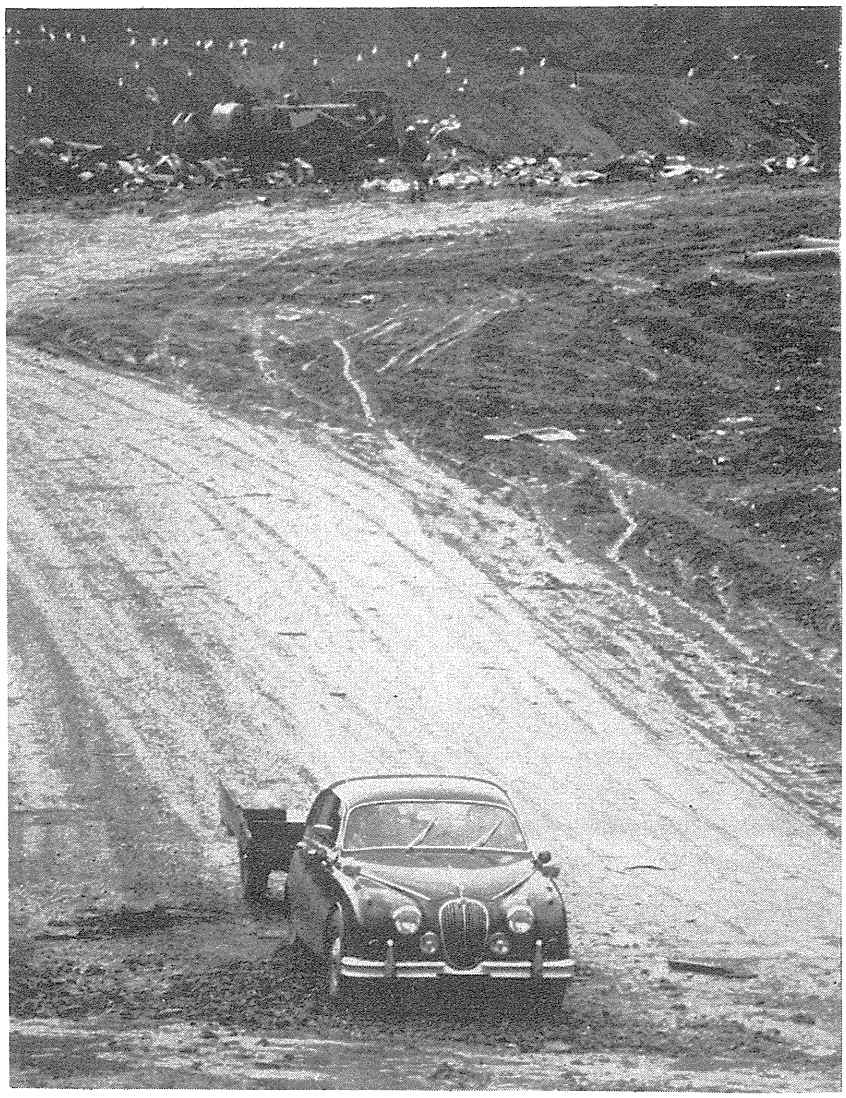
- Require guarantees on the life of products to be clear and explicit, and binding on the manufacturer.
- Investigate the practicability of varying the company taxation structure so as to provide an incentive for firms to make products with longer lives.

Consumer Education

- Extend the facilities and scope of the Consumer Council by increasing direct Government assistance.
- Urge the Consumer Council to make the results of its tests more accessible to the public by increased use of the media and by simplified presentation.

Community Shopping

- Encourage smaller, more personalised, local shopping facilities.
- Discourage the building of large shopping complexes.
- Encourage shopping centres to function as an integral part of community centres. Where possible they should be planned around open, park-like areas with seating, trees and overall aesthetic planning. Creches should be set up in all concentrated shopping centres, financed partly by the community, partly by retailers and partly by the users. The creche should include a meeting place and washroom for adult shoppers, and should function also as a community centre with a noticeboard, from which groups could set up meetings, craft classes, and so on, if such a centre were situated in a residential area.



Technology and the Future

The speed with which western societies are changing is a consequence not just of naturally evolving ideas and attitudes but also of technological innovation that is too often applied without due consideration for its impact on the human spirit, on our cultures and on our way of life.

Advanced technology has been instrumental in the development of the inhuman nature of modern society. It has also been closely involved with the breakdown of the living environment which supports human life, and has been heavily responsible for the inroads being made into the world's non-renewable resources (particularly fossil fuels).

A primary task of technology is to lighten the burden of work we have to carry in order to stay alive and develop our potentials. However, this has not worked out in practice and one economist has remarked "the amount of real leisure a society enjoys tends to be in inverse proportion to the amount of labour saving machinery it employs".

Modern technology does reduce and sometimes eliminate some work. But often it deprives us of the type of work we enjoy most - creative useful work which uses both our hands and our brains. Modern technology has replaced this with processes of production which are joyless and boring.

We need a different kind of technology, a technology which, instead of making human hands and brains redundant, helps them to become more productive. This will not come easily, for anyone can make things complicated but it takes a certain flair and real insight to make things simple again.

The Values Party believes it is both reasonable and possible to give a new direction to technological development, a direction that will lead it back to the real needs of all people, by continually exploring the possibilities of smaller scale, more labour intensive technologies.

Many developments in the scientific pipeline or in the introductory stages overseas are likely to have a considerable impact on society and we must either prepare ourselves for them or reject them.

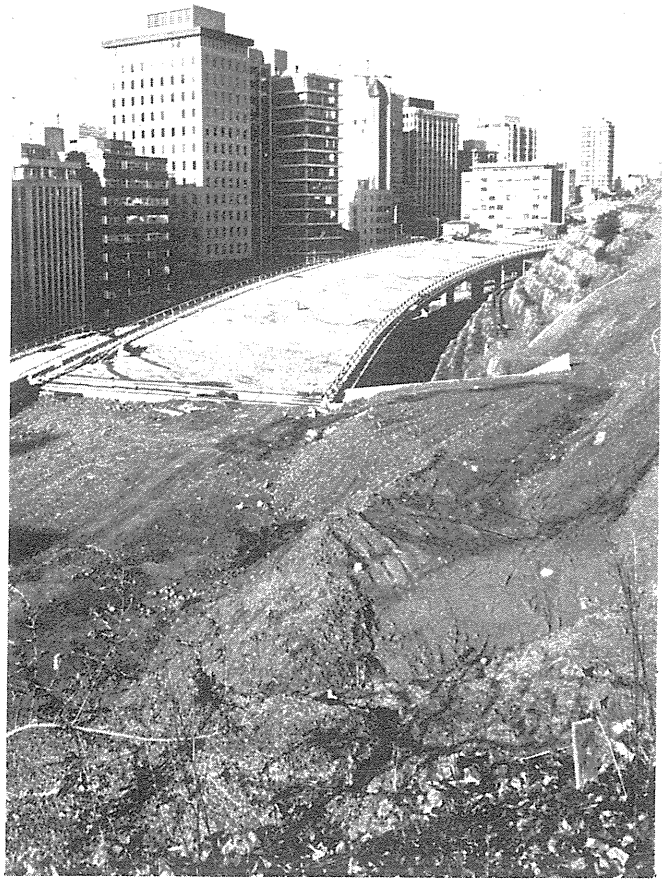
Somebody ought to be worrying now about their ethical, cultural and environmental implications and their long-term effects.

Associated with this technology assessment there should be ongoing study of future directions and paths open to New Zealand in its development and way of life. There should be an independent board asking basic questions and challenging conventional ideas about "progress" and development.

Such a body could liaise and co-operate with the Consumers' Institute, social scientists, and trade union and occupational groups in order to gather and disseminate information. It should be constituted so that it could receive public complaints and, if necessary, hold hearings. Its main role would be an educative one, though it could recommend to the government rejection of a technology if such a technology was under government control. If any production or consumer technology was felt to be socially harmful, the board would have the power and facilities to mobilise public support to gain its modification or its outright rejection. It should be funded by government but be completely independent It would be something like a technology ombudsman.

The Values Party would

- **Encourage action by the United Nations to establish a body to keep technological and scientific development under close observation.**
- **Support the establishment of a Futures Institute to charge future paths and options open to New Zealand in terms of its broad development.**
- **Support the establishment of a Science and Technology Assessment Board in New Zealand to assess the effects on society of technologies likely to be introduced into this country in the future.**



SMOKE
LIVE AND
LIVE
LIBRARY

Environment

**"So it always seems to go
that you don't ever know
what you've got till it's gone.
They paved paradise
and put up a parking lot."**

Joni Mitchell, "Yellow Taxi".

Man has developed the ability to radically alter his environment. Lakes are raised, hills bulldozed into valleys, rivers diverted from their natural courses - all in the name of "progress".

Factories pour pollutants into the atmosphere and into waterways to produce consumer goods which no-one really needs.

So far, the level of environmental damage has not yet seriously threatened New Zealand's way of life. But there are clear signs that our competitive, throw-away, growth economy is overloading the natural system - that New Zealand could reach levels of damage already achieved in other countries. If we continue our present growth pattern the systems needed to maintain all life will break down.

We seem to have forgotten that man is a part of living nature. Our survival is dependent on the survival of other plant and animal species. Their survival is dependent on a stable environment. Clean air, clean water, and clean food is essential to the maintenance of the natural system.

The major objectives of the Values Party's environmental policy are
- to preserve the life support system for the human species;
- to maintain genetic diversity of plant and animal species, since this is essential for our food supply;
- to protect the natural environment from pollution and destruction, for the enjoyment of this and future generations;
- to conserve natural resources, especially non-renewable resources, for the wise use of this and future generations.

Primary considerations

The Values Party believes that the most needed environmental reform in New Zealand is a conscious commitment to stabilising the population level and the eventual attainment of a steady-state economy.

A stable population will provide the most effective brake on the progressive use of New Zealand's natural assets. Most notably it will reduce the need for the expansion of power projects with their resultant harmful effect on the environment. Population and pollution are closely linked.

Access to wilderness areas is something every New Zealander takes for granted but which will be affected more and more by a growing population. Professor W. R. Catton, a sociologist at Canterbury University, said that the spacious habitat of the New Zealander has been an essential factor in making him the kind of human being he is, and the loss of such spaciousness must inevitably change the character of the New Zealander. "If we want to remain an egalitarian, democratic society, we would be well advised to keep population density low", he said. "Doesn't the New Zealand way of life depend on the safety valve of open space?".

We believe that when our party's basic goals are reached many of the environmental problems in the country will be greatly reduced in impact. A too obsessive concentration on "patch up" answers to the unavoidable problems of growth tends to obscure the need for a more fundamental approach.

Thus the specific measures advocated in this chapter are in addition to the measures already advocated in Part 1 of this manifesto. (In particular, refer to Chapter 2 on population, the rural ecological policy in Chapter 4, and the chapters on forestry, energy, transport, and consumerism.)

Recycling and Waste

The problem of pollution is not a matter of dreaming up better ways of disposing of wastes. What we should be concentrating on is the recycling of materials so that virtually nothing is wasted. As much as possible should be returned to the natural mechanism of the ecosphere rather than dumped or dispersed.

Dispersal is the most common form of pollution control - but it isn't really control. In cases where air or water aids the dispersal, all that is altered is the proportion of pollution, so that many get some, instead of a few getting a lot. Thus most waste disposal is simply playing for time whereas effective recycling could do much to minimise our dependence on technology.

The Values Party would

- Appoint a National Director to organise and co-ordinate the recycling of goods.
- Give support to the revitalisation of industrial wastes.
- Advocate the cessation of all imports of metal, glass and other products that New Zealand can obtain from recycling.
- Enact legislation to stop manufacturers phasing out returnable containers in favour of non-returnable containers of metal, glass, or plastic compounds. Coupled with this would be measures to effect a gradual phasing out of most non-returnable containers, including rip-top cans.
- Tax all packaging that can't be recycled.
- Provide technology and encouragement for the recycling and re-use of domestic, organic and inorganic wastes. Individuals would be allowed to install recycling sewage treatment facilities in their own homes and given a relief on rates for doing so provided no waste had to be disposed of through community facilities.
- Encourage local bodies to base their waste collection system on the principle that all waste products would be sorted by the users and stored for collection in separate containers to facilitate recycling by the local bodies.
- Support an immediate increase in financial assistance by Government to Local Bodies for the construction of sewage treatment plants.
- Encourage community sewage treatment plants to produce fertilisers and animal protein extract, and utilise the methane gas produced.
- Encourage local authorities to amend their regulations to permit the use of properly serviced septic tanks where it is environmentally sound to do so.

Water, Rivers and Lakes

"Ecological processes can be disrupted by introducing into them either substances that are foreign to them or the correct ones in the wrong quantities. For example, in estuarine and coastal waters - crucial areas for fisheries - nutrients from sewage and agricultural run-off in modest quantities probably increase productivity, but in excess are as harmful as organo-chlorines and heavy metals." ("A Blueprint for Survival": The Ecologist.)

The Values Party would

- Reassess the Water and Soil Conservation Act and its amendments and overhaul its administrative machinery to enable greater public right of redress and heavier penalties for infringement.
- Review the water classification and permit systems to assess their effectiveness.
- Operate a more stringent policing of temporary permits allowing the discharge of industrial and community wastes into classified waters.
- Require users of flowing water to have their intakes downstream from their outlets and to return to the source water of the same quality and consistent with the best technology available.
- Encourage individuals to collect and use rain water run-off. [Not necessarily for drinking purposes.]
- Encourage Local Authorities to investigate the possibility of supplementing water supply and reducing storm-water run-off in built-up areas by the installation of individual water tanks collected from roofs, and enable local authorities to put a requirement on all buildings to install such tanks if they wish to take this option.
- Declare the upper catchment areas of all major rivers water and soil conservation reserves where any use of land would be subservient to the need for water retention and erosion control.
- Stop further sub-division and development of coastal land.
- Ensure that no wetlands should be developed other than for wild life and fisheries management. Wildlife interests must be safeguarded and measures taken to control any extra downstream flow that results from the development.
- Investigate major hydro schemes such as the Lower Waitaki and Clutha Schemes where they cause major geographic disruptions.
- Use Lakes Manapouri and Te Anau for supplying power to New Zealanders [rather than to the overseas countries owning over 90 per cent of the Bluff aluminium smelter, as at present].
- Support the establishment of a procedure requiring talks between conservation groups, lake guardians, and the government before the raising of lakes and rivers or any other action concerning lakes or rivers.

Chemicals, Pesticides and Fertilisers

Industrial pollution by chemicals must be attacked by fiscal measures such as a raw materials tax to encourage recycling procedures which conserve energy, and by substituting naturally occurring compounds for synthetic compounds. However, the only solutions to the problems of non-recoverable pollutants and of the disposal of the undisposable is to reduce total consumption, reduce energy demand, and terminate industrial growth.

The best way to control the damage caused to ecosystems by pesticides is to use less. This means finding non-persistent substitutes for the organo-chlorines and substituting natural controls for pesticides in general.

The overuse of inorganic fertilisers pollutes fresh-water systems by run-off and slowly but inevitably impoverishes the soil, thus causing diminishing returns. What is needed is a gradual substitution of organic manures for inorganic fertilisers plus the adoption of highly diversified farming practices in place of mono-cultures.

The Values Party would

- Penalise polluters with the principle - "polluter pays".
- Stop the establishment of new polluting industries.
- Enact new laws to ensure that chemicals are subject to stringent scientific tests before being registered for use, in order to protect people from unnatural kinds or amounts of chemicals, especially those which persist and may be concentrated in food chains. New regulatory tribunals [independent of the manufacturers of these chemicals] would be set up to enforce these laws by open procedures, and the public would have access to reports on tests which would be carried out in accordance with published criteria.
- Restrict the manufacture of food-packaging materials made of polyvinyl chloride [which has been shown to migrate to food and liquids, and to cause cancer in humans].

The Values Party is concerned about plans to build a PVC plant at Marsden Point since workers at such plants overseas have ingested polyvinyl chloride and contracted cancer.

The Values Party would

- Ban the manufacture and use of fluorocarbon aerosol sprays because of the strong evidence that they threaten the earth's ozone layer.

- Ban supersonic air transport from operations in New Zealand for the same reason as above and also because this represents the mindlessness of technological "advance" for its own sake.
- Review the use of pesticides and fertilisers because of their threat to plant ecology and human and animal health.
- Subsidise the use of presently known methods of biological control as a substitute for chemical pesticides and actively encourage the search for further alternatives.
- Encourage a reduction in the energy input into agriculture by providing investment finance and research funds for such things as biological controls to replace chemical pesticides, recycling animal manure for fertiliser [for example, from piggeries and cowsheds], and increasing the retention time of fertilisers in the soil.

General

- Give teeth to all environmental legislation and law enforcement.
- Start a continuing multi-faceted public education programme on environmental and ecological matters, especially at all levels in schools.
- Require the Consumers Institute to take into account the ecological effects of relevant products when it publicises recommendations on them.
- Pursue by every available means the establishment of a nuclear free zone in the South Pacific including the elimination of all nuclear testing, whether atmospheric or underground.
- Support the objectives of 'Project Jonah' [an international campaign to prevent the extermination of whales].
- Require the Railways Department to end the use of railway property for rural advertising purposes, thus eliminating most of the ugly roadside hoardings polluting the New Zealand countryside.
- Examine and act on ways of eliminating other rural advertising hoardings which have no relevance to services offered in the immediate locale.
- Conserve New Zealand's natural and scenic resources.

Urban Environment

Many of the problems of the urban environment in New Zealand result from the fact that civil engineers have had too great a say in the way our communities have been designed.

Unlike town planners who are trained in the humanities and in the social impact of community structure, engineers tend to think in fairly mechanistic terms. They give great weight to technical and economic factors which seldom lead to the best use of the land. Many engineering and structural decisions which have a profound impact on the format and living conditions of a community are not subject to planning approval.

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

The planning division of the Ministry of Works was not consulted by the Electricity Department on the Manapouri power project, nor on the various schemes drawn up to flood parts of the Clutha Valley. It was characteristic of the outlook of technicians that the inter-departmental committee which examined the Electricity Department's Clutha proposals made no attempt to analyse or assess the social effects of the various schemes on communities in the valley - although they dealt at length with the effects upon wildlife.

The Values Party would

- Support the upgrading of the town planner in New Zealand local government.
- Make town planning meet the people's needs rather than those of developers.
- Widen the area of civil engineering and technical decisions subject to development planning approval.

Conservation of Man-Made Resources

Buildings which lend character to our cities and promote a satisfying quality of timelessness are being demolished and replaced at an increasing rate. In the campaign to preserve the natural assets of the country the preservation of man-made amenities is being ignored.

The Wellington district and regional schemes list only a small number of buildings as of historic or scientific interest or worthy of preservation because of natural beauty. A senior lecturer in geography at Auckland University, Mr Warren Moran, has pointed out the pressing need for Auckland to retain older buildings, both single and in larger groups, in a carefully planned and deliberate fashion.

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

Both the Town and Country Planning Act, of 1953, and the Historic Places Act require the designation and registration of objects and places of historical or scientific interest or natural beauty, and both seek the preservation of amenities to safeguard the physical and mental health of people. Yet in practice there is little evidence to suggest that the preservation of amenities throughout the country is given any particular emphasis.

The Values Party would

- Promote the preservation of older buildings and public amenities in New Zealand cities in order to preserve the character of the cities and protect them from "progress".
- Support a major increase in the present low financial priority given to the funding of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust which is presently not able to act ambitiously to preserve much of the country's fast-fading historic and architectural heritage.

Building Heights

Tall buildings, remote from any human scale, disturb the skyline of a city and bring shadow and a sense of unreality to our streets. The increasing incidence of high-rise buildings in New Zealand is another disturbing reflection of the belief among architects and

planners that the American model of urban development is identifiable with social progress.

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

Apart from making cities even more jarring on the senses, tall buildings frequently deprive property-holders and occupants in other buildings of long-held views. In Auckland the Harbour Board's downtown development scheme involves the construction of tall buildings along the waterfront. The Board is blocking off a view of the sea and the North Shore to future generations. It is too late to stop the scheme now.

The Values Party supports

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

Visual Quality

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

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

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

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

In order to slow the development of new suburbs and cater for the desire of many young people to live in more homely dwellings, the Housing Corporation would be instructed to allow general lending for the purchase of old houses as well as new ones.

A more liberal loans policy should be adopted by the Housing Corporation in respect of applicants who wish to build homes of unusual design. The design of State houses should be more imaginative than has generally been the case.

The Values Party would

- **Support a reconsideration of planning practices regarding road-width in order to halt the tendency towards wide roads with their damaging effect on visual quality and human interaction.**
- **Review the code of ordinances contained in the Town and Country Planning Act in order to allow greater flexibility in the siting of houses on properties.**
- **Support a large increase in Government financial assistance to those homeowners wishing to renovate and upgrade older dwellings. Assistance for this form of urban renewal - the only generally acceptable one to most residents - would be on a suspensory loan system.**

For other policies affecting the appearance of residential areas, see the chapter on Housing.)

