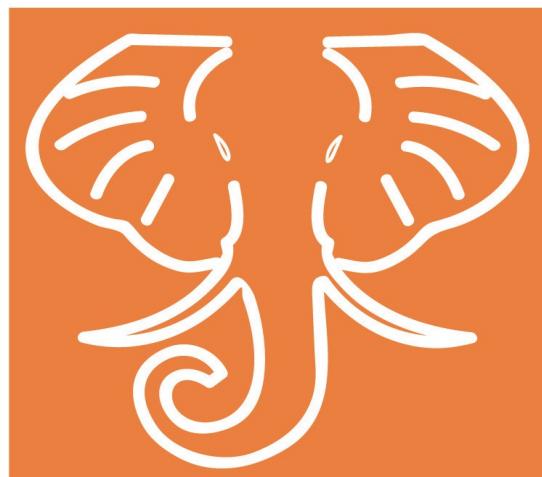


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neurological disease related to the human immuno-deficiency virus. Therefore, a maximum of 70 percent and a minimum of 20 percent of infected people will remain healthy at the end of those 5 years. Statistics indicate that of the AIDS cases diagnosed in the United States 3 years ago, the case fatality rate is more than 75 percent, and among those diagnosed 5 years ago the case fatality rate is 90 percent.

NEW ZEALAND NUCLEAR FREE ZONE, DISARMAMENT, AND ARMS CONTROL BILL

Third Reading

Rt. Hon. DAVID LANGE (Minister of Foreign Affairs): I move, *That this Bill be now read a third time.* The third reading of the Bill marks the end of its progress through the House of Representatives. The purpose of the third reading is to review the Committee stage. The Committee stage was characterised by the determination of the Government to entrench into law the policy it had adopted from the time of its election that there will not be nuclear weapons in New Zealand. By contrast, Opposition members said off the record during the Committee stage that they would bring nuclear weapons into New Zealand, doing so under the veneer of words such as : "We will have, under the 'neither confirm nor deny' policy, an active ANZUS association."

During the Committee stage the Government committed itself to making its policy law, and the Opposition committed itself to having nuclear weapons in New Zealand under various subterfuges. The debate showed that the Government was serious about arms controls. It also showed that the Opposition paid lip-service to it, sometimes in very sophisticated ways. Various diversions occurred during the debate about the provisions of the Bill that enable the Operation Deep Freeze scientific co-operation programme in the Antarctic to continue. When the member for Marlborough was subjected to a specific challenge he would not assert that any United States aircraft coming to New Zealand had carried nuclear weapons. When it was put to him specifically he acknowledged that he knew of the kinds of procedures and practices that would be followed, and he was silent when challenged in the Committee as to whether any of those procedures and practices had been carried out in New Zealand in connection with that programme.

The Bill is a watershed. It shows that New Zealand has come to a turning point in its defence arrangements. The Government is proud that for the first time in 40 years New Zealand has made a fundamental reassessment of what constitutes its security. The Opposition refuses to accept that nuclear weapons are not only irrelevant to New Zealand's security needs but are also detrimental to it. The Government always had a suspicion that under the former Government New Zealand was paying for its huge defence budget with a subscription to some kind of nuclear ancillary club. During the Committee stage the Opposition confirmed that that was its defence strategy. Why have more than 2 days' ammunition if one can call upon the nuclear umbrella? Why bother to have a tanker to service a frigate if it cannot go anywhere? Why not call upon the nuclear umbrella?

On coming into office the Government discovered that New Zealand had frigates that did not have the capacity to reach any foreseeable zone of conflict, and aircraft that could not get there. The fighter aircraft had componentry for hopelessly outmoded weaponry and systems. New Zealand had, in short, a working weekend vintage museum of what a defence force would be, as a facade, that betrayed the ultimate reality that if trouble came it leaned on someone else. In the Committee stage it was portrayed that the Opposition had adopted that position, with which the Government had to come to terms. During the Committee stage I outlined the expenditure the Government had undertaken, and the steps it had taken to have a real New Zealand defence policy. Nuclear weapons are no substitute for a real defence policy. The presence of nuclear weapons is not the answer to the problems in Fiji or New Caledonia. The last thing the Pacific needs is big power involvement in those areas. It is interesting to note that the Leader of the Opposition has such an obsession with holding the handle of the nuclear umbrella that, on hearing of the Fijian coup, he came out with his first reasoned analysis of the matter 2 days later, and said that it was because of the Government's defence policy. He then unerringly said he supported Colonel Rabuka.

After that, the Government had to reconsider New Zealand's defence capacity. It had to rectify terrible deficiencies. The Fijian problem has shown that the Government's defence paper was right. The deficiencies in the frigates are obvious. If we cannot sail there, and do anything else except collapse on the wharf and be unable to go anywhere else, the frigates are of no use. That is why the Government is buying a tanker. That is why Government members talked in the Committee stage about the lack of logistic support in the Navy—a total failure to have any kind of supply ship. That is what was talked about in the Committee, and that is what the Government is committing itself to.

When the legislation is passed, it will make an absolutely unequivocal statement to the world that New Zealand's armed forces have a mission that is relevant to this region and to the defence of New Zealand, and nobody in the armed forces should pine for the fool's goal of a nuclear alliance. The Government's realistic defence posture has actually struck a chord in the South Pacific. New Zealand is working more closely than it has ever done with its South Pacific neighbours. Two separate missions have gone to those Pacific countries. New Zealand is engaging in mutual assistance programmes and in defence and civic action programmes with smaller island nations in the Pacific, and, for the first time, the South Pacific Forum has accepted the security dimension in our relationships. The idea that New Zealand proposed at the forum in Rarotonga in 1985 has now become a reality. Forum members have agreed to consult on security matters, and to share information on those matters.

What the Government has done, and what was outlined in the Committee stage, is that it has stood firm on the principle that there is nothing to be gained for New Zealand's security by inviting the presence of nuclear weapons in New Zealand. Any fool would know that if there are nuclear weapons in New Zealand with a capacity to be destructive to a potential enemy, that would invite a pre-emptive strike, or retaliatory action in the event of hostility, and the National Party would like to have this country host to such circumstances. In the Committee the contribution made by the member for Rodney and the member for Otago contained the scenario that if there were regional instability in Indonesia and Papua New Guinea it would be a tragedy that the United States of America could not intervene by way of coming to New Zealand and docking at Auckland before heading off to a totally different part of the world. I have never heard anything more bizarre. It shows that those Opposition members lack any awareness of geography and that they would like to be supplicants to a great power, even with no cause at all. The National Party has a total obsession with grovelling to other people's interests.

I have no doubt whatever that it will be said of the Government that somehow or other it wrecked the Western alliance. New Zealand has stood up for the principle that by democratic mandate duly arrived at in the course of a general election—during which a real measure of clout was put into the argument by the former Government that there was a need to have nuclear weapons in New Zealand, but the electorate turned against that stance—a Government can, as the Labour Government has, put in place a policy that it will not have nuclear weapons. The Bill will not allow any successive New Zealand Governments to reverse that policy without, first, going through a test of democratic opinion at a general election, and, secondly, without subjecting its legislative process for repeal to the scrutiny of an informed House of Representatives and the general public.

Weasel words will not do. Will the Leader of the Opposition have nuclear weapons in New Zealand? He will say that he will, but only on a 'neither confirm nor deny' basis. He says, "We will observe our ANZUS alliance." That he will, because it has been made abundantly clear that if those vessels come to New Zealand from time to time they will be nuclear armed. This is the moment for the Government to rejoice in the resolution in this country for an enhanced measure of security. It is a limited measure of arms control, and it will have international impact. Now is the time for the Leader of the Opposition to take us into his confidence for the first time. Will he pledge that he would never have nuclear weapons in New Zealand; or will he "fudge"? Will he say that he is determined that New Zealand should take a step towards disarmament, or will he waffle? Will he commit himself to a strong self-centred defence policy for New Zealand and the immediate region, or will he bend his knee to any large power that wafts in his direction? In the end, will he come up with some kind of 'neither confirm nor deny' policy about what the National Party policy is?

Hon. J. B. BOLGER (Leader of the Opposition): It was interesting that the Prime Minister avoided the debate on the merits of the Bill. He made some general assertions. I shall report on the Committee stage and remind the House that 18 months ago in this Parliament the Prime Minister, in his introduction speech on the Bill, said that there were three objectives. The first was to enact into law provisions of the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty. The Opposition concurred with that. The second would give legislative sanction to those obligations for arms limitation treaties to which New Zealand was already a party, and that is a historic fact. The third objective established a nuclear-free zone in New Zealand. That was what the debate was about during the Committee stage. It was not on the first two matters, because there was agreement in Parliament, and, I believe, agreement in the community; but there was no agreement on the third matter of the Government's allegation that it was making some progress towards having New Zealand as a nuclear-free State.

The Bill ignores the view of 80 percent of New Zealanders expressed to the Corner committee that they wanted New Zealand to remain in an operative ANZUS alliance. The Bill pushes their views to one side. As with the Prime Minister's speech, the Bill claims much, but, in fact, it achieves very little indeed. It does not cause New Zealand to make an active or effective contribution to the process of arms control. It does not make any contribution, and it does not reduce the number of nuclear weapons in the world—not even by one. It does not provide any guarantee that New Zealand will be immune from the use of nuclear weapons anywhere in the world. Nowhere does the Bill do that, and, further, it does not contribute one iota to New Zealand's security. If it did, all members could engage in the celebration planned for this evening by the Labour Party. The Bill does not achieve those goals; it is an exercise in futility. The South-west Pacific today is less secure than it was 18 months ago when the Bill was introduced. The Bill is a collection of half measures, and it is contradictory. It highlights the malaise that the Prime Minister has, in retaining a consistent position throughout the debate.

In early 1984, immediately before he became Prime Minister, he was demanding a categorical assurance that both aircraft and ships would be declared nuclear free before entering New Zealand—that was before he became Prime Minister. We know that a clause in the Bill was amended in the Committee to permit the Prime Minister to shut his eyes to military aircraft. Therefore the Bill permits, on a "neither confirm nor deny" basis, the weasel words that the Prime Minister talked about. It is on a "neither confirm nor deny" basis—a blanket-clearance basis—that military aircraft will be in transit through New Zealand. That fact identifies the dilemma of the Government. It cannot retain a consistent position, because it knows that it would cost New Zealand the Operation Deep Freeze base in Christchurch. So the Prime Minister buckled yet again. It is totally consistent with his past efforts—he buckles under pressure. He now stands on the dunghill of hypocrisy, trying to justify his position.

