

## Legislative Council

Tuesday, 10 August, 1971

Sessional Committees—Sessional Orders (Business Days: Hours of Meeting)—Committee of Subordinate Legislation—Questions without Notice—Death of the Hon. John Charles McIntosh, M.L.C.—Governor's Speech: Address in Reply (Second Day's Debate).

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 4.30 p.m.

The Prayer was read.

### SESSIONAL COMMITTEES

#### STANDING ORDERS

Motion (by the Hon. J. B. M. Fuller) agreed to:

That the Standing Orders Committee for the present Session consist of the following Members, viz.—The President, Dr Bryon-Faes, Mr C. A. F. Cahill, Colonel Sir Hector Clayton, Mr Downing, Mr Hewitt, Mr McKay, Mr Maloney, Mr Wright and the Mover, with leave to sit during any adjournment and authority to confer upon subjects of mutual concernment with any Committee appointed for similar purposes by the Legislative Assembly.

#### LIBRARY

Motion (by the Hon. J. B. M. Fuller) agreed to:

That the Library Committee for this House for the present Session consist of the following Members, viz.—The President, Dr Bryon-Faes, Mr R. H. Erskine, Major-General Eskell, Mr Gardiner, Mr Pratten, Mrs Roper, Mr Solomons, Mr Weir and Mr Wright, with leave to sit during any adjournment and authority to act jointly with the Library Committee of the Legislative Assembly and to make visits of inspection to the Australian Capital Territory.

#### PRINTING

Motion (by the Hon. J. B. M. Fuller) agreed to:

That the Printing Committee for the present Session consist of the following Members, viz.—Colonel Sir Hector Clayton, Mr Colborne, Mrs Davis, Mr R. H. Erskine, Mrs Furley, Mr North, Mrs Roper, Mr Shipton and Mr Weir, with the following duties and powers, and to whom shall be referred all Petitions presented to the House, and all Papers laid upon the Table. It shall be the duty of such Committee to report from time to time which of the Petitions and Papers referred to them ought, in their opinion, to be printed, and

whether in full or in abstract; and it shall be in the power of the Committee to order such Petitions or Papers, or abstracts thereof to be prepared for the Printer by the Clerk in attendance upon such Committee and such Papers or abstracts shall be printed, unless the House otherwise order.

#### HOUSE

Motion (by the Hon. J. B. M. Fuller) agreed to:

That the House Committee for the present Session consist of the following Members, viz.—The President, Mr Ahern, Mr Cockerill, Mr Geraghty, Mr Manyweathers, Mr Murray, Mrs Roper, Mr Spicer, Mr Thom and Sir Edward Warren, with leave to sit during any adjournment, and authority to act in matters of mutual concernment with any Committee appointed for similar purposes by the Legislative Assembly.

### SESSIONAL ORDERS

#### BUSINESS DAYS: HOURS OF MEETING

Motion (by the Hon. J. B. M. Fuller) agreed to:

That, unless otherwise ordered, this House shall meet for the despatch of business at four p.m. on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday in each week.

#### PRECEDENCE OF BUSINESS

Motion (by the Hon. J. B. M. Fuller) agreed to:

That Government Business shall take precedence of General Business on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday, and that General Business shall take precedence on Thursday in each week.

### COMMITTEE OF SUBORDINATE LEGISLATION

Motion (by the Hon. C. A. F. Cahill) agreed to:

(1) That this House do appoint a Committee to be called the Committee of Subordinate Legislation.

(2) That the Committee shall consist of five Members.

(3) That the following Members shall comprise the Committee, viz.—Colonel Sir Hector Clayton, Mr Gleeson, Mr Keighley, Mr McPherson and the Mover.

(4) That it shall be the duty of the Committee to consider all Regulations, Rules, By-laws, Ordinances, Orders or Proclamations (hereinafter referred to as "the Regulations")

which under any Act are required to be laid upon the Table of this House, and which are subject to disallowance by resolution of either or both Houses of Parliament.

If the Regulations are made whilst the Council is sitting, the Committee shall consider the Regulations before the end of the period during which any motion for disallowance of those Regulations may be moved in the House.

If the Regulations are made whilst the Council is not sitting, the Committee shall consider the Regulations as soon as conveniently may be after the making thereof.

(5) The Committee shall, with respect to the Regulations, consider—

- (a) whether the Regulations are in accordance with the general objects of the Act pursuant to which they are made;
  - (b) whether the Regulations trespass unduly on personal rights and liberties;
  - (c) whether the Regulations unduly make the rights and liberties of citizens dependent upon administrative and not upon judicial decisions;
  - (d) whether the Regulations contain matter which in the opinion of the Committee should properly be dealt with in an Act of Parliament;
  - (e) whether the Regulations appear to make some unusual or unexpected use of the powers conferred by the Statute under which they are made;
  - (f) whether there appears to have been unjustifiable delay in the publication or the laying of the Regulations before Parliament;
  - (g) whether for any special reason the form or purport of the Regulations calls for elucidation.
- (6) If the Committee is of the opinion that any of the Regulations ought to be disallowed—
- (a) it shall report that opinion and the grounds thereof to the House before the end of the period during which any motion for disallowance of those Regulations may be moved in the House;
  - (b) if the Council is not sitting, it may report its opinion and the grounds thereof to the authority by which the Regulations were made.
- (7) If the Committee is of the opinion that any matter relating to any of the Regulations should be brought to the notice of the House, it may report that opinion and matter to the House.
- (8) The Committee shall have power to act and to send for persons, papers and records and to examine witnesses, whether or not the Council is sitting, and all papers and documents referred to, and Minutes of the Proceedings, reports and records of the Committee of

Subordinate Legislation appointed on 27th April, 1971, shall be referred to the Committee hereby appointed.

(9) The proceedings of the Committee shall, except wherein otherwise ordered, be regulated by the Standing Orders of the Legislative Council relating to Select Committees.

## QUESTIONS WITHOUT NOTICE

### RAILWAY WORKSHOPS

The Hon. JAMES CAHILL: I ask the Minister for Decentralisation and Development and Vice-President of the Executive Council whether the Government has forecasted a large deficit in the finances of the Department of Railways. Is this the reason given for steep increases in fares and freights? Could some of this deficit result from the lack of satisfactory management and control in some workshops? Is it a fact that a correspondent in this morning's press in a letter to the editor claims that in one workshop in order to operate a tongue and groove machine a large sheet of corrugated iron had to be removed, and as permission to do this was not granted, a two hour job occupied two weeks, the work having to be done by hand? Is it a fact, also, that the correspondent claims further that a painter given a section of a carriage to paint dared not exceed this area, even though the painter claimed he could have done three times as much? If these are facts, will the Minister seek the co-operation of those concerned and if possible eliminate some of the reasons why citizens of this State are obliged to meet steep increases in fares and freights?

The Hon. J. B. M. FULLER: The honourable member has asked rather a lengthy question, but he referred to the need to increase fares in New South Wales. That need results from the steep increases in wages over the past few years which have had to be met by all public authorities including the road transport authorities and the Commissioner for Railways. Few people realize that wage costs in the omnibus and railway services represent about 80 per cent of all costs. When wages rise significantly the Government has no choice but to increase fares paid by railway and bus travellers. The honourable member referred to a

letter in the press this morning in which it is alleged that some inefficiency exists in some railway workshop. I have no doubt that there is some inefficiency in some railway workshops, just as there is some inefficiency in other workshops in this State.

I assure the House that the Commissioner for Railways is doing his utmost to increase the efficiency of the Department of Railways. I personally feel that the Commissioner for Railways and the Commissioner for Government Transport are not getting nearly as much support from some members of their staff as they could reasonably expect. If there were greater application to efficiency and greater support, it might be possible to have more efficient railway and omnibus services working to the benefit of the community generally. I have no doubt that the Commissioner for Railways will personally look at the allegations made in this morning's press and will do his utmost to ensure that cases such as this alleged inefficiency are brought to his notice and, as much as possible, corrected. I am pleased that the Hon. James Cahill is taking this interest in the efficiency of the transport system of this State and I hope that many of his colleagues will join him in this interest.