Conclusion

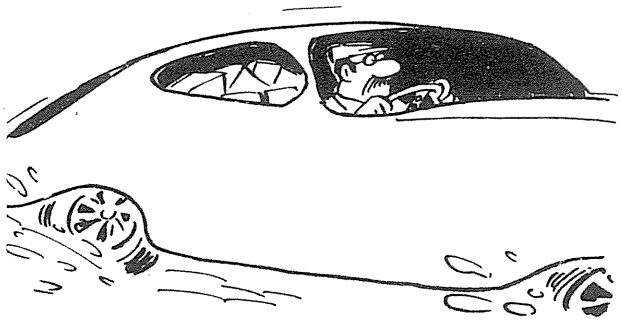
The environment is a system which includes all living things and the air, water and soil, which is their habitat. This system must have unity and stability. Man is not lord of this system - he is merely an integral part of it.

Environmental concern is not a luxury - it is a necessity. There is a crisis impending which as yet no New Zealand government has clearly recognised. Crucial decisions must be made soon at governmental level if this crisis is to be averted.

Yet our government still looks at environmental problems in a piecemeal fashion, concentrating on cure rather than prevention. It has still no adequate machinery for looking at food, environmental disruption, energy, resources, and social disruption as a whole. What is happening already in Europe and America can happen here; what is already happening here is part of a general global pattern.

"By now it should be clear that the main problems of the environment do not arise from temporary and accidental malfunction of existing economic and social systems. On the contrary, they are the warning signs of a profound incompatability between deeply-rooted beliefs in continuous growth and the dawning recognition of the earth as a space-ship, limited in its resources and vulnerable to thoughtless mishandling. The nature of our responses to these symptons is crucial."
("A Blueprint for Survival": The Ecologist.)

Energy



Energy consumption has until recently been increasing at staggering rates. Based on past indications the Electricity Department and the Power Boards are planning on the basis that electricity demand is increasing at the rate of seven per cent each year. At this rate there would be within the next 25 years a 500 per cent increase in electricity consumption while the population during that period is expected to increase only 50 per cent. Electricity generation will have to double every ten years to meet this expected increase in demand.

Yet the costs of increasing the supply of electricity are already becoming unacceptable. Hydro-electric power is by far the cheapest power, but we have already used the most economic sites and are increasingly forced to embark on more expensive projects involving greater destruction of the natural environment. The cost of generating electricity by other means is much more expensive, but in order to keep up with demand we have already built oil and coal-fired power stations and are committed to the construction of gas-fired stations. The cost of the proposed thermal power station at Waiau Pa, South Auckland will amount to 20 per cent of the total existing capital investment in power generation. The Electricity Department says that to meet projected demand it is necessary to construct nuclear fission power stations, and the Department is already planning for a start on the first nuclear station in 1982.

For economic and environmental reasons alone we must take immediate steps to stop the increasing demand for energy and stabilise energy consumption at a level which is perpetually sustainable at reasonable cost.

The use of fossil fuels (such as oil and coal) for energy production cannot be continued (let alone increased) indefinitely, and must be stabilised urgently. Successive governments have so far seemed interested only on squandering our energy resources as quickly as possible (for example sale of Mt Davy or Pike River coal to Japan and the sale of 10 per cent of the country's electricity generation to Comalco).

Values Party policies aimed at stabilising population and developing a stable-state economy are necessary pre-requisites for the stabilisation of energy consumption, but must be supplemented by detailed conservation policies.

The Values Party would

- Expand the Ministry of Energy Resources to co-ordinate the use of all energy sources and to bring down a comprehensive energy policy aimed at: preventing further increase in per capita energy consumption, increasing the efficiency of energy use, minimising the consumption of non-renewable resources and environmental disturbance, and discouraging highly energy-intensive industries.
- Prohibit the construction of nuclear power stations.
- Wherever possible supply energy by primary energy sources rather than indirectly by electricity.

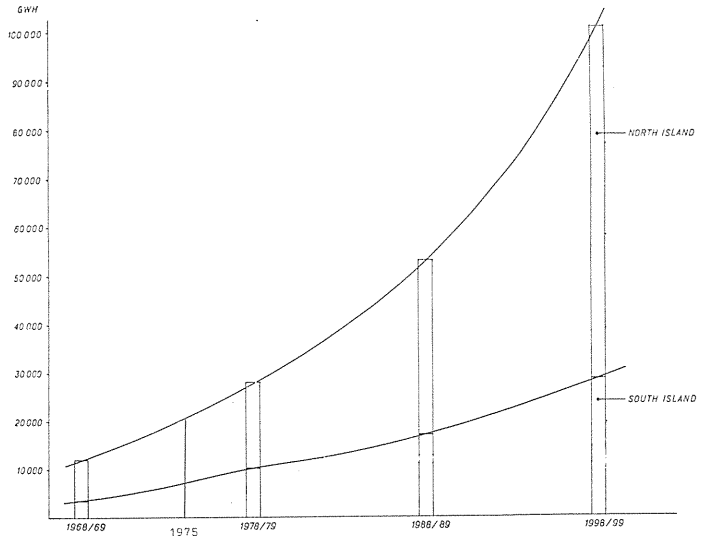
To stabilise energy consumption the Values Party would

Domestic Sector

- Revise the price of electricity, gas, petrol and oil to domestic users to give a basic allocation at reasonable prices. Consumption in excess of this would be charged on an increasing sliding scale.
- Investigate increased charges for peak period consumption.
- Encourage glide time in working hours.
- Apply daylight saving during summer.
- Investigate the feasibility of putting one Island ahead of the other in time.
- Encourage the supply of heat through direct means by solar energy or by heat pumps.
- Upgrade building standards relating to insulation, and subsidise the cost of insulation and other means of achieving low energy requirement homes.
- Ban certain frivolous uses of energy, such as the heating of domestic swimming pools.

Industrial Sector

- Remove bulk power discounts to industry and charge higher prices for peak period consumption.
- Use subsidies or depreciation to encourage the establishment of industry-based power stations. Excess electricity would be purchased by the NZED and the interchange of energy among industries encouraged.
- Take steps to ensure that consumer appliances operate on a minimum power factor.
- Discourage consumption of goods produced by energy-intensive industries.
- Consider phasing out highly energy-intensive industries.



ELECTRICITY REQUIREMENTS OF NEW ZEALAND

Transport

The transport system is one of the principal areas where non-renewable energy sources are used wastefully. New Zealand relies exclusively on fossil fuels. It is obvious that we can make much more frugal use of our resources in this area while at the same time fulfilling people's personal travel needs and the need for efficient distribution of raw materials and manufactured goods.

The Values Party policy on transport is based on the following principles. Transport systems should:
- make efficient use of energy;
- be safe and reliable;
- have the least possible effect on the physical and human environment;
- be planned and co-ordinated.

These factors have sometimes been overlooked in the development of our transport systems.

The motor car

The uncontrolled use of the private motor car has resulted in steady increases in noise and smoke pollution, in mounting interference with pedestrian mobility, and in increasing congestion on our roads. The car has become the chief symbol of the "rush" mentality in our society.

As a means of transport the car is increasingly inefficient when compared with public transport systems or potential systems. Increasingly in our congested city streets it fails to provide what it was designed for - rapid means of getting from one place to another.

The car creates a major distortion in the economy through increasing use of imported fossil fuel; through the drain on overseas reserves in importing cars and through the diversion of a large proportion of the skilled labour force into non-productive assembly and maintenance of the private car.

In the short term because adequate alternatives have not been developed we will be forced to continue to rely on the private motor car.

During this period a Values Government would:

- Investigate the development of an automotive fuel from plant sources.
- Encourage local bodies to restrict and prohibit the use of private motor vehicles in inner-city areas.
- Prohibit the importing or assembly of cars which cannot meet satisfactory fuel consumption requirements.
- Introduce rigid emission control standards to control the polluting effects of all vehicles.
- Stop all road widening schemes and motorway proposals in towns and cities, unless such schemes are for reasons of pedestrian safety.
- Limit roads [except for "feeder roads"] to two lane traffic in all new residential areas.

Public Transport

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

Public transport is much more efficient in terms of per capita use of materials and energy than any private alternative. It can also be as flexible, provided it is encouraged at the expense of private transport. This is the key to the provision of a sound transport system.

The Values Party would

- Reconstitute the National Roads Fund so that petrol taxes can be diverted in large amounts to the upgrading or development of public transport systems and not just to new road construction.
- Establish an adequately funded Railways Corporation along the lines of the National Airways Corporation to ensure the application of good management practices in the expansion of the railway system.
- Encourage the increased use of coastal shipping through the national shipping line.
- Subsidise local bodies in the provision of good public transport services.

The role of Government

Values would give to the Ministry of Transport overall responsibility for coordinating all forms of transport.

The prime consideration in choosing the mode of transport for a particular purpose should be the responsible use of energy resources.

The Ministry of Transport under a Values Government would

- Co-ordinate regional and national transport systems with regions being primarily responsible for their internal transport needs.
- Periodically review the effectiveness and efficiency of various transport systems.

Use of energy resources

In the use of fossil fuel reserves recognition will be made of their essentially finite nature and that ultimately we must live without them.

To ensure the efficient use of fossil fuels, the Values Party would

- Prohibit the export of coal, oil and natural gas.
- Use coal rather than oil in thermal power stations and in industry.
- Stop the use of natural gas in electricity generation, and instead reticulate it for home and industrial use and as a chemical raw material.
- Develop geothermal power sources subject to environmental safeguards, and where possible use such power directly for industry.
- Thoroughly investigate alternative sources of energy such as solar and wind and generation of methane from organic wastes in order to phase out the use of fossil fuels in the longer term.
- Halt further expansion of the Bluff aluminium smelter [Comalco]. Take steps to terminate the present agreement with New Zealand Aluminium Smelters and give it the option of closing down or paying for electricity at a rate equivalent to the highest cost of electricity in New Zealand.

Justice

"A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth ... and say, this is not just."

Martin Luther King.

The primary goal of the Values Party is not to create an enclosed utopia for New Zealanders. We seek to establish the largest possible measure of equality of environment, circumstances, and opportunity, not just for ourselves and our own descendants, but for every world citizen.

We do not regard the injustices in human society as exceptions or accidents within a basically sound society. We consider society itself is ailing and reject solutions whereby the affluent do good works yet continue an exploitive life-style at the expense of the majority of mankind. We think the extremes of both riches and poverty are degrading and anti-social.

Since we no longer believe that the present political, economic, and social system is basically sound and just, we are not prepared to try yet again the piecemeal approach of the reformer. It is not enough to attack the symptoms of injustice; the cause lies in the false values of those who run society. We believe that social institutions, laws, and economic organisation should be planned as far as possible to emphasise and strengthen the common humanity which unites people, not to emphasise the differences that divide them, such as nationality, sex, race, age, religion, income and class handicaps.

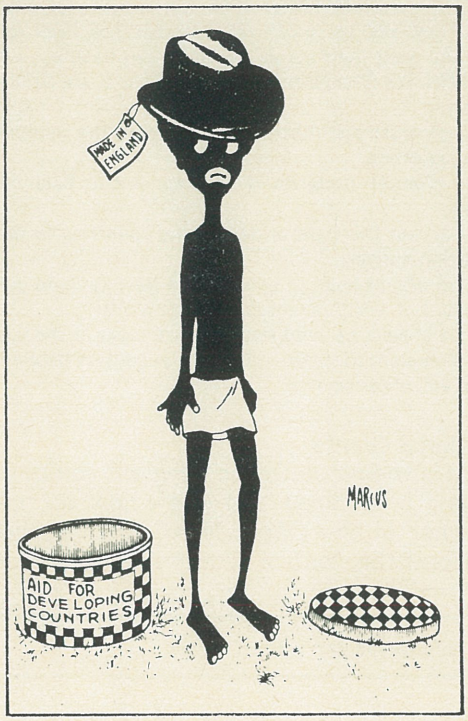
People may differ profoundly as individuals in capacity and character but their human and civil rights are equal. Society must try to enable all of its members to make the best of any powers they possess. Because people's requirements are different, they can be met satisfactorily only by varying forms of provision. Society must not treat different needs and different groups in the same way, but must devote equal care to ensuring that they are met in the ways most appropriate to them.

With regard to civil liberties, we are concerned at the way repressive legislation and inflexible bureaucratic procedures intrude more and more into the area of individual privacy and morality. Our policies on law reform and discriminatory practices are based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

We endorse the belief of J. S. Mills [1871] that:
"There is a circle around every individual human being which no government, be it that of a few or that of the many, ought to be permitted to overstep ... It ought to include all that part which concerns only the life, whether inward or outward of the individual, and does not affect the interests of others, or affects them only through the moral influence of example. It is allowable in all to assert or promulgate, with all the force they are capable of, their opinion of what is good or bad, admirable or contemptible, but not to compel others to that opinion."

Rich World, Poor World

"Every man has a right to a decent life before any individual has a surplus above his needs."
Julius Nyerere.



Traditional Aid: The values of a dying epoch.

The material gap between the rich countries of the world and the poor countries of the world has never been wider, and the trend is for it to get worse, not better. Less than a quarter of the world's people earns three quarters of the world's income. Half the people in the world earn less than NZ$50.00 a year.

At the present growth rates, many countries will never catch up to the rich because their rates are slower. Even the poor countries with faster rates could take centuries - it would take Pakistan over 17 centuries to catch up to the United States.

What caused the gap? Is it that some nations have more energy, drive, and will to achieve? Research answers "no", people in the poor world are just as quick to seize opportunities and just as ambitious. We are not the deserving rich - they are not the undeserving poor.

One reason why the rich countries became so rich is that they had the chance to organise the world around them to suit their needs. The same chances, such as surplus land and large potential markets, do not exist today for the poor countries to follow the same path of development.

Imperialism and colonialism prevented the emergence in many countries of the conditions necessary for economic development. Not only did these forces help create an initial inequality, they then worked to widen the gap. British industry in the 19th century was protected from Indian competition by 75 per cent duty on imports. Even today, rich countries still tend to protect themselves from competition from the poor.

Other contributing factors to the wealth gap have been
- the difference in natural environments (poor infertile soils, climatic conditions, the proliferation of weeds, pests, and disease in hot regions)
- isolation of communities by natural barriers (causing limitations on markets and communications)
- the burden of hunger on a nation (hungry people are passive and non-productive)
- the green revolution (which failed to meet expectations - one of its by-products was the creation of more hungry people)
- the world shortage of fertilisers
- the high oil prices (which left the rich world with less money to give in aid and the poor world with less money to buy necessities)
- and the existence of elitist governments in poor countries, with deeply entrenched interests against development.

Yet another factor is the control over the use of technology which is tightly held by the rich countries.

Aid

Aid and investment policies of the rich countries have often benefited the givers more than the receivers. The benefit for the receivers has been further offset by a brain drain from the poor countries to the rich. The present trade policies of the rich countries are also nearly the mirror image of what they would be if the gap were to be narrowed.

Up to now, much aid from the rich has been for political or strategic reasons - to provide a bulwark against the further spread of communism or to enable docile poor countries to maintain large armed forces. Short-term benefit for the giver conflicted with the needs of long-term development for the receiver.

Distribution of aid has been most uneven. The poor countries which got the most were already half way up the ladder and, within countries, progress has been weighted in favour of the rich. So the one per cent aid target is by no means a cure-all and can indeed do more harm than good. This is no excuse however for doing nothing at all or for reducing aid.

Yet aid from the rich countries is being reduced. Over the past decade it has steadily declined and gifts of food have declined from eight million tons to seven million tons in the same period. Meanwhile the amount of grain eaten by animals in the rich world is greater than the total amount eaten by the people of India and China put together.

Internal policies of our government are based on eliminating poverty and inequality. External policies should be based on the same sets of values. It is, essentially a "question of will".

The late Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, said that development will never be realised "unless it is rooted in the hearts and minds of millions of citizens everywhere . . . unless it can win their sustained support".

It is possible that if we continue to ignore these problems in the hope that they will go away (which they won't) events will take a more violent turn. "If it is difficult to awaken the masses, it is also difficult to calm them down when once awakened. They cannot all be killed or imprisoned forever."

Surely it would be better to help evolve a just world order and a stable world economy. The process of widening the gap has now acquired its own momentum. Forces built into present economic mechanisms will divide the world in the future at an accelerating rate. this trend can only be halted by deliberate, positive policies.

The Values Party

- Endorses the belief expressed in the Arusha Declaration [Tanzania 1967], "That there are more important things in life than the amassing of riches, and that if the pursuit of wealth clashes with things like human dignity and social equality then the latter will be given priority".
- Believes that an equitable distribution of wealth between nations is a prerequisite for the establishment and maintenance of a stable world economy. The world needs a stable-state world economy for the survival and well-being of mankind. With a stable population we could provide more than token assistance for needy populations overseas.

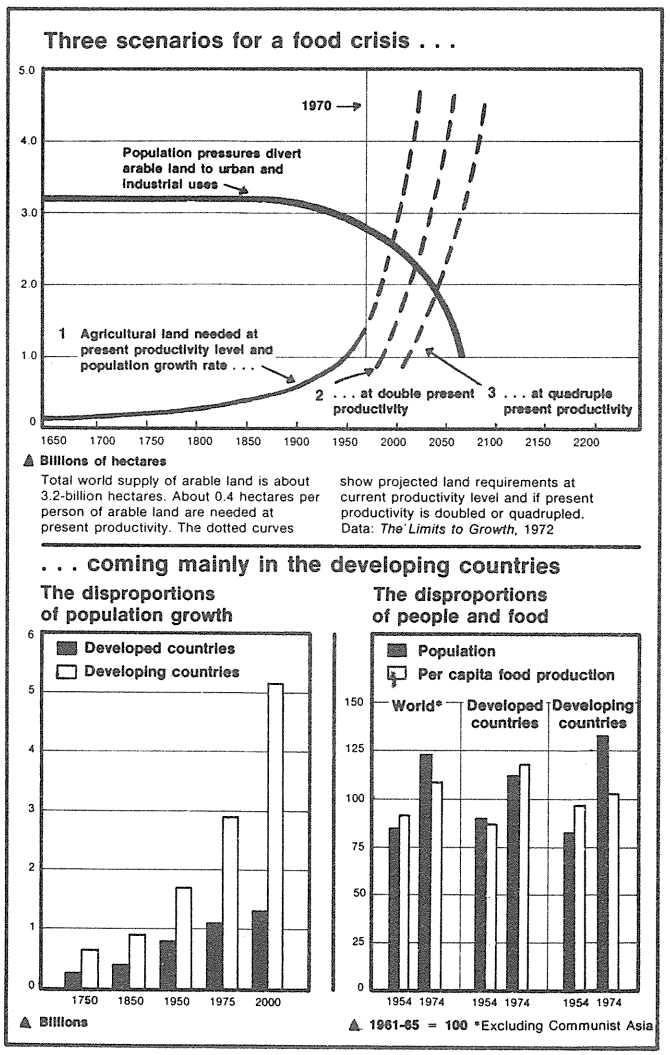
New Zealand should support an international tax on the national incomes of rich countries, graded according to their ability to pay, to create conditions in poor countries which promote self-sustained development and which compensate for the uneven incidence of world resources and development opportunities.

The Values Party believes

- New technologies need to be developed which are more appropriate for poor countries.
- New Zealand should encourage the building of stockpiles of food under international control to meet threats of suffering in the future.
- New Zealand should re-examine all our relationships with poor countries - with regard to aid, private capital flows and ownership, trade and labour migration - to see how they could be restructured to narrow the development gap.
- The aid New Zealand gives developing countries should be "as well as" not "instead of" a fair system of trade.
- We must give three main kinds of assistance: relief aid, development projects, help with political, economic and social change.
- New Zealand's immediate aid target should amount to not less than one per cent of our gross national product [government plus private flows] and of this total, 70 per cent should be government assistance.
- Whenever government aid takes the form of money it should be given by way of grants rather than loans and should never be "tied". Where loans are given, these should be on soft terms.
- Whether we in New Zealand approve or disapprove of ideology conducive to the development of a poor country is irrelevant and should be no excuse for withholding equitable aid or giving preference to countries whose values accord with our own [provided that we are sure the aid will reach those who need it].
- The scale and type of assistance we give should be dictated by the needs of the recipients rather than the short-term advantage to ourselves. They, not us, must decide what the local culture can assimilate and what their actual expertise can handle.
- We must beware of exporting our way of life along with assistance programmes.
- We must promote self-reliance and increase the independence of developing countries.
- We must promote patterns of development in balance with the environment.
- We must accept the right of developing countries to design their own population policies.
- There is an urgent need to educate the New Zealand public about the dimensions of world poverty and human misery.
- The people of New Zealand should share more in the processes of aid and development through such things as contact between interest groups and volunteer service.

Multi-national Giants

The world is the marketplace for giant companies with the money, technology and know-how to reach into every corner of the globe. Their vast resources put them beyond the control of any one nation. Yet they



dominate the economies of many developing countries and their business decisions affect millions.

The top ten of these "multi-nationals" have higher incomes than more than 80 individual countries. It is likely that in 25 years, 300 monopolies will control 60 per cent of the world market. The trend is for more and more goods and services to be controlled by fewer companies.

These giants operate according to what is most profitable for them, not on the basis of an individual country's need. So profits are repatriated, not ploughed back to finance housing, clinics or schools in the host countries. Yet the host countries offer cheap non-unionised labour, tax holidays and even ready-built factories in return for the benefits they believe foreign investment will bring.

