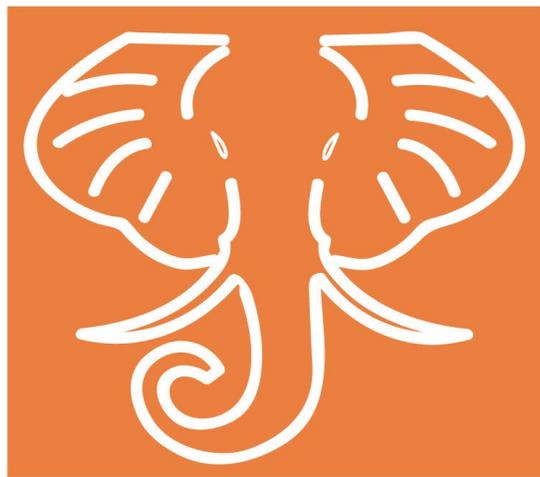


## Parliamentary debates.

New Zealand.

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On Monday last the Government officer in charge of tenancies in Napier appealed to the Magistrate to stay the eviction order for one week. This was refused by the Magistrate. Her son is a Captain serving with the fighting men in Korea, and he has asked me to protect his mother against this unjust legislation.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order. That note will have to be revised when it comes to the table.

The Right Hon. Mr. HOLLAND (Prime Minister).—Sir, I should like to comment on the question asked by the honourable member for Napier. I have not been provided with a copy of the question and am therefore not in the position to give a full answer. I am able to state, however, that there is considerable merit in the case mentioned by the honourable gentleman. The Minister in Charge of the State Advances Corporation informs me that we are just on the point of trying to find suitable accommodation for the family concerned. I promise that I shall look into the matter as soon as I get the question handed to me and the name of the person concerned.

#### COAL SITUATION: MINISTERIAL STATEMENT

The Hon. Mr. SULLIVAN (Minister of Mines).—Sir, with the leave of the House I should like to make a statement. Coal has been, over the last few weeks, a short commodity. I think everybody will agree that is the case still. I felt I would like the House to know that the situation is going to be brighter in the future, and, I hope, warmer than many of our South Island members. In the Reefton field all mines are working. So far as is known we are in full production there. In the Grey District all mines are on production, and there is a very good attendance of the men. In the Buller Gorge mines, work commenced last week. Operations have already commenced at Stockton, and steps have been taken to get the power-house going at Denniston. The mines there will open for work on Monday next. In the Waikato field the Renown Mine started on production yesterday. The Alison, Pukemiro, and Wilton Mines are now on production. In the Rotowaro, Glen Afton, and Macdonald Mines, shift-men have commenced work and those mines will be in production on Monday next. In the Waikato field the return to work by the men is equivalent to about 75 per cent. of the men employed prior to the strike.

I wanted to make that statement in order to let the House know what the position is, and perhaps bring some warmth and relief to those people who have had to do without coal over the last few months. I would like, if I could at this stage, just shortly to state the position of the distribution of coal over the past fortnight ended the 30th June. There have been some statements and correspondence, particularly in the South, about consignments of coal from the West Coast. Consignments from the West Coast to the Auckland District amounted to 5,600 tons, to Taranaki, 1,000 tons, to Napier and Gisborne, 2,600 tons, and to Wellington, 2,839 tons. The

Christchurch District received 8,130 tons, while other South Island areas received 4,557 tons. With all the problems we have had to face in the coalfields and in the distribution, the Mines Department has tried to have the coal produced equitably distributed all over the country in keeping with the availability of our transport.

#### ADDRESS IN REPLY: WANT OF CONFIDENCE

Adjourned debate on the question, *That a respectful Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor-General in reply to His Excellency's Speech; and the amendment proposed thereto. That the following addition be made to the original question—namely, "and that the following words be added to such Address: 'In conclusion, we deem it our duty to inform Your Excellency that Your Advisers have lost the confidence of this House.'*"

Mr. HACKETT (Grey Lynn).—Sir, I wish first of all to congratulate the mover and the seconder of the original motion. I think they put up a very fine performance, especially in view of the fact that they had nothing of value at their disposal that favoured the Government. Following those who have preceded me, I would also like to congratulate Their Excellencies upon His Excellency's elevation to the peerage, and, on behalf of my constituents, I sincerely hope that they live long to enjoy that elevation. I think all of us in this House have the same feelings regarding the proposed visit of Their Majesties. We all sincerely hope that the health of His Majesty will so improve that he will be able to enjoy his visit to New Zealand, for this will be the first real opportunity that we shall have had of thanking the British people for the right to call ourselves British and for showing our appreciation in some small degree of the debt that we owe to the British people for the very fine stand they made on behalf of democracy particularly during the years from 1939 to 1943.

I think, too, that His Majesty's visit will be a timely reminder to the Government, and to the Prime Minister especially, that it is to Britain we are indebted, and not necessarily the United States of America. This Government, through its Prime Minister, has in my opinion, and in the opinion of most of my constituents, inclined too much towards the United States of America at the expense of Great Britain. It is the opinion of my people that they cannot join with the Prime Minister when he tells the leaders of America that the people of New Zealand will be with them right or wrong. We are a sovereign State, and we object to any Prime Minister swearing our allegiance to a foreign nation right or wrong. I felt I had to say that, because deep down in my heart I know that we in New Zealand will never be able to repay the debt we owe to the people of the British Isles for the marvellous stand they have made in past years. Remember this, also: in the first world war they were fighting for three years before they got many friends, while in the

last war they again had to fight for two years and a half to three years before their allies came to their assistance, and yet in this House there are some people who think it is fair to pass over or only refer incidentally to the debt we owe our kinsmen in the Mother-land.

Coming now to the Address in Reply and the amendment of no confidence moved by the leader of the Opposition, we reached a further stage last night when we heard the speeches from the leaders of the two parties. The leader of the Opposition covered a lot of ground. He dealt with international affairs and their effect on our internal economy and the many things that have been troubling the people of this little nation of ours. The Prime Minister replied, but he failed to answer the embarrassing questions put to him by the leader of the Opposition—questions which are worrying many people just as much as is the waterfront dispute. In fact, it can be said that the last hour of the Prime Minister's speech was devoted—and I would say intentionally—to giving a false colour to the whole situation, to deception, to the misrepresentation of facts, and, above all, to distortion of the truth. He read certain letters and gave certain particulars from his own aspect, but he failed to deal with the most vital questions which people are asking to-day. Much stress has been laid on the alleged peril that is facing our country to-day. Let me remind the Prime Minister that we were facing a real peril in 1942 when he walked out of the War Cabinet. He walked out because he thought he could score a political point. Right in the middle of the war he thought he could take advantage of a political point. It did not appear to me then that he was prepared to sink his personal feelings in favour of his patriotic feelings. We did not have an alleged peril at our door at that time. We had knocking at the door on that occasion a real enemy in the shape of the Japanese, armed to the teeth.