He is in equal difficulty on the matter of nuclear propulsion, which he now asserts he is totally against. On 19 January 1984, again in Washington—he makes the statements in Washington—he said that he personally did not agree with the policy of excluding nuclear-propelled vessels. However, a few moments ago he said he is absolutely committed to keeping them out. Nuclear propulsion in 1984 was identical to nuclear propulsion in 1987. Why the change? The change is because the "loony left" in the Labour Party, and the left wing in the caucus, have pushed him to a position of reversing on two issues. He has buckled again. So again I say that he stands on the dunghill of hypocrisy in relation to the Bill. He has not been able to pursue a consistent line.

Members have also been told that the Bill makes New Zealand safe, yet we know, because we brought the point out in the Committee, that it cannot and does not prevent the application of international law. That means that every ship of every nation, armed with every weapon known to man, can sail between the North Island and the South Island, and the Bill does not prevent it. The Government is asking that New Zealand should give up belonging to ANZUS, in order to have the dubious ability to keep out of its ports the vessels of its friends, but to allow the vessels of its enemies to sail between the North Island and the South Island. What kind of deal is that? The Bill in itself does not make one New Zealander one iota safer today than was the position before it was introduced.

During the debate there will be a rerun of the euphoric glow of Government members. They will claim that they have saved humanity. They will claim that the world is safer; that New Zealanders can go to bed tonight, calm in the knowledge that David has protected them. What hypocrisy! The Bill achieves none of those objects. Even the former Labour Prime Minister, the present Ambassador to Washington, Sir Wallace Rowling, has said that the Government's policy is an anachronism. That is not a statement from the National Party. It is not something from the past. It is a few months old. So we will pass today a Bill that a former Labour Prime Minister, who claims to be the author of this policy, says is an anachronism. Can we not at least acknowledge some of the realities of the world? Can we not acknowledge that the only way to make progress on rolling back nuclear armaments is to get in behind the major powers that have nuclear armaments and urge them to make progress? The good news is that they are making some progress. I should like to record my appreciation, and the appreciation of New Zealanders and the rest of the world, that the Soviets and the Americans are talking constructively about removing nuclear weapons from Europe—first, the intermediate range, later the other weapons. That is how we will make the world safe.

It will not happen by hollow gestures in this Parliament, not by gestures that may satisfy some of the Labour Party, but do nothing for world peace. Our walking away from the Western alliance will not make the world safe for New Zealand. We will not make it safe by ratting on our friends. We will not make it safe by shutting our eyes to the real world—and the real world is that, for eternity, mankind will have to live with the knowledge of how to construct nuclear weapons. We cannot wipe out that knowledge. We have to live with it by following rational and logical policies whereby New Zealand can make a constructive contribution to the goal of security and the goal of peace. Opposition members are committed to doing that—not to the hypocrisy of the Government.

Rt. Hon. David Lange: I raise a point of order, Mr Speaker. I should like to move that the Leader of the Opposition have an extension of time. He did not answer the one question about whether he would allow nuclear weapons in New Zealand. He avoided that question to the utmost.

Mr SPEAKER: I remind members that the Speaker has no power to grant an extension of time. If an extension of time is sought, I suggest that the Prime Minister take the proper step, which is to rise under a point of order and seek the leave of the House for the Speaker to grant such an extension.

Rt. Hon. David Lange: I shall use the proper form and seek the leave of the House for the Leader of the Opposition to have an extension of time so that he might answer the simple question of whether he will let nuclear weapons into New Zealand.

Mr SPEAKER: Leave has been sought that I should grant the Leader of the Opposition an extension of time. Is there any objection to that course being followed? There appears to be none.

Hon. J. B. BOLGER: I am delighted to have a further 5 minutes, because there were a few points I did not make for the benefit of the Government. One of them is that under my leadership a National Government will accept its responsibilities to New Zealanders and to New Zealand's allies. We want to be part of a security arrangement with our two closest allies—Australia and the United States. We want to be part of an alliance. We want to have a working relationship with the United Kingdom. In that framework we want to make a contribution as a small nation to the security of the world. We will not borrow from Neville Chamberlain and do as he did in the 1930s when he came back from Europe, having sold out Europe, promising "peace in our time". That is the Prime Minister's line. They, of course, had drinks in London then, but we know the holocaust that followed.

Responsibility does not mean taking the softest option. Responsibility does not mean always appeasement. Responsibility means accepting that hard decisions sometimes have to be made, and, in the context of New Zealand's security, the hard decision is that a National Government will ensure the security of our country. A National Government will not walk away from its responsibilities. It will not seek short-term popular appeal by ignoring its responsibilities to generations of New Zealanders as yet unborn. As an Opposition member of Parliament in 1987, I say to New Zealanders that they have a choice. They can have the Neville Chamberlain policies of the 1987 Labour Government.

They can vote for those policies, but the Opposition stands firm and tall, as New Zealanders committed to the security of New Zealand and the values of the free world. The Opposition supports those values as it did through the battles that are represented along the walls of the Chamber. Those are the battles in which New Zealanders were prepared to defend the freedom that we want. Opposition members will not be singing "The Red Flag" tonight. Government members can sing "The Red Flag". They can sing it again and again, and sell out New Zealand.

Rt. Hon. David Lange: I raise a point of order, Mr Speaker. I submit that "The Red Flag" is not relevant to the debate. [*Interruption.*]

Mr SPEAKER: Order! I remind members that a point of order must be heard in silence.

Rt. Hon. David Lange: The relevant question is whether the Leader of the Opposition would have nuclear weapons in New Zealand.

Hon. J. B. BOLGER: That intervention only shows the Government's sensitivity. Its links to the left of the political spectrum are well known. Government members do sing "The Red Flag", and they will sing "The Red Flag". The Prime Minister was the toast of Moscow; not of London, Canberra, Washington, or Asia; he was the toast of one capital—the capital of the East, of the Soviet Union, because the Government's policy was taking a block out of the defence of the West, and undermining our security. The policy bows to the popular call of the Labour Party left. The policy is the final abject sell-out by the Government of New Zealand's future. The Government is led by a Prime Minister who has repeatedly changed his mind, but has failed. [*Applause.*]

Hon. F. D. O'FLYNN (Minister of Defence): Mr Speaker—

Hon. W. F. Birch: Quisling!

Mr Gerbic: I raise a point of order, Mr Speaker. I point out that the member for Papakura did not rise when the rest of the Opposition rose.

Rt. Hon. David Lange: I raise a point of order, Mr Speaker. The member for Franklin described the Minister of Defence, who saw war service, as a quisling.

Hon. W. F. Birch: That's right.

John Banks: That's right.

Mr McClay: Yes.

Rt. Hon. David Lange: He just repeated it, and the comment was echoed by the member for Waikaremoana and the member for Whangarei. The remark is highly disorderly.

Mr SPEAKER: I ask those members to rise and withdraw that allegation, which has significance for the generation that fought for the country.

Hon. W. F. Birch: I withdraw.

John Banks: I withdraw.

Mr McClay: I withdraw.

Hon. F. D. O'FLYNN: I was alarmed at the character of the speech the Leader of the Opposition has just made. The Government will not be engaging in any of the appeasement policies that the member is clearly preparing for. A brigadier whom I recently accused of grovelling to the Americans said that that was exactly what he had been doing. The Opposition is clearly gearing the country up to that kind of policy.

Just in case there remains any degree of doubt, the answer to the Prime Minister's question that the Leader of the Opposition gave was: "Yes, indeed, we will have nuclear weapons in New Zealand if we win the election." A press statement made by the Leader of the Opposition on 30 May stated: "National would accept allies' neither confirm nor deny policy on the presence of nuclear arms on their ships and that would mean nuclear-armed ships could enter New Zealand ports. National would not ask that only non-nuclear ships be sent. That is not part of our policy. We accept the neither confirm nor deny policy."

It is true that from time to time the Leader of the Opposition wavers about when his cheer squad is not immediately available to prop him up, and the report indicates that. It was reported last week: "Mr Bolger appeared reluctant to confirm that stance, although he had spelt out acceptance of allies' neither confirm nor deny policy the previous month. However, he said yesterday his answers to the question had been misinterpreted and National had never wavered from its policy." That policy is plain.

As the House is being given various historical allusions—mostly wrong—it is worth drawing attention to the point that the difficulty that Neville Chamberlain found himself in was in mild measure somewhat similar to the difficulties this Government finds itself in. Britain's defence had been run down by a Tory Government. No one has ever seen a run-down in defence such as the one this Government experienced. It is a curious aspect of the Bill, which must have had the most remarkable legislative lawmaking saga ever experienced in New Zealand, that in a practical sense clause 5, which is the operative clause, is, in a way, of nowhere near the importance that its extreme supporters or opponents thought it was. The policy could be carried out without the Bill, and more rigidly and to the letter. On the other hand, unhappily, the passage of the Bill will not render the policy totally beyond reversal. In a sense the Bill is and has become a symbol, and it is none the worse for that. It is a symbol of the deep division in the community between ideals and practical defence and old, outdated, scrapped ideas. An important aspect of the symbol will be that if New Zealand should have the misfortune of the return of a National Administration, and it returns to what has been described by another member as its policy—that is, an operational ANZUS—it would have to repeal the legislation, and that will draw full public attention to it.

Instead of reading from prepared notes I shall make an effort to concentrate on the points raised during the debate. I made a note of the words spoken by the Leader of the Opposition: he said that the legislation will not reduce the number of nuclear weapons by one, nor will it provide New Zealand with immunity. The member for Marlborough made similar comments in the Committee stage. I make two replies. Of course, New Zealand cannot reduce the number of weapons by 1, by 100, or by any number, because New Zealand owns none, is not proposing to get any, and manufactures none. Are those members suggesting that nuclear disarmament should be the preserve of the nuclear powers only, or, worse still, the superpowers, or is everyone entitled to take part in the vital work for the preservation of whatever civilisation there may still be? The members who say that New Zealand will not be any safer are wrong. If the Bill is passed, in the context of the South Pacific nuclear-weapon-free zone, it becomes very unlikely, in real politics, that there will ever be nuclear weapons in the South Pacific, other than a diminishing number in transit.