Countries which try to control these huge enterprises must contend with the companies' political influence as well (for example, the downfall of the Allende Government in Chile because it challenged United States business interests).

Multi-national corporations have an unprecedented ability to transfer technology, capital and management skills rapidly across international frontiers on reprehensible terms and conditions.

Many features of their operation resemble the international traffic in drugs. A giant corporation "exploits the weakness or the ignorance of the buyer; it attempts to get the customer 'hooked' on the product (by letting him establish markets and acquire experience); it uses monopoly control of supply; it uses debt as a means of exerting control; it often depends on the corruption of government officials; and the profits it makes resemble those of illegal traffic rather than those of legitimate trade."

The Values Party disapproves of international traffic in technology by means of package deals, which force poor countries to buy more than they want, pay more than they expect, and get less than they anticipate. These deals often "lock-in" poor countries to buying other over-priced technologies from the same source, or to obtaining raw materials, machinery, repairs and spare parts from an expensive source. The vendors in such deals are often in a supremely strong bargaining position and can stipulate what products their customer may manufacture, in what quantities he may produce them, at what prices he may sell them, and to what uses he may put them. Thus a feudal relationship of lord and vassal develops.

The Values Party also disapproves of the system of "transfer accounting" which is now standard practice with many multi-national companies. By means of this system as many channels of payment as possible are established so that it is virtually impossible for a poor country to police all these channels or impose limits on them. Thus the vendors can avoid paying taxes on large slices of their profits by inflating prices of raw materials, or raising charges for overheads and "research costs".

Even more blatant than over-pricing is the strategic non-use of patents in poor countries. The giant patent-holder thereby prevents local or other firms from starting production, for example of cheap anti-biotics, which thus influences enormously the price of health in a developing country.

Big companies can use pressure and bargaining power even against countries as powerful as Britain so it is not difficult to imagine the pressure they can bring to bear and the "bargains" they can strike with poor underdeveloped countries.

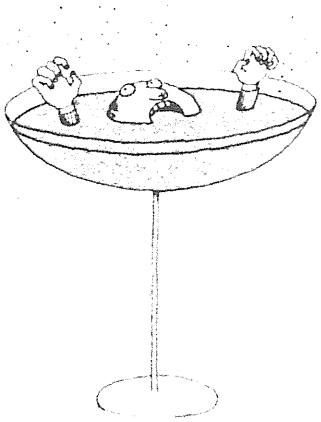
Take one example - the group Hoffman La Roche. They reacted in 1973 to price-cuts announced by the British Government with threats to block certain exports to Commonwealth countries, to transfer facilities for manufacturing out of Britain, and to site new research investments outside of Britain. The same company a few years earlier sold two products to Colombia: the over-pricing on the first (librium) was 6478 per cent and on the second (valium) was 6155 per cent.

Economists estimate that the poor countries pay between $4,000 million and $9,000 million a year in "invisible" payments for technology to giant companies.

The Values Party

- **Condemns strongly all foreign control in New Zealand business.**
- **Would do away with double tax agreements with foreign countries as they apply to companies.**
- **Give the New Zealand Government the right to attend negotiations between parent companies and their New Zealand-based subsidiaries.**
- **Require all imported technology to be itemised into its component parts so that the content of package deals in technology could be scrutinised.**
- **Support United Nations action to give control of raw materials to the countries where they are situated and not to companies which exploit them.**

The proposed United Nations Charter of Economic Rights and Duties would have the effect of legalising nationalisation.



International Relations

"A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth . . . and say this is not just."

Martin Luther King

United Nations

The unity of all mankind is one of the greatest needs in the world today. Yet on most international issues, New Zealand has slavishly followed the lead of the United States, and our faint-hearted voting record at the United Nations on such issues as apartheid does us no credit. International relations have been based on power concepts, and people with power use power to their own advantage.

The Values Party favours Antarctica being placed under United Nations' control and all nuclear activity being banned there.

Further to this aim, a Values Government would whole-heartedly support the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific. The Values Party deplores the manufacture and maintenance of nuclear arsenals and advocates continuing strong measures towards both nuclear and non-nuclear disarmament. We would support the establishment of an international agency to control the use of all nuclear materials.

The Values Party recognises that no form of nuclear fission plant for the supply of energy is entirely safe or free of waste disposal problems; and would, as Government, prohibit all nuclear-powered vessels, whether armed with nuclear weapons or not, from entering New Zealand ports and territorial waters.

With regard to establishing a new world order the Values Party sees the role of the United Nations changing over time. In the short-term, much of the development of a stable-state world economy will be dependent on international actions and the re-education of nations. In the intermediate term, step-by-step progress will be made towards a new, just, environmentally-sound world order, with the United Nations acting as a guide and watchdog. In the long term, individual nations and local communities within those nations will carry the major responsibility for this world order. The United Nations will then act mainly as a forum for co-operation between nations and assisting with special functions such as communications, energy and population control, natural disasters, planning and research and cultural sharing.

The Law of the Sea

In 1970, the General Assembly of the United Nations declared that the seabed beyond national jurisdiction was to become the common heritage of mankind. The Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, held in Caracas from 20 June - 29 August 1974, sought ostensibly to make this declaration a reality by establishing a new international organisation for the seabed. However much disagreement remains and meanwhile the greed and neglect of the world's coastal states are already eroding the original UN intention.

New Zealand is one of the most fortunate countries in the world as regards the length of its coastline. We are therefore in an influential position internationally compared with the many land-locked countries when it comes to laying the foundations of a just, prudent, far-sighted, and internationally-accepted order for the management by mankind of the sea.

The Values Party believes New Zealand should:

- Proclaim that both the sea and the seabed, whether under national or international jurisdiction, are the common heritage of mankind and that all nations, whether coastal or landlocked, have the right to benefit from them equitably and to participate fully in decisions concerning mankind's use and care of them.
- Support the concepts of "the Area" and the "Authority" discussed at the Caracas Conference, that is, that an international Seabed Authority be set up to administer that area of the seabed which lies outside the zones administered by national authorities; we would extend these concepts to include the care and use of the sea itself.
- Agree [with 77 developing countries] that the Authority should have the sole right to explore and exploit the Area and that it should be able to either conduct operations itself or devolve its tasks to others by service contracts or any other such means which ensure its direct and efficient control at all times and which ensure that the main revenues of all operations are used to benefit developing countries [as generally agreed at Caracas] rather than the companies and countries with contracts.
- Disagree with the developing countries that the Authority should be run on a simple-majority basis reflecting the numerical composition of the Assembly without any special consideration being given to minorities, even vital minorities such as those possessing indispensable technology. Like any other international organisation, the Authority must be based in the end on consent. It cannot grow by overriding dissident but powerful authorities but by persuading them that it has something to offer them too.
- Want the Authority to have discretion to regulate the pace of seabed mining exploitation in the light of possible adverse effects on developing countries which produce the same minerals on land.
- Seek international agreement on immutable environmental priorities that superceded economic priorities even within the 12-mile Exclusive Economic Zones and 200-mile Economic Zones claimed by coastal states or regions.
- Reject the USA view that the right of all shipping, merchant or naval, in an economic zone shall not be circumscribed by unilateral action of coastal states or regions, even in the name of pollution control.
- Challenge the proposal [at Caracas] that coastal states could each claim an economic zone of up to 200 miles from their base-line. Instead we would propose that such zones be termed Caretaker Zones and should be regarded as regional resources rather than national property, to which all states within the region, including the land-locked, would enjoy rights of access [for example, all internal African states would share jurisdiction with all coastal African states over the economic zones surrounding the African continent].
- Reject the proposal [by Britain and others] that states could claim the mineral resources of the continental margin adjacent to their shores even when this is well beyond the 200-mile limit [that is, up to the point where the rocks ceased to be sedimentary and therefore likely to contain oil or gas]. This proposal could mean that only about half of the world's manganese nodules and none of its oil or gas would fall within the international Area. Since it could be easier to deal with national administrations than to satisfy the Authority's stricter standards, those who have the technology of nodule mining could prefer to forget about the international Area, and confine their operations to the economic zones of interested coastal states.
- Propose that the countries responsible for administering the

200-mile zones have discretionary powers over pollution, scientific research, and the preservation of the marine environment but that they should accede to the advice of the Authority regarding optimum [not maximum] sustainable fishing yields and optimum mineral exploitation.

Foreign Affairs

Recent changes in the pattern of international relationships have had great implications for New Zealand. A few years ago it was common for New Zealand to be criticised for a failure to come to terms with its part of the world. New Zealand's role in the South-East Asian sphere has been that of military ally to the Western Powers in opposition to the "threat" of communism.

Some deliberate refashioning of New Zealand policy is long overdue. The end of the conflict in Vietnam and Cambodia is bringing a new stability to the region and an awareness of the breadth of New Zealand's interest in the peoples of Asia and the Pacific.

The Values Party believes that

- **New Zealand should be internationalist in outlook and make every effort to break down nationalist feeling throughout the world. To achieve this, New Zealand must be independent and non-aligned. Defence pacts would therefore be terminated by a Values Government. [See following section on defence.]**

New Zealand and Racist Regimes [sporting contact]

The Values Party wishes to adhere to the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, 21 November 1971, calling on governments to "promote adherence to the principles" of selection of sports teams on merit (New Zealand abstained).

Accordingly, the Values Party as government would

- **Not permit visits to New Zealand by sports personnel selected on racist grounds.**
- **Do everything possible to prevent New Zealand sports personnel from playing against teams selected on racist grounds.**
- **Condemn vigorously any nation repressing any minority group within that nation, on the grounds of political, racial, or religious belief.**

Immigration

The Values Party, as Government, would implement an immigration policy based on humanitarian grounds which would not discriminate on the grounds of race, colour, sex or creed (see also "Population"). Compassionate immigration would be allowed under this policy.

The Values Party recognises that many problems can result from the arrival in New Zealand of immigrants from countries with very different lifestyles. We believe that New Zealand immigration officers working overseas should present to the intending migrant, a realistic picture of the problems of adjustment and that on arrival in New Zealand immigrants be helped to adjust to the New Zealand situation.

Defence

The New Zealand Government is traditionally committed to a defence policy which has, as its basic objectives, the preservation of the independence, security, sovereignty, and national interests of New Zealand, now and for the future. This has resulted in the formation of military forces and capabilities at levels which have, in the past, been able to preserve New Zealand's security. Treaties have been set up with our neighbour nations and with America to provide for mutual assistance in the event of direct external attack.

The Values Party believes however, that New Zealand's security lies not with defence pacts with great powers, but through friendship and co-operation with other nations in the Asian-Pacific region. Accordingly, a Values Government would withdraw from all overseas defence treaties; and request that all non-New Zealand military installations within New Zealand be withdrawn within two years.

We fully endorse the spirit and intent of the United Nations Charter and would, as Government, co-operate with the United Nations in all non-aggressive activities.

In keeping with our belief that New Zealand's security lies with international co-operation, rather than through a show of military strength, a Values Government would favour the dismantling of the armed forces and their replacement by a multi-purpose civil defence and social service organisation. Such an organisation would retain elements of the present Army, Navy, and Air Force with a capability for serving overseas in a United Nations peacekeeping force or to provide social and technical assistance overseas. The present programmes for hydrographic surveys and fisheries research would be expanded under this scheme, as would the Search and Rescue services.

The present Ministry of Defence would be dissolved and a new umbrella-type Ministry formed to administer all the above functions.

Overseas Trade

"It is the rich world which lays down the rules of world trade within which the poor world must earn its living. It is the rich world which regulates the international monetary system within which the poor world must manage its finances. It is the rich world which commands 95 per cent of the world's technological know-how and 90 per cent of the world's income".

The United Nations has said that trade is the primary instrument of economic development for the poor world. New Zealand is part of the rich world and must therefore take some responsibility for the fact that the present terms of trade are becoming increasingly unjust (the poor countries' share of world trade has steadily declined over the past fifteen years to about half what it was in 1950).

The rich world is also spending about $1,000 million a year on developing synthetic substitutes for the natural products which make up about 80 per cent of

the products of the poor world. Some countries are almost totally dependent on only one or two of these products, the supply of which fluctuates wildly.

At the same time, the poor world is making increasing use of the manufactured products of the rich world, yet the price of their exports has fallen in relation to the rising cost of imports from the rich world. (President Nyerere of Tanzania said that in 1965 he could buy a tractor for 17.25 tons of sisal whereas in 1972 he had to pay 42 tons for the same tractor.)

The poorer countries find it difficult to establish their own manufacturing industries, because they face shortages of the necessary capital, machinery, technical knowledge and skilled labour, and because rich countries already dominate available markets.

New Zealand must increase its trade with poor countries - but not on the basis of ordinary competition. Competition between highly unequal partners is unfair. We must work towards adjusting the terms of world trade so as to help the poor world make up the leeway.

The Values Party would

- Help developing countries promote their trade with New Zealand and international markets.
- Diversify into increased trade with poor nations in a manner which assisted their development.
- Not develop New Zealand substitutes for items which we could import from poor countries [for example, sugar beet from Fiji] and which might represent significant contributions to their economies.
- Liberalise import licensing provisions and tariff concessions on goods of interest to developing countries.
- Support moves to give developing countries a greater share in influencing international monetary policy.
- Endeavour, where the international monetary system was a handicap, to form bilateral trade agreements using bartering [for example, sheep for oil].
- Conclude long-term commodity agreements with developing countries, which would ensure them a stable return for their exports.
- Keep aid-giving clearly disassociated from private investment so that poor countries could more easily judge private investment on its own merits.
- Act to decrease the volume of New Zealand trade with governments representing a repressive minority.
- Limit "imported inflation" by cutting back New Zealand's dependence on rich nations.
- Act to decrease the volume of New Zealand trade with governments representing a repressive minority [particularly racist regimes].

Tourism

Tourism is justifiable on the grounds of its promotion of intercultural awareness and understanding. Any economic advantage to New Zealand should be seen more as a fringe benefit than a prime motive for tourism.

The Values Party believes that vigorous promotion of New Zealand as a tourist haven would tend to worsen some of the more detrimental effects of the trade; the construction of luxury hotels emphasising wealth division and elitism, the prostitution of the Maori culture, the despoliation of scenic areas by chintzy commercialisation, and the creation of artificial atmospheres in natural settings.

The Values Party believes that:

- We should stabilise at present levels, through the use of international aircraft landing rights, the number of overseas tourists visiting New Zealand.
- The tourist industry should cease to regard New Zealand as having a tourist "potential".
- We should end expenditure on overseas advertising of New Zealand as a tourist resort.
- All visitors to New Zealand should be warned on arrival that "tipping" for service is prohibited.
- All major tourist facilities should be New Zealand-owned.
- The provision of cheaper holiday accommodation should be encouraged.
- The provision of further luxury accommodation designed for overseas tourists should be discouraged.
- No tourist facility should be over-large or should detract from the beauty of its surroundings.

Individual Freedom

"The sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection. The only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilised community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others."

John Stuart Mill, "On Liberty" 1859.

Much of our social legislation is based on a Victorian morality which is not only irrelevant, but often patently unjust. In some cases it even works against the attainment of reasonable social goals.

The Values Party believes as a matter of principle that we must allow individual freedom unless it is clearly outweighed by the interests of the community as a whole. We therefore propose reforms in the following areas.

Family Planning

Our policies on family planning are based on 3 premises:

- **Every child born should be wanted.**
- **Family planning is a basic human right which was recognised by the United Nations in 1968.**
- **All persons should have the right to choose which method they prefer to control their fertility.**

Education in human relationships, in responsible parenthood, and in the social, ethical, and physical aspects of sexuality is essential for all New Zealanders. Present provisions for such education are simply not adequate, as is indicated by the fact that in 1973, 9206 live births (15.16%) were ex-nuptial and in 1974 over 10,000 New Zealand women had legal abortions here or in Australia.

The Values Party advocates:

- **The extension of such educations to all sections of society. In particular, the school curriculum should include a realistic programme of sex education and family life education.**
- **The making of all contraceptives and contraceptive advice free and freely available to all, regardless of age, sex, or marital status, [therefore repealing Section 2 of the 1954 Amendment to the Police Offences Act].**
- **The provision of free, voluntary sterilisation in an approved manner for both men and women, subject to adequate medical advice and professional counselling.**
- **A government-sponsored family planning programme which would include subsidies for organisations giving contraceptive advice and a general expansion of birth control facilities.**

These measures would, in the long-run, reduce drastically the incidence of unwanted pregnancies in New Zealand, which is at present far too high. Other helpful measures include advising couples of genetic risk before conception, preventing the marketing of deformity-inducing drugs, and extra aid to families who would adopt mentally or physically handicapped children.

In the meantime more of the women at present opting for abortion might opt instead to continue their pregnancies if they could be sure of more caring support from the community during the pregnancy and birth, and especially during the first decade of child-rearing. In addition to free and adequate pre and post-natal care, there needs to be more community support for all families with young children. Low-cost housing within healthy active communities should be available for single-parent families.

Since the measures we advocate above are not currently being applied adequately, thousands of women annually face unwanted pregnancies and opt for abortion rather than adoption or compulsory motherhood through hastened or forced marriages, single parenthood or adding to an existing family.

The Values Party does not advocate abortion, just as it does not advocate the use of alcohol or other drugs. However, it believes that prohibition infringes a basic human right to freedom of conscience. (Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion".)

An abortion is preceded by an ethical decision and a medical decision. We do not believe that either decision should be made by legislators or pressure groups. The individual woman should have freedom of conscience to make the ethical decision. A registered doctor should make the medical decision.

There is no agreement among doctors, women, churches, legislators, or the population at large on exactly when worth, personality, and rights begin in the continuum of human life. We believe that the whole community is divided on the issue. In both main pressure groups (for and against) there are people of intelligence and integrity who are motivated by a respect for life and human rights.

No-one will ever be able to prove which group is right. The ethical considerations involved in abortion are too complex and personal to warrant inflexible or intolerant judgements. Laws should therefore not be based on these considerations and should not force the opinions of either pressure group on the whole population. A Heylen Poll in May 1975 found that 56% of New Zealanders supported unrestricted legalisation of abortion. Yet one month later, 43 male members of parliament passed Dr Wall's amendment to the Hospital Act.

The Values Party believes that:
- those whose conscience forbids them to have anything to do with abortion should not be required to do so;
- the decision on whether or not a woman should obtain an obortion should be made by her and her doctor, since each woman's beliefs, medical history and situation are unique.
- where paternity is established and there is a bond between the couple concerned, the man could well be included in the process of deciding about abortion. However if the couples' preferences conflict, the woman's choice should prevail. After all, current adoption practice entails the consent of the mother only because it is the mother who literally "gives" birth.

The Values Party endorses the statement in its 1972 manifesto (pp10 and 56) that: "Our party's stand on abortion is not based on the desire to reduce population growth. We believe that abortion is the least desirable form of birth control and should not be regarded as a substitute for contraception." It would repeal all existing legislation on abortion (including Dr Wall's Hospital Amendment Act) because there is no need for legislators to single out one form of medical treatment for special legislation. Other laws regarding medical practices provide adequate safeguards and ensure that every abortion would be carried out by a registered medical practitioner in an approved manner.

Other reasons for repealing existing legislation on abortion are:
- The law discriminates against many thousands of women and doctors who in all conscience do not believe that the termination of a pregnancy is sinful, irresponsible, or the concern of anyone but themselves.
- The law is not clear to doctors, legislators, or to the general public. The brunt of this difficulty and the risk involved in interpreting it is borne by doctors and women. As the law is currently applied, women with means can readily obtain an abortion but poorer women cannot.
- The law is not effective since thousands of illegal abortions continue to be performed in New Zealand each year and some 4,000 New Zealand women fly to Australia annually seeking abortions.
- The law prevents doctors from doing what they consider best for their patients.

In addition, the Values Party would establish free outpatient clinics along the lines of the Remuera Medical Centre throughout the country. Such clinics would:
- ensure that counselling was available before a woman made her decision and that contraceptive advice was given to avoid further unwanted pregnancies;
- use early-term vaccuum aspiration (with or without local anaesthesia), which is a less dangerous and traumatic method than the traditional one (evacuation curettage under general anaesthesia).
- prevent unnecessary delay in terminating pregnancies.

Finally, the Values Party would promote many measures to raise the status of women so that fulfilling alternatives to having children were readily available, so that women did not just drift irresponsibly into motherhood, and so that respect for women and children would deter men from irresponsibly fathering children.

Censorship

The Values Party believes that censorship inhibits the development of responsible adult citizenship. We would encourage the principle of individual responsibility for moral behaviour. Although we accept that in our present society some censorship may be necessary in the interests of children, we would prefer to see this responsibility left with parents rather than assumed by the State.

The Values Party would

- **Require more information and guidelines on the nature of literature, films and broadcasts to be readily available to enable people to make decisions for themselves rather than having such decisions made for them by the State.**
- **Review the Indecent Publications Act with a view to reducing censorship of books, documents and newspapers.**
- **Repeal the Cinemotograph Films Act and replace it by legislation which would enable films to be shown to restricted audiences [if necessary] rather than be cut.**
- **Establish a Royal Commission to examine the definitions of obscenity, indecency, pornography and violence, and to study the effect of such material on individuals and society with special reference to its influence on character development and its relationship to criminal or other anti-social behaviour.**

Privacy

With the increasing scale and complexity of our society, there has been a trend towards collection by government and private agencies of data relating to the affairs of individual citizens. Where data collection relating to identifiable individuals is necessary, we believe that extensive safeguards should be provided to ensure that it is available only for the purpose for which it has been collected.