I want to deal to some extent with what has been uppermost in the minds of honourable members and of the public—the waterfront dispute. We have said and proved to audiences in overflowing halls throughout the Dominion that the Government, through Cabinet, has prolonged this dispute unnecessarily by weeks, and the result will be none other than would have been achieved had the matter been settled in the early stages. Neither the Prime Minister nor the deputy Prime Minister has told us why, when the shipowners refused to join a compulsory conference, such a conference was never called. Soon after the dispute began, when representatives of the watersiders met several Cabinet Ministers and submitted what was felt by those Cabinet Ministers to be a fair case, a compulsory conference could have been called under the statute law of the country. The watersiders' representatives were told to hold themselves in readiness for such a conference, but when the Cabinet Ministers approached the shipowners the latter refused point-blank to join any compulsory conference at the call of the Government. Why were not

*Mr. Hackett*

the shipowners at that point placed in a position similar to that of the watersiders? After all, the Prime Minister last night declared that the people of New Zealand know that they have a Government that believes in honouring agreements.

Let me remind the right honourable gentleman of what he said in the Dunedin Town Hall on the 28th November, just prior to the election. On that occasion he committed the National party to compulsory agreements. He said that the policy of his party was compulsory conciliation. I have not time to read the whole of his speech, but he said that there should be, first, compulsory conciliation, and second, arbitration. That is the policy of the Labour party. That is the law that we placed on the statute-book. The right honourable gentleman spoke of bringing contending parties together, within twenty-four hours of the beginning of a dispute, for quick adjudication and for the announcement of a decision at the earliest possible moment. He further declared that if the people concerned were not satisfied they would have the right to ask that the dispute be settled by an independent secret ballot of the workers themselves to determine whether they would strike. That is the policy upon which the Government was elected. Early in this dispute we asked that the Government should honour the promise so made, but nothing has been done in that direction to this very day. It is obvious that the shipowners are dictating the policy of the Government. That is why New Zealand has been plunged into chaos, physical and financial, that will cost the public anything up to £100,000,000. There has been not only a loss in wages, but some people have gone out of business. I understand that it has cost the sheep-farmers something like £13,000,000.

*Mr. KEARINS.*—And the rest.

*Mr. HACKETT.*—My colleague from Waimarino, who knows something about it, says "And the rest." On the whole it is going to cost the people anything up to £100,000,000. In the whole history of Australasia, and possibly the world, even bushrangers, murderers, thieves, and so on, have, in the aggregate, never had as much money as this £100,000,000 placed upon their heads. That is what the people of New Zealand have to pay. And what for? To achieve only what could have been achieved within two weeks of the commencement of this industrial dispute. I will come back to that again later. I just wanted to put it in its right perspective. The leader of the Opposition has been criticized for saying that, in his opinion, this industrial dispute was not inspired by the Communist party. The leader of the Opposition made that statement after giving the question due consideration and after seeing all that was going on. But, after all, he was only following statements previously made by the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister, when in Australia, said, "It is not all Communists, but all the Communists are in it"—we say the same thing—"and there are a few other people as well." Something like

seventeen thousand workers have been involved in this dispute, and that statement by the Prime Minister really says that, although seventeen thousand are involved, only a few of them are not Communists. What percentage of the seventeen thousand would he say are members of the Communist party or could be termed fellow-travellers? Not one member of the executive of the Waikato Coal Miners' Union was a member of the Communist party.

Mr. JOHNSTONE.—Are you sure?

Mr. HACKETT.—So I am informed. I get my facts from the same place that other people get their facts. I understand there is one member of the Communist party, who has since been in charge of relief, and that he is the only known member of the Communist party in the Waikato coalfields who has taken any active or vocal part in the dispute. We say the dispute could have been settled in its early stages, and even as late as the 16th or the 17th of March when the seven points were put forward and the reply was handed either to the Minister or the first officer—an acceptance of the seven points with certain qualifications. The qualifications were stated last night, and were mentioned previously by the Minister of Labour and the Attorney-General. The facts now disclosed, however, show that those very same points are now the subject of negotiation with the new unions. For instance, the Prime Minister's policy as he stated it last night is to have separate unions everywhere. He boasted that he had thirteen unions in respect of the freezing-works. Anybody who knows anything at all about industrial affairs will know that that is a retrograde step which takes the freezing industry back twenty or twenty-five years. Each of those works will have to appoint assessors for conciliation and arbitration, and, if the Government's policy is given effect to, another three or four Courts of Arbitration will be required. The watersiders made a stipulation regarding the national union.

I want to tell the Prime Minister and the Minister of Labour that if these men go back to work now and they desire to form a national union, unless the Government amends the law it has no power to prevent the formation of a national union. What is the Prime Minister's intention? Is he going to bring down legislation which will allow him to dictate which national union is to be established and which is not to be formed? If he does, I prophesy that the Federation of Labour will make bitter protests. To-day somebody placed in my box a copy of the publication "Universal Declaration of Human Rights." I do not know if it was the Minister of External Affairs who placed it there, but I would like to know who the person is, representing the Government, who gave out the copies. Members of the Government should read the declaration. The regulations the Government brought down are a negation of its clauses, and yet we are signatories to that declaration, and we—on this side of the House, anyhow—believe in the "Universal Declaration

of Human Rights." As I say, the regulations the Government recently brought down are the very negation of what we have always believed in and what we believe are the human rights of the people

Reverting now to the seven points, I think there are now really only two points in dispute—the national union and the closed union. The Minister, as I said before, had no power to prevent a federation or national union and has not got it to-day, unless he is going to use the Public Safety Conservation Act to prevent the formation of the union. The open unions are already closed. The men considered that some negotiations on those issues were absolutely essential. The men wanted to know who were going to get what wages; who was going to be on the permanent staff, and who would be "seagulls." The new men do not know, and there is trouble in the new unions regarding the negotiations that have been carried out as to the terms the shipowners want to lay down for the permanent staff. Is the Government going to stand by and see those men reduced by 4d. an hour just for the sake of being called permanent staff?