It is all right to talk about ships going up and down Cook Strait. The member for Marlborough, who is more realistic than most members, has realised that nuclear powers will not send nuclear-armed ships up and down Cook Strait either for fun or for interest. The likelihood of a nuclear exchange or a nuclear war in the South Pacific is low. That must be a great advance for the people of New Zealand.

No one has claimed that New Zealand will be immune if there were a nuclear war, but the country would be better off if that kind of struggle could be confined to the Northern Hemisphere. People have read about, and have been frightened by, Mr Sagan's theories. However, those theories are still a matter of scientific controversy and scientific research. No one knows the position, but one matter is clear: the further away the arms can be kept—in the Northern Hemisphere—the better off New Zealand will be in the unfortunate event of a nuclear exchange.

It has been said that New Zealand has reached the demise of the ANZUS pact. However, that is not correct. The treaty continues as a written treaty, and it is more operative than it has been for a long time. It is still operative between Australia and New Zealand and between the United States and Australia. The United States suspended its defence co-operation with New Zealand because it was in breach of the treaty.

People must not lose sight of the central purpose of the Bill, which is to give effect to a policy worked out by New Zealanders for New Zealand's strategic circumstances. It is intended to capitalise on some relevant features of New Zealand's natural environment as well as on its strategic environment. New Zealand should do that, and it should not be said that New Zealand is trying to opt out of the Western World or to work on agreement.

The policy is based on relevant and incontrovertible facts: first, the Pacific Ocean is the largest area of ocean in the world, and, apart from Australia, it is made up of small widely scattered islands with small populations. Second, no nuclear weapons have been stationed in the South Pacific. Third, all five of the known nuclear powers are situated in the Northern Hemisphere. Fourth, all nuclear-weapon bases—potential targets in a

nuclear war—are in the Northern Hemisphere. Fifth, at present there is no strategic confrontation or nuclear confrontation between the superpowers in the South Pacific. The object of the Bill is to preserve that position.

I remind Opposition members that the Bill represents the hopes and aspirations of thousands of New Zealanders. Some of those people have been referred to as communists, pinkies, or fellow-travellers, and that kind of tired tactic is the inevitable resort of those people who are trying vainly to support the insupportable. It is worth bearing in mind that the Bill gives effect in New Zealand law to the South Pacific treaty. The Bill must be seen in the context of the treaty. Without expressing a lofty moral tone to the rest of the world, New Zealand has expressed its deep indignation at the proliferation of nuclear weapons. It has taken its first step on the road to peace.

Mr MORRISON (Pakuranga): The debate has gone backwards and forwards across the Chamber. During the Committee stage I was interested to see that the National Opposition folded quickly; it did not put up a good opposition at all. The Leader of the Opposition tried to assure the House and the country that the Opposition would look out for the security of New Zealand. If maintaining that security threatens the extinction of the planet, it is a poor, shallow, and fragile extinction security.

Out of the 98 percent to 99 percent of eligible voters who voted in the 1984 election, 60 percent voted for parties that supported a non-nuclear approach. During that election campaign the non-nuclear approach was not a low-key issue, but a very high-key issue. The parties that supported a non-nuclear approach to the defence of New Zealand made it a high-profile issue. The point can be argued and supported that the people who went to the polls knew exactly where their party stood on the non-nuclear issue. No other issue that has come before the House in many years has had such overwhelming and unanimous support. There can be no doubt that the people who voted in the 1984 election wholeheartedly supported bringing an end to the nuclear nonsense.

That is a major commitment, and Democratic Party members support that. We have supported the issue in the past 4 or 5 years, and that shows the growing strength of the people who claim that they want some real defence for the country.

National Opposition members have claimed that the Government and the people who oppose the entry of nuclear warships into New Zealand are not looking after the defence of the country. Most people know that 50 000 nuclear warheads exist in the world. However, only 20 of those warheads are capable of causing a nuclear winter. People have said: "Enough, we want no more of it. We want no part of it."

During the Committee stage the Democratic Party members tried to amend the Bill, because it required more teeth. I accept the Prime Minister's assurance that he can verify whether a vessel entering the harbour is nuclear equipped. I doubt very much whether the legislation will be retained if there is a change of Government. That matter will be left to the discretion of the Prime Minister.

Democratic Party members wanted the Bill to have more teeth. The amendments we wanted were the inclusion of a provision for a request for verification about nuclear warships to be placed before the Public Advisory Committee on Disarmament and Arms Control. Although our amendments were not successful we still support the Bill. We feel that it needs more teeth, more impact, and more meaning.

The House has been told that the Bill was introduced because of the Labour Left. Many people who fought in World War II have given the issue long and considerable thought. The New Zealand Party, which could be considered the most right-wing party the country has ever had, had a strong anti-nuclear policy during the 1984 election campaign. Any suggestion that the only support for the Bill is coming from the left wing in New Zealand is absolute nonsense.

National Opposition members told the House that the real solution to the problem was to encourage major powers to negotiate to roll back the manufacture of those weapons in order to bring about disarmament. Most people in the world know that they have been waiting for 30 years for that to happen. During the Committee stage it was brought to the attention of members that, upon leaving office, President Eisenhower warned of the military industrial complex, and the effects it could have on the world. His predictions have been proved true. If people wait for the major nations to negotiate, and take into account all the politicking and hype that goes with those negotiations, they will be waiting

a long time. I venture to say that every person in the Chamber would be dead before anything looked even likely to happen.

The Bill is a first step on the way to creating some kind of nuclear sanity in the world. It might not achieve one single reduction in the number of nuclear warheads in the world, but at least it attempts to do something. Any suggestion that the Bill is anti-American is nonsense. No member is more pro-American than I, but I support the Bill because the youth of New Zealand no longer want that kind of nuclear nonsense. Our children simply will not live with it any longer; they totally reject the nuclear strategy of fear that is supposedly keeping peace in the world.

I bet that if all the Young Nats were asked whether they supported the Bill it would be found that the majority of them did. The youth in the world are saying: "We've had enough of this nonsense; we want hope. We don't want a lot of World War II mentality." The concept of the nuclear deterrent is based on the World War II mentality that it is necessary to have a lot of big armaments because the other person might attack. The name of Neville Chamberlain has been used in the House. The difference between the period of World War II and this period is that if only 20 nuclear warheads were activated they would cause a nuclear winter across the Northern Hemisphere, and would possibly threaten the existence of life on earth. It is simplistic, childish, and insane to compare the two cases, and any members who do should have their mentality questioned.

Winston Peters: Tell that to the Afghanistans!

Mr MORRISON: That is a very good example of the kind of conflict that cannot be solved by a nuclear deterrent. Are we to assume that the Russians would not be in Afghanistan if that country had nuclear bombs? The suggestion is ludicrous. When the Government attained power after the election, it proved that New Zealand was basically left without any defence whatsoever. It could not meet its obligations under the ANZUS pact. It did not have the equipment, and it had sufficient ammunition to support New Zealand's armed services for about 2 days. The equipment the Army did have was "shambolic", and should have been sent to Taiwan to be sold in the wreckers' yards. New Zealand could not afford to play a part in the role that its people had been led to believe was a vital link in the whole defence mechanism.

If we are to assume that the nuclear umbrella will save us from any future aggressor I want to point out that the war would be over in about 4 hours, and it takes 3 to 4 times that period to fly from America to New Zealand. The suggestion that New Zealand could be protected by nuclear weapons, or by the threat of using nuclear weapons, is absurd. The Democratic Party supports the Bill totally.

HELEN CLARK (Mt Albert): Today's third reading debate marks the final stage in the progress of a Bill that was foreshadowed in the Government's 1984 election manifesto. That is a just cause for celebration today among Labour Party and Democratic Party members. The occasion is also being marked outside the House, and I take the opportunity to pay a tribute to all those people in the community and all those community groups who have given their full and enthusiastic support to the implementation of this policy since July 1984.

The Bill emerged from the Committee stage a few weeks ago with only minor and essential technical amendments. The Bill the House is considering today preserves intact the principles contained in the Bill that was introduced in December 1985.

I agree with the comment made by the member for Pakuranga about the National Opposition's contribution to the debate during the Committee stage. National Opposition members were absolutely pathetic. All of the old clichés were wheeled out, as they were today, beginning with the Leader of the Opposition talking about responsibility. He spoke about fighting alongside our allies, and he waved his hand around the Chamber, saying, "Look at the plaques." The first one that I saw was the plaque about the Somme. Few enough came back from the Somme—it can be guaranteed that if there had been nuclear weapons no one would have come back. That is exactly the point the Government has been trying to make about the danger of nuclear weapons and the irrelevance of applying the kind of World War I and World War II strategic thinking to the modern world.

Although the National Opposition claims that the Bill achieves nothing, its members seem very disturbed this afternoon. They have said that the Bill does not contribute in any way to the security of New Zealand. Any person who thinks that a country that is actively

working for nuclear disarmament does not have its own security interests in mind must be hopelessly ignorant on the subject. However, that is the kind of thinking we would expect from Opposition members, who said during the Committee stage that New Zealanders were more endangered by AIDS than they were by the threat of nuclear war. As I observed at that time, there would be a great many New Zealanders who would dispute that they were ever at the risk of contracting AIDS, but most would recognise that nuclear weapons pose an immediate threat to their security if something is not done about the state of nuclear weapons in the world.

The National Opposition gave up on the Bill during the Committee stage. Their opposition throughout its passage has been rather limited, and I would say that that is because they realise that their position is unpopular in the community at large. The political instincts of Opposition members would have told them that—if they have any, which I sometimes doubt. I should also imagine that their market research is telling them that they are losing votes on these issues—not only in urban seats, but in provincial ones as well.