The Values Party would

- **Abolish the Security Intelligence Service.**
- **Ensure that all records kept on an individual by any organisation be available on demand to that person or his legal representative for perusal and correction.**

Sexual Laws

The Values Party does not believe that the State has any role in regulating sexual practices between consenting adults in private.

In relation to current arguments for and against homosexual law reform, it should be noted that:

- The present law discriminates between male homosexual acts which are criminal and female homosexual acts which are not.
- Homosexuals and paedophiliacs (men who interfere with children) are two almost entirely separate groups and no one who advocates homosexual law reform advocates any reduction in penalties for assaults on children. (Research indicates that heterosexuals are more likely to become paedophiliacs than homosexuals.)
- The individual homosexual suffers under a social strain and a fear of public humiliation which is hard enough to bear without the addition of a sense of guilt and a fear of public persecution. The present law is hypocritically and very arbitrarily enforced yet the risk of prosecution or blackmail is ever present for all practising homosexuals.
- Reform of the law will in no way reduce the penalties for assaults on children.

The Values Party would

- **Repeal all laws proscribing sexual practices in private between consenting persons of consenting age.**
- **Repeal all laws discriminating against homosexuals, and redraft laws relating to matters such as sexual assault so that they apply equally to heterosexuals and homosexuals.**

Drug Laws

We do not advocate the use of drugs in any form, but we believe that existing drug laws are hypocritical, inconsistent and often make the problem worse.

Alcohol and Tobacco

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

The Values Party would

- **Take immediate steps to place breweries under community control [see "Economics"] [Note that this does not mean nationalisation].**
- **Prohibit all advertising of alcohol and tobacco products except at the point of sale.**
- **Require commercial organisations profiting from the sale of alcohol to recognise their larger social responsibilities by helping to finance community controlled alcoholic rehabilitation and research programmes.**

Marijuana

On evidence presently available it appears that marijuana is less dangerous to health than either alcohol or tobacco. It is thus hard to justify the prohibition of marijuana when we don't prohibit alcohol or cigarettes. It is no argument to suggest that we should not allow yet another social evil. As a matter of principle we must allow individual freedom unless it is outweighed by the interests of the community as a whole.

Nor is it an argument to suggest that marijuana should be prohibited because it leads to the use of more dangerous drugs. This would be the same as prohibiting social drinking because it can lead to alcoholism. In any event there is no evidence of a causal relationship between marijuana and "hard" drugs.

The relatively minor penalties now imposed by the courts for a first offence of private possession and use of marijuana are no deterrent and, given the widespread disregard for the law and the cost to the community of attempting to enforce it, the provision of any penalty is pointless.

However, as with alcohol and tobacco, we do not believe the use of marijuana should be encouraged, and we are opposed to its commercial exploitation and promotion.

The Values Party would

- **Remove penalties for the growing and private use of marijuana, but prohibit the sale for profit of marijuana.**

Addictive Drugs

We believe that the objective in dealing with those addicted to drugs should be rehabilitation rather than punishment. Apart from having little apparent effect in combating drug addiction, the existence of criminal penalties hinders rehabilitation by deterring addicts from seeking help; leads to drug pushers with a vested interest in increasing the number of addicts; drives addicts to criminal activities to obtain drugs and/or money to buy them. The policies outlined below would to a large extent eliminate the drug pusher's market.

Evidence suggests that there are many more people addicted to legally prescribed drugs than to drugs illegally obtained.

The Values Party would

- **Implement stricter supervision of commercial manufacturers and distributors involved in the legal distribution and sale of drug supplies.**
- **Retain penalties for unlawful production, distribution, and sale of addictive drugs.**
- **Remove criminal penalties for possession for private use of addictive drugs.**
- **Set up government funded clinics providing programmes of maintenance and treatment for drug addicts.**

Firearms

- **Increase penalties for anyone found in possession of an unregistered firearm at any time.**
- **Ensure that warrant of fitness examinations are carried out on all firearms at regular intervals.**

- Grant an amnesty to anyone surrendering an unregistered firearm at any time.
- Ensure that proficiency tests be carried out at specified intervals for all firearm licence holders.
- Make licences to operate firearms more difficult to obtain.

Divorce Law Reform

- Make irreconcilable breakdown of marriage the only grounds for divorce.
- Reform the divorce laws to make them less discriminating towards males.

Miscellaneous

The Values Party would

- Reform the Police Offences Act to make it less arbitrary and open to abuse.
- Replace fulltime magistrates by part-time magistrates drawn from practising solicitors on a roster basis administered by the Justice Department [this is an attempt to overcome the often conservative and out-of-touch administration of the law in our Magistrates Courts].
- Amend present libel laws to make them less restrictive and enable adequate public discussion of important issues.
- Abolish private security firms.
- Make New Zealand's highest court a New Zealand court, not the Privy Council as at present.
- Make legal aid available as of right to defendants in criminal cases.
- Endorse the ideal of open government at all levels, particularly with reference to open meetings and freedom of information.

The Status of Women

"Discrimination against women is incompatible with human dignity and with the welfare of the family and of society, prevents their participation on equal terms with men in the political, social, economic and cultural life of their countries and is an obstacle to the full development of the potentialities of women in the service of their countries and of humanity"

-United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women

The Values Party supports the work of the UN Commission on the status of women and endorses the UN aims in designating this year as International Women's Year. We believe it is time that the status of women be considered an important priority in New Zealand politics and have taken the initiative by offering a comprehensive policy in this chapter of our party's manifesto.

However we would not be content with raising the status of women simply on male terms. We aim also to raise the status of traditional women's values which have stressed co-operation rather than competition, nurturing, healing, and cherishing instead of exploiting, destroying and conquering, and peace instead of conflict. We agree with Matthew Arnold that "if ever the world sees a time when women shall come together purely and simply for the benefit and good of mankind, it will be a power such as the world has never known".

We hope that International Women's Year will be that time but stress that it "must not benefit only a small minority of women, conferring on them a spurious and privileged equality in an unequal world. If International Women's Year becomes obsessed by this kind of equality - equality for the few inside the old structures at the expense of many and of the possibility of new structures - it will be irrelevant to the vast majority of women" ("New Internationalist" Jan. 1975.)

We therefore ask New Zealand women to broaden their women's movement so that "it does not simply seek admission to a system which is itself leading the world into despair" (Ibid). We commend to them all our party's policies for building an alternative system which would stress values that women have traditionally perceived were more important than those which currently prevail.

The Values Party's policy on the status of women is based on five premises:

-there are biological differences between men and women but far too much has been made of them and they do not justify a vast and inequitable system of discrimination against women throughout society;
-no human qualities should be culturally labelled "male" or "female". We want to create a cultural environment where all qualities can come out in all people;
-each individual person has a right to find out the kind of person she or he is, to strive to become that person and to choose in what capacity she or he will serve society. Society should offer the same opportunities and encouragement to all to realise their individual potential;
-in a truly equal society women would be in a position comparable to men in that they would be able to combine occupational and other roles with those of spouse and parent. Men and women should share equally the responsibility for home and children;
-every time we liberate a woman we liberate a man ... We need the imagination, dedication, and creativity of everyone ... for a mutually respecting and supportive planetary society." (Dr Margaret Mead.)

Education at Home

New Zealand society is characterised by a sexual version of apartheid. From the beginning children are taught concepts of masculinity and femininity, both deliberately and unconsciously. A girl's attention is directed in and on herself and the home. A boy is conditioned to look out to society and the world. Initiative, aggression and competitive instincts are strongly fostered in male children; tenderness, self control and flexibility in female children.

Girls are encouraged to be decorative, helpful and clean. Boys are encouraged to be adventurous, curious and rough. Girls have different toys and different books from boys. Relatively few toys are usually given to children of both sexes. Books for children reflect the same bias. Many studies show that two thirds of story books feature boys compared with one third featuring girls in both illustrations and text.

Education in sex roles outside of formal education is the main influence in keeping the status of women low. It is not so much that it controls a woman's alternatives but rather her motivation to choose any but one of those alternatives. As a result, half the population is under-rated, under-encouraged and under-achieving. How many potentially effective human beings can we afford to suppress in the name of traditional role playing?

The Values Party would

- Reorient education to emphasise cooperation, caring, sharing and the worth of every child rather than achievement and competition.
- Foster the idea of partnership in marriage and childrearing at all levels of education, stressing role equality and sharing of responsibility.
- Encourage all people by means of a Government-sponsored publicity campaign to avoid sex stereotyping in the rearing and education of children.

Education at School

By the time children start school they have already been burdened with an enormous load of traditional masculine and feminine lore - how a man should behave, what a woman should be. Stereotyping is less blatant in the school system and is effected more by individual teachers and the pupils' own peers than by the system itself. Nevertheless, education for girls differs in extent and substance from education for boys.

Girls observe that women predominate at the lower levels of the school system and man at the higher levels. They are more likely to have a male head of their school than a female. They do better academically at school than boys until puberty, yet leave school earlier with fewer qualifications. They take different subjects at secondary school. Fewer of them go on to tertiary education and again, those who do, take different subjects and degrees from those taken by most men.

Although in theory, educational opportunities are as available to girls as to boys, the assumptions made by pupils, teachers and parents seriously limit the girls' education.

Boys know education is relevant to them: they know they will have to get a job and work most of their lives; they fear failure. School seems less relevant to a girl once she has been taught that her main interest is supposed to be in the home and her main aim is to attract a man. Failure is less important to her as there is always the escape route of marriage.

From the day she starts school to the day she leaves a girl can assume she will receive approval for what she is (as an object) rather than for what she does (as a subject).

Academic success can restrict the number of marriage partners available to her and so the motivation of older female students to achieve is less than that of their male peers.

Education at school will continue to be inadequate in preparing girls for careers and parenthood for as long as society fosters different expectations for each sex and the belief that sex roles must differ for men and women.

The Values Party would

- Ensure that all trainee teachers received instruction in how to perceive and counteract sex stereotyping of their pupils.
- Encourage teachers to pay particular attention to motivating adolescent girls to achieve and to resist social pressures which could discourage them from training for possibly life-long careers.
- Attach pre-schools where possible to secondary schools to enable students of both sexes to be involved in practical family life education which completely avoided role stereotyping.
- Encourage more men to be involved in education ideally to reach a staff ratio of 50:50 with women at all levels.
- Eliminate sex bias from teaching materials and school books.
- Make all subjects, courses, sports facilities, and cultural amenities equally available to both sexes at all levels of education.
- Make co-educational schools the norm at all levels of schooling.
- Provide an integrated manual training scheme for all primary children.
- Amend social studies curricula to stress adequately the achievement of women, and the history of women as a social group.
- Promote opportunities for work experience in a wide range of occupations in a greater number of schools.
- Expand and improve the vocational guidance counselling service so that it does not channel girls into lower-paid, less responsible, less challenging work, or discourage boys from entering fields traditionally reserved for women.

Education after schooling

Education for sex roles extends beyond school into adulthood and continues until death. As reality often does not match the expectations girls have about marriage or boys about work, adults of both sexes need constant assurances and admonitions to bolster up the crumbling walls of the old stereotypes.

The mass media do a lot of role reinforcing. Advertisements show passive, obliging, dependent women, always child-like, slim and decorative, often in competition with other women and envying them. Men are shown as strong, successful, able to own status symbols, admired by women, knowledgeable, cool and efficient.

It is ironic that a society which is so geared to sex roles makes such poor provision for the women whose opportunities for continuing education are restricted by childbearing and domestic responsibilities.

The Values Party would

- Discourage all advertising, especially on television, which undermined and insulted women's integrity, intelligence or sexuality.
- Disseminate more information about facilities and opportunities for continuing education.
- Provide more free education for adults especially those whose opportunities have been restricted by domestic responsibilities.
- Extend bursaries to part-time tertiary students.

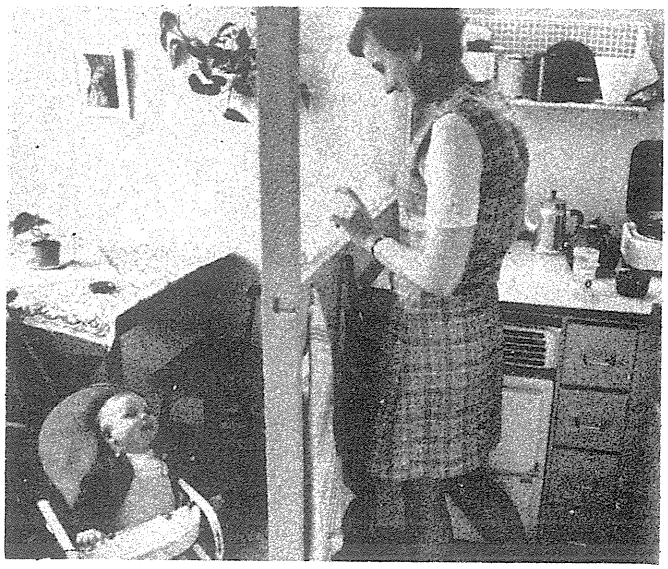
- Article 23 [3] in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ... ensuring an existence worthy of human dignity."
- That Government or community expenditure should be diverted towards paying for the essential care and cost of the sick, disabled, handicapped, old and young.

In the long term, a Values Government would implement a national minimum income scheme which would provide for actual payments to be made to those working usefully without proper remuneration by society, additional to the income which belonged to everyone by right (see Economics policy).

In the meantime, we believe that a fair wage, broadly graded according to actual work done and actual responsibility carried, should be paid by the State to every person irrespective of sex who works in the home or within the community caring part-time or full-time for a person who is partially or totally dependent for reasons of age and/or physical or mental health and who would otherwise be a charge upon the State. This wage would not include remuneration for any housework other than that generated by the dependants they are being employed to care for.

The Values Party believes

- Reasonable payments should be made to parents who by law and necessity are required to teach their own children under the guidance of the Correspondence School [children in remote areas who cannot be sent to school must be enrolled in the correspondence school by the age of seven, although most are enrolled at five and the mothers must act as unpaid teachers, spending about five hours a day supervising and teaching them. About 600 New Zealand women are in this position.]
- The experience gained by persons in bringing up a family and in voluntary work should be taken into account where relevant by employers [especially the Public Service].
- Financial assistance should be given to individual voluntary workers in such form as tax exemptions for the use of private vehicles.
- Community centres should be established which could provide scope for voluntary bodies to strengthen and expand their activities which otherwise will diminish as improving employment conditions attract increasing numbers of women into alternative paid work.



Childbirth and Health

The twentieth century has seen an enormous improvement in the health of women in most countries, primarily because of new birth control technology. Previously, many women spent most of their lives pregnant or breast feeding. They died early, their bodies worn out by continual childbirth - often they died in childbirth.

Their new freedom to choose parenthood or not has enabled women to seek more personal freedom in other areas of their lives too. For more detail on the relevance of the new birth control technology see the section on fertility control in the chapter "Individual Freedom", (which deals with sex edxucation, contraception, sterilisation, and abortion).

Our policies on women's health are based on our belief that all persons should have as much say as possible over what happens to their bodies.

We disapprove of the degree to which childbirth has been institutionalised and depersonalised.

The Values Party recommends

- More real attempts to prepare women in the techniques of natural childbirth and an overall humanising of the process.
- Re-education of all professions involved in the provision of obstetrical services to give real support and encouragement to women who want more control and understanding of their bodies during childbirth.
- That hospitals cease discriminating against single mothers in such matters as who they receive as visitors.
- Total revision of New Zealand maternity services giving mothers the first and last say.
- Support for the "pregnant patients" bill of rights at present being advocated throughout New Zealand.
- Better provision for home deliveries and for counselling in breast feeding.
- Medical research into women's health should receive at least the same degree of financial assistance as that into the area of general health. At present too many so-called "women's problems" are simply accepted as a fact of life, not to be remedied.
- The medical world not assume so often that women's specific health problems are neurotic in origin. This assumption may cause a doctor to be less sympathetic than should be expected and may in some cases result in inadequate treatment of the physical ailment.
- Measures be introduced towards achieving a balanced ratio of women in the medical and para-medical professions and at all decision-making levels in the health service.
- There be more health care counselling and referral services in clinics located in community centres.
- The cost of breast prostheses be included under Social Security as an artificial aid benefit.

We are concerned that the incidence of mental breakdown in New Zealand is substantially higher among women than men as evidenced by the high ratio of women to men in admittances to mental hospitals and the high proportion of women in total attempted suicides. "Research ... has related this situation to depression caused by the pressures of domestic and social conditions on women, particularly those fully engaged in the home ... (and those) in the childbearing age group." Report of the NZ Select Committee on Women's Rights, June 1975, p.81.

The Values Party believes all its policies on the status of women would reduce these pressures and improve these conditions.

Marriage and Divorce

The Values Party would discourage all practices resulting from regulations, orders, stipulations, awards and rulings which assume that women, especially married women, have only dependent status or which assume that women are financially irresponsible and not credit-worthy or that breadwinners are necessarily male (for example the Housing Corporation defines the breadwinner as the male spouse if he is capable of working).

The Values Party would

- Outlaw discrimination against women in the provision of all goods and services including grants, mortgages, loans, credit finance, banking and insurance facilities: in particular outlaw the practice of requiring women wishing to undertake a financial commitment to provide a male guarantor or the signature of a husband.
- Condense the Matrimonial Property Act, Domestic Proceedings Act and Matrimonial Proceedings Act into one Domestic Act written with a marriage contract attached as a schedule to it; this contract to set out all legal obligations of each spouse.
- Amend legislation so that there be no obligation of one spouse to support the other financially; their joint obligation to support children to be set out, including procedures to be followed in the event of separation. Another schedule would become operative if the couple had a child or children and one partner stayed at home to care for them.
- Amend the Domestic Actions Bill to support the abolition of actions which treat women as chattels.
- Amend the law so that irreconcileable break-down of a marriage would be the only grounds for divorce.
- Base divorce settlements on the principle that a couple should generally be entitled to equal interest in matrimonial property [especially a joint family home] whether each person's contribution was in monetary form or not.
- Provide more legal aid for women whose husbands have far greater financial resources and who are at a disadvantage when they face the protracted legal proceedings which can follow from the application of the matrimonial and domestic laws. Women should have the same chance to state their case as a male breadwinner.
- Make sickness and unemployment benefits the same for married persons of either sex as for single persons.

Maori Women

The Values Party is particularly concerned by the effect of urbanisation on Maori women. Since 1971 the rate of urbanisation has risen from 25 to 70 per cent of the total.

Maori women marry younger, start bearing children earlier, bear larger numbers of children, and stop childbearing later.

Since Maori families are larger and their breadwinners' wages lower, Maori women are being forced to work at a crucial stage in their children's lives in order to supplement the family income. 24.7 per cent (1971) of all married Maori women work. They tend to be younger than their counterparts and they work between pregnancies. Their earnings are extremely low mainly because of the fact that 89 per cent of them have no qualifications.

The Values Party believes that its policies on the status of women and on race relations would greatly reduce the social and economics pressures on maori women.

Changing the law

Previous sections present policy to:

- prevent the more blatant forms of discrimination against women in New Zealand society;
- create a cultural environment where the equal status of women and of traditional women's values can be achieved.

In addition to the provisions in policies given above, general legislation is needed to bring New Zealand law into conformity with international instruments relating to the status of women.

Much of our law has developed from the basis of Victorian male attitudes which were paternalistic and protective towards women, relegating them to a position of dependence. Such attitudes persist among members of the public and cannot be changed overnight but there is no reason for any delay in altering all New Zealand laws developed on such an unjustifiable basis. Such alterations will promote the changes needed in attitudes throughout our society, especially if complemented by educative action.

The Values Party would

- Examine, alter and add to all existing legislation with a view to detecting and eliminating all legal disabilities of, and discrimination against, persons on the basis of sex, marital status, or sexual preference, and prescribe sanctions against discriminatory practices.

Machinery is needed to enforce all such new legislation.

- Set up an office similar to that of the ombudsman to examine and remedy discrimination against persons on the basis of sex, marital status, or sexual preference, in particular infringements of the Equal Pay Act. Holders of office must have the power to prosecute and the complainant should be able to approach them directly. Another function of this office would be to inform and educate the public on the implications of equality for women.
- Recommend that all Government departments examine practices which discriminate against persons on the basis of their sex, marital status, or sexual preference, or which treat women in a paternalistic manner.
- Support legislative amendments to the effect that in cases of rape, the woman's sexual experience, apart from that with the person being prosecuted, should not be admissible evidence - the complainant be referred to only as Ms X; all names be suppressed until a conviction is entered.
- Make provision in the Superannuation Act for women who do not work for money [such as farmers' wives].
- Extend the Joint Family Homes Act to cover farm houses.

Power

It is a fact that power in most of the forms that matter in our society - in government, in commerce, in religion, in community status - plus the power of wealth, weapons, and the press is largely in men's hands in New Zealand.