Mr. MOOHAN.—That would suit the Government.

Mr. HACKETT.—I will say that it would and it would suit its friends, the shipowners. In Auckland, Wellington, and other ports there has been full employment for many years for all of the waterfront employees. It has been alleged that the wages on some occasions, as a result of this full employment, ranged from £10 to £20. Now, the permanent staff are being asked to suffer a reduction of 4d. an hour so that they will be guaranteed a wage of £8 10s., when for the past ten years they have been guaranteed a wage from £10 upwards. Surely the Minister sees that these things must be the subject of negotiations. In March, possibly before, but certainly in March, the Government made up its mind that this strike was going to be prolonged, because we had exactly the same points and the same arguments before us then as we have to-day. Then the regulations were brought down. We have to realize the facts as other people see them and not with the belief that they are Communists or fellow-travellers of the Communist party. It has to be realized that the spirit which actuates men to fight for their rights is the spirit which made the British Empire. Men have become martyrs and have been subject in the years gone by to the death penalty as a result of their endeavours to prevent such things as these regulations. We must remember that amongst the ranks of those we now call strikers are possibly up to ten thousand men who served their country overseas and in New Zealand in time of war.

Mr. S. I. JONES.—Where do you get the figures from?

Mr. HACKETT.—That is a round guess.

Mr. S. I. JONES.—A very round guess!

Mr. HACKETT.—Let me tell the honourable member that I am speaking of waterside workers of whom it is said that nearly five thousand are eligible for membership of the Returned Services' Association. We also have two thousand or three thousand seamen about whom we were saying only a couple of years ago that they were heroes. They were the men who went down to the sea in ships. And what heroes they were. Then we have the freezing-workers, a fair percentage of whom surely are men who served overseas and in New Zealand during the war. On top of that we have the cooks, the stewards, the miners, and the others involved in this strike. So, out of the seventeen thousand, I would estimate that about ten thousand were either returned servicemen from the recent war, from which we are possibly merging into another war, or from the 1914-18 war. Those people, and especially the seamen, spent approximately six years fighting what? Fighting Fascism. They come home here, and find that the moment trouble arises these most obnoxious regulations are gazetted. Well, those regulations constitute the first step towards Fascism. After all, the miners went on strike as a protest against the regulations. That has been repeated and reiterated.

The Hon. Mr. SULLIVAN.—Not in the first place.

Mr. HACKETT.—They were not in sympathy with the waterside workers, but they went on strike as a protest against the regulations. I do not think we shall ever know just how far this Government might have gone along the road to a Fascist dictatorship had it not been for the opposition offered both by the Labour party and these other fellows. Those regulations absolutely stank. It might have been merely a try-on just to see how far the Government would get on the road to a Fascist dictatorship. However, the Government soon found itself against a solid wall of opposition, for the men who had been fighting overseas for so many years realized the danger that lay ahead. Yet those same men are to be labelled "Communists" by the present Government. I noted, from the nodding of the head of the Minister of Labour, that it seems likely that some legislation amending the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act will be brought down in order to prevent the formation of national unions. I would hate to see that.

I did want to have a word or two to say about what the honourable member for North Shore said as to Communism. This subject was discussed by the conference of the National party. A remit to be placed before the conference of the party in Auckland provides that in future Communists will be labelled as Bolsheviks. The people of New Zealand have made their attitude to this "red" boggy very clear, and I want to state my position. We as a Labour party realized the danger of Communism long before the National party awakened to the fact that Communism was with us. The National party went hand in hand with the Communists when it thought that it was in their own interests to use them

against Labour. The Right Hon. Mr. Churchill joined hands with the Communist leader No. 1, Mr. Stalin, when he thought that he could "put something across" Hitler. The joining hands even by these two gentlemen in the crucifixion of Fascism was quite a fair thing. My colleagues can speak for themselves, but I know that I am speaking for them when I say that we are just as much opposed to Communism as any other political party in this or in any other country. We realize that if the doctrines of the Labour party had been given effect to over the years the people would not be suffering as they are suffering in various parts of the world to-day. Let me ask the Prime Minister whether he is a supporter of the corrupt Government of Chiang Kai-Shek? Answer that one. It is only by such corrupt men and corrupt Governments that fertile beds are made available in which the seeds of Communism can grow and become established. It is only in countries where oppression and tyranny have ruled over the years that such a thing can happen, and, unfortunately, in some cases blame can be laid at the individual doors of some Englishmen, too. It is only in those places where Communism is flourishing.

The honourable member for North Shore spoke about Communism and referred to the British fighting in Malaya. Some day we shall have the history of Malaya and know how the Natives have been treated. I shall have first-hand information on that some day, and also about the men fighting in Indo-China. It is only under the iron rules of Governments, of which our Government is but a puppet, that such movements can flourish. We are moving this motion of want of confidence in the Government on the Prime Minister's own words. He said that the people know that they have a Government that believes in honouring agreements, but we say that the Government has not honoured any, or very few, of its agreements. It has not honoured its agreements as to the welfare of the people, the cost of living, housing, and other matters in relation to the industrial dispute. At a time when harmony and a united nation is absolutely essential, in this world of chaos, we find that our Government is dividing the country into two camps and creating conditions under which there is only one party that can gain any following out of the chaos, and that is the Communist party, the friend of the National party.

Mr. GOTZ (Otahuhu).—Mr. Speaker, we have listened for the last half hour to the usual vituperation and vilification, and the usual hymn of hate that we have long associated with the honourable member for Grey Lynn. He started off by vilifying the United States of America, that magnificent, generous country which, under the Oceanic Pact, has guaranteed the safety of every one in New Zealand, and yet he chose to vilify that great country which is using its wealth and influence towards the betterment of the more unfortunate peoples of the world. Then, too, he vilified the Prime Minister and raised doubts as to the Prime Minister's veracity: he even raised doubts about the Prime Minister's patriotism. It

ill-behoves any member opposite to doubt the patriotism of those who shed their blood for this country, and the Prime Minister did his share. As to his veracity, his statement of the facts as given by him in his magnificent speech last night were sufficient to let the people know whose statements are to be believed.