The Opposition's policy to return nuclear weapons to New Zealand, which is the basis of its opposition to the Bill, is simply out of step with what mainstream New Zealanders are saying. Therefore, Opposition members can mount only a very poor defence of their policy. Two weeks ago I participated in a panel discussion on nuclear-free zones with a National Party candidate in a marginal seat. His defence of the National Party's policy to let nuclear weapons return to New Zealand was simply: "You've got to take the good with the bad." He told the audience that if they wanted an operational ANZUS alliance, as the National Party does, having nuclear weapons coming to New Zealand was the price of that ANZUS alliance. As Government members have stated throughout the debate, that is an insurance premium that is much too high to pay, and we will not pay a premium that means that nuclear weapons will visit New Zealand.

During the Committee stage the National Opposition argued along the lines of the contribution made on the radio this morning by the member for Marlborough: "The nuclear-free zone really means nothing. It makes New Zealand isolated and irrelevant." Most New Zealanders could not agree with that sentiment, because, far from being isolated on the issue, New Zealand has moved to the forefront of international debate about nuclear disarmament. The Government has made an important contribution to that debate, and it is quite clear from the attention its views have received that, far from making itself irrelevant, it is being listened to seriously on this subject for the first time in a very long time—I would say for the first time since Norman Kirk and Bill Rowling put this country on the map with a strong stand for a nuclear-weapon-free South Pacific in the early 1970s.

People now know that New Zealand has a strong position against nuclear weapons. They could not have known that under a National Government, because there was no such policy. Opposition members think they can make a splash for nuclear disarmament while enthusing about having nuclear weapons in New Zealand. That position has no credibility in New Zealand and no credibility abroad. It is seen for what it is—speaking with a forked tongue on the subject. The member for Marlborough said, further, in this morning's "Morning Report" that National Party policy on disarmament would be strong in contrast with that of the Government. "We are going to go out into the world", he said, "and do something about getting rid of nuclear weapons so that we can say honestly to people that you will be safer and more secure."

Hon. Members: How?

HELEN CLARK: My colleagues are calling "How?" Where is their policy? What did New Zealanders get in 9 years under the last National Government? One select committee was appointed to study the subject. I suppose that another select committee might be set up. The contribution of the Government has been not only this Bill, which will be passed today, but also provision for a Minister responsible for disarmament, and there will be people on a public advisory committee advising the Government on policy. There is a new division in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that will be advising the Government, and more resources generally are being put into disarmament policy. I want to hear the policy the Opposition puts up against that concrete and very real arrangement, because I certainly have not heard it to date.

The position of the United States of America on New Zealand's policy for a nuclear-free New Zealand has been of interest to members on both sides of the House throughout the debate on the Bill. It is no secret that the United States of America has not liked the policy and does not like the Bill. Its attitude has never resulted in the desired consequences that I suspect the Opposition would like to see from that quarter. The Bill being promoted by Congressman Broomfield in the United States Congress may progress further. His objectives are very limited indeed. Last night's *Evening Post* reports Congressman Broomfield as saying: "The Bill does not impose any economic or other sanctions on New Zealand. The United States and New Zealand enjoy, and should continue to enjoy, close economic, political and cultural ties . . .". That is as it should be. That is a sensible reaction even though, as he said, "close security co-operation has ended". He said it is by New Zealand's choice, and the Government says it is the choice of the United States of America that it does not want a nuclear-free ally in this part of the world. Overall, one can expect that the reaction of the United States to the passing of the Bill will be moderate, as its ambassador has already clearly indicated.

During the Committee stage the Opposition did attempt to confuse and mislead the public about Harewood and the planes that occasionally pass through there on transit. I want to rehearse the Government's position on the entry of nuclear weapons into New Zealand so that everyone understands quite clearly the provisions of this Bill. Nuclear weapons are excluded from New Zealand, whether they are on vessels or in craft. The "neither confirm nor deny" policy means that countries that have nuclear weapons will not say whether their vessels or craft have them on board. Therefore, New Zealand makes its own judgment, and provision for that is set out in clauses 9 and 10 of this Bill. When vessels or aircraft have a weapons system that can deliver a nuclear weapon the assumption must be made by New Zealand that nuclear weapons will be on board that vessel or craft. That was the test applied in the case of the *Buchanan*.

Mr KIDD (Marlborough): The member for Mount Albert claims that the Labour Party is at the forefront of matters in this regard, and is making important contributions to the debate and being listened to. I shall examine those claims. I know that the Government is not listened to in the United States. Our poor ambassador, Sir Wallace Rowling, has not reached anybody who matters, and his term is nearly up.

Hon. Jonathan Hunt: Don't be silly.

Mr KIDD: He has not. New Zealand's relations with the United Kingdom are at their lowest ebb since before 1840, when this country was settled. As for France, another of the nuclear-weapon States, do not tell me that it is listening to the Labour Government in New Zealand. As for the Soviets, they think the position is so good that they are pursuing an active programme of subversion. They see the country as ripe, and there is a serious breach in relationships. That leaves only China, and that country, of course, is seen as being no threat to anyone, and taking no part in progress. The shutters are up amongst the nuclear-weapon States. New Zealand is on the outer in a way it has never been before. It is demonstrably wrong and fraudulent to suggest that the Government is being listened to anywhere.

In the Committee stage the Opposition carefully directed its involvement at those matters in the legislation it opposed. In the second reading it had voted against the principle that was implicit in those clauses that were subsequently dealt with in detail. It is childish, and an indication that this has been an exercise in propaganda and posturing by the Government and the Democratic Party, that they now seek to make a point of that procedure. Most of this Bill puts into legislation—but makes no difference to the effect of—several important anti-nuclear measures that were introduced by past National Governments' starting with the late, great, Sir Keith Holyoake. It would be ludicrous for the Opposition to oppose those major accomplishments of past National Governments. It shows that the minds of those who are raving from the propaganda ranks are just a mess of confused rhetoric.

In 37 pages of 24 clauses and 5 lengthy schedules the Opposition voted against 4 clauses and part of a fifth, because it is opposed to them. The Opposition moved amendments that the Government defeated using its numbers. The Opposition supports most of the Bill, and that brings me to the nub of this debate. Opposition members yield

to no one in determination and commitment to removing the nuclear threat. The furious argument going on in New Zealand relates to the means of accomplishing that goal.

Opposition members say, and I agree with the Minister of Defence, that the Government's position in this Bill is but a symbol—a symbol full of sound and fury and propaganda, signifying nothing—if I may adapt a quotation from somewhere else. We will not be content with symbols—we will not accept gestures as fulfilling our obligation to this nation. Warm, fuzzy feelings are not enough. New Zealand will certainly not be one atom safer, of that there is no doubt. There will be no difference, because this nation is not listened to by the States that have to sign on the line and dismantle and control their weapons. We are picking up a piece of paper, holding it over our heads, and hiding in the South Pacific. That is not the way the Opposition sees New Zealand's role in the world.

The Prime Minister says it is a limited measure of arms control; it is so limited that it limits nothing. Drawing a line across a harbour mouth does not protect a country from anything. Ask the captain of the United States frigate *Stark*, who was sitting safely in the middle of international waters in the Persian Gulf when suddenly his ship was hit, and he did not even know what had hit him. Those who purvey nuclear weapons do not come into harbours with them if they are going to threaten a country, because they would destroy themselves. The lack of logic in that idea has only to be stated to be demonstrated. The Government has got itself into a posture, orchestrated and manipulated by its left wing, and, because no one will listen to it—it is excluded from the process of nuclear-arms reduction and control—the only action it can take is to pass a Bill and cling to a piece of paper as if it were a kind of soluble liferaft.

Some of the most dramatic and exciting opportunities for real progress on the matter since the march to nuclear weapons began are developing in the world now. Many people amongst our friends in Europe whom we ask to listen to us every year on matters such as butter and lamb need encouragement and support. They need to be urged forward, and to see a unified commitment amongst the freedom-loving democratic countries of the Western World, so that they can cope with the loss of the nuclear element in their defence, because they fear that they will be overrun by the Soviets' massive superiority in conventional forces.

In the United States some people are uncomfortable with the progress President Reagan is making towards the historic treaties that I am sure are now inevitable for the reduction of nuclear weapons. Amongst other matters, they point to countries such as New Zealand as the reason they should stop this march towards dramatic progress, which, despite all the propaganda and rhetoric in New Zealand and round the world, will mean that President Reagan will go down in history as the greatest peacemaking President in history.

Judy Keall: Ha! Ha, ha!

Mr KIDD: The back-benchers laugh because they are so conditioned by the compulsory propaganda of the caucus that they cannot open their minds to the fact that President Reagan and Mr Gorbachev—understanding properly what is required for the world, and being prepared to move forward—are prepared to act in the interests of the world. That is not because of what a Labour Government states in New Zealand, but almost in spite of it.

The position of the National Opposition—and perhaps at the time of the Rugby World Cup it is an appropriate analogy—is that it will join the scrum for dramatic progress to gain results in nuclear reduction and nuclear-arms control. The Labour Party members will stand outside as protesters waving a useless piece of paper at themselves behind a high wall around the arena of nuclear-arms reduction and arms control. The National Party demands results. It says that an increase in safety and security for the people of New Zealand will come only from reducing weapons—getting in there and urging, and being involved in the processes not only of communication but also of verification.

There is much that the next National Government will enter upon 2 months from now—make no mistake about that. Its members will not sit with scraps of paper of their own making and posture to the people that they have done anything to make New Zealand safer or more secure. There is a prospect in the momentum of negotiations under way at present so to reduce the nuclear threat that the prospect of the nuclear winter that would

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flow over this hemisphere from a conflict in the Northern Hemisphere would be eliminated in a few years. The National Party has a real and vested interest in achieving that. A National Government would take New Zealand into that arena and that scrum to move it forward, and would not stand with the doors bolted shut against the New Zealand view—as is the position between the Labour Government in New Zealand and the nuclear-weaponed powers.

Opposition members opposed some clauses in particular. We were not sure about opposing the clause concerning aircraft, because we found that the reality of government was such that its rhetoric could be ignored. The National Opposition is quite comfortable with an Administration that can allow F16 fighting Falcon jet air-superiority fighters into the country. It is comfortable with the provision that allows C141 Starlifters into the country. The Government is carrying out the National Party's policies in relation to aircraft, but Opposition members did oppose strongly the insulting provision that made it an offence for servants of the Crown to be involved with nuclear weapons. We argued that they are under ministerial responsibility and that the Government is responsible for them. It should not be a crime.