- Ensure that more part-time tertiary courses were available and that existing courses [for example at Massey] were better publicised.
- Provide more opportunity for parents returning to the work force to train for a different occupation or to familiarise themselves with their previous occupation.
- Establish more courses to give greater confidence to older parents re-entering the workforce at technical institutes in the main cities.
- Encourage firms to retrain people in technical skills outside those traditionally accepted as suitable for their sex.
- Establish a permanent system of education through television for the benefit of home-bound spouses.

Employment of Women

The Values Party sees no reason in terms of inherent qualities why a woman should not be able to undertake any job for which she is qualified and to be successful in that job. Yet historically women have been employed in large numbers only when there is a shortage of male workers or where it is cheaper to pay women than men.

New Zealand has a shortage of skilled labour which it prefers to relieve by means of immigration. The Values Party would however look to the vast segments of our indigenous population which are employed below their potential (and sometimes below their skill, particularly when re-entering the workforce). Most of these are women.

Women in employment are generally unskilled or semi-skilled, doing jobs with minimal responsibility and jobs which are mechanical, repetitive and boring ("that men couldn't be expected to do"). The number of occupations effectively open to women is limited - men dominate factory, transport and agricultural jobs while women hold by far the greatest proportion of clerical and service jobs.

The Values Party would

- Eliminate separate labour markets for men and women.
- Prohibit the advertising of situations vacant in which sex is specified even though irrelevant to the position.

Recommend all employers to:

- Place advertisements where both men and women will read them.
- Depict both men and women on the job in career literature.
- Reach both men and women on recruiting trips.
- Standardise interview practices for men and women applicants, so that both are asked the same questions.

Equal pay

Over the last three censuses the annual median income for female workers has been only half the level for males. This will be somewhat improved when the Equal Pay Act is fully implemented in 1977.

However, although equal pay has been in force for years in the Public Service, women still occupy lower rather than higher grades. Unless New Zealand is careful its equal pay legislation could fail by default as has happened elsewhere, especially with regard to the effects of fringe benefits (such as gratuities, low-interest home loans, medical and pension schemes) and job reclassification on real earning differentials.

The issue of equal pay is neatly side-stepped also in fields where certain positions are always filled by women.

The Values Party believes that in determining fair rates of pay in occupations filled mainly by women, notional male rates must be based on what employers would have to pay male employees recruited from the labour pool in any given region, and based also on job evaluations which have been carried out scientifically rather than by rule of thumb.

The Values Party would establish a public relations campaign through the Labour Department to

- Allay the fears of both employers and employees regarding the implications of the Equal Pay Act.
- Re-educate employers with outdated prejudiced attitudes regarding the employment of women [for example "that men are more committed to their work than women"].
- Make employers more aware of the advantages to themselves of employing more women [for example, publicise the low female turnover rate compared with that for males employed in freezing works, the superior planting rates of women forestry workers, the dexterity of women in occupations such as carpet-weaving].
- Seek trade union understanding and support for changes in the pattern of women's employment.

Conditions of work

Fair pay must be accompanied by fair conditions. The reason some occupations, previously filled exclusively by men, are now accepting women, is often because the poor conditions are not attracting enough male applicants. In order to improve working conditions for both men and women.

The Values Party would

- Apply protective legislation [for example regarding hours of work, toilet and resting facilities, heavy lifting which might injure employees] equally to both sexes where it was necessary.
- Remove from all orders, awards, industrial agreements and statutory regulations any clauses of specific disadvantage to either sex.
- Require that policies of fringe benefits, leave entitlements, marriage allowances, travel opportunities, job training, increased responsibility, extra duties [for example, tea-making, shifting furniture] and retirement age, affecting employees be extended to all employees irrespective of sex.

Promotion

With regard to promotion opportunities and practices,

The Values Party would require that

- Employers consider all eligible applicants irrespective of their sex for each promotion vacancy.
- Separate salary ceilings for men and women be eliminated.
- All transfer expenses and assistance including housing and costs of moving family be equally available to both sexes.
- Employers levy no duties and make no demands [for example, dress, behaviour, right to take a job] on the spouses of any of their employees unless they are prepared to bring them into remunerative employment on an ordinary part-time or casual basis [for example, wives of diplomats, politicians, executives].

Making up the leeway

It will take some time before new promotion practices alter the domination of men in executive positions and the marked absence of women from senior positions

in all fields. Remedial measures are needed to help women who have been employed for some time to compensate for past lack of opportunity.

The Values Party would recommend that employers

- Offer special in-service training and accelerated promotion to women who have been held back by past policy.
- Endow women's scholarships and traineeships in trades or professions where women are under-represented [a special stress on management training may be indicated].
- Credit women's past service towards benefits for which they have just been made eligible.
- Appoint a special staff member to deal with women's interests until the firm has eliminated discrimination.
- Educate all existing staff on intended changes in such a way that acceptance and understanding is hastened.
- Set quotas of women in all occupations and promotional levels and attempt to fill them [for example, by recruiting selectively in places where women are to be reached].

Workers outside normal employment

Much valuable and productive work is done for society by workers who receive no renumeration for their work. In many cases such people are therefore forced to become themselves dependent on the charity or generosity of a friend, relative, spouse, or sexual partner, despite the fact that they are healthy, sane, adult and working both fulltime and overtime.

Hundreds of thousands of women are just such workers, caring for dependants, supervising pupils of the correspondence school, and doing voluntary social work. The late Mr N. E. Kirk said (26.6.73) "If the homemaker's sister goes out to work, she gets paid at the same rate as men. Where is the economic justice in motherhood and for the homemaker?" Although jobs done by women in normal employment are usually socially lower-rated and less prestigious, the job of housewife is at the bottom of the pile - very low social status, no leave, no sickness benefit, no superannuation, and no income-related accident compensation (though the home is eight times as dangerous as a farm and six times as dangerous as a factory).

Society praises the role of the mother in nurturing and caring for her family yet fails to give her any real support in performing this function and penalises her for the rest of her life for having done it. Even the most unskilled full-time paid job carried occupational benefits in contrast to which the housewife caring for dependants, on whose physical and mental resources enormous demands are made, is in the unique position of having no call on standard conditions of employment.

The Values Party believes that whatever role a woman chooses it should be freely chosen on the basis that it will not place her at any disadvantage compared with other sections of the community.

We endorse these principles

- That every person irrespective of sex who does socially useful work should receive a fair living wage.

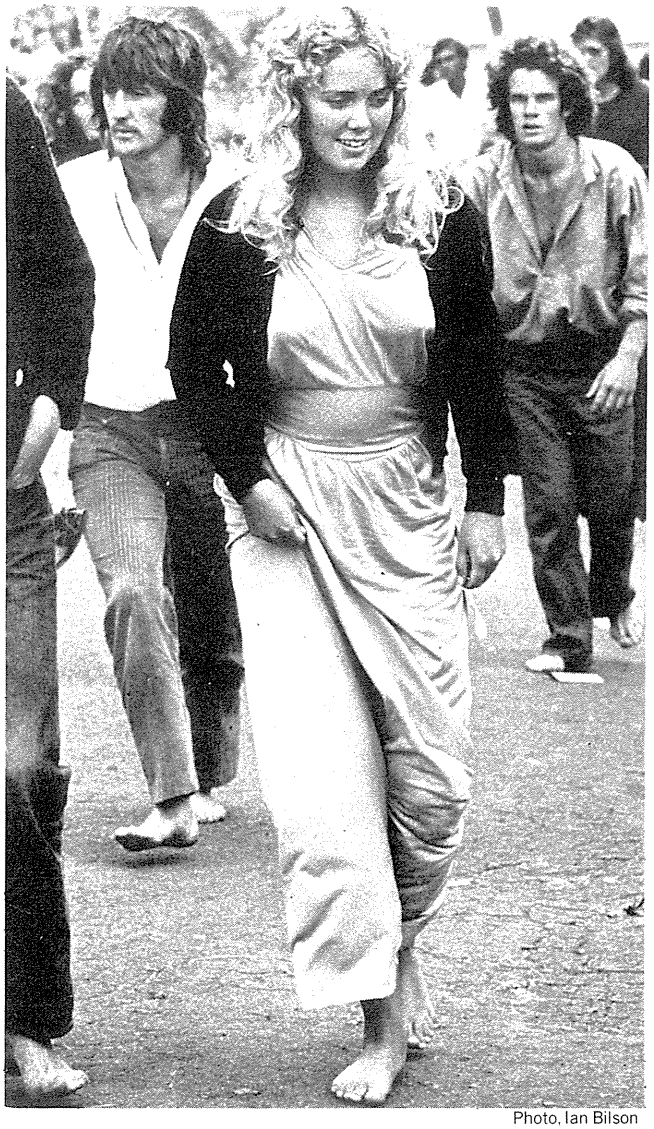
All magistrates (bar one) and judges, almost all ministers of religion, business executives and university professors, most academics and professionals, most of the armed forces and mass media, and most of the owners of resources in New Zealand are men.

Women are for the most part absent from union meetings, trade councils and the annual conference of the Federation of Labour. They have always been totally absent from the National Executive of the Federation of Labour, and the teams representing New Zealand at the annual I.L.O. Conferences.

In our parliament, 83 out of 87 seats are held by men, yet men are only 48.7 per cent of the population. There were no women in parliament at all until 1933 even though women got the vote in 1893 and have been able to stand for Parliament since 1919.

The Values Party would

- **Promote measures to ensure more women applicants are appointed to public office, especially with regard to judicial and magisterial appointments.**
- **Revise the Juries Act with a view to putting jury service for women on a par with jury service for men.**
- **Encourage all clubs and other organisations to provide access to their facilities to women on the same basis as for men, where sex does not justify exclusion.**
- **Recommend that all political parties give special encouragement and special assistance to female candidates to help them overcome difficulties and prejudices and that they select all candidates on merit regardless of sex.**
- **Urge the Federation of Labour and all Trade Unions to promote actively the full participation of women at all levels of trade union activity.**
- **Encourage the full participation of women at all levels of decision-making in all sectors of society.**



Photo, Ian Bilson

Race Relations

The Values Party believes that the determination of Maori Affairs should be largely in the hands of Maori people.

Values Party policies that would affect Maori people incorporate this principle. (Refer: Education, Government Reform, Crime, Status of Women, Individual Rights.) As Values' policies develop in other fields they will also incorporate this principle.

Maori problems are frequently the problems of lower socio-economic groups. Our economics policy has been developed so that it will attack these problems at their fundamental, economic level.

Assimilation or Integration?

New Zealand prides itself on a record of racial harmony and this pride is justified when New Zealand is compared with the situations in (for example) South Africa, Australia, and the United States. But relative to the goals of equal opportunity and equal achievement, racial equity and harmony in New Zealand is similar to the relationship between a shark and a terakihi.

New Zealand's history with respect to the Maori people is by and large one of exploitation and land-grabbing, of inadequate services especially for introduced social problems in health and education, of emasculation of maori tradition and culture. Dick Scott's recent book, **Ask that Mountain,** gives an account of one episode in this history.

Present generations are not to blame for this history, but do share a responsibility to help redress its injustices. It makes no sense to claim that because we are not to blame we should do nothing about it.

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

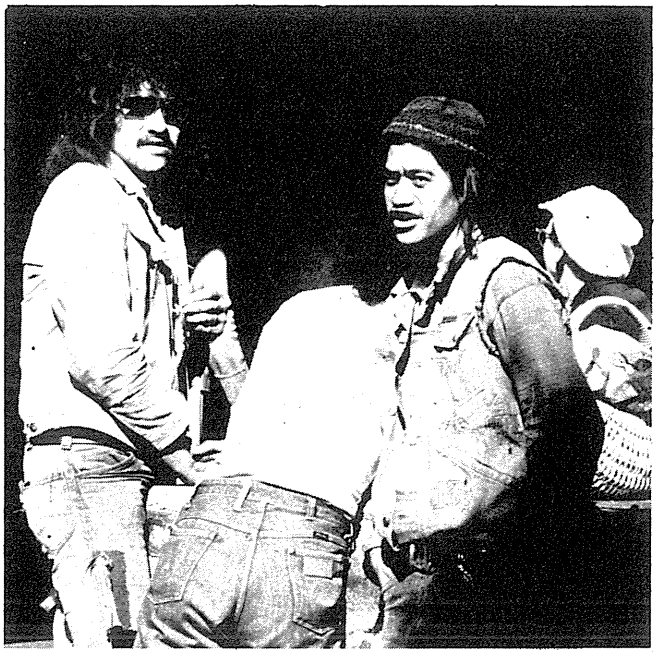
The Values Party will do everything it can towards remedying the disadvantages that many Maori people are facing.

Pakeha society has tried to assimilate the Maori; it has tried to turn him into a brown-skinned European. Education and court appearance statistics show the extent of failure.

Assimilation has created much personal unhappiness. Witi Ihimaera's story **One Step Forward is Two Steps Back** gives an insight into the sort of problems faced by the two-headed people, the pakeha Maori. Today, when most Maori live in urban areas, these human problems assume even greater proportions.

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

In undertaking to do everything possible to encourage development of the richness and value of maori tradition and culture, the Values Party recognises that there is much in maori tradition and



culture that pakeha could learn to their own benefit. For example, from traditional maori approaches to community, co-operation, work, land and decision-making. It is time that all in New Zealand tried to make maori traditions their own to some extent (as maori people have done with pakeha traditions).

The Values Party would

- Work towards effective integration by:
  - allowing the Maori people to foster their own institutions in their own ways;
  - enriching and transforming New Zealand society by learning from maori traditions and culture.
- Adopt short-term policies for achieving healthy integration:
  - make land and finance readily available for urban marae;
  - introduce thorough race relations training for police recruits and employers, and support unions which promote courses for immigrant Polynesian workers.
  - investigate the practicability of a separate Magistrates' Court system for Maori and Polynesians, involving among other features a Polynesian judiciary;
  - phase out such groups as the Task Force in favour of increased support for trained welfare officers, wardens, and J-Teams [preferably Maori or other Polynesians] working in major cities.

Maori Land

The Values Party believes that if traditional maori attitudes to the land had been allowed to develop instead of being broken down by the traditional European attitude, New Zealand would be in a far healthier state than it is. Obviously, neither attitude is sufficient for today's interdependent society.

In many important respects Values' land policy - that the use and administration of land be placed under community control through co-operative and participatory procedures - is closer to the traditional maori attitude then to the traditional European attitude.

The Values Party advocates that existing Maori lands wherever possible remain in maori proprietorship.

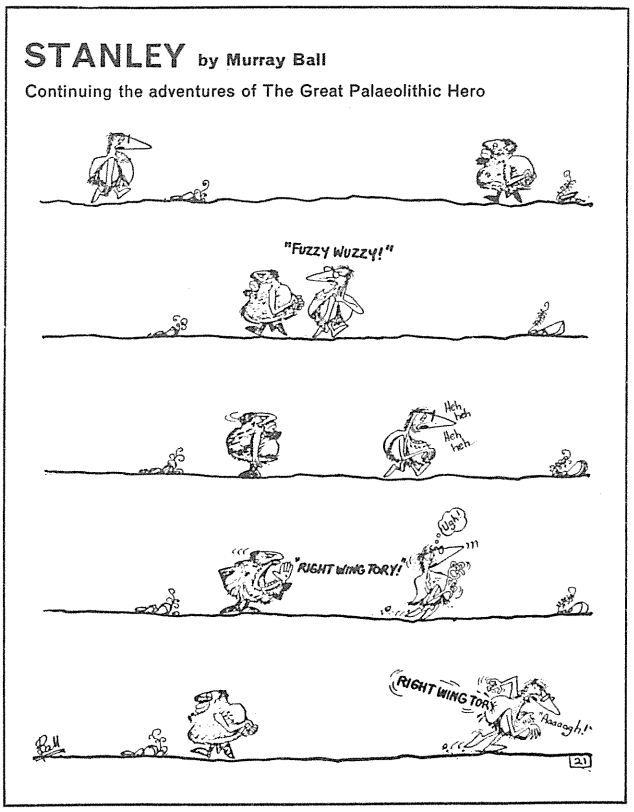
A multiracial-multicultural society

New Zealand's race relations problems have been both deteriorating and widening in recent years. Immigrants from the Pacific Islands and Europe find themselves faced with intolerance and prejudice. Often only lip service is paid to the concepts of individual freedom and interdependence.

The Values Party support the concept of integration that emphasises the need for particular ethnic groups to develop and live out their own cultural identity. There can be no effective integration in New Zealand until the different cultures are each viable in their own right and each willing to integrate.

The Values Party

- Believes that many of the policies it has developed in other areas will apply here. Tolerance and goodwill can hardly be legislated, but bigotry and discrimination can and will be penalised.
- Recognises the contribution of all racial groups in the development of a truly integrated multiracial society. It would support the efforts of such groups to retain their cultural identity. All immigrant groups face serious problems in coping with an alien society. Frequently the problems that arise can be traced to difficulties in communication.
- Would seek to establish better channels of communication between representatives of ethnic minorities and all levels and agencies of government.
- Recognise the need for institutional and local protection for the cultural rights of all groups.



Crime and Punishment

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Prison Conditions

Pay Rates

A determined effort must be made to increase the sense of purpose and responsibility of inmates. This can best be done in New Zealand prisons by providing prisoners with proper jobs and paying them realistic wages so that they can pay a realistic amount towards board and lodgings, pay off debts, contribute towards the maintenance of any dependants, and save up sums in preparation for use on release.

At the present time the poor payment in prison is not conducive to enthusiastic work. Payment to the prisoner is only in the nature of pocket money while any dependants go on Social Security.

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

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

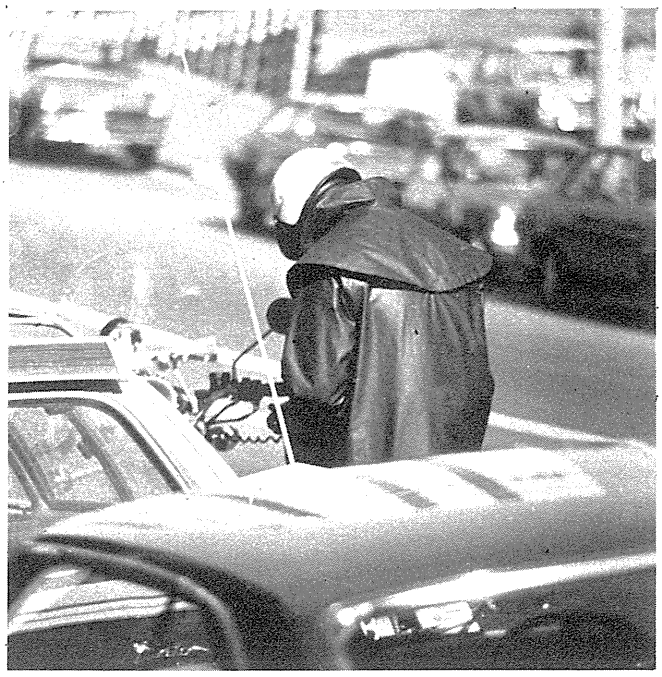
In 1966 the Justice Department stated that it hoped to introduce award rates of payment into prisons, but the proposed reform has never eventuated. Instead the Government is adhering to the "pocket money" concept and periodically raising the pay scale a few cents.

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

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

Humanising Influences

In an attempt to recreate a normal social environment within the prisons, a number of reforms should be introduced. Homely furnishings should be used as widely as possible; there should be greater attention to



the provision of grassed exercise yards (all exercise yards at Paremoremo Prison are paved); there could be regular small liquor rations for inmates who imbibe and who are not suffering from alcoholism; a variety of dress and clothing should be allowed, and there should be greater flexibility in timetable in order to reduce the monotony of prison life.

Interaction with the Community

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

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

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

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

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

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

Overcrowding

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

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

Adjustment

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

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

Post-release hostels exist in various centres to assist the adjustment of inmates but the number of these should be increased.

Prison Staff

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

Tim Shadbolt, in his book "Bullshit and Jellybeans", stated that:

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

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

Alternatives to Prison

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

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

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

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

Massachusetts

In Massachusetts since 1969 all juvenile training schools (the equivalent of our borstals and youth detention centres) have been abolished. Young offenders are rechanelled into:-

- Group homes where eight to 12 youths live with an adult couple under supervision by local agencies (at greatly reduced cost per capita to the State than under the old "training school" system);
- Foster Homes;
- Their own homes, under a "buddy" system where a university student spends 20 to 25 hours a week with the delinquents;
- Outdoor activities such as cleaning up parklands and going on pack and survival trips.