The honourable member spoke, as is usual from the opposite side, of the necessity for a compulsory conference between the waterside workers and the employers. Surely, Mr. Speaker, he must be aware of the "action taken by the Minister of Labour when he met representatives of the employers and the waterside workers on the 12th February, 1951. At this meeting the union representatives said most emphatically that they would not agree to their claim being submitted to arbitration nor would they allow an independent chairman to adjudicate on the matter if a conference of the parties was called by the Government. On the other hand, the employers said that they would be quite prepared to allow the dispute to be settled by the waterfront industry authority, the Court of Arbitration, or the Royal Commission which had been set up to investigate conditions on the waterfront." That is an extract from the official statement by the Minister of Labour on the question of a compulsory conference, and the people will judge whether the Minister was right or whether the honourable member for Grey Lynn in his advocacy for a conference was doing the right thing. He spoke, too, of the loss of millions which would be incurred in consequence of this strike. Did honourable members opposite raise one finger, did they make any attempt whatever to cut that loss, running into millions of pounds?

Mr. MOOHAN.—Yes.

Mr. GOTZ.—One little voice says yes, the people of New Zealand say no, and we say most emphatically not. The honourable member spoke of the Declaration of human rights and its contents. There are times when people place themselves outside the pale and have little justification for being treated as human beings. I submit that some of the militant leaders who endeavoured to bring this country to ruin were no longer human beings and denied to themselves the right to protection under such a magnificent declaration as that of the human rights. The honourable member who has just resumed his seat obviously gave what he could in the way of support for the strikers. There again the people will judge him as they will judge members of the Opposition for the support which they undoubtedly did give throughout the long contest. Negotiation has been the key word in the policy of the Minister of Labour, and at every point in this dispute he has done everything humanly possible to bring about negotiation towards settlement, and where men have seen that they have been misled by people who would destroy the economy of this country gladly, the negotiation has brought about a successful ending and work has been resumed now, fortunately—and thankful we are all for it—in most parts of New Zealand, the result of long, complicated,

patient, and tolerant negotiation. Martyrs the honourable member for Grey Lynn has spoken of. Would he be the first one to give "Jock" Barnes a crown of martyrdom? Perhaps he might. We would not. He spoke of Communists—the association of the National party with Communists. From every member on this side of the House at least there is freedom from the stain of Communism, and every member on this side of the House has denounced Communists throughout the length and breadth of this country as destroyers of our way of life. We will have none of them, and the people are grateful for it.

I would like to turn now to a statement made last night by the leader of the Opposition concerning the dismissal of a man from one of the new waterfront unions because he had given his sister support to the extent of £3. I have here a letter from the president of the Wellington Waterfront Industrial Union of Workers.

Mr. R. MACDONALD.—What is his name?

Mr. GOTZ.—Mr. Bell—a very gallant man who has the courage of his convictions, the courage to come out and do something to restore harmony in a dispute which members opposite would have been glad to see drift on for months and months. The letter is addressed to the Minister of Labour and reads as follows:—

"The leader of the Opposition stated that one of the new unions had expelled a member because he gave £3 to his sister. If he, when addressing the House, was alluding to the action of this union in expelling a member at at our last monthly meeting"—

Mr. COMBS (Onslow).—A point of order, Sir. Is it strictly in order for the honourable gentleman to refer to some outside comment on a debate that took place in the House?

Mr. SPEAKER.—Do I understand the honourable gentleman to be reading a letter referring to a debate in this House?

Mr. GOTZ.—I was referring to a statement made by the leader of the Opposition dealing with a gift of £3 to a man's sister, and I was reading a letter from the president of the union which dealt with the matter. In this letter the president gives the direct answer to the leader of the Opposition concerning this gift of £3.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Will the honourable gentleman please give me the date of the letter?

Mr. GOTZ.—The 30th June, the day following the reference to the matter by the leader of the Opposition in first commenting on it, and repeated when he spoke last night.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honourable gentleman is quite in order.

Mr. GOTZ.—The letter goes on:—

"If he, when addressing the House, was alluding to the action of this union in expelling a member at our last monthly meeting, then his statement as reported in this morning's *Dominion* is contrary to fact. The resolution

passed and recorded in our minutes is as follows: 'That any man in this union who was contributing in any way to a striker should be dismissed.' This resolution was deemed to be necessary as it was rightly considered that any member contributing to members of the deregistered union was not acceptable as a member. The member expelled, when challenged, at first stated that he was paying £3 a week to his brother-in-law, a member of the deregistered union in Wanganui, and still on strike. Later, in a final attempt to remain in the union, he stated that he was sending the money to his sister. Several members at the meeting in question spoke condemning the man for being a persistent agitator on the ship on which he was working. Others stated that they had heard him call another man 'a scabby —' — a statement he admitted making, and later he expressed his regrets for having used the expression. Members also stated that they felt his entire sympathies were with the deregistered union."

The letter goes on, and I could quote it *in extenso*. Here we have the leader of the Opposition rushing to defend a man who had been rightfully expelled from his union for a breach of the rules of the union, but we did not notice the same alacrity by the leader of the Opposition to rush to the defence of Mr. Donaldson when he was wrongfully dismissed from his union. It would be well, I think, for us to remember clearly the Barnes versus Donaldson case, and the punishment that was meted out—wrongly, as judged by the Court later on—to Mr. Donaldson. Fortunately, he has been reinstated, and he is willing to give of his advice to the new union. Ample justification for him was seen at the last election for officers of the Harbour Board, at which Mr. Donaldson topped the poll.

Mr. FREER.—What ticket did he stand on?

Mr. GOTZ.—On the ticket of the Labour party. And yet the Labour party from one end of the country to the other had supported "Jock" Barnes against him. When the National party went to the country in November, 1949, one of its pledges was that it would deal firmly with those who were trying to undermine New Zealand's economy. The people approved of that plank in the policy. The National party was pledged to curb those militants who had for years been holding New Zealand to ransom—blackmailers to whose demands the Labour Government had submitted time and time again. The result, the rejection of the Labour party at the polls, was a sufficient answer by the people to that plank in our policy. Further than that, the justification is seen by the acclaim that there has been from one end of New Zealand to the other for the Prime Minister and the Minister of Labour for their handling of this strike. If there be any criticism of them, it is criticism that they have erred on the side of tolerance, that they have been too patient, and perhaps not harsh enough. But it is not the policy of this party to make war on women and children. We believe that there is a section of the community which for years has been so determined to undermine the

Mr. Gots

economic life of New Zealand and to create disruption at every possible point that it was necessary for stern action to be taken. The watersiders were given due warning in October of last year when we declared a state of emergency and gave them twenty-four hours in which to resume work. They went back to work. They renewed the issue in February of this year. Then we declared a state of emergency and introduced the Emergency Regulations, under the provisions of the Public Safety Conservation Act of 1932.