#### SIZE OF ABALONE

The Hon. P. M. M. SHIPTON: I ask the Minister for Labour and Industry whether Victorian abalone trawlers operate along the New South Wales coast and as there is no restriction on size, are fishing out the grounds. Is it a fact that in Victoria a size restriction applies to abalone? Will the Minister get into touch with his colleague the Chief Secretary and seek a restriction on the taking of abalone below a certain size along the New South Wales coast?

The Hon. F. M. HEWITT: I shall be happy to refer that question to my colleague the Chief Secretary, who administers fisheries in this State.

#### STUDENT BEHAVIOUR AT UNIVERSITY OF NEW SOUTH WALES

The Hon. H. D. O'CONNELL: I address my question to the Minister for Decentralisation and Development and Vice-President of the Executive Council. Is the Minister aware that yesterday a riot occurred at the University of New South Wales and that police and paddywaggon were required? Is the Minister further aware that today I received various complaints about the behaviour of students at this university? Will the Minister inquire into the cause and extent of damage to persons and property? Is the Minister aware, too, that a bearded, long-haired, person alleged on television that the police were guilty of brutality? Does the Minister know that the public are disgusted by these troublemakers who add to their immature actions by allegations of police brutality? Does the Minister know that another disturbance is likely to take place today? Will the Minister make an effort to identify the person who appeared on television with an allegation of police brutality? Is the Minister aware that when this person was asked whether he saw any brutality he answered, no—he had been told?

The Hon. J. B. M. FULLER: This is rather a lengthy question referring to reports of unrest at the University of New South Wales which appeared in this morning's press. I certainly saw the press reports. As honourable members are aware, I represent this Chamber on the Council of the University of New South Wales and I know that others who have had the privilege of representing this House on the council are aware of the difficulty in handling unruly students within the university and on one occasion outside the university grounds. I assure the House that the vice-chancellor and the chancellor are concerned about the unrest and the council itself will be considering what action will be taken. I have no doubt that the vice-chancellor will be conferring with the police on the matters raised by the honourable member, and I shall confer with the vice-chancellor to ascertain whether he can give me any additional information which may be useful to the honourable member. We all deplore demonstrations of this nature and I

hope that the students concerned will realize that no good is done to the community by actions of this character.

#### WORKERS' COMPENSATION

The Hon. N. K. WRAN: I address my question to the Minister for Labour and Industry, who is concerned with the administration of the Workers' Compensation Act and the Industrial Arbitration Act. Is the Minister aware that the terms of employment of employees of the Sydney County Council, the Electricity Commission, the New South Wales Fire Brigades, and the Sydney City Council, as well as a number of other important undertakings provide, and have for years provided, for payment at full rates of pay while employees are absent on workers' compensation? Has any Minister found among such employees any evidence of loafing, shirking, or bludging of the kind referred to last week by his colleague in another place, the Chief Secretary?

The Hon. F. M. HEWITT: I am aware of the conditions referred to by the Hon. N. K. Wran and irrespective of whether one thinks this good or bad, it does exist. I am, of course, not familiar with the details of how the scheme works but I know that the employees in fact enjoy this privilege.

#### RESIDUAL FUNGICIDES

The Hon. H. J. MCPHERSON: I address my question to the Minister for Labour and Industry, who represents the Minister for Health. Have officers of the Department of Health recently collected samples of foodstuffs from the Riverina to ascertain the residual content of agricultural fungicides in these foodstuffs? I refer particularly to meat, milk and eggs. If this is a fact, will the Minister make available the findings and the report of these investigations as soon as possible?

The Hon. F. M. HEWITT: I was not aware of the matter referred to by the honourable member but I shall convey his request to my colleague the Minister for Health.

#### NON-RETURNABLE BOTTLES

The Hon. C. HEALEY: Is the Vice-President of the Executive Council aware of the decision by Carlton breweries to discontinue the use of non-returnable bottles? Does this type of bottle add greatly to the litter problems faced by councils, especially in parks and reserves? Will the Minister request his colleague the Minister for Environment Control, to ask the breweries of New South Wales to adopt a similar policy? If they fail to grant such a request, will the Government make the sale of these bottles illegal?

The Hon. J. B. M. FULLER: I will refer the honourable member's request to my colleague, the Minister for Environment Control, and possibly also to the Minister for Local Government and Minister for Highways, who takes an interest in this subject.

#### DEATH OF THE HON. JOHN CHARLES MCINTOSH, M.L.C.

The PRESIDENT: The sad duty devolves upon me of informing the House of the death this morning, 10th August, 1971, of the Hon. John Charles McIntosh.

The Hon. J. B. M. FULLER (Minister for Decentralisation and Development and Vice-President of the Executive Council) [4.52]: I move:

That this House desires to express and to place on record its deep sense of the loss sustained to the State and to this House in the removal by death of the Hon. John Charles McIntosh, and that this resolution be communicated by the President to the family of the deceased member.

It was a great shock for all of us when we heard this morning of the death during the night of our colleague, the Hon. John Charles McIntosh. Many of us knew that he had spent some time in hospital a couple of years ago with heart trouble but he appeared to be in good health when he was attending the sittings of the House last week. Jack McIntosh was born at Lismore on 11th April, 1901. Few honourable members would have realized that he was 70 years of age: he never looked his age. He attended school at Armidale and later at Lismore High School. Jack was a country

man, born and educated in the country. He spent his life there except for wartime service as a commissioned officer in New Guinea with 22 Squadron of the Royal Australian Air Force which was a bomber squadron. He lived the real country life, participating in community life to the utmost.

It was understandable that our colleague as principal of the legal firm of J. C. McIntosh, Balzer and Gordon, a firm that was founded by his father in the late 1890's, should act as honorary solicitor to many local organizations, including the East Lismore bowling club, Lismore city bowling club, Lismore golf club, the Presbyterian church in Lismore, the Lismore Sub-branch of the Returned Services League and the Lismore Returned Soldiers' Club. It is obvious from this list that he was interested in sport. In fact, he excelled in the sports of his choice. For example, he won the Country Golf Championship of New South Wales on two occasions, the Foursome Championship of Queensland, the Darling Downs and Northern Rivers titles and the Lismore golf club title twelve times. Also, he played rugby league in the Richmond River area. Jack learnt from his close association with sport how to play the game. In life he played fairly and he accepted the referee's decision. His conduct was an example to many of us.

Jack had two other major interests in life: first, he owned a Guernsey stud at Bexhill near Lismore. Having visited this property I can assure all honourable members that it was an efficiently managed, highly improved property and his stock was of show standard. In fact, he was an enthusiastic show exhibitor and this led to his election for a time to the position of president of the North Coast National A. and H. Society, embracing show societies in nine centres of the Richmond, Brunswick and Upper Clarence districts. He also ran pigs on the Bexhill property. Another special interest our colleague had was in press, radio and television. As chairman of directors of television station RTN 8 he was associated recently with a somewhat lengthy case involving the ownership of other TV transmitters in the north. Incidentally, the case

*The Hon. J. B. M. Fuller]*

was resolved in favour of the board of RTN 8, of which our colleague was chairman. He was also a director of the *Northern Star* newspaper and, since 1936, of Richmond River Broadcasters, the company that owns and operates radio station 2LM.

It is no wonder that with such a wealth of experience in country affairs and country life, John Charles McIntosh was elected as a Country Party member to the Legislative Council for a twelve-year term from 23rd April, 1964. In this Chamber, Jack found a new interest and he applied himself to the job. As a member he studied carefully all legislation submitted to the House, and members will remember his contribution to our debates, particularly on matters affecting the dairy industry when he spoke as a farmer and a stud Guernsey breeder. It is interesting to record that he served on five select committees during his term. One was in relation to the Port Stephens Shire (Soldiers Point Public Gardens and Recreation Space) Bill during the 1965-66 session. Another, in the 1967-68 session was on the Wesley College Incorporation (Amendment) Bill. The other select committees on which he sat were in relation to the Peak Hill A.I.F. Memorial School of Arts (Land Sale) Bill, in the 1968-69 session, the Port Stephens Shire (Soldiers Point Public Reserve Land Sale) Bill, in the 1968-69 session, and the Australia and New Zealand Banking Group Bill, in the 1969-70-71 session. This type of work was of particular interest to our colleague.