Mr BRAYBROOKE (Napier): I have listened carefully to the debate, and I have waited to hear some definite policy from Opposition members. We have heard insults, jeers, sneers, and interjections, but no real policy. I want to ask the next Opposition member who speaks—and I hope it will be the member for Remuera, who is an honourable member—whether Opposition members will vote against the Bill. If they intend to vote against it then it is obvious that they look forward to nuclear weapons coming into New Zealand once again. Would they repeal the Bill should their party become the Government in 2 to 3 months' time? New Zealanders should know that. I am happy to go to the hustings in my own electorate and deal with this matter as a major election issue, because I know where I stand.

Throughout the third reading and all through the Committee stage Opposition members have had no policy; all they can do is mock, jeer, and insult with interjections. They cling to the ANZUS pact as if it were a God-given gift that will lighten the way for them. I shall tell Opposition members my position on ANZUS—[*Interruption.*]

Winston Peters: The member said he would resign if New Zealand broke from ANZUS.

Mr BRAYBROOKE: For the sake of the member for Rodney, and if only to shut up the member for Tauranga for once, I shall state my policy. I support the ANZUS policy as it was signed 30 or 40 years ago. I do not support the ANZUS pact as the National Party has made it—into a kind of French Maginot Line, which they could hide behind, and which would do nothing for the normal defences of the country. The Government has supported the ANZUS commitment: it has included it in its policy; it was the Labour Party's manifesto in 1984, and it has been argued about at various conferences round the country. In its official manifesto the Labour Party has always supported the regional aspects of the ANZUS pact as it was written—not as a nuclear alliance, as the National Party has wanted it to become. Nowhere in the ANZUS pact is the word "nuclear" mentioned.

Winston Peters: It was one word.

Mr BRAYBROOKE: No matter how much the member for Tauranga jumps up and down, insults people, calls out, yells, sneers, and jeers, he cannot change the fact that ANZUS is not a nuclear alliance.

Winston Peters: Give us your crossbow speech.

Mr BRAYBROOKE: Let me tell that arrogant, ignorant, Fascist member that I—

Hon. W. F. Birch: I raise a point of order, Mr Deputy Speaker. It should not be necessary for me to raise as a point of order the use by the member for Napier of such unacceptable and offensive language.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER: The member should withdraw the use of the term. I take the opportunity to point out to members that the third reading debate is narrower than the early stages of the Bill, and that they should be engaged in summing up the debate in the Committee stage.

Mr BRAYBROOKE: I withdraw that remark. I do not say this in an insulting way, but what made me think of that phrase was the way Opposition members—with the

exception of the member for Papakura—leapt to their feet and jumped around when the Leader of the Opposition sat down. It reminded me of what the Reichstag must have been like in the 1930s.

Mr McTigue: I raise a point of order, Mr Deputy Speaker. I believe that the member for Napier has just slandered the rest of the Opposition by implying that they were all guilty of that kind of conduct, and were associated with the comment he has just had to withdraw.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER: The member has the advantage of me because I was distracted. If the member for Napier used a word that was offensive then I suggest he should withdraw it.

Mr BRAYBROOKE: For the sake of peace, I withdraw. I shall answer some of the comments made about the Bill—and I must admit that Opposition members are certainly in a dither about it. Opposition members have accused the Bill of being the product of the extreme left; that has been said two or three times in the debate—

John Banks: Moscow-aligned!

Mr BRAYBROOKE: Yes, Moscow. I think the member would like to be the third corporal to march on Moscow, although I understand that he is one of the few members who has actually been there. The Leader of the Opposition insulted the many citizens of the country who support the Bill, and who would take extreme offence at being sneered and jeered at as being in line with Moscow thinking.

John Banks: They're the toast of Moscow.

Mr BRAYBROOKE: I shall tell the honourable ignorant member from Whangarei about some of those people who support the Bill. I can name a couple of bishops from my church, and I know that the dean of St. John's Cathedral in Napier would take extreme exception at the insults that have been hurled in the House.

Hon. W. F. Birch: I raise a point of order, Mr Deputy Speaker. Again, I draw to your attention the use of unacceptable language by the member for Napier. Members should be addressed in the House as honourable members.

Mr BRAYBROOKE: I called him an honourable member.

Hon. W. F. Birch: The member is now lying to the House.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! The member for Franklin cannot get to his feet on a point of order and then proceed to breach order. He should withdraw that remark.

Hon. W. F. Birch: I withdraw. All members heard what the member for Napier said, and he should be asked to withdraw.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER: I do not think there is anything that the member for Napier said for which he should be asked to withdraw.

Mr BRAYBROOKE: I said that the honourable member had slandered everyone who supports the Bill. If members want to check *Hansard* I am happy that they should do so.

Hon. V. S. Young: I raise a point of order, Mr Deputy Speaker. You were obviously distracted a moment ago, speaking to the Clerk of the House. At that time the member for Napier described my colleague as the "ignorant" member for his constituency. I suggest that that remark requires a withdrawal and apology.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! It seems to me that this is a vigorous debate, and the terms being used by both sides are not flattering to the members at whom they have been directed. I do not believe that the member for Napier has directly breached any rules.

Mr BRAYBROOKE: As I was saying before the attempts were made to break up my speech, I believe that Opposition members do many citizens a grave injustice by describing the Bill as being the brain-child and the property of the extreme left. I mentioned that a couple of bishops have come out openly and supported the Bill, and I said that it was an insult to the dean of St. John's Cathedral in Napier—and he will be dismayed by, and will find hard to forgive, the allegations made by the member for Whangarei and others who have hurled interjections across the House. I wonder what members of the National Party think about those allegations. In the Committee stage I raised the point that some members of the National Party support the Bill, and that Opposition members do not in fact represent the overall views of National Party members. I quoted from a publication and offered to table the

information—unfortunately, my offer was not taken up by Opposition members, although they might like to do so this time.

John Banks: Table it now.

Mr BRAYBROOKE: I certainly will. It is a publication from the nuclear-free Nationals—I wonder whether they are left-wingers and Moscow-aligned. As I did in the Committee stage, I shall quote what other National Party members think: "It is very significant for nuclear-free Nationals because we can move from being a voice in the desert to a guiding light for the future." There are people in the National Party who are not left-wingers and who are not devoted to Moscow—as is the honourable member for Whangarei—but who have an abiding faith in New Zealand. If one is moved by the hate and fear that Opposition members try to engender, the country should be preparing for war instead of striving for peace. Lord Louis Mountbatten, one of the greatest Englishmen who ever lived, made a famous speech just before his death in which he said that the world stood on the brink of the final abyss. I wonder whether Opposition members would accuse him of being a left-winger or a stooge of Moscow. If Government members do not agree with Opposition members they are insulted and jeered at by the Opposition.

The Bill is important, and it is a gleam of hope for the future, and—to take out of context the words of the Leader of the Opposition, and I do it sincerely—"It is a gleam of hope for the children as yet unborn." Today is important for New Zealand—the longest journey starts with the very first step. In all humility I would like to think that New Zealand has taken the first positive step towards world peace—and what could be wrong in that? Opposition members have jeered at Neville Chamberlain today—a man who attempted peace. He lived 50 years ago in a very different world. At his funeral the Archbishop of Canterbury said that he was a child of God.

Mr UPTON (Raglan): It is incredible that the Government should put up in the debate a speaker who advances utterly illogical reasons although there are logical reasons in support of the Government's position. The member for Napier told the House that he supported the ANZUS pact on the basis on which it was negotiated 30 or 40 years ago.

Mr Braybrooke: The Government does.

Mr UPTON: The debate has now been widened to include all Government members, and I pity them because they have now been incriminated. When the ANZUS pact was negotiated 30 or 40 years ago nuclear weapons did exist, and if it was all right to have military contact and visits at that time it is all right to do so today. The House cannot take that member seriously. I prefer to take more seriously what the Minister of Defence had to say. He said, as my colleague the member for Marlborough said—and it is entirely correct—that the Bill is symbolic of the Government's position. The Opposition would tell the country that symbolism is not what legislation is about.

Hon. Mike Moore: That's what Richard Nixon said.

Mr UPTON: The Minister should listen, because the debate is an important foreign affairs debate, which we do not often have in the House. It is inappropriate to try to enshrine in legislation a matter that has serious foreign policy overtones. Foreign policy has always been in the hands of the Executive and the Crown; to try to tie it down in legislation has never been the way New Zealand or any other Westminster democracy has operated constitutionally.

In the Committee stage the Opposition was happy to support most of the clauses in the Bill because they represent a position that is entirely unobjectionable, and which is precisely the position that all New Zealanders have agreed on over the years. On four clauses—particularly clauses 5(2), 10, and 11—the Opposition took the view that it was being asked to pass into law measures that would cut across the very basis of New Zealand's foreign policy considerations, and that is what is wrong with the Bill. It is a case of domestic policy driving foreign policy.

At the Committee stage I drew attention to four myths on which those objectionable clauses were based, and I shall put those myths on record. The first is that the Bill will make New Zealand safer—and that opinion has been offered to us by Government members. There is not a shred of empirical evidence to show that that is so. We do not know what submarines, of any power, are under the sea where we cannot see them. There is absolutely no evidence that the mere visual absence of craft that might contain those weapons has made New Zealand any safer.

The second myth that has been put about was that somehow the policy would have an effect on international debate. Since the Bill passed through the Committee stage the Northern Hemisphere has witnessed some quite remarkable potential breakthroughs. In particular there have been the Thatcher-Gorbachev talks. The British Labour Party has resiled from its anti-nuclear policy because Mr Kinnock said there was a chance of real progress and that it would not be right for the Labour Party in England to step aside from the British Government at a time when real progress was being made. I should have thought the sensible response for the Government would be: "Yes, we now think there is real progress being made in these talks, that sanity is returned"—and I am not one to suggest for a moment that the United States has not been involved in flights of fancy over foreign policy and its weapons policy. However, this is not the time to sever those links, now that there is a chance for progress.

In the Committee stage the member for Sydenham, who I have no doubt will contribute today, advanced the view that negative reinforcements were needed, and that that was what this policy was about. The Prime Minister has assured us that it is not a policy for export—and that is the third myth. If it is not for export members cannot stand up in the House and say: "We are hoping to have an effect—negatively—on a former ally." The member who has just resumed his seat spoke about a brave blow for world peace—that does not add up.