During the fourteen years of Labour government there was opportunity to repeal that Act. Did the Labour Government repeal it? No; it kept it there. Why? Because it saw that it would probably be necessary at some time, for the safety of the country, to introduce those regulations. That the Labour Government did not do so was its own responsibility. Had it introduced regulations comparable with those which we introduced in February of this year, we might have had more industrial harmony over the years than we have had. The Emergency Regulations were necessary, and are still necessary, for the safety of our country. We do not like the Emergency Regulations any more than do members opposite, and I have no doubt that the moment it is deemed practicable to remove them they will be removed. We do not like controls and restrictions. We had too many of them in fourteen years under the Labour Government. The Emergency Regulations have been described by the leader of the Opposition as vicious and vindictive. Might I draw attention to the Supply Regulations Bill of 1947, in which an attempt was made to perpetuate war-time regulations as part of the law in New Zealand? Had that Bill been passed it would have given to the Government of the day, which was then the Labour Government, the authority to take possession of or control, on behalf of His Majesty, any property or undertaking; it would have given to the Government of the day power to introduce regulations authorizing the entering and searching of any premises. There were other conditions in that Supply Regulations Bill which would have made life completely intolerable for people who love their individual freedom.

The Emergency Regulations have been necessary in order to keep the economic life of the country going. The Emergency Regulations are still necessary to allow us to use the number of servicemen still being used on the wharves, to employ servicemen who are so gallantly manning our ships along with those officers and permanent staff who are doing such a grand job in keeping the lines of supply open around New Zealand. The Emergency Regulations are still necessary to keep the supply of food to our people, to keep the supply of coal for gasmaking—and there is little enough of that—to supply to our children the breakfast foods which can only be made in the South Island, to supply wheat to our poultry, to supply flour to our bakers, to supply some of the fruit which would otherwise have rotted along with the five hundred thousand cases already wasted. The Emergency Regulations are still necessary

in order to protect the good men, who have gone back to work, from intimidation, from bashing, which have been all too common. The Emergency Regulations are still necessary to keep frozen the funds of the old deregistered unions, which, had they gone into circulation, might have caused a prolongation of the strike.

The Emergency Regulations are still necessary to provide for our Civil Emergency Organization, which is safeguarding the lives of many of our citizens. It is necessary to protect decent workers. There have been many grand volunteers in this trouble, and in time their names will be made known. Organizations have been set up to maintain the supply of essentials to the people of New Zealand, but have members opposite helped in the formation of those organizations? Have they encouraged anybody to volunteer for work? We owe a great debt of gratitude to those original stalwarts who set up those new unions. There has been no quoting of them by name, but they have had courage of a very high order. Courage, too, have they had who have spoken over the radio to their fellow-workers telling them how wrongly they were being led, and how necessary it was that they should go back to work. Our thanks are due also to the Police Force for the temperate way in which they have administered these regulations, and, of course, our thanks and thoughts must go out to those servicemen who have given up their normal occupation to become wharf workers, to become miners, to do one-hundred-and-one odd jobs foreign to their normal calling, yet so essential for the provision of all the necessaries of life in this country. But can we apply the same vote of thanks to members of the Labour party? I say, "No." Let me quote from the bulletin of the Auckland Strike Committee of the 23rd April last. It says this:—

"This week will be an eventful one for our struggle. Now the leader of the Opposition, Walter Nash, has publicly condemned the Government and its actions, it is the bounden duty of us all to see that all Labour members of Parliament become active in support of their leader. It has been stated in official Labour circles that if Holland closes the door finally on all attempts of negotiations then all Labour parliamentarians will take the hustings against the Government. That time is now. Our task is to make absolutely certain that our particular member gets into action. No excuses and no delay."

Did they get into action? From one end of the country to the other they got up on the stump and denounced the Government. They clamoured for conferences with men whose word was valueless, men who disowned and dishonoured their own signatures. Members opposite would have us parley with these people. It is a pity we have not with us to-day—owing to ill health, unfortunately—the member for Miramar. What would he have said in this House about the action taken by many members opposite, who did their utmost to aggravate and extend the

strike? We all recall what he said in 1947. He reiterated it in the statement he made on this occasion. He said this:—

"I appeal to the trade-unionists to forsake the wreckers, the Communists, and the leaders so-called who are aiming to lead them into a way of life that is contrary to our own."

Those are strong words, but not as strong as we would have had from the former Minister of Labour, the member for Riccarton—who also, unfortunately, is confined to his home through sickness. In 1949 he issued a statement concerning disputes then affecting waterfront work. The concluding paragraph read:—

"There are unfortunately elements among the watersiders whose objective is not to attain improved conditions for their fellows with the minimum of dispute, but on the contrary to seize every opportunity and pretext to foment grievances and to magnify disputes without regard to the harm that may result to the real interests of the rank and file. The origin of such disturbances is not industrial or economic, and they do not serve the purposes of genuine trades-unionists. They are, however, completely in line with the objective of the Communist party, which is to seize on the slightest cases of dissatisfaction among workers in order to organize strikes. Peaceful methods of settling industrial problems are therefore abhorrent to them, and no effort is spared to ensure the failure of efforts to establish systems of arbitration. This is an avowed Communist aim, but their fellow-travellers who allow themselves to be dupes of the Communists' policy lend themselves to this wrecking policy. Some of them have the vanity to think they are using the Communists, while all the time they are giving effect to the fundamental policy of the Communist party."