In the House Jack McIntosh applied himself to the job in a quiet, efficient manner and he had the respect of us all. In 1940 he married Miss Margaret Manson and they have been a devoted couple. Their daughter, Gaye, now Mrs Drane, is a delightful girl known to some honourable members. She was an air hostess for some time. When she was in Sydney she would occasionally come into the House while waiting to go out to dinner with her father. I have lost a personal friend and we have all lost a colleague. I express to Mrs McIntosh and her daughter and son-in-law, Mr and Mrs Drane, the deepest sympathy of all members. At the same time I place on record

our appreciation of John Charles McIntosh's contribution to the growth and development of New South Wales, particularly the North Coast.

The Hon. R. R. DOWNING (Leader of the Opposition) [5.0]: I join with the Hon. J. B. M. Fuller in extending sympathy to the family of the late John McIntosh. It came as something of a shock to honourable members to look at the business paper today and see that our late colleague's name is recorded as having been with us on the last evening the House sat. I recall when speaking in the Address-in-Reply debate seeing the Hon. J. C. McIntosh sitting on the other side of the Chamber. Naturally it did not occur to me that he would not be with us today. The Minister has given a full account of the life of the Hon. J. C. McIntosh. It was active over many spheres. In the legal sphere he built up a big practice originally established by his father. He was interested in many sporting activities and he excelled in golf and, in his younger days, in football. The Minister referred particularly to our colleague's social activities and his association with local bodies and clubs in his area. He had wide commercial interests in many fields, in each of which he had been a leader. His political activities culminated in his election to this House.

The Minister has given details of Jack McIntosh's active, varied and full life. I am sure that one of the things that strikes us more than anything else is his sudden and untimely death. Every honourable member of this Chamber extends sincere sympathy to Mrs McIntosh and to her daughter and son-in-law. Those who knew him have suffered a great blow at his passing. Members on this side of the House sincerely extend their deepest sympathy to his family. We are acutely aware of the sad bereavement that they have suffered in the loss of a wonderful husband and father.

The Hon. T. P. GLEESON [5.2]: I join with the Minister and the Leader of the Opposition in paying tribute to the memory of John McIntosh. Only last Thursday he was sitting among us. His sudden passing has come as a great blow. It is a warning to everyone that the angel of death will

come like a thief in the night. I did not know John McIntosh before he came to this House, but since then I learned of his great qualities and what a wonderful man he was. He was a kindly and cultured gentleman, the very soul of goodwill and co-operation. I have friends who live in the area where John McIntosh had many interests and I have heard them speak of him in most glowing terms. My colleagues and I join in the eloquent tributes paid by the Hon. J. B. M. Fuller and the Hon. R. R. Downing. We endorse everything that has been said about our late colleague. We extend to his immediate family our deepest sympathy and although they are sad at the moment in the loss of such a wonderful person, we trust that they may be consoled in the knowledge that we share their grief with them.

The Hon. F. M. HEWITT [5.4]: I should like to be associated with this motion. Like the Hon. T. P. Gleeson, I did not know Jack McIntosh before he came into this House. However, on a number of occasions I had the pleasure of visiting Lismore and found that nobody was prouder of that fine city and district than he was. I am sure nobody knew more about the Lismore area. It was his great pleasure, when people he knew visited that area, to make it his job to show them the features of the district and to help them in every way possible. Certainly we shall miss him greatly.

The Hon. P. M. M. SHIPTON [5.5]: Jack McIntosh and I came into this House at the same time. Everything that could be said about him has been said. He was a good friend of mine. We did not agree on everything—we disagreed on the milk industry legislation and on other things—but we remained firm friends to the last. He had a wonderful sense of humour which every member of this House will sadly miss.

The Hon. R. W. MANYWEATHERS [5.6]: I wish to be associated with the motion. I have known Jack McIntosh during almost the whole of my life. Honourable members will be aware that Jack was Lismore and I was Casino. We have been associated since boyhood. Jack McIntosh had reason to be proud of his community service. He was interested in many walks

of life—commerce, sport, industry and his church. He was most proud of his association with St Paul's Presbyterian Church, and his vision was wide. Only last Wednesday night when His Eminence Cardinal Sir Norman Thomas Gilroy was present in this House Jack discussed with him his visit to Lismore during the first week of September when he is to conduct the enthronement of the successor to Bishop Farrelly. The Hon. J. C. McIntosh was one of the first persons to receive an invitation to attend that function. He will be sadly missed in the community and he will be missed from the industry in which he was such a competent worker. I join with other speakers in expressing to his wife Margaret, his daughter Gaye, and his son-in-law our deepest sympathy.

The Hon. A. A. ALAM [5.8]: The Hon. J. C. McIntosh was a very friendly man and since entering this House I have been on friendly terms with him. I endorse the remarks of previous speakers and extend to his family my sincere sympathy in the passing of one of nature's gentlemen.

The Hon. F. W. SPICER [5.9]: I should like to associate myself with the motion before the House. I extend my sympathy and that of my wife to Mrs McIntosh and her family. When Jack McIntosh came into this House he and I became firm friends. When I left the Chamber last week he said to me, "I will see you on Tuesday." Unfortunately, that was not to happen. I feel his passing deeply. He was a big man in every respect. He showed great tolerance to everybody and to other people's beliefs, whether political, religious or anything else. He will be sadly missed from the city of Lismore. He will be missed by all members of this House. I sympathize deeply with Mrs McIntosh in her great loss.

The PRESIDENT: I join with honourable members in expressing deep regret at the death of the Hon. J. C. McIntosh. He was a capable member of this House and a loyal colleague. I extend my sympathy to his wife, daughter and son-in-law.

*Members and officers of the House standing in their places,*

Motion agreed to.

## GOVERNOR'S SPEECH: ADDRESS IN REPLY

### SECOND DAY'S DEBATE

Debate resumed (from 5th August, *vide* page 60) on motion by the Hon. M. F. Willis:

That the following Address be adopted and presented by the Whole House to the Governor, in reply to the Speech which His Excellency had been pleased to make to both Houses of Parliament, viz.:

*To His Excellency Sir ARTHUR RODEN CUTLER, upon whom has been conferred the decoration of the Victoria Cross, Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order, Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, Knight of the Most Venerable Order of St John of Jerusalem, Governor of the State of New South Wales and its Dependencies, in the Commonwealth of Australia.*

#### MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY—

We, Her Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, the Members of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, in Parliament assembled, desire to express our thanks for Your Excellency's Speech, and to assure you of our unfeigned attachment to Her Most Gracious Majesty's Throne and Person.

2. We beg to assure Your Excellency that our earnest consideration will be given to the measures to be submitted to us.

3. We join Your Excellency in the hope that, under the guidance of Divine Providence, our labours may be so directed as to advance the best interests of all sections of the community.

The Hon. R. R. DOWNING (Leader of the Opposition) [5.11]: When I was speaking on Thursday last I referred to three grave problems in the State of New South Wales which I submit strongly the Government has failed to deal with constructively. I dealt at some length with the high cost of living and the condition of inflation in the economy. I said that the Government had done nothing to solve these problems. I want to deal in more detail with education and in this connection refer honourable members once more to the three policy speeches delivered by the Premier and Treasurer to show that these problems have occurred during his administration and that his Government has failed dismally to cope with them.

When in 1965 the Premier called for a new look in education, he referred to the need to upgrade the ministry to make it a ministry of education and a ministry of science, and he said that he would appoint an assistant minister in this field. There was no reference in his 1965 policy speech to a teacher shortage. The Premier at that time undertook to establish an education commission and thus separate education from the control of the Public Service Board. He said that teachers would have equal representation on the commission with government appointees, and that the body would function under an independent chairman of proven capacity. About the only promise honoured by the Premier was his undertaking to appoint an assistant minister to help with education matters. All honourable members know that he repudiated his undertaking to appoint an education commission.