Florida

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

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

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

Denmark

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

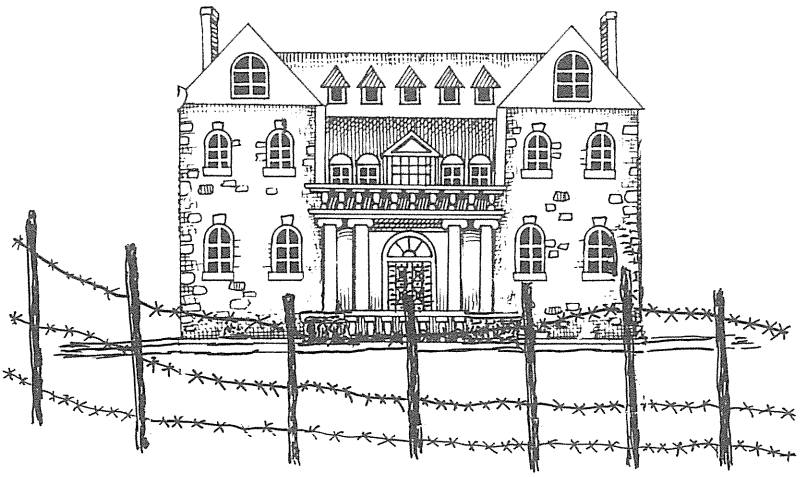
The evidence seems to suggest that in locking the criminal away and treating him as if he is dangerous, society is encouraging the very behaviour it seeks to eliminate. The overseas experiments suggest that if a society is bold enough to give the criminal an amount of "controlled freedom" or "relaxed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

The Values Party would

- **Make an immediate start on the gradual phasing out of most New Zealand prisons and their replacement by a large number of small "open" suburban hostels for all except prisoners requiring treatment for psychiatric disorders.**
- **Ensure that every prisoner retained the right to vote at national elections.**
- **Phase out imprisonment for most crimes against property, and replace it with community service, the offender being required to make good the loss or damage wherever appropriate.**

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

- **The provision of adequate and suitable work for all inmates.**
- **Award wages in order to provide an incentive work, and to help inmates maintain their dependants and save up sums for use on release.**
- **Greater humanising influences introduced to prisons, such as homely furniture and decorations, grassed exercise areas, regular small liquor rations, variety in clothing, greater flexibility of prison timetable, and a prison cinema.**
- **Encouragement of prison visiting.**
- **Expansion of home-leave scheme to other than first-termers.**
- **Regular supervised telephone calls by inmates to relatives, family and friends.**
- **Supervised group outings of inmates to sports matches, rock concerts, and other amusements.**
- **Immediate construction of a pre-release hostel for Wellington.**
- **Greatly expanded provisions for prison officers to take the Certificate and Diploma courses in Criminology at Auckland University.**



Community

The best way to run anything is to ensure that the people who are affected by decisions are as closely involved in making those decisions as possible, and are not merely told what to do by some remote official.

The Values Party is opposed to the development of impersonal, centralised, powerful bureaucracies and as a general policy favours transferral of centralised governmental and commercial activities to local communities - where this is made possible by the desire of the local people to take them over. We believe that the local community, and not the many government and corporate bodies and institutions, is the most important unit in society.

The Values Party believes in an alternative society made up of decentralised, self-sufficient communities, in which people work near their homes, have the responsibility of governing themselves, and of running their economic enterprises, schools, hospitals and welfare services. These real communities would be much happier and healthier places in which to live. We believe local community units should be the basis of social, welfare and support services and be the basic units in economic and political decision-making procedures. Such units would encourage individual liberty and enlarge personal choice.

At present there is considerable tension between an overly individualistic approach to personal identity and freedom and the proliferation of controls and administrative regulations laid down by large institutions and government bureaucracies. Our impersonal, centralised mass society, in which important decisions affecting us are made by people very remote from us, has little to recommend it as a type of human organisation.

In communities like these we would be able to develop an identity of our own, which many of us have lost in the mass society we live in. We would tend, once more, to find an aim in life, to develop a set of values, and take pride in our own achievements as well as those of our community.

While this is a long run aim which obviously cannot be achieved overnight, a start must be made.

Community, Family, Children

"In the older forms of social organisation, it was just this inescapable fact of close interdependence that held the family and the community together. In village or town, the lives of the inhabitants were dominated by local events. Narrow though their lives might appear by our standards they had, young and old, their place in the natural order of things, a settled relationship to one another guided by a network of custom and mutual obligation. Inevitably then, they were all of them part of the prior and absorbing concern of the community they dwelt in."

E. J. Mishan, "Growth: The Price We Pay", Staples Press 1969.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fostering Community

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

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

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

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

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

The result was the "nuclear family" - the unit of father and mother and children (average about 2.5). This unit is a handy size for consumerism and its mobility is an asset to employers. However, many social observers now say that the nuclear family, living in a self-contained and isolated house in the suburbs, may not be the healthiest environment for parents and children. Technological society draws the members of the modern family outward and disrupts the stability that both children and adults need. Jobs, careers, school, friends, differing values and morals, and all kinds of social institutions and technologies impinge on the fragile family unit. The suburban household becomes little more than a place to sleep.

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

Only through natural evolution and individual experimentation will the modern family adapt itself to

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

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

Child-rearing

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

The causes of crime are frequently traceable to poor family environments and broken marriages. One reason for poor family environments is that families in New Zealand are an economically disadvantaged minority. They are a minority because 75 percent of the new generation are being raised in only a third of the country's households.

The cost of bringing up children takes 75-80 per cent of the wage-packet, placing a huge burden on the worker parent, with welfare benefits in no way reflecting the cost of providing for a child. The introduction of equal pay has created pressure on the family with a single breadwinner and we can expect a widening in the gap in living standards between a one and two income family.

What is required is a re-deployment of labour and economic resources back into our most important social enterprise - the bearing and rearing of children. This does not conflict with our party's policy of population control provided that our society implements the measures we advocate with regard to family planning and responsible parenthood. (See chapter on individual freedom.)

Economic injustice for child-rearers is not justifiable as a method of limiting population growth. Every society needs and wants some children and if it is civilised and wise, should make the best provision it can for their rearing. We therefore need to give homemakers the power to improve the conditions in which they work - economic power. If homemakers were paid an adequate rate for the job, they would have economic power to re-structure society to cater better for the needs of children and families. (See policy on wage for dependant-carers in chapter on the status of women.)

To make the life of the homemaker comparable to other workers more labour must be brought into the domestic sector to relieve the homemaker. The most desirable and most natural auxiliary labour force is the breadwinning parent.

Varying Work Patterns

It is customary in New Zealand for children under five to be reared almost entirely by their mothers. This is a very new child-rearing pattern and is not found in many other societies throughout history. Society needs to work at new attitudes and relationships between mothers and fathers in both family and working life. Variations in work patterns would give them the chance to share "home" and "breadwinning" so that both parents could spend time with their families.

The present work pattern is still geared to the needs of male employees in the role of breadwinners, reflecting values and attitudes which are incompatible with modern realities. Most employers have given little serious attention to adopting procedures geared to the typical life pattern of the career parent.

As long as this is so, women, unlike men, will often have to choose either a career or parenthood. Meanwhile men who would like to make use of new opportunities to share the responsibility for home and children with their wives find it very difficult to adapt their own work pattern.

One helpful innovation would be a change in the nature of part-time work. At present this is often poorly paid and rarely provides any fringe benefits such as lunch and tea breaks or sick and holiday leave.

The Values Party recommends that

- Employers consider making more use of part-time workers especially at peak hours or as an alternative to overtime.
- Employers experiment with such variations in normal work patterns as twilight shifts and glide-time [all employees work a core period and work the remaining time at the convenience of themselves and their employers]; outwork [for already trained persons who can work without supervision]; provision for dual-career families; and various kinds of split-work or job-sharing [for example, a student and a housespouse sharing the same job].

Child Care Support

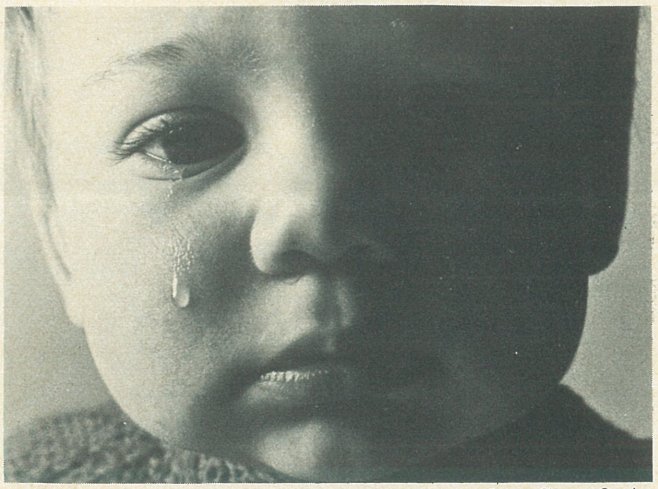
In 1971 the Department of Labour estimated that there were 35 - 40,000 pre-school children of working mothers but day-care facilities for only 2,000. In June 1974 there were facilities for 2781. What is happening to the other 30,000 children?

Most social workers know the human cost of inadequate private arrangements for child-minding - "door-key" children, children locked out, neglect and over-crowding.

The Values Party does not see child-care centres merely as child-minding establishments. They can be important supplements for the education, experience and contact with other people which the home is able to provide young children, whether both parents work or not.

There is little to indicate that the isolation of pre-school children and mothers in suburbs is conducive to the mental health of either. Some parents may be well-fitted to cope with this pattern and some children may spend most of their waking hours for five years with the same parent and still thrive. Other parents do not cope, their children do not thrive, and society picks up the broken pieces.

Unremitting contact with very young children can cause almost anyone great stress. No parent who is unable or unwilling to care for a child should be forced to do so by the lack of an alternative - both child and parent suffer. Traditional alternatives in the form of relatives and neighbours who could give parents in the home a break from their children are rapidly becoming unavailable.



Photo, Sheena Gordon

Another function of child-care centres is to enable all parents to have more choices about personal fulfilment and community service. It is very narrow to consider that only parents who are forced to work because of financial need should use child-care centres. Other good reasons include further education and training, voluntary work, creative or sporting pursuits, or mental stress.

This is not to say that parents should be actively encouraged to place young children in communal care but simply that each family should decide what is best for all its members.

Child-care centres should share the same basic aim as all organisations and people who are concerned with pre-school children - to ensure that all children get the love, education and opportunities they need to grow up into healthy, happy, responsible adults.

The Values Party would

- Foster community support and social conditions that enabled both men and women to combine parenthood with employment if they chose to do this.
- Ensure that day-care and over-night facilities for parents and young children were available to all who required them, including rural families.
- Ensure that all child-care facilities were well-staffed and well-equipped and that incentives were provided to encourage professional staff to stay as long as possible at the same centre.
- Amend the Child Care Regulations 1960 along the lines suggested by the NZ Association of Child Care Centres some 18 months ago.
- Encourage community involvement in child-care centres [for example, by welcoming parents, school-children, and older people as helpers].
- Vest government responsibility for the provision and maintenance of child-care facilities with the Education Department rather than with Social Welfare as at present, in order to emphasise developmental rather than custodial considerations.
- Provide loans for the establishment of child-care centres on the same basis as other pre-school institutions, assist with providing approved equipment, and provide training at Teachers' College level for child-care centre staff.
- Pay salaries for trained staff in State-provided centres and subsidise the wages of staff in approved voluntary centres or approved centres provided by private firms.
- Assist voluntary or municipal organisations providing residential and recreational services for the care of children, especially holiday camps and after-school activities.
- Encourage the use of school buildings out of school hours for after-school child-care, the responsibility for such care being undertaken by the Council for Sport and Recreation under the supervision of the Department of Education.
- Require that all workers who are parents be entitled to use sick leave to care for sick children or sick spouses with dependants.
- Provide home help for hospitalised single parents and for parents who for reasons of work need help in the home when one or other of them is hospitalised.
- Encourage hospitals and health centres to provide child-care facilities and some overnight accommodation for staff and visitors.
- Encourage hospitals to provide rooming-in facilities for the parents of pre-school children.
- Expect employers to reduce demands made on senior employees which extend regularly or suddenly into private time so that children are unduly deprived of the executive parent.

Education

School bell go ding-dong-ding.
The children all line up.
They do what they are told.
They mind their manners well.
Their little lives are all laid out.
Oh, teachers of the world:
teach them to fake it well.
Just teach them not to criticize,
to 'yes' the bosses, impress the clients.
Just get them into the factories, into production,
get them into line.
Mama don't seem to care
if she may break their hearts.
She clips their wings off.
They never learn to fly.

Buffy Sainte-Marie

The critical importance of education in either maintaining the present society, or developing an alternative to it, makes education an area of high priority for the Values Party.

The Values Party has followed these guidelines in developing an education policy:

- education is the development of the whole person (physical, emotional, mental, spiritual, individual, economic, political, social) rather than simply the processing of the person into society;
- equal access to education is one of the entitlements of New Zealand citizens;
- education is a lifelong growth and not something confined to formal institutions or particular age-groups;
- decentralisation of the administration of education is a necessary long-term goal, to be achieved through making functions and decisions the responsibility of the most appropriate levels;
- as school structures and procedures are a statement to coming generations of what society expects of its citizens, the objectives and procedures of co-operation and participatory democracy must be visible in the administration of schools;
- equality of educational opportunity requires that there be diversity in educational styles to allow for individual differences and preferences; but diversity without equal opportunity of access is iniquitous.

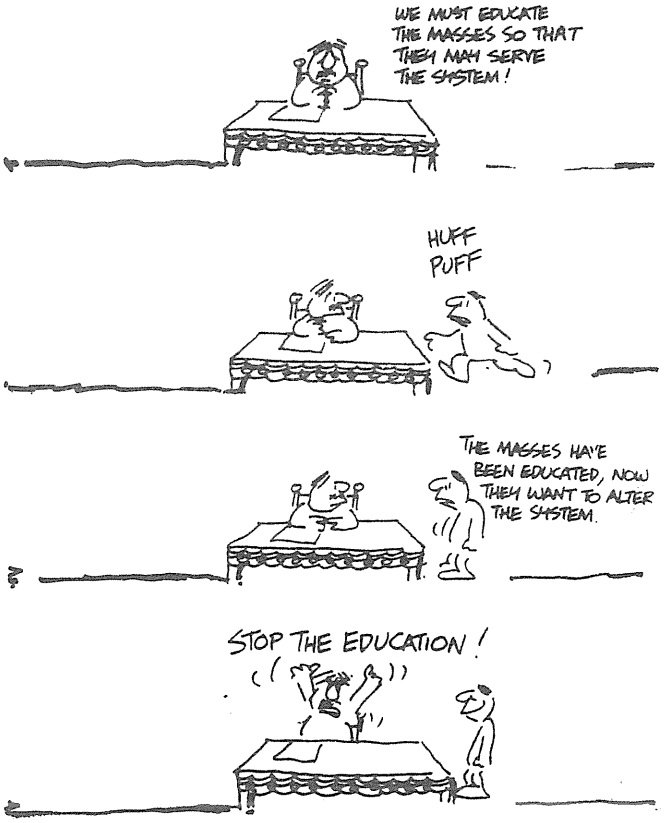
If New Zealand is to develop a just, co-operative, and community-based society, education is a vital aspect of that development. Our present system of education is competitive, its administration hierarchical, and effective power rests in the hands of a few.

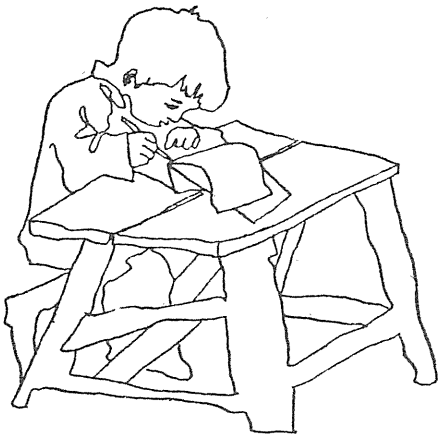
In 1972 the Values Party said that "our education system is not equipping young people with the skills they need to cope with life in a changing world ... At the present time many of the topics which our children are being taught are irrelevant to their needs, and the way in which they are being taught renders them of even less value". While the criticism remains valid, we feel that it would be no improvement just to update the system so that it caters better to a society which is fundamentally competitive and materialistic.

The intentions behind the Educational Development Conference were laudable, and the Values Party would implement the major recommendations of the final report of the Advisory Council on Educational Planning.

Some of the immediate problems facing education that haven't been addressed adequately by recent governments or the Conference include the whole relationship between education and work, the impossibility of "second chance" education when adults need to receive a full-time wage to survive, the developing exclusiveness of teachers, an administrative structure which prevents people at all levels - central, regional, or local school - from working efficiently and effectively, and the necessity for a hard look at the comparative facilities and roles of technical institutes and universities.

Deeper problems haven't really been tackled at all. As we approach the centenary of our present system in New Zealand, 70 per cent of the labour force have no educational qualification at all; the ratio of males who are qualified to females is about 3:1; there is a conservative estimate of between 50,000 and 100,000 adult New Zealanders who are virtually illiterate; and rural, lower-class or maori students make do with poorer facilities in an alien system.





Decision making

The most fundamental reforms are those which will make others possible. Many educational reforms are not possible at the moment because the central level of administration has too much power and too many functions, and at the local level contact between schools and their communities is limited.

The Values Party

- Seeks complete reform of the decision-making process in education. This would be achieved through a re-arrangement of functions and powers among schools, and community, regional and central levels of administration.
- Believes functions should be discharged at the most appropriate level but if regional, community and local school levels are to perform new functions effectively they must have greater experience of responsibility and better relations with the people whom their decisions will affect.
- Would act immediately to establish Community Education Councils consisting of elected members representing teachers, parents, students, the general community, and appointed representatives of the administrators. These councils would be based on a high school and its contributing primary schools and pre-school organisations. Existing boards serving some of these functions would be phased out.
- Would expand the responsibilities and change the composition of the Educational Development Council. With the Minister as chairman, and representatives of Parliament, teacher and community groups, and the Department, the new Educational Development Council would set current and long-term priorities for educational development, establish minimum allocations of funds and channel central funds so as to compensate for any regional differences. It could also act as a body of appeal on disputes, and have the statutory powers of the Minister.

Funding

The Values Party would

- Give central and regional levels power to allocate proportions of expenditure, and promote educational priorities with the proportion of funds remaining.
- Give community Education Councils greater independent loan raising powers. Bonuses would be available to Community Education Councils which, while meeting overall funding requirements, kept their spending within their total allocation. Communities could thus plan their incomes to meet their incoming needs.
- Seek to increase the percentage of the national income devoted to public expenditure on education, rather than just keep expenditure in step with inflation.
- Give increased priority to funds for research and development, achieving lower teacher:pupil ratios at all levels up to sixth form, continuing education, and pre-school education.

Curriculum and Assessment

The Values Party

- Believes there is a case for a compulsory core of the curriculum to foster the minimum skills needed by our society but that other content and skills should be learnt on a voluntary basis according to the individual's need, to whatever level he may specify.
- Would remove sex discrimination and intelligence-level limitations on such options as home economics, woodwork or work experience.
- Would support, through the Education Development Council, such innovations as flexible timetabling and open-plan schools to reduce the demand for new school buildings and to make more efficient use of school plant.
- Would press for development of a syllabus and teacher materials in important living skills such as law and citizenship, consumer rights, rights and responsibilities of employers and employees, town planning, housing and accommodation.
- Endorses the implementation of the handbook 'Human Development and Personal Relationships' and would actively press for open discussion in the schools of controversial matters. [We see no good point in denying our teenagers the freedom of discussion allowed their elders, and much benefit to society in encouraging its future citizens to make informed judgements.]
- Would examine school texts and teaching material to eliminate any sexual bias. [See Education section in "Status of Women".]
- Would make Maori language and Polynesian culture compulsory to schools, leaving it open to the local Community Education Council to decide whether it should also be compulsory to students.
- Does not favour the sort of segregation that goes with streaming or special schools, nor assessment procedures which rely on competition with others for places or passes, or which do not take account of the particular talents or skills of the student.
- Would abolish national examinations and would promote internal assessment procedures which are used for valid educational objectives. We regard teacher groups as the most reliable and informed as to what is a valid educational objective.

Some changes are happening to our education system. We are not sure that these are always for the better or are always co-ordinated. Internal assessment, for example, is an advance in itself, but if it means that students' and teachers' workloads are increased still further - many secondary students are spending 60 and 70 hours a week on school work even now - better teacher training, especially in-service training, and better conditions of work for teachers, are a necessary adjunct.

Pre-School

The Values Party

- Seeks to make pre-school education available in all existing and new primary school areas. Where no alternative exists, pre-school facilities would be made available in the primary schools themselves.
- Would make development courses and day-care centres available for parents and expectant parents through such existing facilities as secondary schools, would support the Parents' Centre Movement and similar organisations in the establishment of these, and would support the establishment of play centres.
- Advocates an extension of aid to approved play centres and kindergartens. Any centre which provides custodial care should meet specified standards, and should be assisted to meet these standards. Standards in the areas of human relationships and of qualified staff are held by the Values Party to be more important than standards in the physical conditions of buildings.

Schools

Management of a school should be in the hands of those familiar with the school. Decision-making procedures should anticipate the students' rights and

responsibilities as citizens. There should be more attention paid to making schools more congenial environments for both pupils and staff. Pupils need to be treated like human beings rather than as components of mass production.

Instead of harrassing and prosecuting truants and those who are unable to adapt to school, the Values Party would investigate alternative methods of education more suited to their needs.