On which side do members of the Opposition stand—on the side of the former Minister of Labour, who condemned the wreckers of our country, or on the side of those condemned? We would be grateful if the Opposition member who follows me would state on which side of the fence they are. Too long have we listened, meeting after meeting in domains, town halls, and all over the country, to statements being made against the Government's handling of the strike and in sympathetic support for the wreckers. The people of this country know who their friends are. From one end of the country to the other they have shown that they are fed up with the situation that has existed over so many years and that they are grateful that at last the situation has been tackled. The proof of the success of the Government's policy is the return of men to work, which will be increasingly rapid from to-day on. I have no doubt that by Monday the other section, the seamen, who are still on strike in support of their supposed friends, will see reason, too, and will man our ships, just as the seamen of Australia are now manning the "Aorangi."

Our coal-mines are again in operation. We owe a debt of gratitude to Messrs. Prendiville and Crook, who all along have stood staunchly on the side of law and order and have tried by every means in their power to maintain it. They have stood up to vilification and insult and have been deposed and reinstated. Now we see their policy justified and being supported by the miners who are returning to work. But the same cannot be said of the former and discarded Labour member for Raglan, Mr. Baxter, now president of the Rotowaro Miners' Union. No single person has done more to keep the miners on strike than has that individual. He was the man who borrowed £100 in order to feed his children so that he could still stay on strike and he said he would be prepared to borrow another £100. What of the men who could not borrow £100? How do they feel and how do their wives and families feel who have been denied the necessities of life through this intransigent crowd who kept the men on strike and in the most severe winter we have had for years deprived the people of the necessary coal to keep their fires burning.

We have been accused of restricting freedom of speech, but I say that freedom of speech has never been attacked. If the members who mentioned it would speak honestly they would recognize that the Government had no part in barring the member for Auckland Central, the member for Ponsonby, and the leader of the Opposition from the use of the Auckland Town Hall. It was purely a domestic matter arranged by the Auckland City Council for the defence of its property—public property. Open air meetings have been held throughout the country, and at every one of them an endeavour has been made by leaders of the Opposition party to keep the men still on strike. But a new day is dawning. The people will never forget the action of members of the Opposition. They will never forget it and they will recognize who have been their friends and who have restored harmony to this country—a harmony which I am sure will continue for years to come.

Mr. KEELING (Gisborne).—Sir, I and all those I am privileged to represent share anxiety, with His Excellency the Governor-General, for the health of His Majesty, King George. We look forward to the day when we may be given an opportunity to pay loyal homage to the Royal Family. Our joy at that time will be tempered only with concern lest in the conscientious undertaking of his strenuous duties His Majesty should not spare himself sufficiently to safeguard his health, which has already been impaired through those years spent with his subjects in war-beleaguered Britain. To His Excellency goes our humble respects and heartfelt congratulations on the honour which was recently conferred upon him. His Excellency, Lord Freyberg, is a man whose life has been devoted to interests far bigger than his own. He has imposed upon himself the discipline of a soldier of the line. He has attained with the years the vision of a statesman. During the war he

*Mr. Gots*

led our troops ably and nobly. Now in this country, as the personal representative of His Majesty, he has earned our respect and loyalty in other spheres. We wish His Excellency and Lady Freyberg many more years amongst us.

In their somewhat difficult task the honourable member for North Shore and the honourable member for Wairarapa acquitted themselves in a manner which has reflected credit upon them. I do wish to extend my personal congratulations to them on having been selected to move and second the Address in Reply. At this stage I should refer to some of the remarks made by the honourable member for Otahuhu. I do very much regret that he chose at this early stage in the debate to bring in personalities. I think it is most regrettable that the names of so many men prominent in trade-union circles should have been bandied across the floor of this House. I feel that he told us one thing—whether it is his own opinion or the opinion of his Government I know not—in that from his words he gave the people to understand that the Emergency Regulations are with us for a long time to come. I do not think he has the power to make such a statement. I think the most deplorable thing in the speech of the honourable member for Otahuhu was his attack on an ex-member of this House. Where he got his information about borrowed money I do not know. But these debates should be far above personalities of that kind, and I am sorry the honourable member for Otahuhu has sunk so low.

I do want to refer to a reported statement in which the Minister of Works is alleged to have said that the Federation of Labour had lined up with the Government. I know of no reason why the Minister should feel called upon to make such a statement, because from my knowledge of the case the position is quite the reverse. Possibly it may be of interest to the Minister, and also to Government members generally, if I bring to their attention three resolutions adopted unanimously at the last annual conference of the Federation of Labour, held in April of this year. The first resolution reads as follows:—

“After hearing the illuminating address this conference congratulates the Right Hon. Walter Nash on being elected leader of the parliamentary Labour party and expresses confidence in him and his party. We pledge whole-hearted support for the return of a Labour Government.”

Is that lining up with the Tory Government? This is the second resolution:—

“That this annual conference of the New Zealand Federation of Labour has no confidence in the Government on the grounds that they misled the electors by placing before them a policy that their party must have known could not be implemented. We further place on record the inherent right of trade-unionists to elect their own representatives without Governmental or any outside interference, and the

right of trade-unionists to decide within the framework of the statutes whatever form of organization they desire."

Is that lining up with the Tory Government? The third resolution reads:—

"That we ask the federation to ask the Government to remove the Emergency Regulations, which in our opinion are unfair and unjust, thus enabling our workers to return to work."

Surely those resolutions that were adopted in April last leave no doubt at all as to where the Federation of Labour stands in relation to the present Government.

I wish to refer to a statement made by my honourable friend the honourable member for Hawke's Bay. I am sorry he is not in the House. This is a report from the *Dominion* of the 15th June, 1951:—

"Mr. Harker, M.P. for Hawke's Bay, yesterday forecast increased reductions in taxation over the next two years. He pointed out that the effect on the community through the present waterside disturbance had definitely limited the extent to which such reductions could be made."

That is the first official statement I have seen concerning a reduction in taxation. I would say, most emphatically, in reply, that the weight of public opinion will not allow the Government to use the present industrial dispute as a smoke-screen for its maladministration of the country's affairs over the past eighteen months. I say, seriously, that in retrospect the people will never believe that the Government is not a great deal to blame for the present industrial dispute. The Prime Minister and his colleagues have not been firm in handling this dispute—they have not been firm; they have been just obstinate. As on many previous occasions the Prime Minister, during the present industrial dispute, underestimated the intelligence of the people. A classic example was when he broadcast to the people in December last year. Surely we all remember that broadcast. It was a case of get your pencil and paper, there is something for everybody, and so on, and he finished up with, "Go down on your knees and thank the woolgrowers for that." Did the Prime Minister really believe that the people in 1950 would swallow that? There was an interesting sequel to that broadcast when I heard the Minister of Health, at the Brooklyn by-election, claim that he prepared the script for that broadcast. It appears to me, and I think it will appear to the majority of other members, that the Minister of Health and the Prime Minister are entirely out of touch with public opinion. I do not think they are qualified to place before the citizens a straightforward and intelligent statement.