In his 1968 policy speech the Premier made a number of claims about what his Government was doing in education matters, none of which directly referred to the problems of teacher-pupil ratios or the teacher shortage. As to his 1965 promise to appoint an education commission, the Premier said:

We have appointed an independent committee to examine the establishment of a New South Wales Education Commission.

In 1971 he admitted that he had abandoned his 1965 proposal for an education commission: in other words he publicly acknowledged repudiation of his 1965 promise. The real test of the policy pursued by the Government in education is the percentage of teachers resigning from the teaching service. This figure has increased enormously.

I have here a copy of a letter sent to all secondary school teachers in New South Wales by the Director-General of Education. In it he asks for alterations in the department's practices regarding teaching time and compulsory sporting periods. He goes into some detail—taking four pages—to show what has happened to the education service of this State and why a crisis developed. It is important to note that the director-general begins by alleging that the problem did not arise through any lack of

planning by departmental officers. He said that when the Wyndham scheme was introduced in 1962 it was recognized that in 1966 the output of fifth-year pupils would be confined to students repeating the year and that the intake of student teachers would be much smaller than usual in 1967. As a matter of fact, the director-general gave the number by which new scholarships decreased. In 1967 it was 534 fewer than in 1966. In 1966 the number of new scholarships for secondary teaching was 2,035, and in 1967 it was 1,501.

The Hon. J. B. M. FULLER: That was due to the commencement of the Wyndham scheme.

The Hon. R. R. DOWNING: Is it true that in 1967 the only fifth-year students were the ones who were repeating the leaving certificate examination and other odd ones who may have been doing the leaving certificate for the first time. The Director-General of Education then went on to say that annual reviews of the staffing plans sustained the expectations that these major effects could be absorbed without undue disturbance. It appears that the department had reviewed the position from time to time during the term of office of this Government, but it became evident in 1968 that the trend of teacher losses was taking a marked upward turn. I am sure that this document is available to the Minister, and therefore I shall not read all of it, but at one point the director-general asks, "What has changed since that committee reported?" That was the report of the Scott committee. He went on to say, "Briefly, the loss rate of teachers has risen by 30 per cent of the rate then operating."

It is important to note that the Teachers Federation in a reply to the director-general says that if the loss rate had been held at 10 per cent for 1969 and 1970, there would have been more than 2,000 additional teachers now in the schools. I have no reason to doubt those figures. The question is why this accentuated rate of resignations has occurred. It has taken place under the present Government at a rate of 30 per cent higher than the loss rate in 1967 and 1968, according to the Director-General of Education. He referred to the

wastage of university students in training increasing more than had been anticipated. He begins his letter by saying that when the annual review of staffing was made in May-June, 1971, it appeared that in 1972 the department would be 1,400 teachers short of the number needed to restore in secondary schools the conditions that operated in 1970. Surely there must be something wrong in a department when there is a sudden jump of this magnitude in the number of persons giving up the teaching profession, especially when the loss rate had been reasonably static for some years.

A number of suggestions have been made for overcoming the difficulty, and there are a number with which the Government has not yet dealt. For instance, one of the suggestions made by the Teachers Federation is that retired teachers, persons who elected to retire at 60 and did so, should be invited to come back into the service. I was struck by a recent letter published in the press from, I think, the Director-General of Education, in which he said that the Deputy Premier, Minister for Education and Minister for Science had proposed to the Minister administering the superannuation legislation, the Minister of Justice, that he waive the provisions of the Act to enable retired teachers to come back into the service. The Government has not made any decision on this matter.

The Hon. J. B. M. FULLER: The Leader of the Opposition must realize the complication.

The Hon. R. R. DOWNING: I agree that difficulties exist but the situation in education is desperate. The complication is the drain on the superannuation fund. I cannot accept that this should apply in the desperate situation in which the secondary schools especially find themselves. The situation is that a teacher who retires at 60 years of age is paid his superannuation. If he teaches in an independent school he gets his salary and his superannuation; if he goes to work in any other occupation he gets his wage and his superannuation. The Superannuation Act provides that, subject to some short period of grace, a proclamation has to be issued in respect of any person on superannuation before he may

be re-employed by the Crown and continue to receive his superannuation payments. Apparently the only difficulty is with the Superannuation Board. That would be the difficulty to which the Minister referred in his interjection.

If New South Wales is to be short of 1,400 teachers in 1972, drastic measures are necessary to overcome the difficulty. The crux of the position is the sudden upsurge in the number of resignations in the teaching service. Without adopting what the Teachers Federation says, I suggest that a serious examination be made of the number of resignations. The Director-General of Education in his statement says that a committee is looking at why the number of resignations has increased in the past few years. I know that the Government will say that this is a result of the introduction of the Wyndham scheme and Government supporters will try to suggest that insufficient planning was undertaken before the Labor Government went out of office. The report of the Director-General gives that suggestion the lie direct. He said that the department had undertaken the planning and that it was expected that the position would be met. However, the rate of resignations has risen 30 per cent on the figure for 1968.

A number of other matters are involved. The Teachers Federation alleges that some months before teachers were sought from overseas it had asked the Government to canvass the position but that the recruiting campaign was not begun overseas until the middle of the year, when teachers had already taken up positions for the year. The other point was that the suggested crash teaching course for graduates who have had no experience of teaching was taken up too late. It should be pursued further. The federation suggests that the issue of a proclamation permitting superannuated teachers under 65 years of age to be employed in 1972 and a proper examination of what is causing this high rate of resignation would go a substantial way towards enabling the recruitment of the 1,400 teachers who Mr Verco suggests will be short next year.

Apparently the teaching profession is demoralized because teachers cannot see any serious attempt being made by the Government to overcome this shortage in this time of crisis and they are resigning in droves—or at least in such numbers as were never previously experienced. The Government, in its seventh year of office, has yet made no concrete or substantial suggestion to overcome the crisis.

I want to refer to another matter. I again take the opportunity of going through the policy speeches delivered by the Hon. R. W. Askin for the elections of 1965, 1968 and 1971. Those comments relate to the rural crisis. In 1965 the State was experiencing a severe drought and the Premier and Treasurer promised immediate and generous assistance to farmers suffering the effects of drought. In 1968 he reviewed what the State had done in this field. The immediate and generous assistance for those suffering the effects of drought was substantially by means of loans at reduced rates of interest. In 1971, the rural policy speech of the Askin Government, delivered by the Hon. C. B. Cutler, contained no constructive proposals to deal with the state of the rural economy. With falling prices for wool a number of farmers are facing disaster. It has been suggested that from 20,000 to 50,000 farmers will be forced off their holdings.

The Hon. L. P. CONNELLAN: The Leader of the Opposition is speaking of Australia-wide figures and not merely New South Wales?

The Hon. R. R. DOWNING: Not New South Wales figures, but, I saw some statistics that suggested that the figure might be nearly as high as 20,000 in New South Wales. On those figures New South Wales would have at least its percentage—probably 40 per cent—of the number for the whole of Australia. I base that estimate on the proportion of population in New South Wales. Whatever the number, the honourable member will agree with me that unless something is done many hundreds of people will have to walk off their farms and we shall have a mass exodus from the country to the city. We all agree that with falling prices and increased costs the farmer

has difficulty in continuing. My view is that one of the greatest difficulties facing those who will be forced off the land, and one of the most severe costs, is the interest payments on debts. With interest rates in excess of 8 per cent the only hope for many farmers will be a reduced interest charge on loan indebtedness and a moratorium or period without any repayment of the principal. The Government has suggested nothing like this.

At the elections the Labor Party appreciated that something like this must be done to enable farmers to emerge from their difficulties. We on this side do not believe in the philosophy of get big or get out. We still believe that once this crisis is over most of the people who have been on the land for years—like their families before them—will be able to come good again after making adjustments to changing conditions. With that in mind the Labor Party proposed a scheme of long-term relief to farmers to provide for those who were in real difficulty—and I suggest this might be the majority—by servicing of loan charges by undertaking to guarantee loans up to \$50,000.000 with the State subsidizing the interest burden on loans by paying the difference between 3 per cent and the prevailing bond rate. We believe that if any relief is to be given to the people who are in these dire difficulties today, they must be provided with low-interest finance. This is an essential element in any realistic approach to long-term rehabilitation of the rural community.