The Values Party would

- **Liberalise correspondence school admission requirements.**
- **Make the school leaving age flexible and ensure that all students and parents know that every New Zealand citizen is entitled to 15 years' free education, and that this period would not have to be taken all at once. People should be able to return to secondary school to continue their education at any age.**
- **Upgrade and extend school library services, so that they can cope with the demands of curriculum innovations requiring more audio-visual facilities.**
- **Extend guidance counselling and supportive aid. We believe early diagnosis of emotional disturbances and learning difficulties is more important than later attempts to cope with them and would therefore concentrate on upgrading these facilities in primary schools.**

Intermediate Schools

We believe that instead of a healthy mixing of age groups such as exists in traditional primary schools, intermediate schools isolate children at a particularly awkward age from the influences of and responsibilities to older and younger children. In teaching subjects rather than children, intermediate schools

pander to obsessions with prestige learning, at an early stage, of science and languages. In removing children from the smaller local primary school, intermediates force children to travel further, to a larger institution, with which neither they nor their parents are likely to develop a sense of belonging.

The Values Party

- Would convert existing intermediate schools into primary or secondary schools according to the local needs and the particular situation.

Diversity and Equality

The Values Party recognises the need for alternatives in education but rejects the concept of elitist independent schools.

The Values Party

- Would make it obligatory for Community Education Councils to provide a variety of educational styles within their district, to give students and parents more freedom of choice.
- Supports the development of less formal educational agencies such as Learning Exchanges, community colleges, Masterton's Community Action Programme, and "schools without walls" such as Christchurch's Four Avenues. We would make further finance available to assist such ventures, and seek to integrate them into the State system to preserve equality of access.
- Recognises that certain areas are poorly provided for in social services and that teachers and schools bear the brunt of associated problems.

Tertiary and Continuing Education
The Values Party would

- Establish an adult education bursary for those taking "second chance" education.
- Expand community colleges, education through the broadcasting media, and correspondence courses, and would publicise existing opportunities for post-secondary education.
- Seek to apportion tertiary education funds in ways that redress present imbalances.
- Ensure that every secondary student has the opportunity of at least one period of work-experience before leaving school.
- Ensure that vocational guidance was available to every school leaver. Vocational guidance officers would be attached to the offices of Community Education Councils, and their work extended so that their services were available on demand not only to school leavers but to mothers returning to the labour force, workers changing jobs, and people approaching retirement.
- Undertake an immediate full-scale review of the existing facilities and needs of continuing education. In particular the number of technical institutes should be increased and existing buildings and equipment considerably upgraded.

Teachers
The Values Party would

- Retain the responsibility of registering teachers within the Department of Education, but supports the moves to have teacher grading made the responsibility of the profession.
- Pay all teachers on the same [secondary] salary scale recognising that teachers at all levels give the same kind of service to the community. There is no reason why a primary teacher with a B.A. should receive less than secondary teacher with a B.A., nor why the principal of a secondary school should receive more than the head of a primary school of similar size.
- Favour the phasing out of the bond system. We would replace it by a system of alternative service in the public service and would bring student teacher bursaries, along with other tertiary and adult education bursaries, into line with the cost of living.
- Encourage more men to be involved in pre-school and primary education and more women in tertiary education, to achieve a more even sex balance. [In kindergartens, the ratio of male to female is 0:700; in primary schools 6:10; in secondary 6:4; in tertiary, 6:1.] We would also encourage people of more mature years to enter training colleges and be given greater financial assistance. Appointments for all teaching positions would be made by Community Education Councils, teachers, teachers' unions and departmental representatives in consultations.
- Make appointments of principals a matter of election by the staff concerned and the School Council or similar body. These appointments would be reviewed continuously by the staff and would be subject to termination at any time by the election of a successor. Once a term as principal was completed, the person could resume normal teaching duties or apply for a principal's position elsewhere.

Often principals are the best teachers in the service, but their administrative duties keep them out of the classroom. Few have any administrative or management training before taking up their jobs.

The Values Party would

- Extend the system of Bursars to relieve the administrative burden on Principals, and would expand in-service courses in school administration.
- Enable teachers to have access to in-service training at a rate of one term per three years' service, and encourage schools to promote staff discussions on objectives and procedures. All teachers should be recompensed for expenditure they make to maintain their training.
- Give tangible support to schools and staff involved in helping student teachers on section from training colleges so that sections can achieve their full educational potential.
- Support an increase in ancillary aides for teachers, and would encourage the employment as ancillaries in schools, of parents and grandparents from the community.

Education and the Community

The Values Party sees Community Education Councils as having sufficient responsibilities to justify their having accessible offices. As well as displaying work from local schools, community education offices would advise and enrol local students, house specialist equipment and staff, provide secretarial and co-ordinating services to local schools, and promote education in the community.

The Values Party strongly supports regular school involvement with the community and especially parents in both directions, outsiders coming in and making use of school plant, and students going out to help the community and experience how the adult world works. We see this as the special responsibility of Community Education Councils in liaison with School Councils, and would ensure a specific financial allocation from central government to support and encourage it.

Health

"Health is a state of complete mental, physical and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity"

World Health Organisation

As a primary principle the Party believes that everyone is entitled to the best possible health service, that the only criterion should be need, that people who need care should be entitled to it as of right, but that the total service has to be within the limits of the resources of the country. The Party further contends that because resources are finite the care and services available must be spread as equitably as possible.

Many people today find it difficult to get the medical attention they need. An estimated 10 per cent does not have access to a general practitioner. There is an overall shortage of doctors which is made worse by an unequal distribution of general practitioners through the country. Affluent suburbia is comparatively well doctored. Medical centres and group practices continue to appear while the poorer working class suburbs and rural areas struggle on with too few practitioners.

Hospitals are often large impersonal places. Waiting lists for operations and chronic sick beds continue to grow. In the last 25 years the standard of New Zealand's health services has fallen from second or third to fifteenth out of sixteen western countries. Prospects for a better future are obscured by a Government White Paper which projects a solution based on bureaucratic centralism and health service, remote control.

New Zealand must train more doctors, and improve conditions for them so that fewer emigrate. What New Zealand must not do is import doctors from countries poorer than ourselves who need them more than we do.

How can we encourage doctors to work in the unpopular areas?

Many people assume that extra money will solve the problem, but already general practitioners in Porirua are some of the most highly paid in the country. Yet Porirua still has a shortage of doctors. Practitioners tend to shy away from the under-doctored areas because they inevitably mean overwork. They are also less attractive places in which to live, and doctors may be isolated from their colleagues and from post-graduate education.

Different solutions may be needed in different places. Extra para-medical services, improved equipment, better organised working hours would all help.

Under a decentralised health service, individual communities could design a service to suit themselves.

Wealthy people get easier access to private hospitals, bypassing the public waiting lists. (Private medical insurance schemes expect to sign up about half the population within the next few years.) Private hospitals deflect the energies of consultants away from their public duties, and they also remove the pressure from the rich and influential people to work for improvement of the public system.

The Values Party would

- Institute a socially responsible community health service and phase in a system where medical and para-medical practitioners are employed by each health authority. Each community could decide how it would pay its doctors.
- Increase the number of doctors trained, by establishing pre-clinical schools at Wellington and Christchurch.
- Improve conditions of service in areas of greatest need, to encourage doctors to practise there.
- Aim to improve the public hospital system and phase out the need for private hospitals.
- Improve general work conditions for doctors, for example, hospital doctors to work a basic forty hour week.
- Guarantee all general practitioners at least one month's holiday a year and one month's postgraduate training.
- Encourage the development of group practices and health centres with subsidised ancillary staff.
- Support community-based health services, especially the following:
  - low rise community or district hospitals to cater for the majority of surgical and medical cases from the area. These would be community facilities and would provide special supportive services for relatives of patients;
  - community care centres [such as sheltered housing] for dependent persons [such as psychiatric out-patients and the frail elderly];
  - a focus for services such as family planning, ante and post natal care, perhaps based at health centres.

Prevention is better than cure

New Zealand must have a health service and not just a disease service. To a large extent infectious diseases have now been conquered, and the diseases we face today are the diseases of civilisation such as heart disease, diabetes, and environmentally induced diseases. A stable society would be healthier in all these respects. The slower pace of life, the control of pollution, and the regeneration of community would all tend to reduce the incidence of the diseases of stress.

Prevention is also cheaper than cure. A dollar spent on health education can save hundreds of dollars in hospitals.

The Values Party would

- Institute an immediate and massive health education programme.
- Introduce a programme to ensure adequate standards of industrial safety and health.
- Improve the quality of water resources by encouraging further reticulation, monitoring and tightly controlling pollution, and giving subsidies to local authorities to expand and upgrade sewage treatment facilities.
- Establish a network of community health centres. these would include child health clinics for infant and pre-school children. [In such clinics advice on infant care would be given to the mother on infants' growth and general development checked and recorded. Parents would also receive advice on family planning and contraceptive techniques. The Values Party would make contraceptive aids free of charge to the patient, and the contraceptive pill could be provided by nurses without a doctor's prescription. This would make it easier for a woman to get contraceptives and save doctors unnecessary work.
- Establish health clinics in schools along the lines of the present school dental clinics. These would be staffed by school medical officers, and community nurses. Each child would be seen at regular intervals, for periodic health screening - including visual and hearing tests; the detection, investigation and supervision of handicapped children; health education [including contraception and venereal disease]; the control of infectious diseases; and special inquiries in health, development and nutrition.

We recognise there are limits to the amount that can be spent on health.

A health service is very expensive. Demands for money for health are increasing rapidly as more elaborate technologies are developed. In addition, much of society's sickness produces symptoms in individuals who then request medical assistance. Not all these expectations can be met. There are limits to the proportion of society's wealth which should be spent upon health. The problem is how to apply these limits. In a finite world, where the demands are infinite, how should we decide our priorities?

As a general principle, the Values Party believes that decisions are best made at the lowest possible level. Decisions made by large centralised bureaucratic bodies cannot take into account every individual case. We therefore believe that priorities should be worked out by members of the health professions together with the public at a regional level.

The Values Party believes

- Members of the health professions and members of the public should debate what the objectives of a health service should be, and how to measure them.
- Money should be channeled to the regional health authorities in proportion to the population of the region and in accordance with the special needs of the region.
- A department of health economics would advise each region on how best to meet its stated objectives with the limited funds available.

Welfare

The Values Party's policies on economics, technology, community development, education and health are fundamental to our welfare policy.

An objective of all Values policies is to create the kind of society in which there is no need for social welfare as it is traditionally understood. Traditional social welfare should rather be carried out in the normal course of community interaction.

Basic to this objective are our policies on the redistribution of income, wealth and opportunity. Our concept of a guaranteed minimum income adequate for living needs and available from current production, would replace most benefits and superannuation schemes.

Superannuation

Superannuation has become a political football, with the main parties focussing on what each scheme will cost the taxpayer and what each person can expect to get. The only good feature of the present bickering is that it is one of the few signs that either party can look further than three years ahead.

The Values Party rejects the whole idea of a separate superannuation scheme, which implies that when citizens reach a set age they are turned-out into a special pasture. Senior citizens are still people - who have not only contributed to society but who still have a lot to contribute. They should be part of our total economic structure and not a separate compartment.

Our minimum income policy, would always be geared to the current cost of living. The level would be high enough to make privately funded schemes unnecessary.

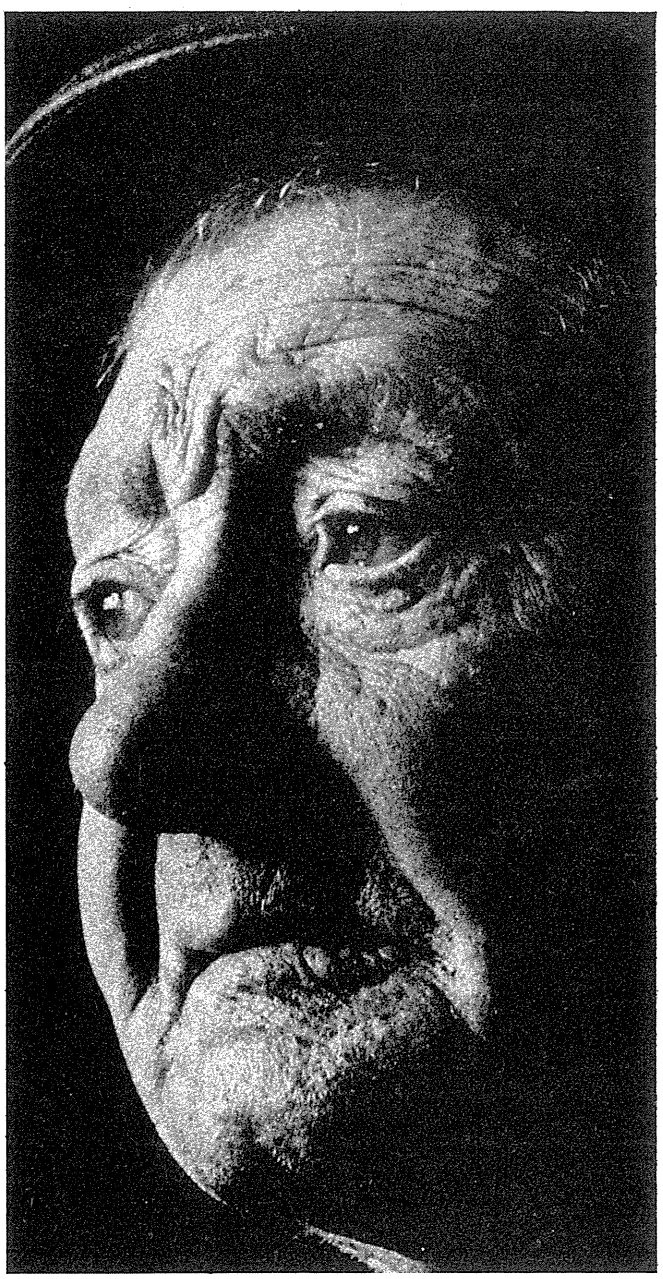
The section on economics has more detail on policy in this area.

The Values Party

- **Sees its objective as ensuring that the total payment received is adequate to maintain dignity and well-being.**
- **Believes that Social Security should apply not only to those in sickness, hardship, unemployment or old age, but also to solo parents, parents of handicapped children, home workers, and the lowly-paid. Such social security would apply until Values' redistribution policies came into full effect.**
- **Would not alter existing rate, telephone and television rebates for the elderly, or child benefit allowances.**
- **It would seek to liberalise regulations governing the permissible income of beneficiaries.**

Preventive Welfare

The 1972 Values Party manifesto emphasised preventive rather than supportive social welfare. We suspect that traditional problem-orientated social welfare merely reinforces existing problems of division and isolation of people from the community, while maintaining rather than attacking the forces that created the need for outside help.



We nevertheless recognise that there will be a continuing need for traditional forms of social welfare. We believe that the policies we are evolving to meet these needs can also be a means of altering the direction and focus of social welfare. As we said in 1972 the Values Party seeks to change the system so it meets the needs of people instead of changing people to meet the needs of the system.

The Values Party feels that many of our welfare needs arise from the effects of the nuclear family lifestyle. Our industrial relations, housing, land, town planning, and environment policies would all have the effect of carrying through our general policy of encouraging the development of alternative lifestyles.

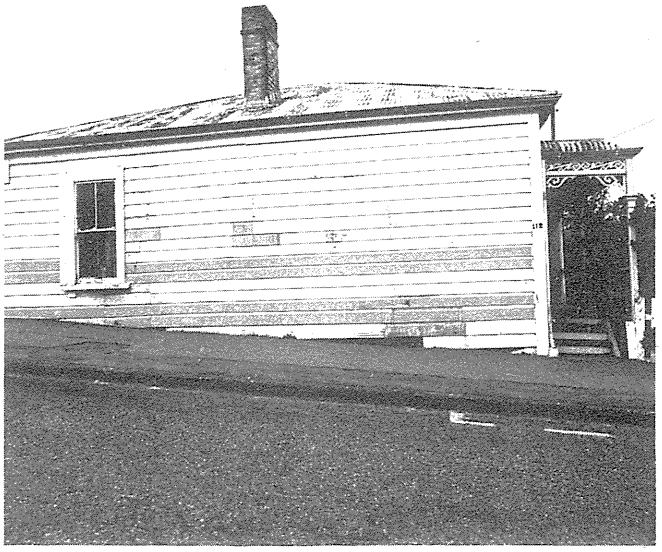
There should be an expansion of "common situation" groups like Alcoholics Anonymous and Solo Parents

Inc., bringing people together to discuss changes in their lives. People who have moved house many times have some wisdom to impart to those who are moving for the first time. Divorced people can help those who are still caught in divorce proceedings. People who are promoted, demoted, who have gained a child or lost a spouse, can be helped to make the transition by simply being able to talk with others who have been there before them.

The Values Party would

- Decentralise the monolithic Social Welfare Department on a regional and community basis. [Our proposals for changes to the administration of education provide a model.]
- Increase support for voluntary, locally-based social and community workers, especially in rural areas. This support would include positive steps to meet training needs.
- Seek to establish agencies for co-ordinating requests for aid and service at the community level where such agencies do not exist already, and support them where they do. We see considerable advantage in locating such agencies close to similar ones proposed in health and education.

Housing



The Values Party recognises the right of each person to adequate and satisfactory accommodation.

Thanks to the efforts of previous governments, and to the determination of our citizens, New Zealanders are generally well housed. No New Zealand government could tolerate a situation in which large numbers of citizens were without satisfactory housing.

But the general well-being is not shared by all groups. Financial barriers are erected against first home seekers and low income earners, and inner city residents face relatively high rents for relatively poor accommodation.

The present administration has made strenuous efforts to minimise the financial barriers and has encouraged the building of more houses than ever before. But still there is talk of a housing shortage. Thousands of New Zealanders know the frustration of being on a State or Council waiting list.

As in so many other fields, it is not so much a question of shortage as a question of distribution. The number of untenanted dwellings is tending to increase while the number of occupants per dwelling continues to fall.

Population stabilisation policies would have the most significant long term effect on New Zealand's housing problems. As an illustration of this, the present administration attacked "the housing shortage" vigorously in 1974 by building in the region of 35,000 new houses. But in the same year there was a net gain of 30,000 new immigrants. At the end of it we still had a "housing shortage".

Housing Administration

The Values Party believes that the proper functions of Head Office would be better performed through a Housing Commission than through a centralised Housing Corporation.

The Values Party would

- Encourage the Commission in its functions of research, innovation and policy development. The Commission could also function as an investment commission.
- Divide the Housing Corporation itself into Regional Housing Councils.
- Encourage district and community levels of government to follow the lead set by Wellington's City Council in pursuing a vigorous policy of building accommodation.
- Establish residents' planning committees [through Regional Authorities under the Local Government Act] to examine all planning applications in each community council area.
- Place sole power for subdividing land for urban purposes in regional government.

Public Housing

- Make adequate and satisfactory accommodation for low income groups and first home seekers priorities in public housing. A vigorous policy of dwelling building would be pursued for as long as necessary until population has stabilised.
- Set public house rentals at 20 per cent of occupants' income, with a mechanism for rental reviews.
- Grant public loans for housing up to 90 per cent of valuation, subject only to the ability to repay and with preference to low income earners.
- Set interest rates on loans proportional to income. Lower income earners would have lower rates of interest. Interest rates would be subject to the same kind of mechanism for review as rentals.
- Make finance available to people wishing to buy or maintain sound older homes as well as to those buying or building new homes. The Values Party seeks the conservation and renovation of existing housing stock as far as possible, especially if such renovation will add to the possible number of occupants. However, all such loans would be conditional on some form of rent and speculation control.
- Encourage district and community governments to establish "housing counselling services". The services and expertise of private architects, planners, and valuers would be available to citizens at subsidised rates and those of officers of the local authorities freely accessible.

Progressive Homebuilding

The Values Party would introduce a Progressive Homebuilding Scheme to cater for those who wish to build gradually over a period of time. The scheme would cover newly-planned buildings, partly completed buildings, and completed buildings undergoing extension and improvement. Such a scheme would offer:

- secure land tenure for the occupier;
- professional building services available to the home builder;
- adequate building supervision available to the owner;
- loan assistance for the costs of design, supervision, specialist sub-contracts, materials.

Progressive homebuilding assistance could be conditional upon:

- a housing deposit or building fund being saved;
- design to be completed within 6 months of approval.
- building being sufficiently completed to occupy within 2 years;
- the building being completed as designed within 6 years;
- controls on selling or subletting.

Progressive homebuilding assistance could be tied into suspensory Home Improvement Loans.

Planning and Design:
If New Zealand continues the present patterns of trying to satisfy the residential needs of the community in a piecemeal fashion, insoluble problems will be created for ourselves and our children. The carving up of good agricultural land into 10-acre blocks or suburban subdivisions is not in the national interest. The day of the quarter-acre section is gone for most people in the cities; New Zealand already has enough of them.

The Values Party does not support the massing of large areas of public housing. It supports a planning procedure in which the material and non-material needs of citizens are met by being considered throughout a process of discussion and consultation, and by being mandatory upon private or community developers. Social and commercial services, public amenities, recreation, access to public transport, and the needs of community development must be considered during planning and before building. We are not convinced that existing legislation is satisfactory in this regard.