We have heard a number of reasons why the present industrial dispute came upon us. I suggest that the Prime Minister, in his broadcast at Christchurch on the 27th October, 1949, sowed the seeds of industrial unrest. Before a cheer team, who by their great

enthusiasm encouraged the then member for Fendalton to make some amazing statements, the present Prime Minister said that if and when his party came into power it would discipline the workers. There is no doubt that he did say that. Was that not a challenge to all those who do the real work of this country? Was it to be expected for one moment that the workers would not accept that challenge. I said at that time and at every public meeting I addressed that that was just one of the many unfortunate statements made by the leader of the National party. Personally I would be more than willing to overlook that rash statement. I am tempted to forgive and forget, as he knows not what he says. I realize that those who have fought through the years to retain our democracy, who have suffered much for the advancement of trade-unionism, could not and would not allow the implications of such rash words to go unheeded. The next step was the deliberate attack on the workers when their living standards were reduced by the abolition of subsidies on "Black Friday." The Government definitely challenged those who are often referred to as the militant unionists. The result has been disaster to every man, woman, and child in this country.

There is one other matter I would like to touch upon. I feel it is the duty of the Minister of Railways to make a clear statement as to the promises he made to the railway workers. Many people believe that he did ask the representatives of the workers to discuss their problems with the General Manager of Railways, and if they could reach an agreement, no matter what the cost, he would implement the decisions of such a conference. As I understand it, agreement was reached between the management and the railway workers, but the Minister refused to honour his part of the bargain. Because of this misunderstanding there is no doubt that the weight of public opinion was sympathetic to the railway men. I do most humbly and respectfully request the Minister of Railways to clear up for all time the doubt there is over this matter and the doubt there is in the minds of the public. We remember that during the railway strike our Prime Minister went to England. Credit goes to the deputy Prime Minister for meeting the railway men and persuading them to get back on the job. I feel bound to say that many, in fact everybody, was hoping that the deputy Prime Minister would be able to bring about a return to work in the present dispute whilst the Prime Minister was in Australia recently.

Mr. Speaker, I would remind you, too, that the Prime Minister promised the people he would tour the Dominion for three weeks and address open public meetings, speaking of world affairs with particular reference to the part New Zealand would be called upon to play in the immediate future. Honourable members will recall that this tour was cancelled, as the Prime Minister stated he was unable to leave his office in Wellington owing to his presence being needed because of the

industrial turmoil. Yet, just a few days later, we were informed through the press that the Prime Minister would make a trip to Australia. How does the right honourable gentleman reconcile the fact that he was unable to leave Wellington to meet his own people and yet he found it quite convenient to have a holiday jaunt across the Tasman? I would point out, too, that the Prime Minister has not yet, since he became the leader of this country, addressed an open public meeting. If I am wrong in this assertion I can be corrected, but at the same time I must reserve the right to say that with my knowledge of the tactics employed by the Prime Minister he will most probably prove my statement to be wrong, even though it is absolutely correct. A Prime Minister's duty is clear; his duty in times of unrest is to stay at the helm, and I do strongly criticize his action in going to Australia at a time when New Zealand was in the midst of the most serious industrial upheaval the country has ever known. It is interesting to read the press reports of what the Prime Minister did in Australia. There were three points that were outstanding—one, that he attended far too many banquets; two, that he visited relatives; and three, that he shopped in preparation for the Royal tour. I would say to him—thousands of people are saying it behind his back—that it seems apparent now that New Zealand made articles are not good enough for the Right Hon. S. G. Holland, P.C., C.H.

It does appear now that something like normal work will be resumed in New Zealand, and I want to say nothing more about the industrial dispute than this: that there is no victory for any one. All of us must lose, and many have lost very much. It can never be said in any dispute that one side was 100-per-cent. right and the other side 100-per-cent. wrong. May we all make strenuous and genuine efforts to bring out what is good in every man, whether he be a Tory or one engaged in the strike. The people have noticed that, no matter what the rights or wrongs of the case, one point stands out crystal clear, and that is that eighteen months before the Tories went out of office batons and physical violence were used by good New Zealanders against good New Zealanders, and that now, eighteen months after the Tories are returned to power, the same miserable spectacle is seen all over again—a repetition of man's inhumanity to man. There does appear to be one point upon which we can all agree. I refer now to the attack by the shipowners on every man, woman, and child in this country. I was hoping, and I think every one was hoping, that last night the Prime Minister would make reference to this matter. I would be willing to say that everybody would welcome giving him a special opportunity to make a statement on the position. To think that in times like these the shipowners have been allowed to increase freights, without reference to any one, by 64 per cent. I hope we can all join together and make sure that the shipowners do not get away with that one.

*Mr. Keating*

One of the things of which I am very proud is that all my life I have devoted my energies to the workers—maybe at times in just a modest and humble way. I still get the greatest thrill of my life when I meet workers and get to know more about them. On Sunday last in Gisborne we had what appeared likely to be a most disastrous fire at our gasworks. One had to see to believe the efforts that were made by the workers on that occasion. As soon as the alarm was given men normally not on duty went along and did just whatever they could. There was no thought of incentive payments; there was no thought of double time for Sunday work. There was a job to be done, and the men got in and did it. I had a discussion later with the chairman of directors and the engineer, and they told me the reason for the fire. I do not intend to go into that to-day, but it was something to do with the rubbish which is being sent to Gisborne and called coal. The point I want to make is that no matter where you go—and it pays members to visit industries—men still work, and work hard. No matter what is said for or against the working-people, I shall always throw my weight in on the side of the worker. Never will it be said that I have lined up with the Tories.

I would refer for one moment to the Government's policy on farm lands. Knowing that Government members at all times place monetary values above human values, I shall pose this question to them: Who would they sooner be to-day? The man selling a farm at to-day's prices, after having had ten years of good returns, or the young man buying a farm at to-day's inflated prices, knowing not what the next ten years hold for him? That is a fair question. We find that, through its legislation and its encouragement of inflation, the National party has shown a strong bias towards the man who has had everything off his land as against the young man who wants to carve a career for himself on the land. That, shortly, is the National party's policy on farm lands and farm settlement. I should like to hear honourable members answer that question.