The fourth and most serious myth that has been canvassed by the Government is that this policy is somehow a moral policy. Opposition members pointed out that the Government is prepared to uphold the policy of "neither confirm nor deny" as a reason for not allowing ships in, but is prepared to waive that consideration in relation to Harewood. That is what is happening. I think that is morally dubious, but to me the most serious problem for the Government has always been that it is saying: "Please, America, don't come into our harbours, because you will not give us an assurance, but we are quite happy to exercise with your ships out to sea, over the horizon where we cannot see them. We are quite happy to be with them." Where is the morality in that? That is the question I have asked consistently through this debate, because New Zealanders are being told: "We do not want that which we can see, but it is all right if we cannot see it." That, to me, spells the moral bankruptcy of this policy.

The fact is that this legislation is driven by the policy compromise of a party that basically wants to leave the ANZUS alliance and to join the non-aligned bloc, but for political reasons, cannot bring itself to do so. Margaret Wilson is on record as having made that point. Many Labour Party conference delegates have done so, and the member for Hamilton West nodded when I made that point during the Committee stage. I say to Government members that there is nothing to be ashamed of. If they believe in a non-aligned policy—it is an intellectually credible position—I disagree with them. Why not advance that policy? Why not tell New Zealanders that non-alignment is the real aim? But do not come here or go round the country saying that this policy is moral. If Government members want to be in the ANZUS alliance they are still associated with the nuclear power. The Bill provides a policy for vessels we can see in our harbours, but not for those beyond the harbour limit. I do not think there is any water in this policy, and I do not believe that this Bill is an appropriate response.

Since the Committee stage of the Bill something else has happened in our part of the world. There has been the first major turmoil in a post-war democracy in the south-west Pacific—the coup in Fiji; and, if ever evidence were wanted that this is no longer a peaceful part of the world, that is it. Ethnic self-determination is one thing, but it is also a magnet for external intervention. It is a wonderful chance for people to fill vacuums, and my great concern for this country is that, whilst we have been assured that this policy will bring greater tranquility and stability, all the evidence is that this is no longer such a part of the world, and that we live now in a more troubled place. There is evidence to show that superpower rivalry is actually increasing in this part of the world.

I want to state the Opposition's position very clearly, because the Opposition has supported all but four clauses in this Bill, and they represent the achievable aims a small democracy can accomplish. [Interruption.] The Minister of Broadcasting cheapens the argument with that type of sloganeering. The Opposition believes that common values are held by New Zealand and the Western democracies; that there are common security

concerns, and that they are of a conventional nature; and that that position demands an active relationship, not only with Australia but also with the United States. That relationship does mean a relationship with a nuclear power, and America must, as it is now doing, negotiate the military and technological redundancy of nuclear weapons. New Zealand, regardless of its Government, must be an advocate for that course. It must not walk away from its friends on the very day that real progress is being made internationally. This may well be the year of the breakthrough, and that is the view the Kinnock Labour Party has taken in the United Kingdom. This is not the time to ditch NATO. This is not the time to strike out on an independent course.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER: Before I call the next speaker I have to express concern again about this being a narrow debate. It is the third reading stage of the debate, and we are obliged to refer, for the purpose of the record, to arguments used in the Committee stage. Speakers' rulings state that it is not a proper stage for a lengthy discussion on policy, so I ask members speaking from now on to be strictly relevant to that requirement.

Mr ANDERTON (Sydenham): I understand that the third reading gives an opportunity for summarising the debate and the purposes of the Bill, and I think that the member for Raglan has actually answered his own criticisms, even though he did not seem to know that he had done so.

The timing of this Bill is tremendously appropriate. Progress is being made on the world stage between the superpowers in disarmament negotiations, and that has a lot to do with the fact that nations like New Zealand and people throughout the world are starting to react against the presence of nuclear weapons—and the superpowers are coming to terms with those negotiations. The leaders of the superpowers are moving towards giving a lower profile to nuclear weapons, and that will lead inevitably to the elimination of nuclear weapons.

The impression gained from contributions to the debate made by the Opposition today was that should nuclear war somehow break out suddenly this legislation would be a serious embarrassment to it. Such an outbreak would somehow remove some of the argument Opposition members have advanced this afternoon. It is clearly ludicrous to link, for example, the presence or absence of nuclear weapons in New Zealand harbours to the military coup in Fiji. How on earth would the presence of nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed warships in Wellington Harbour have helped us in any way to prevent, or do anything about, the Fijian military coup? Is the member for Raglan suggesting that New Zealand should have nuked Fiji, and somehow or other called down missiles on to Suva? That argument is clearly outrageous.

Winston Peters: Putting up a straw man.

Mr ANDERTON: I did not put up a straw man—the member for Raglan did that, and he invited it to be shot down or burnt down, and that has happened. I have recently been reading a book called *For the Sake of Example*, which is about courts martial of servicemen in the First World War for cowardice and desertion and so on—most of whom were clearly suffering from shell-shock. It told of a system of military thinking of that time that clearly did not understand what had happened with the advent of modern military warfare. The military high command said that machine-guns were overrated as a defensive weapon. As a result, British battalions of 1000 soldiers were reduced to 30 men after the two battles at Mons and Ypres—which are actually commemorated on the walls of this Chamber. That was because of the introduction of machine-guns into military warfare.

The relevance of that point is to the thinking on the Bill of the Opposition and of so many people, who have not changed their thinking from that kind of rut. Not only would there be few survivors of any modern warfare using nuclear weapons, but there would also be nothing to survive for. That is the difference. That is the thinking that the Opposition and many people around the world have unfortunately not adjusted to. I think it was Albert Einstein who said: "The existence of nuclear weapons has changed everything except our way of thinking." I challenge the Opposition to consider that matter in this final debate. It is clear to the overwhelming majority of New Zealanders that the thinking of the National Party has not changed towards, or even adjusted to, the awesome reality of nuclear weapons.

The passage of the Bill through the House today is a proud moment for New Zealand and for the New Zealand Labour Party. The Bill establishes a nuclear-free zone, and that promotes and encourages an active and effective contribution by New Zealand to the essential process of disarmament and international arms control. It is the culmination of years of commitment, of an intelligent analysis of the issues involved, and of courage on the part of thousands of New Zealanders who have protested against nuclear weapons from the time they were first used at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. People protested in those earlier years against the overwhelming majority of opinion, and that was at a time when it was not only unfashionable to protect oneself against nuclear weapons, but also positively dangerous to one's own reputation, and physically intimidating as well.

The Bill is a tribute to all those New Zealanders who are loyal to the nation in their dissent. It is outrageous for the Opposition to allege that to dissent on nuclear weaponry and its proliferation is some kind of disloyalty to the nation. Those New Zealanders have committed themselves to the future of mankind in the best humanitarian tradition of liberal, civilised thought. The Bill is also a tribute to the commitment the Government has to the youth of New Zealand and other nations, who want to have a future to look forward to. I think of the young surf-ski rider in the Waitemata Harbour when I was out there protesting on a relatively safe 35 ft keeler. He set out against the *Pintado*, which was a nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed submarine. Under the heading of "The courage of peace", the front-page photograph in the *New Zealand Herald* went around the world. I showed that slide when I was in Canada recently, speaking to a youth conference on disarmament that was attended by 800 representatives from secondary schools in Vancouver, and there was a spontaneous standing ovation by those young people of British Columbia. A card of thanks was sent to me, which stated: "Thank you for New Zealand's determination, your sense of purpose, your tenacity. Thank you for your nuclear-freeness." That says a great deal about the opinions of young people on the issue. They are the citizens of this planet whose future is threatened by the very existence of nuclear weapons. The Bill is a positive step in the direction of preserving and securing their future. Tribute should also be paid to the long-established, anti-nuclear, community-based organisations, such as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and their long and proud struggle that the advent of the legislation has proved to be so fruitful.

The Bill shows that the Government and the people of New Zealand have thought the issue through to its logical conclusion—a conclusion to which one is inevitably drawn the more one studies the issue of nuclear weapons and the measures contained in the Bill. That conclusion is that the more nuclear weapons there are the more certain it is that they will eventually be used. Unless nuclear weapons are used for attack or defence they are no more and no less than dangerous but useless pieces of military junk. There are 50 000 of those useless and dangerous pieces of military junk in nuclear warheads throughout the world. Thank God the leaders of the superpowers, which are also nuclear powers, are coming to terms with that fact. Serious heed should be taken of the Soviet Union's clear recognition of that point, and the American Government is coming to the same conclusion. The Bill is an important part of that development.

The policy implemented by the Bill is gaining support throughout the world. Objective strategic defence commentators acknowledge that those superpowers are starting to come to terms with the reality of nuclear weaponry. The Bill establishes the nuclear-free territory of this nation, and of the South Pacific. It is interesting to note the moderation with which the United States Government is starting to react to the final passage of the Bill. It shows that the boldness of the move, which at first shocked many countries, including some of New Zealand's allies, is starting to gain a lot of ground. Accommodation with the Government is being sought. The strength of the move is being recognised. It is a very proud day for Government members to give verbal support to the final passage of the Bill, and to vote for it so that it will become the historic legislation—as I am sure it will be known—of New Zealand.

Mr GRAHAM (Remuera): The New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone, Disarmament, and Arms Control Bill is a most important Bill. It seeks to ban anything vaguely nuclear from New Zealand and its territory because all New Zealanders regard nuclear weapons as particularly immoral. Few would disagree that a threat to mankind is caused by the nuclear arsenals. I am convinced that all New Zealanders would want nuclear weapons to

be eliminated if at all possible. I do not think it is helpful for the Prime Minister to accuse Opposition members of snuggling up to the bomb, and so on, when my children and their children are of the deepest concern to me. I am sure that that applies to everyone. During the Committee stage the various positions on the Bill were made clear.

New Zealand's worldwide reputation for its attitude to nuclear weapons is well known. New Zealand has supported all constructive treaties. It has attended disarmament talks. It has observer status in Geneva. It has negotiated, and concluded, the treaty setting up the South Pacific nuclear-weapons-free zone. Members on both sides of the House agree with that treaty. However, it is not nuclear weapons and their existence *per se* that is the problem. It is the potential for their use that is the problem. The real problem is in ensuring that they are not used, and that there is stable peace while the States that have nuclear weapons carry out very difficult and painstaking negotiations to eliminate the threat of nuclear weapons from the world. There has been good progress, and I am sure that all members of the House are pleased with it.