The Labor Party has a number of other proposals of importance but altogether secondary to this question of doing something to relieve the farmer in difficulty as a result of the high interest rates that he is compelled to pay. I know of a number of people who appreciate that unless something is done to help them they will have to give up. The reason for this is that they cannot meet the high interest charges on their indebtedness; but they could meet the 3 per cent charge which has been suggested. At least they would have time to discover whether they could get out of their difficulties. The Labor Party suggested also an

alteration in the system of rating and valuing rural lands, abolition of the road transport co-ordination tax, the setting up of a rural development commission, and uniform or common retail charges for electricity—in other words the same cost a unit to the consumer in the farthest part of the State as for the consumer in the city.

These are constructive proposals by contrast with those of the Government, which lacked constructive proposals in its rural policy. Unless something substantive is done by the State Government in accepting at least some of the responsibility for the position, instead of saying continually that it is a Commonwealth responsibility, many farmers will fail. As a result the years 1971 and 1972 will come to be looked upon as a tragic period for the rural community of this State. Much has been said about the Government's decentralization policy. Admittedly it has named regions for development based on recommendations of a committee that it established. However, I feel that the Government has lacked the courage to stipulate which towns will form the centres of those regions. Above all, it has lacked the courage to indicate the order of priority for development of regions. No one would suggest for a moment that all regions can be developed simultaneously. What must be done is to select one of them and develop it. So far the Government has not named the centre of any region or announced a priority for development. Unlike the Government, the Opposition did have the courage to nominate the centres for development and to indicate the one that would have priority.

The Hon. J. B. M. FULLER: Was that courage or political hope?

The Hon. R. R. DOWNING: It was courage in contrast with the Minister's failure to announce any regional development priority. I venture to say that this position is attributable to the political jealousies of the members of the two political parties in office. To add strength to my argument, let me give an example. In the Bathurst-Orange region, with a population of 180,000, the number of people has been declining at the rate of 3,000 a year. Incidentally, this is the region that Labor sug-

gested should first be developed. The Government stands condemned for its failure to take constructive action in respect of the three aspects that I have mentioned—inflation, the price spiral and the rural crisis. It has failed in many other respects to which members of my party will direct the attention of the House. The public is well aware of the position and the voters are waiting for an opportunity to display their feelings at election time. By resort to political acumen the Government was able to call on an election some months before its term of office was due to expire. It made this move bearing in mind the difficulties confronting it, in the realization that those difficulties had arisen because of its own ineptitude, and knowing that it would suffer the wrath of the electors should it go to the poll at the end of its term of office.

The Hon. T. P. GLEESON [5.34]: I support the motion for the adoption of the Address in Reply to His Excellency's Speech, which was ably moved by the Hon. M. F. Willis and seconded by the Hon. L. P. Connellan. I congratulate the Hon. M. F. Willis on his maiden speech in this House. It was a fine effort indeed and he proved that he is a most capable speaker. Clearly he holds some forthright opinions, some of which might not find unanimous accord in this place. However, I am sure that we shall hear more from him later.

All governments in Australia are confronted with a most difficult period, but the problems are not confined to Labor governments or non-Labor governments, to the federal government or State governments. All of them, because of high costs and inflationary trends, are having grave difficulties in budgeting for their needs. The sooner we all recognize the grave dangers inherent in the cost spiral the better, but no doubt all of us have contributed in some way to the present instability. I do not believe that any political party with all the goodwill in the world could maintain economic stability unless it had the full co-operation of all sections of the community. Everyone is involved. There is plenty of scope to push party-political views, but surely we all recognize that the nation is in danger from the cost spiral. If we do not

heed that danger it is clear that in the not too distant future there will be massive unemployment in Australia. In the United States of America more than 4,000,000 people are unemployed and the conditions that led up to the difficult economic position there closely resemble what is happening now in Australia—over-full employment and high costs associated with a reversal in the economy, resulting in great distress.

The Hon. J. A. WEIR: There is a lot of talk about it, but nothing is done about it.

The Hon. T. P. GLEESON: Then it is high time that you and I and the Government did something about it. The first casualty has been the great wool industry. Now the coal industry is gravely threatened and so too is the export aspect of the motor car industry. To digress for a moment, the other night I attended a meeting at Gunedah where people with an interest in coal were trying to evolve a scheme to assist their industry. They were discussing whether they should ask the Government for support.

The Hon. Sir EDWARD WARREN: They want support so that they can compete against other people in the industry.

The Hon. T. P. GLEESON: Be that as it may, it seems to me that the sort of support they were seeking from the Government would be offset by rising production costs. Therefore, this aspect must be considered realistically. Internal costs are at such a prohibitive level that the average man and woman cannot afford to build a house or be sick enough to go to hospital. I emphasize that I am not blaming any one political party for the present position. It has been a continuing process in every State in Australia, irrespective of the government in office. We are all selfish, and I suppose that I should be considered idealistic if I were to suggest that we do things for anything other than the profit motive. However, I firmly believe that unless strong measures are taken to control inflation, Australia is headed for a period of distress and unemployment. I hate to be a prophet of gloom. It seems all too evident to me

that bank interest rates must be reduced and fringe banking controlled. Also, profit margins must be controlled and strong measures must be taken to ensure wage restraint. I am well aware that all these proposals would be unpopular, but I believe they are necessary to restore economic stability and to save our great export industries. Unless we take this action there will be widespread suffering.

As I said earlier, the wool industry has been the first casualty of the high cost of production. Indeed the woolgrower has been squeezed out of world markets. With our imports increasing at a rate of more than \$700,000,000 a year and returns to foreign investors between 1962–63 and 1969–70 rising at the rate of \$100,000,000 a year, we are finding ourselves short to the extent of almost \$900,000,000 a year. The difference is being met from foreign investments in Australia that will require further heavy remittances in the future. A consideration of figures supplied by the Department of Trade in relation to exports of manufactured goods can give a most misleading impression. As an example, about 80 per cent of exports of chemicals in fact consist of aluminium oxide, which is a mineral product that has passed through only the first stages of processing.

Motor vehicles and machinery exported from Australia contain a large component of imported parts. The manufacturing industries make only a small contribution to our total export income. It is most important for Australia to maintain a large export of primary produce. A high percentage of money earned from the export of our primary products remains in Australia but this is not so with income from mineral exports. The high operating costs of primary industry in Australia must be reduced so as to maintain exports which can compete on world markets. Widespread confusion has been aroused in the public mind about wool. Many well-meaning people speak as though wool had no further use in the community. Nothing could be further from the truth. There is no great carry over of unsaleable wool on the world market but the price offered is less than the cost of producing it in Australia. Wool is

not unique in this respect. The same applies to coal and to the manufacture of motor cars. No one would suggest that coal and motor cars are not wanted throughout the world.

Wool is in great demand, but we have priced ourselves out of the market. It is imperative that we should do something about this if we are to maintain full employment in Australia. Wool production in Australia increased rapidly in 1968-69 and 1969-70. It is expected to decrease in 1970-71. In 1969-70 wool production reached its peak at 2,460 million lb. For 1970-71 the production is estimated at 1,994 million lb, or 2.5 per cent less than the previous year. In 1968-69 wool exports were worth \$826,000,000. In 1969-70 world consumption of wool increased to a record level of 3,534 million lb. This was 2.4 per cent higher than the figure for the previous year. In 1969-70 world production of greasy wool was 6,102 million lb and this was marginally less than the production in 1968-69. Increases in production in the Argentine, Australia and South Africa were more than offset by falls in other wool producing countries. The world production of wool in 1970-71 is expected to be 5,990 million lb—112,000,000 lb less than for the previous year. The Australian clip is estimated to be down by 52,000,000 lb. Available world supplies of wool in 1970-71 are expected to be less than for 1969-70.