The Values Party Would take these steps:

- In all new residential areas, except for "feeder roads", road widths would be limited to two-lane traffic only. Pedestrian facilities including walkthroughs would be completed at the same time as private car facilities. Butchers, dairies, groceries, greengroceries, playgrounds, and community centres should be completed at the same time as houses. "Cul de sacs" should be provided wherever practicable. The special needs of women and children should be considered. No plan should be implemented until it has been approved by those currently rearing children.
- High-rise housing would be permitted but only in exceptional circumstances where it could be shown that there is a proven need and demand and if the building design would not be deterimental to the surrounding neighbourhood, or to the occupants.

The same principles would apply to high-rise buildings intended for commercial or office use.

- The policy of giving preference to 'first home-seekers' would be extended to include assistance to those, especially young people, wishing to experiment with alternative residential styles. An alternative residential style would be no bar to participation in the Progressive Homebuilding Scheme.
- Full rights of tenure would be granted to ohu which have progressed beyond the probationary period of temporary tenancy.
- Basic education on housing and accommodation would be provided through secondary schools, and correspondence and Polytechnical courses in basic town planning, home design, and home construction would be made available to intending home owners.
- Licenced cafes and small local 'pubs' without large parking facilities would be encouraged, and the building of large taverns discouraged.
- Speculative building would be discouraged by requiring proof of a definite need before planning permission was given people wishing to erect commercial buildings.
- An immediate investigation would be made to promote improved housing quality, efficiency and longevity.
- Government buildings of any prominence would be the subject of architectural competitions, ensuring that a number of alternative designs are available for consideration.
- Ordinances and model by-laws would be amended so that they do not discriminate against town houses or alternative residential styles.
- A Commission of Inquiry into land and property speculation for capital gain would be established. The terms of reference of the inquiry would extend to the costs and benefits of gradual nationalisation of land.
- Traditional lending institutions would be required to make available a fixed percentage of their total funds for housing mortgage and home improvement loans on the same basis that fixed investment in government securities is now compulsorily separated.
- The Values Party recognises the role of the private sector in housing, including developers, builders and tradesmen, and real estate agents. Its policy aims to ensure that the private sector in general can live up to its claims of providing necessary social service. Values supports a joint approach to housing with public and private sectors working together to provide viable mixed communities.

Local Government

Participatory democracy requires that decisions be made at the lowest practicable level. For too long local bodies have been concerned with just drains, roads and footpaths. We think they should be equally concerned with the wider social needs of the community which have to date been left to a distant bureaucracy.

Acquisition of new powers by local government is required especially in the social field, with a consequent reduction in the functions and size of central government (see "Government Reform"). Decentralisation of the control of housing, health, welfare and education to regional bodies will ensure that these services would react more readily to local needs and that those directly affected by such services will have a greater say in their management.

Organisation

There are 670 local bodies and ad hoc authorities in New Zealand. The boundaries for most have been drawn on historical bases which are now well out of date. Powers and duties often overlap, and there is an absence of any coherent planning and coordination.

The Values Party would

- **Support the rationalisation of local bodies into Regional Councils, District or City Councils and Community Councils as envisaged in the Local Government Act, 1974.**
- **Encourage the establishment of ward systems for those city and district councils where such a system does not already exist.**
- **Bring Harbour Boards under the control of regional government.**
- **Abolish the ratepayers' poll, so that the only qualification for voting at local body elections becomes a residential one.**

Finance

Almost all local body revenues are raised by a system of rating on property. This system is an archaic remnant of the Land Taxes which were the source of practically all government revenue in colonial days. Rates are inequitable for the following reasons:

- unlike income tax, rates are not paid according to means. They are paid according to the value of the land and this may increase with inflation, changes of zoning and so on, while the occupier's income may not increase at all;
- although every citizen uses the amenities provided by local bodies, not all citizens pay rates. Generally rates do not take account of the number of people living on a property.

The Values Party would

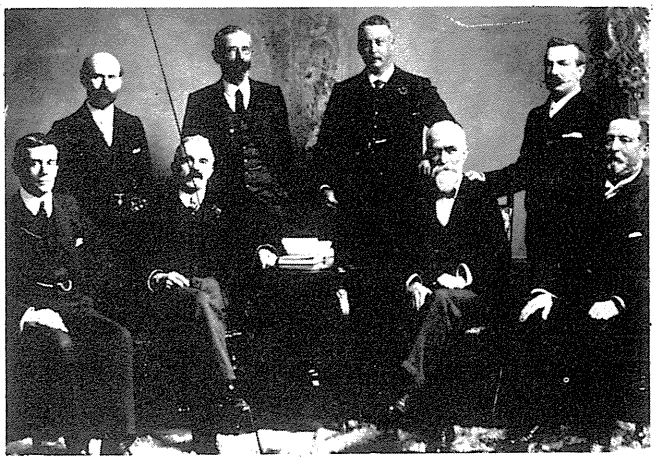
- **Abolish rates on residential property and substitute a local income tax set by regional and city or district councils and collected by central government concurrently with national income tax.**

This means of collecting local body revenues would have the following advantages over the existing rating system:

it would be paid according to means. Those on low incomes, especially pensioners, would pay a great deal less than they now pay in rates;

the burden of local body finance would fall on all income earners rather than just those owning property;

- the administrative costs of collecting local body finance would be substantially reduced.



Community

We see local authorities as the most important means of fostering a sense of community and a feeling of involvement, which is lacking in our society at the present time.

The Values Party would

- **Develop a National Recreation Plan to determine local, regional and national responsibilities.**
- **Encourage local authorities to set up community centres in consultation with local community councils providing such facilities as advice bureaux; day care centres, sports and cultural amenities; homework centres, offices for Family Planning, Plunket and a community based policeman, a hall and meeting rooms.**
- **Encourage local authorities to employ community social workers who would work in the field in close liaison with community advice bureaux and existing social welfare agencies.**
- **Encourage local authorities to set up branch offices in local communities with specialist staff in attendance, at least on a part-time basis.**
- **Encourage local authorities to give employees the opportunity to spend working time [one day a month, for example] on community service.**
- **Encourage local authorities to pay a fulltime salary to mayors and committee chairmen where necessary, and pay an adequate honorarium to councillors to enable a wider cross-section of the community to stand for office.**
- **Encourage local authorities to publicise meetings and agenda widely.**
- **Require Public Notices to be written in easily understandable language.**
- **Encourage local authorities to prepare with public participation a full register of objects, buildings and sites of historic, scientific, architectural or environmental value and to budget for the maintenance or gradual acquisition of property on this register.**

The profit motive of private land developers has proved to be inconsistent with the interests of the community. The activities of these developers have resulted in "scorched earth" subdivisions designed to reap the best monetary return for the developer rather than develop a congenial environment for those who will live there. Natural amenities are frequently totally destroyed in the interests of the developer.

Giving sole power to regional and local government will ensure development of subdivisions in the interest of the people who will live in them. It will also result in cheaper section costs by avoiding the situation where rural land prices soar on a change of zoning, since local bodies would be able to purchase land at the rural valuation.

The Values Party would

- Encourage local authorities to update building ordinances to allow more flexibility in the use of materials and construction methods, and to enable the construction of groups of dwellings on a "community" concept with common facilities.
- Require mayors, councillors and those standing for office to make full disclosure of relevant financial interests.
- Provide a major increase in financial support to local bodies for the construction of sewage treatment plants.
- Encourage local authorities to amend bylaws to permit the use of properly serviced septic tanks where it is environmentally sound to do so.
- Allow local residents' associations to appear before the Town and Country Planning Appeal Board in order to object to proposals.
- Make the Town and Country Act binding on the Crown.

Government Reform

The basic question of government is "Who makes what decisions how?" The Values Party realises that its answers to these questions will mean major changes to our present system of government.

The pace and direction of political, economic, social and cultural change has meant that our present system is inadequate. If we wish to attain justice and retain democracy we must do more than fiddle with an inadequate system. Values seeks to head off the sort of government developing in New Zealand - big and centralised, with too much power and too many functions, requiring a large, distant and faceless bureaucracy.

We are committed to the development of a decentralised participatory democracy within a just, co-operative society. Only a strong sense of community can counter the massness and alienation of western society. And this feeling of togetherness can be promoted to some extent by doing in an intelligent manner what many radicals and anarchists are calling for - "Power to the People".

Decentralisation

Values' policies consistently call for more responsibility, more power and more autonomy for regional community levels of government, and redefinition of the role of central government and head office.

Our long-term objective is a form of government in which the responsibility and authority for social services and amenities rests as closely as possible with the people using them. This would apply particularly in health, education, welfare, housing, land use, and as far as possible throughout the economy.

Decentralisation does not mean simply making Napier-Hastings for example into a mini-Wellington for the Hawkes Bay region. It means the development of social services in Waipukurau, Dannevirke, Porangahau and Pongoroa too. Nor does decentralisation mean that all power and functions are taken away from the centre. It means rather that the centre is freed to perform its proper roles of co-ordination and communication, maintaining balance and justice, legislating minimum standards, safeguarding civil rights, and researching and developing innovations. International relations, and national transport are examples of government functions that would not be decentralised.

We see such decentralisation as vital to the development of true communities in which the social needs of kinship and co-operation are fostered by the regular involvement of citizens in deciding the conditions that affect their lives.

We see such decentralisation as vital to curing the diseases threatening the health of our democracy - alienation, apathy, sectional greed and competitive individualism. These conditions flourish when government is distant and unresponsive; then, government itself, which is really "Us", becomes "They". In the face-to-face government of decentralisation, enlightened self-interest alone advises that it is unwise to exploit today the people who can make the decisions governing your life tomorrow - your neighbours and workmates.

Effective decentralisation is impossible without an independent and sufficient source of revenue for each level of government. More and more loans from central government can only put local government "in hock" to central government and tie it to central conditions. The best method of financing local government will lie in some kind of regular payment for the community services provided by local government and in return for community-generated values enjoyed by citizens. This requires no radical change - rates based on land values provide such a source now. But rating has its disadvantages too.

The Values Party is currently investigating various alternatives for financing local government.

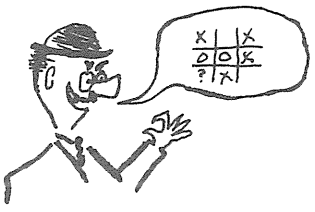
The Values Party would

- Endorse the general objectives of the Local Government Act. We would however amend it to:
  - give autonomy and greater responsibility to the proposed community councils;
  - acknowledge the role of neighbourhood councils or local progressive associations in government. There might be several of these within the territory of a community council;
  - establish statutory procedures for providing local government with an independent and sufficient source of revenue.
- Amend the procedures of the Local Government Commission so that it is able to hear submissions from individuals and community groups as well as local authorities. We would accelerate the development of regional and community levels of government.
- Bring harbour boards under regional government control and town planning legislation.

Participatory Democracy

It is decades since New Zealand had a majority government. Even in 1972, 52 per cent of the voters did not vote for Labour. Fewer than half a dozen MPs got the support of more than half their electorate.

Values believes that our present political system is fundamentally undemocratic and unjust. It points to evidence in the fact that most MPs are male, over 40, and from the professions, business, farming, or union administration. In all these respects MPs are not representative of the population. Recent free votes in Parliament indicate the extent to which Parliament opinion is lagging behind public opinion. A few people in a few marginal seats determine who will be the next government.



In a truly democratic society any citizen should feel that he or she can influence government. How many of us feel this in 1975? We get a solitary vote among thousands every three years and are then cast into the role of spectators of political games.

Obviously these conditions will not change overnight and cannot be changed except through a strong and active movement of people "at the grassroots level". Such a movement has emerged in New Zealand in recent years. It is still scattered, largely inarticulate, not very well organised, nor very confident of itself. But it is there. Manapouri, Aro Street, Otara are places where some of its battles have been won. It is a movement towards participatory democracy, and the Values Party is only one part of it.

In its role as a social action movement, the Values Party seeks to demonstrate that the ordinary citizen is not powerless. He or she can join with others and make their voices heard and their ideas considered. The Values Party does not need to become government to enact its policies. Many can be enacted in their daily lives by members.

Greater openness of government is a priority of the Values Party, and the encouragement of participatory democracy an important feature of its aspect as a social action movement. At present most government decisions are made behind closed doors. Items of information on matters of vital public interest - for example, nuclear power, justification for price rises, and the arguments being used by pressure groups and public servants in their relations with the political executive - are kept away from the public. Decisions made in cabinet and caucus at central government level, or committee and caucus at local government level, are presented as faits accompli. Only with the greatest difficulty can a dissenting public reverse these decisions.

The Values Party

- Endorses the intentions behind the Educational Development Conference and would promote similar conferences, seeking the views of the public, when there are major policy changes contemplated [for example, in health and local government].
- Would examine present legislation and regulations and amend them so that planning decisions at all levels of government were made only after a process of consultation with those affected, during which process the participation of interested citizens was actively sought.
- Sees the Crown as distinct from the policies of central government and would amend the Town and Country Planning and Public Works Acts so that central government and its agencies were subject to the normal planning procedures and ordinances of central government.
- Give members of the public access to all government records as of right. A departmental head could deny access to certain types of information but such decisions would be open to appeal to the Ombudsman.
- Would increase use of referenda, questionnaires and pilot schemes.
- Make legal aid available to individuals and community groups taking cases to appeal before Town and Country Planning Appeal Boards.

Parliamentary Reform

In 1972 we stated "the Values Party believes that there is an urgent need for reform of Parliament in order to make it a more effective and relevant body". Many of the policies we stated then are contained in the 1975 Electoral Amendment Act.

The Values Party calls for

- A 15-year maximum term for all MPs.
- Establishment of a parliamentary forum convened by the Opposition, for the public to air grievances and suggest alternative policies.
- Increased youth representation on decision-making bodies.
- In-service training for MPs.
- A review procedure for legislation whereby each new bill contains a statement of its objectives, its estimated costs and benefits, and specifies a time, not more than 20 years, during which it must be reviewed.
- Liberalising of standing orders to allow private members' bills that propose increases in expenditure.

New Zealanders expect more than is humanly possible from their MPs, who are expected not only to represent the interests of constituents, but also to keep up with everything going on in all fields of government, to be effective members of their party, and to prepare for and participate in parliament. When the responsibilities of cabinet are added as well we wonder why many talented people do not make effective use of their talents.

The Values Party

- Supports increased secretarial aid for MPs.
- Would expect any MPs from their party to delegate some of their responsibilities to their local branch so that they were able to remain healthy and effective representatives.
- Believes more fundamental changes are needed to make parliament relevant and effective in a participatory democracy, and that any proposed changes should be subjected to the kind of public scrutiny and discussion pioneered by the Educational Development Conference.

The Values Party has never been one that is particularly attracted by the style and procedures of our present so-called debating system. We feel that "adversary" or "confrontation" politics has had adverse effects on the reputation of parliament, the consideration of legislation, and even on legislation itself.

We see no reason in opposing or amending legislation simply because the other side introduced it and little point in participating in the petty points-scoring or Tower of Babel aspects of parliamentary debate. We feel the two-party system is largely to blame for this situation.

We realise that adversary situations, disfranchisement between elections and parliamentary pettiness are deeply ingrained in New Zealand tradition and cannot be changed for the better overnight. That is no reason to endorse them in the meantime.

Role of Experts

The Values Party believes that the most reliable experts on a decision are those who are going to be affected by it.

Science, technology, general social change and the specialised professions have developed to the stage that experts in these relatively narrow fields have immense influence over decisions that will affect all of us.

More and more political decisions have to be made on issues that are highly technical as well as far-reaching in nature.

Current examples are debates and controversy about such issues as private versus public transport systems; import quotas for new technology; the approvals or restraints on defoliants and drugs; the introduction of cable television and FM radio; the best method of superannuation; long-term social and environmental costs versus short-term economic benefits of aluminium smelters/beech forest utilisation/container ports/power plants. The role of technical experts in advising on these issues must be acknowledged and safeguarded if we are to make wise decisions. But this role poses major problems for participatory democracy and social justice.

The Values Party believes that its principles of justice, participatory democracy, decentralisation and community control, and the policies it has developed to implement these principles, are part of the answer. We suggest that the role of experts must be confined to providing reliable information on the technical details of various alternatives, and answering the questions as posed for them by both elected politicians and community groups and individuals.

If they are to perform this role well they must be given the resources and opportunities to respond to the demands made of them.

The general public may not be competent to judge issues on technical details but it is competent to judge between conflicting values and to set overall goals. This role is vital in the framing of questions asked of experts by government.

In voting Values, for example, the public is clearly endorsing the general principle that long-term social and environmental costs are a higher priority than short-term economic benefits. Such an endorsement will not change the technical detail but will change the kinds of questions experts are asked, and it will shuffle the technical detail into a different order of priority.

The Values Party feels there is a chance of preserving democracy and justice in New Zealand if the above points are recognised and the following policies implemented:

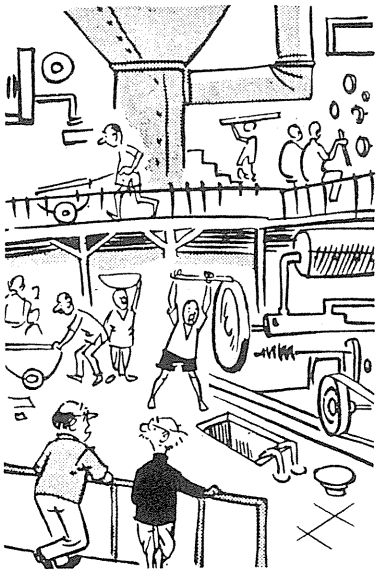
- **All expert bodies should include wherever appropriate non-experts who represent important groups in the community [for example, women, youth, and consumers].**
- **Expert government departments such as the DSIR must answer relevant questions on political issues raised by community groups and individuals, as well as questions posed by politicians. Some help in framing these questions should also be provided.**
- **The general public should have access to all information on political issues under certain conditions. [Refer also to "Participatory Democracy"].**
- **The general principle of social control over technology and science embodied in the Technology and Science Assessment Board [refer "Technology] should be extended into transport, manufacturing and health.**

The Public Service

The main expert agency in government is the Public Service. The Values Party believes that New Zealand's Public Service has in general served New Zealand well. If it is not the most imaginative, dynamic and responsive Public Service in the world that is largely because New Zealanders have not yet asked it to be.

- **The Values Party would amend Public Service regulations to make it easier for private sector personnel to be appointed to top levels of the Public Service.**

Values Party policies in industrial relations, the role of experts, and participatory democracy will have direct effects on the Public Service and will have indirect effects on most other sectors of society. The result of these policies would be a Public Service which is more responsive to the needs of people and the demands of social change.



Actually this factory produces nothing. It is just a device to employ labour.

About the Values Party

Many New Zealanders contemplating the general elections three years ago felt their choices were no choice at all.

National and Labour alike seemed unable to comprehend, let alone tackle, the forces which threatened the fabric of communities and the very structure of society itself.

Indeed people's disillusionment and despair arose because rather than just ignoring New Zealand's problems the political monopoly seemed intent on perpetuating them.

A 25 year-old journalist and political science graduate studying in Wellington tackled the problem head on. In May, 1972, six months before the elections, Tony Brunt formed the N.Z. Values Party.

With the assistance of a few friends and supporters the Values Party slowly grew in strength until a television current affairs programme catapulted it into the national consciousness five weeks before the election. With the national publicity gained, Values was launched as a national political party, and hundreds of people beseiged radio and television stations to find out how to get hold of its organisers. Eventually the party stood 42 candidates instead of the six or seven initially envisaged and gained two per cent of the total vote.

Since then the Values Party has undergone considerable change. Consistent with its policy of community and social action, there has been considerable activity at branch level - recycling projects, conservation and environment protection, town planning activism, legislation resisting high-rise development and over-catering for private cars, and the presentation of submissions to Government select committees considering such matters as population and education.

In 1974 the Values Party moved into local body politics, an area which many party members believe to be equally as important as national politics. As a result, a number of councillors were elected at the October elections. At its second annual conference late last year the party decided it should, for the purpose of contesting the 1975 general elections, develop a stronger central organisation. In deciding to contest the elections the party decided its campaign should be primarily one of education - to use the political arena as a means to make people aware of the ideas and policies it believes are crucial for the survival and well being of people in New Zealand. In April of this year those policies were formulated at a national policy-making conference of party members in Christchurch. Reg Clough, of Auckland, was elected leader of the party in 1974 and Cathy Wilson, deputy leader. Tony Brunt stood down in order to concentrate on local body politics and has since been elected to the Wellington City Council.

It is a stated intention of the Values Party to become the Government, thus placing it in the best possible position to implement policy. At the same time, recognising the urgency of action in many areas, it offers its ideas to all others. If another political party and/or government adopts Values policy, we count that as a success. On that basis the Values Party has achieved a number of successes in its short life - including its part in the greatly heightened awareness of environmental issues and the very serious consideration the Government is currently giving to a population policy.

As in 1972 our election manifesto is an important part of our campaign. We believe a clear yet comprehensive reference to our policies is the best way to enable voters to consider what we are advocating. We believe the Values Party has already made a positive contribution to our society and that it has an important role to play in the future.

If you would like more information on the parties or any of the policy outlined in the manifesto, write either to Dave Straton, National Secretary, 47 Stanley Avenue, Palmerston North; Norman Smith, National Organiser, Box 137, Wellington or to any of the electorate/branch contacts listed here.

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Western Maori	Norman Smith, Box 137, Wellington.

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