It is hoped that nuclear weapons will ultimately be eliminated. If that does not become practicable perhaps the world will move to a common security or global security, perhaps under the auspices of the United Nations. If that does not work and the world cannot get as far as that, perhaps nuclear weapons could be made obsolete by the Star Wars project, or something of that nature. Those are the tasks before the countries that have nuclear weapons. As the whole world prays for the success of those negotiations, every nation has a duty not only to itself and its neighbours, but also to the world, to retain stability while the negotiations take place.

The Government has introduced and is about to pass a Bill that bans ships from New Zealand ports as a further gesture of its abhorrence of nuclear weapons. The result of that is now well known. In anticipation of the passing of the Bill the ANZUS treaty lies in tatters—a treaty that was described by the Prime Minister as being central to New Zealand's defence, but that he described as nothing more than a 9-day wonder when it was lost. He has told New Zealanders that the conventional guarantees under that pact were worthless because the United States of America would not have come to our aid anyway, and that we are better off out of the ANZUS alliance because New Zealand's troops might be called upon to serve somewhere else. In other words, there is one rule for them and another for us. That is nonsense. He describes the Americans as bullies, but in the next breath he says they have acted quite properly throughout. He abuses NATO as being irresponsible, but then says that he can well understand why it has the nuclear deterrent.

When our friends from Britain and elsewhere visited New Zealand and pointed out their view of what is happening they were vilified and abused. The result of the policy—and this is as softly as it can be put—is that it has been regretted by the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Australia, and all of the Western countries. It is unhelpful. Now New Zealand officials and diplomats are no longer welcome in the capitals of the Western countries. It has been lauded—

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! I point out to the member that he has made repeated references to policy matters. We are discussing the Bill as it has emerged from the Committee. I ask the member to restrict his comments.

Mr GRAHAM: In the Committee the various positions of the three political parties were put to the vote on clauses 5, 6, 9, 10, and 11, and the public is entitled to know the reason the Opposition voted against those clauses. The Opposition did so because it believes that the Pacific region is less stable now than it has been in the past. One does not have to be very bright to be concerned about events in Vietnam, the Philippines, Fiji, New Caledonia, Vanuatu, about the influence of Libya, and the strong and growing anti-American feeling that has been generated. That is why the Opposition opposed those particular clauses. It seems an odd time for New Zealand to become isolationist.

What has been achieved with the introduction of the Bill, and what do we expect to achieve by its passing? We might all feel better. We could pass a Bill banning AIDS from New Zealand, and then we might all feel better, but nuclear disarmament will not take place. Nuclear weapons will not be eliminated by a ban on ships entering Auckland Harbour, by New Zealand becoming isolated, vulnerable, and irrelevant because of a breakdown of the strong Western presence in our area of interest in the South Pacific. It is, unfortunately, a futile gesture, and now New Zealand will be left out. Its links with

Australia remain somewhat tenuous, because Australia has to have those links; it has no choice in its own interests, yet we ignore the fact that Australia has the United States of America in its background.

The nuclear issue is extremely complex. It needs rational thinking, patience, diplomacy, and considerable faith in mankind and in the future. It is not helped by panic—a course that clearly might be counter-productive. It is the view of the Opposition, which it expressed in the Committee stage, that those are the circumstances the Bill brings out. New Zealand's duty is not only to its own people, but also to the Pacific, and to the world at large. Its duty is to maintain stability and peace as the negotiations take place. Will New Zealand's stand on the issue assist those negotiations? Will the Bill help to promote world peace while those negotiations take place? The stakes are the highest they could be. If the answer to the question is no, the Bill must not be passed. If there is any doubt it should not be passed. Only if the answer is yes would the risk of leaving New Zealand vulnerable have been worth it. Clearly, the answer to that question is no. The Bill is not helpful in maintaining stability, it does not help promote peace, and, therefore, it does not help in the nuclear-disarmament negotiations that are taking place.

When the Government holds celebrations tonight, as I understand that it intends to, I only hope that some of its members will have the nagging thought that their decision and the promotion of the Bill and its passage through the House might have created a circumstance that New Zealand, the region, and the world at large do not need, and should not have. My next question is directed to myself. Will the Bill promote the welfare of my children and the next generation? I regret that, despite the well-intentioned manoeuvres of some people, I do not think it will. Therefore I have come to the conclusion that the Bill is misguided. I do not support it, and it is for those reasons, as discussed in the select committee, that the Opposition will be voting against the Bill.

Hon. WARREN COOPER (Otago): At long last we have reached a goal that, according to Government members, should have been reached 2 years ago. Government members, when in Opposition 3 years ago, told the people that if they voted for a Labour Government New Zealand would become nuclear free within a year. It has taken a long time. The Bill has been introduced now only because it is part of the symbolism of a Prime Minister who, when he was Leader of the Opposition, had one opinion about nuclear-powered vessels, but when he became Prime Minister could not stand up to the left wing of his party. He would rather be on side with the left wing and sacrifice some of the right wing of the Labour Party, and get offside with the people in Washington, London, Canberra, Tokyo, and Paris—France is a nuclear nation.

At the end of the day, the third reading has shown that the Prime Minister is still a "bleeding heart" and is still dependent on the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia, because he let it all go when he said that he could not imagine the United States of America not coming to the aid of New Zealand if we were in some peril. What he was saying, in effect, was that we will have our South Seas paradise while the rest of the world goes by, and we will have it because we will lead a new international move towards nuclear disarmament. Right now, the leaders in nuclear disarmament are the heads of State of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and of the United States of America. Our Prime Minister is not one. He has done nothing in his time in office to get rid of even one atomic weapon in the world.

The Prime Minister thinks that the Bill keeps him in step with his electorate, but in my opinion it portrays New Zealanders as the bludgers of the South Seas and as parasites on the rest of the world, because we welshed on our friends. He will not accept the responsibility that he should take as Prime Minister. The first responsibility of any head of Government is the duty to protect the nation against an aggressor. Condemnation of nuclear wars fails rather stupidly when one considers that it is 42 years since there has been any involvement of nuclear armaments in any exchange in any conflict. In the past four decades about 100 000 000 people have been killed or maimed in various conflicts using conventional weapons and chemical warfare.

The Bill is an appeal to very worried young mothers and young people that the Government has created a better place in New Zealand. It might be all right in New Zealand, but it is straight-out escapism. The Government is pretending that New Zealand is part of the ANZUS pact. It is pretending that we are safer. It is pretending that we are in

the Western alliance. In effect, we are dishonoured by most of our friends. They have all said that they will put up with the Minister of Overseas Trade and Marketing, but they know that in New Zealand we are cuddling up to the communists. A little of that has been happening in Fiji. Without a doubt, the New Zealand trade union movement is fully involved in helping those people right now in Fiji.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! I am sorry to interrupt the honourable member, but I am struggling in vain to understand how the remarks he is making have any bearing on the Bill as it emerged from the Committee, which is the subject the House is required to debate in the third reading. If the member can make what he has to say relevant that is fine; if he cannot I am afraid he is out of order.

Hon. WARREN COOPER: Right now, there could be a nuclear-powered or nuclear-armed vessel 5 or 6 miles from here, and it would be OK. The only simple matter in the Bill is that a nation cannot bring to New Zealand a vessel that is nuclear propelled or possibly nuclear armed, but, strangely enough, that nation would not be allowed to bring an aircraft to New Zealand that could be nuclear armed.

Hon. Jonathan Hunt: That's not right.

Hon. WARREN COOPER: It is right. The Prime Minister says those aircraft can come here. However, strangely enough, he says that there are and will be no nuclear weapons on board any aircraft that comes or has come into New Zealand. If that is so why is clause 10 included? The Prime Minister is a pretty reasonable kind of bloke. He resorts to pettifogging and legalese: if there were no murders in New Zealand there would not be any penalties for murder. If there are no nuclear devices on any aircraft that have been here, are here, or will come here, why has clause 10 been included in the Bill to prohibit them? The Prime Minister is not sure. For political purposes he is saying that aircraft have not been armed and will not be armed, so he will prohibit them by law. That is nonsense.

The Prime Minister knows that there cannot be any guarantee. He knows that when aircraft come to the Operation Deep Freeze base there is a possibility that one weapon has been sneaked through. Why did his officials not say to him that clause 10 was not necessary? The reason is that they knew it was necessary. They knew that communiqués in 1982, 1983, and 1984 stated that visits to ports of ships and visits to airfields of aircraft were absolutely vital to the performance of the three partners to the ANZUS pact. There is as much chance of people being taken in by that duplicity, by that Janus-faced approach, as there is of anyone believing that anyone in New Zealand is safer.

I say that because right now a nuclear-powered or nuclear-armed submarine could be 3 miles off the New Zealand coast and the Government would not have a dog's show in hell of verifying its presence. That is why the Bill is only symbolic. New Zealand is being asked whether it is aligned or non-aligned, whether it is for the West or is running towards the East, and whether it really believes that it is part of the ANZUS alliance. Can the Prime Minister be believed when he says that New Zealand is part of the ANZUS alliance? He is in fantasyland on this matter. It is no wonder that the defence establishment is running down, together with intelligence procurement, and co-operation on technology. New Zealand is being laughed at as a maverick.

The paradox is that after 2½ years the Prime Minister says that we have no enemies, that the Soviets will not attack New Zealand. About an hour ago he said that when this issue started he believed that the presence in one of our harbours of a nuclear-propelled or possibly nuclear-armed vessel would be targeted by the Soviet Union. What nonsense! It was never a possibility. The Soviet Union is now no longer our enemy, yet this preposterous piece of total rhetoric and symbolic nonsense still exists, put forward by a Prime Minister who did not have the intestinal fortitude to stand up to the left. We have got rid of Britain and said goodbye to Australia. We did not have the strength of conviction to do what the people in the intelligent socialist countries such as Greece and Spain did when they got into power. They said that there are certain actions to take to try to preserve the security of one's nation.