The gross value of wool production in 1969-70 was \$744,000,000, a fall of \$95,000,000 compared with the previous year. This clip was sold at an average price of 30.4 cents a pound, a drop of 34 per cent on previous years. The wool industry is so important to Australia that the Commonwealth and State governments should make every effort to assist producers over what I believe will be a short period of grave difficulty. Some measures I should like to see introduced are total acquisition of the wool clip, orderly marketing and provision of long term finance. I heartily agree with the proposition made by the Hon. R. R. Downing that interest rates are the greatest single burden on primary industry. When considering problems relating to wool we should deal with them as

*The Hon. T. P. Gleeson]*

they affect the industry as a whole. We should attempt to stabilize the whole industry and not individuals connected with the industry. There will always be failures, no matter how high the price of wool might climb.

The soundest principle is to stabilize the industry itself. If an efficient woolgrower can get by satisfactorily an important result will be achieved for Australia. Many growers will have to be dealt with on their merit as individuals and we must find ways and means of helping them too. High costs have been passed on to the woolgrower from highly protected secondary industries, and the present price of wool is too low to carry them. I agree with the Hon. R. R. Downing who said that the suggestion of get big or get out is no solution to the problem in the wool industry. In practice it is found that the most efficient woolgrower is the owner who shears between 2,000 and 5,000 sheep annually. This type of property enjoys the personal management and close attention of the farmer, his wife and family, who work hard and sometimes for seven days a week to service their asset and to carry on until more profitable conditions prevail. An example of the absurdity of saying that a woolgrower must get big or get out is that a person might have a good property of, say 3,000 acres and manage it himself reasonably well and profitably. However, if that person were to acquire five times that area he would have to engage a manager or managers and immediately he would run into all sorts of trouble. If a grower makes a loss producing one pound of wool he must lose more as his production increases. If he produces at a loss he exports his capital. By getting bigger his loss grows too.

Many suggestions have been made about what should be done to help the wool industry. People in the industry are appreciative of the assistance given by the federal and State governments. Some permanent way of stabilizing the industry must be established. The Hon. R. R. Downing suggested that reduced interest rates should be allowed to woolgrowers and I agree with him. Other ways of reducing costs to the woolgrower must be found. We must not

forget that the great wool industry has built our cities and country towns and enabled Australia to maintain full employment. It has provided money to purchase goods needed for the development of secondary industry. I believe in full employment and protection of industries. However, at times like this when the load is too heavy for the unprotected industries to carry we must have another look at the position.

Perhaps we should bring the wool industry under the umbrella of protection and level out the costs. It is impossible to produce wool under a policy of high protection for industries servicing the wool industry. On that basis we cannot compete on the world wool market. I should like to quote from *Australian Facts and Figures* which recently published an article relating to protection of secondary industry. This article illustrates how wool might be assisted to the benefit of all. I am endeavouring to speak not as a woolgrower or a country man but as an Australian who has the future of Australia at heart. I believe that this article goes some way towards foreshadowing benefit to all Australians:

In its last three annual reports, the Board developed a proposal to review systematically Australian industries which are protected by tariffs, the main reason being to encourage greater use of resources in low-cost activities, and to discourage the movement of resources into high-cost activities. There appears to be general support for a systematic review of protection in Australia.

The average rates of effective protection available to individual Australian manufacturing industries in 1967-68 ranged from nil to 120 per cent. The average rate for manufacturing industry as a whole was 46 per cent. This average rate of effective protection was equivalent to \$2,700,000,000 a year. That is, if all tariff protection available to manufacturing industry in 1967-68 had been fully used, the total cost of manufacturing processes would have been \$2,700,000,000 more than with the same pattern of manufacturing and no tariffs.

That statement clearly indicates our ability as a nation to afford some protection to a great exporting industry like the wool industry. It would be a good business deal: it would be a good thing for all of us, whether we live in the city or in the country, to assist the wool industry. Wool is important, and if wool-growing fails as an industry, there will be a collapse of towns

—great towns like Wagga Wagga, Coonamble, Tamworth, Moree: I could go on and on naming them. Not only the people on the land will suffer—those persons in the towns who provide services and depend heavily on the stability of the wool industry will be gravely affected. I submit it is imperative that the resources of our nation be used, not extravagantly but prudently, to ensure that the wool industry continues as an important industry of this country necessary for the welfare and development of its people.

In 1969-70 the area sown to wheat for grain was 23,440,000 acres, a reduction of 3,359,000 acres in comparison with the previous year. Production was 387,512,000 bushels, compared with 543,950,000 bushels in 1968-69. That was a reduction of about 156,000,000 bushels. Here we see the wisdom of government co-operation in the orderly marketing of primary produce. Quotas were introduced. The quotas caused anomalies and injustices, which nearly always occur in such circumstances, but the merit of the action is seen in the stabilization of the industry, allowing it to carry on. The outlook for this year's crop is only fair. I believe that the present quotas will be sufficient to meet the position. I must say that the Australian Wheat Board has done a remarkable job. It has sold more wheat this year than at any other time since it began operations, despite the loss of wheat sales to China. This shows that the world is able to buy great quantities of wheat, and we should not be defeatists and say that if we cannot sell wheat to China, we will have to go out of business. We are developing new markets, including those in the Middle East. We would like to sell wheat to China, and we hope to do so in the future, but the activities of the wheat board are an example of the wisdom of orderly marketing in sustaining industries that are important to the welfare of our people.

Even though the prices of wool and wheat have fallen on the world markets, the latest export figures show that Australia's export earnings for wool were \$744,000,000, for wheat they were \$337,000,000 and for meat the figure was \$450,000,000. Much of

the money earned by the meat industry does not have to be paid out by way of dividend to oversea investors and the like.

The Leader of the Opposition and I would disagree on certain aspects of decentralization. We would both agree that the need to decentralize our population is urgent, but there is a great difference of opinion about the proposed growth centres. Certain industries could be more profitably and suitably located in one town or city, and others would be better established in some other place. To be arbitrary about it and say that all decentralized industry must go to one centre, is to adopt an attitude that will be strongly resisted, and rightly so, for I believe there is a great deal of injustice in that proposal. There are many thriving towns throughout the State which, by enterprise, have succeeded in attracting industry to them. If they are not included in the proposed regional centres, they will suffer, and I believe that there will be "civil war" as a result. I assure honourable members that in my opinion any politician who advocates such a policy will lose his seat, especially if there is a difference of only 1,000 votes between those who usually support him and those who support his opponent. That can be said as sure as I am here. We believe in decentralization, but we cannot support the arbitrary selection of regional centres.

The Hon. N. K. WRAN: How would you go about it if you do not select one place and start there?

The Hon. T. P. GLEESON: That is a good question, and it is easy to answer. One would try to induce an industry to go to the country, and then look at various towns that would be a suitable location. For heavy industry, one would look for a place with an ample supply of water and coal. Other towns in the region, otherwise suitable, but without coal and water in good supply, would not be appropriate places for such an industry.

The Hon. R. R. DOWNING: Do you propose setting up a government department to do things like that? You have to select a town: you cannot put industries anywhere.

The Hon. T. P. GLEESON: At present the regional centres are widely spread. In the north, industries are operating successfully at places like Moree, Narrabri, Gunnedah, Tamworth and Armidale.

The Hon. R. R. DOWNING: All of those places are losing their populations.

The Hon. T. P. GLEESON: That is so, but the reason for that is not simple to find. Declaring one city in the west, one city in the north and one city in the south to be places to which industry will go is not the answer to the problem. I cannot see why just as many industries could not be induced to go to the country by suggesting suitable towns in which they could operate—places like Wagga Wagga, Dubbo, Bathurst and Orange. All have equal claims to suitability for industry of some sort, and it would be quite wrong to leave a person who had invested in one city without any chance of improving his investment, by the Government's declaring another city to be the place at which development will take place, and investing millions of dollars of the public's money to ensure that the plan succeeds. That would be strongly resisted.

Another question that is topical, but causing concern in the community, is the activities of the trade-union movement in respect of a number of matters in the economic field. This has resulted in a feeling of disquiet among a majority of the people. One example is the bus strike. This was an example of interference by the trade unions in an economic field. The bus unions claimed that their members were the custodians of safety. Decisions on the visit by the Springbok footballers provide another example. I am sure that all honourable members oppose apartheid, but if the Government and a majority of the people welcome South African footballers to this country, it is meddling for trade unions to attempt to interfere with that invitation. In short, there must be respect for the Government. One might oppose a government violently, and even succeed in getting rid of it at the next election, but while that government is in power, the people who elected it must help to uphold the law of the land. Otherwise chaos will result.

We have inherited from Britain our parliamentary institution and the British system of justice. It would be wrong to get back to the law of the jungle. This is what will happen if we do not pay due respect to properly constituted authority.

Despite all the difficulties, the Government of New South Wales has done a good job. We agree that it is confronted by demands for increased services and that its wages bill is growing rapidly. Many unforeseen circumstances, such as the drought, confronted it. It had to make money available for drought relief, carriage of starving stock and other relief work—all matters which could not be foreseen. If honourable members are just in their summing up, they must concede that the Government has done a good job. I am afraid, however, that any government will have great worries ahead. I ask the help of the Hon. J. A. Weir to spread the gospel of containing prices and doing all that we can to maintain stability and order in the community.

Daily one sees in the press the balance-sheets of finance companies. If I were a dictator I should probably be most unwise but the first thing that I should do would be to ban fringe banking. All banking should be brought under the control of the Reserve Bank. Interest rates are too high. In my view high interest rates are the most inflationary factor in the whole economy. They seriously affect production, distribution and so many other things. Interest rates are becoming usurious. I know people who are able to obtain loans at 8 or 10 per cent but in my view they are mad to contemplate borrowing at such a figure. I join with the honourable members who have moved and seconded this motion. I trust that my gloomy predictions will not be fulfilled and that stability will return. I appeal to all men of goodwill to help maintain our export industries so that they will be a stable force in our production and assist us to maintain our oversea balances.

The Hon. F. W. BOWEN [6.3]: I take this opportunity of conveying to the relatives of Major-General Stevenson my condolences upon his passing. Like other honourable members, I regarded Major-General

Stevenson as a good friend. He was of considerable help to me when I first came to this Chamber. I offer my condolences to the relatives of the Hon. J. C. McIntosh, whom I did not know well. One is always sad to hear of the passing of a colleague. I congratulate those officers of the Parliament who following the death of Major-General Stevenson were elevated to positions of higher trust within the Council. I should like to thank those who have been of considerable assistance to me since I entered the Legislative Council.

I congratulate the Hon. M. F. Willis on having made his maiden speech. It is a good thing to get a maiden speech off one's chest but the honourable member may rest assured that that will probably be the last time that he will be heard in silence. If ever I heard a servile adulation of a government that has done nothing since it came to office in 1965 except implement and complete plans begun by a Labor government, it was his speech. Over the past five years the Government has done nothing but increase fares and prices. It has done so many things that have brought trouble to New South Wales yet it blames its federal counterpart. The Commonwealth Government is probably unique in the history of Australia: it has more ex-ministers on its back benches today than any other parliament in the history of Australia.

I remember in 1965 that when the Hon. R. W. Askin was trying to sell his policy to the people he said that a Liberal government elected to office in New South Wales would have no trouble with the Commonwealth and that every time the Commonwealth was asked for a cent or two, it would come to the party. Since 1965 all I have heard have been whinges about how the Government is getting on with the Commonwealth Government. Though these may be justified it is somewhat contrary to the beliefs expressed by the Premier and Treasurer prior to the election of his government in 1965.

The Hon. M. F. Willis referred to a problem confronting the omnibus services and to the secretary of the

bus employees union, Pat Ryan. He happens to be a particular friend of mine and I resent any person who attacks him. The simple facts are that when the Government and the union talked about the introduction of Atlantean buses in this State—which is the big problem at this stage—though agreement was reached on modifications of the overseas types, at no time was it suggested that the buses would be manned by other than two-man crews. This is where the Government again failed to take into consideration the problems that might be associated with putting this type of bus on the road. We on this side certainly do not blame the Australian Transport and Motor Omnibus Employees' Union for the problem that has arisen; we lay the blame squarely at the Government's door.

We note some of the things that emerge from speeches in this House or in another place which seriously affect the people of this State. I want to refer to a statement made by the Chief Secretary and Minister for Tourism and Sport when he referred to persons who were seeking through the trade-union movement full pay while they were off work on compensation. The Minister referred to them as loafers, shirkers and bludgers. This interested me greatly as I could not find any reference to the word bludge in a dictionary or an encyclopaedia available to me. I was interested because I have heard other people referred to as bludgers and honourable members of this House do not forget that type of reference. It is a word that irritates me.

The Hon. Sir ASHER JOEL: What does the honourable member mean by that?

The Hon. F. W. BOWEN: I will tell the House exactly. Many people outside this place refer to politicians as bludgers. If I have to do so I shall spell it out in precise terms. I have found from my research on the subject in *The Drum* by Sidney Baker, which was published in 1959 and deals with the Australian scene, that a brief reference was made to the words bludge, bludger and bludging. On page 91 of the *Slang Dictionary* bludge is defined as: "To loaf, to impose on (someone). Originally to act as a harlot's bully". That is not very complimentary. A bludger is described as a

loafer or idler, or one who imposes on others, and it is used as a general term of contempt. This is not a very nice word for a Minister of the Crown to use in regard to decent people. Again, in *The Australian Language*, which was published in 1966, S. J. Baker has this to say:

One of the most popular Australian pejoratives came to us from the seamy side of the street. This is bludger, originally a man who lived on the earnings of a harlot (there is an 1882 record of this), later any indolent person who imposes on others or whose "scrounging" habits make him objectionable. Stephens and O'Brien note:

The word has come to be applied to any person who takes profit without risk or liability, or without effort or work. Practically any cadger, loafer, bumner or beggar, who has not the excuse of inability to work or thief.

What a fine reference to members of the Australian community. The same author at page 145 of *The Underworld* has another reference to the word. I shall quote part only of what is set out here. He states, "Both the prostitute and her *hoon* (silver spoon is a rhyme on it) or bludger join with the client in a complex sexual act." At page 152 of the same work one finds this definition: "Bludger, the criminal's commonest term for a policeman." At page 411 of *Our Idiom in Literature*, one finds: "Bludger and man-about-town, a brothel boy; battler, a prostitute." My final reference is to this statement on page 169 of *Australia at War*:

Bludge, to loaf. A bludge is the act of loafing; an organized bludge is a bludge engineered by a group or unit in a semi-official way. Also, bludger. "Come out, you bludgers!" a phrase used by Australians when routing out Italians out of dug-outs at Bardia and Tobruk.

If ever Parliament should require a Minister of the Crown to make an abject apology for a disgraceful reference to Australians who want to receive full pay after being injured on the job or off work sick, it should do so on this occasion. I say honestly and truthfully—and quite seriously—that something should be done about it. In fact, what the Minister was doing was referring to the attendants of this House. In effect he was calling them a pack of bludgers when they go off work on compensation and they

receive the difference between workers' compensation payments and sick pay, which for them is full pay.

I cannot see much difference between the fellow who has accumulated a right to perhaps six weeks' sick leave and another fellow who is off work for six weeks on worker's compensation. To all intents and purposes they are both the same, but according to the Minister apparently the fellow on sick pay is in the clear, whereas the other fellow who has been injured and is off work on compensation—the injury perhaps being due to negligence of the employer—becomes a bludger and is not entitled to full pay while off work. I considered that from the trade-union point of view this matter should be brought to light in this House in the form in which I have raised it. I make no apology for what I have said because I think that this matter is highly important. No doubt some of my colleagues will also deal with it.

The Hon. Sir ASHER JOEL: The honourable member has not left them much to say.