Mr DUNNE (Oharui): I move, *That the question be now put.*

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER: The debate has ranged wide and far and has touched only marginally on the Bill. I have frequently called on members to try to be more relevant. However, I acknowledge that this is a Bill of considerable contention, so, in acknowledgment of that, we should have one more speaker.

WINSTON PETERS (Tauranga): I want to outline briefly the National Party's position on defence and on the Bill. The National Party is irrevocably committed to the causes of world peace, freedom, and nuclear disarmament. Under a National Government New Zealand will never acquire or use nuclear weapons, or allow them to be stored in this country. The National Party is committed to a New Zealand with those principles.

In the early 1960s, under the late Sir Keith Holyoake, the National Party confirmed those principles and its commitment by ratifying the non-proliferation treaty and by its subsequent actions. I have a heritage in this country that goes back 1000 years, and I do not need some body of Teutonic ancestry to start telling me that I am snuggling up to the bomb, that I do not care about peace, that I do not care about my children's security and the future of this nation.

In his heart of hearts the Prime Minister does not support the Bill. That is a fact. The Bill that he has pushed for the past 15 months is not, in sentiment and intellect, supported by him. As evidence of that I have the *New Zealand Herald* of 26 March 1983, which contains the headline: "Mr Lange to press for change in nuclear ships stand". He was then the new leader of the Labour Party. He believed then what the National Party believes today.

Rt. Hon. David Lange: The member read the headline.

WINSTON PETERS: I read the headline, and I will read the rest: "The Leader of the Opposition, Mr Lange, will promote a major change in the Labour Party's defence policy to allow United States nuclear-propelled warships to visit New Zealand. In an interview yesterday Mr Lange revealed that he wanted Labour seriously to consider altering its policies on ANZUS and a nuclear-weapon-free zone to accommodate the passage of nuclear-propelled and nuclear-armed warships. 'It is an option that the Labour Party will be considering', he declared." That is the man who postures, and talks about the smell of the neutron bomb, and about snuggling up to the bomb. In his heart of heart he stands with the Opposition. What has changed is that the left is leading him by the nose. In the ensuing days after 26 March 1983 he was brow-beaten. He was taken by the Minister of Education, the leader of the left—everyone here said so—and told to come into line.

The former president of the Labour Party, the member for Sydenham, is quoted as saying: "Well, for a while he went utterly silent because he knew he had a bob in the hand." The *Auckland Star* stated on 4 April 1983—7 days later: "Labour officials go silent. The Labour Party President, J. P. Anderton, has refused to discuss the apparent disagreement between him and the party leader, Mr Lange." The Prime Minister, who stands with the Opposition in sentiment, intellect, knowledge, and preparation, will soon go off to whip off the beer-bottle tops to celebrate. He will make all kinds of hedonistic speeches to please his members, because he has not got the courage of his convictions.

Mr SPEAKER: Order! The member knows that a reflection on the courage of a member is disorderly. He will withdraw and apologise.

WINSTON PETERS: I withdraw and apologise. The Prime Minister is displaying character weakness and impotence. He is incapable of leading, when he knows the country's security and long-term interest is at stake. Nothing has changed since 1983.

Rt. Hon. David Lange: We're the Government—that's what's changed.

WINSTON PETERS: I am fascinated by his interjection, because the next headline states: "pragmatic nuclear policy reopens Labour risk". That is precisely this man. The first duty of every member of Parliament, whatever he or she represents, is the security and welfare of the nation. The Prime Minister has abandoned it. He has given over to the left of the party. For months he had been telling Opposition members not to worry about ANZUS, that the Government was still negotiating the position and New Zealand was still part of the alliance. He was deceiving New Zealand month after month. It was a prolonged and protracted exercise of deception.

When he arrived at Brussels on 31 May 1986 he said: "United States diplomacy over the Government's ban on port visits by nuclear warships and their behaviour has been 'absolutely honourable.'" The Prime Minister was in Brussels, amongst people who know reality and amongst governments of which not one supported him. He conceded to people who know what it is to be invaded and to be occupied: "The ban might never have been imposed if New Zealand had been in a more critical strategic location." He has one policy in Brussels and one before the election, and even after the election he was telling Mr

Shultz to give him time and he would bring them around. He has not got what it takes to stand up. I have known the Prime Minister for a long time. His intellectual and moral flatulence characterises his behaviour, and the newspaper quotations prove it time and time again.

Month after month he talked about snuggling up to the bomb. I tell the Prime Minister that I have as much time for my country's future, and as much concern for it, as he ever had. I have a greater and longer-term commitment to it. The Prime Minister is not supported by any party in Europe, apart from the communists. Holland, Belgium, France, and the socialist countries do not support the Government's policy. The Prime Minister uses all kinds of hedonistic language.

Rt. Hon. David Lange: Hedonistic language!

WINSTON PETERS: Well, it is typical.

Rt. Hon. David Lange: Warm fuzzies?

WINSTON PETERS: That's right—warm fuzzies. He is not a leader but one who gives one statement here, a different one in Europe, and a different one again in the United States. What guarantee can the Prime Minister give today that no nuclear weapons have been in New Zealand territorial waters in the past 2½ years?

Rt. Hon. David Lange: Absolutely!

WINSTON PETERS: The Prime Minister's interjection reveals him to be a naive man. He gave an absolute guarantee. He said he knew the origin of the submarine that was off Raratonga, but when he was put to the test he would not tell anybody. He knew the origin one day but the next day he would not tell anybody about it. He said that New Zealand has the same level of defence and security, yet 30 French agents were running around the country and he did not know about them.

Rt. Hon. David Lange: Thirty! That's inflation! We should have a commission of inquiry.

WINSTON PETERS: The Prime Minister can try to dismiss such claims with the smart witticisms that have characterised his political career, but he has a date with destiny in 2½ months' time and he will be out. The people of the provincial heartland of New Zealand do not want a bar of him. Thousands and thousands of Labour Party supporters, who once voted for the Government, and once caused him to change the Government's policy, will not vote for him this time. They went to war, and they believe in this country's security. Those returned services' people and their wives, sons, and daughters will not vote for the Government. They will not vote for the Labour Party candidates in East Cape, Gisborne, Hawke's Bay, Wairarapa, and Horowhenua, or any other provincial electorate. That is enough to throw out the Government.

The Prime Minister can smile, but he is on his way out. Before he leaves the Chamber and goes to knock the tops off the bottles and celebrate with the "pinkos", the leftists, and the others who are the toast of Moscow, I tell him that he has done his country no great service. More important, he has exposed himself as a weak and shallow man. He made one statement to the Americans, another to the Europeans, and back home he caved in to the Government caucus.

The Prime Minister was kneecapped and done over. He talked about morality and about watershed legislation. He said that the Bill is a milestone in the country's history. It certainly is a milestone. For the first time in New Zealand's history the country is on its own. Every European newspaper that is half-way responsible says that that is so. Every one of New Zealand's friends says so. We have been treated to a long and protracted exercise in deception, and the principal player has been the Prime Minister. He talks about selective morality, yet he is happy to allow the country's armed forces to exercise with the armed forces of nuclear-capable nations. He is happy to allow New Zealand ships to tie up alongside the ships of nuclear-capable nations. I ask him what is so right about that and so wrong about an occasional visit by a friendly ally.

Rt. Hon. David Lange: So the member will have nuclear ships in New Zealand.

WINSTON PETERS: I am not saying that. The Opposition has the same policy as the Prime Minister has on the American Air Force and Operation Deep Freeze.

Dr CULLEN (St. Kilda): I move, *That the question be now put.*

Mr SPEAKER: It is obvious that although some members want to carry on speaking they do not want to debate the question before the House. I listened to the previous

speech, which did not mention the subject-matter of the debate and did not attempt to approach the question of whether the Bill should be read a third time. I can take a message as well as anyone else. The question is that the question be now put.

WINSTON PETERS (Tauranga): I raise a point of order, Mr Speaker. I ask you what was different about my speech compared with the speech made by the Prime Minister that opened the debate, which I thought was capable of being rebutted by the Opposition?

Mr SPEAKER: I do not intend to react to the member's abuse of the point of order procedure. The question is that the question be now put.

The House divided on the question, *That the question be now put.*

Ayes 39

Anderton; Austin, M. E.; Bassett; Batchelor; Boorman; Braybrooke; Burke; Butcher; Clark; Colman; de Cleene; Douglas; Fraser; Gerbic; Goff; Gregory; Hercus; Hunt; Jeffries; King; Lange; Matthewson; Maxwell, R. K.; Moyle; Neilson; Northey; O'Flynn; Palmer; Prebble; Shields; Shirley; Sutton, W. D.; Terris; Tizard; Wetere; Woollaston; Young, T. J.

Tellers: Cullen; Dunne.

Noes 29

Austin, H. N.; Banks; Birch; Bolger; Burdon; Cooper; Cox; East; Falloon; Friedlander; Gair; Gerard; Graham; Kidd; Lee; McClay; McLay; McLean; McTigue; Marshall, D. W. A.; Maxwell, R. F. H.; O'Regan; Peters; Smith; Storey; Wellington; Young, V. S.

Tellers: Gray; McKinnon.

Pairs

For: Isbey; Mallard; Moore; Rodger; Tapsell; Tirikatene-Sullivan; Wilde.

Against: Angus; Austin, W. R.; Jones; Luxton; Richardson; Talbot; Upton.

Majority for: 10

Motion agreed to.

The House divided on the question, *That this Bill be now read a third time.*

Ayes 39

Anderton; Austin, M. E.; Bassett; Batchelor; Boorman; Braybrooke; Burke; Butcher; Clark; Colman; de Cleene; Douglas; Fraser; Gerbic; Goff; Gregory; Hercus; Hunt; Jeffries; King; Lange; Matthewson; Maxwell, R. K.; Moyle; Neilson; Northey; O'Flynn; Palmer; Prebble; Shields; Shirley; Sutton, W. D.; Terris; Tizard; Wetere; Woollaston; Young, T. J.

Tellers: Cullen; Dunne.

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Pairs

For: Isbey; Mallard; Moore; Rodger; Tapsell; Tirikatene-Sullivan; Wilde.

Against: Angus; Austin, W. R.; Jones; Luxton; Richardson; Talbot; Upton.

Majority for: 10

Bill read a third time.