The Hon. F. W. BOWEN: I could give the Hon. Asher Joel a few more quotations for his information but I want to refer now to another particularly important matter. I understand—if one can believe this morning's newspapers—that the Minister for Labour and Industry referred to this matter last night when he was speaking about the trade-union movement and Bob Hawke, and cried about all the strikes in this State. Those strikes have occurred under a Liberal government. If it cannot control them it has one sure way of fixing things up—by getting out of office and leaving it to someone who really knows what to do. The trade-union movement has been subjected to considerable criticisms especially for becoming involved in political affairs or so-called political affairs. We of the trade-union movement do not concede this, and I hope to tell members about our position as shortly as I can. Sir Walter

Scott, a consultant of some eminence, has had this to say about the role of the trade-union movement:

Unionism therefore cannot be classified merely as a mechanism for wage bargaining or the economic advantage that it can give. This is to underate its importance. The contribution of unionism to the employee is largely its provision of a pattern of life which offers chances of successful adjustment and goal realization, not for the few who get out of the working class, but for the great number who must stay in it. It provides them with a real medium in which their common interest may be expressed and their common needs met. It gathers together the threads of individual lives made of the same stuff, but tangled, and straightens them out and weaves them into a patterned fabric which is not only of importance in itself, but which gives new importance to each thread.

I doubt whether any of my colleagues in the trade-union movement would put it precisely in those terms, but at least they would subscribe to those sentiments. Last Thursday night the Labor Council of New South Wales celebrated its one hundredth anniversary, although the 100 years were up on 25th May last. During that period the Labor Council has become involved in almost every political activity. Indeed it was the council that formed the Labor Party. Therefore, it was the trade-union movement that formed the Labor Party and, having committed ourselves to the Labor Party, we of the trade-union movement see no reason why we should not be involved in all factors associated with the social and economic life of this country. Irrespective of how much people might moan about our actions, we shall continue to do as we have done in the past in the belief that what we are doing is right and that we are acting in the best interests of the people.

Probably the greatest pressure movement in the community is the trade-union movement. Pressure is a most effective weapon. We propose to continue to apply the type of pressure that has been exerted over the years on governments of both political colour, Liberal and Labor. If the movement thinks something is right it will apply pressure on the government to have it introduced, whether that government happens to be Liberal or Labor. An examination of what the unions have done in respect

of some matters which all of a sudden have been damned as political should be made in this House. I believe that these things are non-political. In many cases the unions and the employers have been in complete agreement on action to be taken. In fact they have got together to form a sort of unity ticket to pressure the Government.

The Hire-Purchase Act was introduced following pressure on the Government by the trade-union movement. Also, the Lay-by Sales Act and Timber Marketing Act, and regulations relating to the marketing of furniture, the labelling of bedding and upholstery goods and false advertising were all introduced following pressure applied to the government of the day. These matters are non-political in character and I believe have introduced a great measure of protection to the social life in our community. Some of these things may have been exploited by certain people and I propose to deal with this aspect later.

I do not recall anybody moaning about the work that the trade-union movement put into the war effort or the calls upon it and its members at that time of crisis. I do not remember anybody moaning about the trade-union movement, either through the Labor Government, the Australian Council of Trade Unions or individual unions, for its support of charities such as the Children's Medical Foundation and the Cancer Research Foundation, both of which are non-political. The movement has given substantial assistance to aboriginal rights organizations. Perhaps they might be termed political, but we make no apology for what we have done to assist those bodies. If one goes through the whole gamut of these activities it becomes pretty apparent that the trade-union movement is a pressure group well able to make itself heard at government level.

Recently there has been considerable criticism of Bob Hawke and the Australian Council of Trade Unions. These criticisms are generally made by people who do not wish to face up to the fact that we are living in a new era. We are in a new situation: the scene has changed and we must keep up with it. Not long ago the Australian Council of Trade Unions put consider-

able pressure upon Mr Eric Dunshea of Dunlop Australia Limited over that company's retail price maintenance activities. There was an immediate outcry from the federal Government and many people. It was said that this was a political matter and that the unions were interfering with something that was really no concern of theirs.

What a change we see today. All of a sudden the Commonwealth Government rushed to the fore and amended its Restrictive Trade Practices Act and introduced a retail price maintenance bill. The federal Minister, referring to this bill, said that it was absolutely fantastic and would reduce prices. Even Mr Jim Griffin, who happens to be a good mate of mine despite our different political views, was willing to concede that this federal legislation could reduce retail prices. The big question to emerge from the Commonwealth Government's action is what will the New South Wales Government do to give effect to the federal law?

With regard to the provisions of the Consumer Protection Act in New South Wales, members of this Parliament were told unequivocally by the Minister for Labour and Industry in another place and I believe by the Minister here, that the only thing the Government proposed to do was look at it. The Governor in his opening speech did not refer to any proposed amendments to that Act but perhaps it is to be considered at the tail end of this session, among many other things. If the Government fails to introduce complementary legislation to allow the Commonwealth Act to operate effectively a most interesting situation will develop. In the light of what has gone on in the past I have serious doubts whether, to use an Australianism which on good authority I understand appears in the dictionary, the Government will have the guts to do anything about it.

I should like to make a brief reference to the Consumer Protection Act. This legislation has merely created a considerable number of files which do no more than embarrass the department with the problem of storing them. Over a considerable time furniture manufacturers have combined to

ensure that people who buy furniture get a fair deal. It is strange that newspapers, who could not be said to be good supporters of the trade-union movement, rush to the New South Wales Guild of Furniture Manufacturers to seek help whenever it is brought to their attention that some person has suffered a wrong at the hands of a furniture retailer or manufacturer.

About twelve months ago the magazine *Woman's Day* published an article about furniture and furnishings and invited anyone who had a problem about furniture, furnishings, carpets or blinds to contact Room 53, Trades Hall, Sydney, and consult Mr Bowen, secretary of the Furnishing Trades Society. I said a few silent words to myself about that article. I could see it involving a lot of work with no reward and no thanks. The response was amazing. The Society received about fifty letters from persons in New South Wales and other letters from people in Victoria and Queensland complaining about all types of goods from refrigerators to lounge suites, carpets and curtains. These letters can be produced if anyone would care to look at them.

My society took action on behalf of all these complainants and in every case but one we were able to put pressure upon either the retailer or manufacturer and have the matter rectified. The other case was one in which we were satisfied that it was the person complaining who was at fault. This action was non-political. Is it suggested that our union should not help people in this way? Is it suggested, merely because someone suddenly says these things are political, that we should not help in these cases? That is a lot of garbage. As soon as the people wake up to the real position obtaining in 1971 the better it will be for everyone. Some members of the Government may have wakened up already but many are still living in the past when it was thought to be the thing to do to kick the trade-union movement. What those honourable members have forgotten is that the trade-union movement has started to express itself in more precise terms than

it did previously. It is certainly much better organized and it will continue to be much better organized.

Debate adjourned, on motion by the Hon. F. W. Bowen.

House adjourned, on motion by the Hon. J. B. M. Fuller, at 6.31 p.m.

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## Legislative Assembly

Tuesday, 10 August, 1971

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Petitions—Statement on Workers' Compensation by Chief Secretary and Minister for Tourism and Sport (Urgency)—Questions without Notice—Sessional Committees—Governor's Speech: Address in Reply (Third Day's Debate)—Adjournment (Canberra Milk Supply).

MR SPEAKER (THE HON. SIR KEVIN ELLIS) took the chair at 2.30 p.m.

MR SPEAKER offered the Prayer.

### PETITIONS

#### KANANGRA-BOYD NATIONAL PARK

MR RUDDOCK presented a petition from supporters of the Colong Committee, praying that special lease 444 for the mining of limestone in the Colong Caves reserve be revoked and the plans to plant pines on the Boyd Plateau be rejected, so that these areas may be added forthwith to the Kanangra-Boyd National Park.

Petition received on motion by Mr Ruddock.

#### CLUTHA DEVELOPMENT PTY. LIMITED AGREEMENT ACT

MR JACKSON: I desire to present a petition from certain citizens of New South Wales representing that the Clutha Development Pty. Limited Agreement Act was passed without proper public knowledge and discussion and does not provide adequate protection against pollution—

MR LEWIS: On a point of order. Mr Speaker, I cannot help noting that the words of this petition amount to a reflection on this House. In particular, it is a reflection