Once more I refer to the Prime Minister. I have already said that he has made some unfortunate statements. We could spend the whole of the session comparing statements which the Prime Minister has made from time to time with his statements and actions at a later date. We would need no more material than that to put up the finest debates that have ever been heard. I shall read just one of the Prime Minister's statements, and I hope my colleagues will follow it up. On the 27th October, 1949, in opening the election campaign, the Prime Minister said this:—

"I say it would be neither right nor proper for me or my colleagues to seek the support of the public by offering bribes to the public, by political promises, and by making a series of glittering promises that could not be carried out, but which we might hope to find excuses for. The National party stoutly denies such a temptation. Our policy deals with things as

they are. It would be better for us to lose the election than it would be to win it by false pretences."

That was the statement made by the Prime Minister in Christchurch at the opening of his election campaign. Since the Government found itself occupying the Treasury benches much new legislation has been placed on the statute-book. Most of that legislation has been harmful to the well-being of the country, while much of it has hit hard at the biggest section of the population. But what has hit even harder at the whole community is the legislation that has not been passed—legislation to keep prices down, the prices of food, clothing, family necessities—legislation to help those who most need help, the mothers with two, three, four, or more children, the elderly people on pensions or small superannuation allowances and other fixed meagre incomes. These people are crying out for a fair deal, for a specific, concrete, permanent solution of their difficulties of to-day, so that they may know how in this land of plenty in this year of grace they can make the 1949 pound buy twenty shillings worth of 1951 goods. They are offered not a solution but a palliative, a mere temporary expedient, a £5 or £10 so-called bonus. That is like a shot of morphia. It relieves the pain for a few short hours, but it does nothing to arrest the disease. These people expected a solution of their difficulties, and all they got was a Holland hand-out. The Nazis told the German nation that the liberty of the individual must be withheld for the good of the many, that dissentients would hinder and that even thoughts are dangerous. When we heard of that we were aghast. Let us not make the same mistake. Critics, dissentients, advanced thinkers and the like are part of our British way of life. Without them we should have no economic or political progress. I hold no brief for those who hold allegiance to a foreign ideology, but I fear to see the witch-hunt which would strangle liberty in the name of freedom.

Mr. D. M. RAE (Parnell).—Sir, I congratulate the mover and the seconder of the Address in Reply on their interesting and instructive speeches. They revealed careful study and research and showed a good deal of originality. I feel that both honourable gentlemen expressed the sentiments of all members and of all New Zealanders in their references to the forthcoming Royal visit. It seems appropriate that if the long-awaited visit takes place Parliament will be opened then on the centenary of the beginning of parliamentary life in New Zealand. I feel that the Prime Minister has quite correctly and courageously expressed a doubt we all have, and that is that the arduous tour would involve difficulties and demands that might impair His Majesty's health. I am sure that however much we might desire to have this visit eventuate, we would desire that the King's physician and those who advise His Majesty about his health should not let that possibility impair his health in any way. I feel that New Zealand would combine enthusiastically to congratulate

Their Excellencies on the very high honour that has been bestowed on them—I say advisedly "on them"—by His Majesty the King. There is widespread satisfaction in New Zealand that this high honour has been bestowed. We in New Zealand are very grateful for the great leadership in peace and in war that has been the mark of that great soldier's services to this country.

The mover of the Address in Reply drew attention to the uncertain world situation and in particular to the need for greater defence preparations not only at Home and in the British Commonwealth of Nations and Empire, but in the democratic world generally. For a little while I want to break away from the personalities and difficulties of the waterfront strike and to make some comment on the situation so properly referred to by the mover. It is correctly said—and it is of tremendous importance to us to realize it—that to-day the prospects for world peace are being increasingly assured by the relative military power as between Russia and her satellite nations on the one hand, and the United States of America, Great Britain, and the British Commonwealth of Nations and Empire and Western Europe on the other hand. Sumner Welles, in a very interesting and valuable book which he wrote in 1947, with the intriguing title, "Where are We Heading?", says that to-day we stand confused and uncertain at the dawn of a new era. He rightly suggests that it is a new era, that there is no chance of turning back the pages of history, that we have to face up to a new situation in the world, and he says, too, that six years after the most terrible revolution in the history of the world we have no sure and certain sign of what the future holds.

To-day, we align ourselves with Western civilization, a civilization born 2,500 years ago empirically in Athens; and hammered out on the anvil of history over that period. We stand amongst those people who adhere to that way of life. This system of democracy with its orientation towards democracy on the one hand and internationalism on the other is facing to-day a major crisis, and the next few years may well decide whether those powerful forces in the world to-day that would ban our way of life completely and lean towards totalitarian Communism can be effectively resisted. Unless the peoples in the democracies—and we are one of those peoples—become vigorously alive to the advantages we have under democracy and study carefully, too, as the mover of the motion said, the sinister meaning of Communism and how it menaces our way of life, we will not avoid catastrophe. Certain it is that we must make our democracy dynamic. I think that is extremely important. We sometimes pay lip-service to the meaning of democracy, but if democracy is to be anything it must be dynamic. The name does not mean very much, but what democracy really does in effect stand for is all-important in this world to-day. We see an example of that in, for instance, China, where Chiang Kai-Shek's Government was called a democracy, but it was a democracy which fell far below anything that appealed to the people. They fell an easy prey, therefore, to a competing philosophy. That

sort of thing does happen in the world to-day, and people must give careful study to the possibility of that.

I remember Sumner Welles reminding us that man holds in his hand to-day the power to destroy all life on the planet. That is a sobering and alarming thought. He was referring, of course, to the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb and the other new scientific discoveries applied to the act of war. On the other hand, however, he does remind us that, while those dangers are abroad, man also has in his hand, in the new day dawning for humanity, the means whereby the new day may be one of peace, security, and human progress. I think sometimes that in our despair and fears of where we are heading we are apt to forget the great opportunities that are before groups like our own in this House for pin-pointing those possibilities for giving a lead for peace in this world. I am reminded that that book by Sumner Welles ends on a note reminding us that in spite of the mistakes made during the inter-war years after the League of Nations and that have already been made since San Francisco, when the United Nations was formed, there is still hope. He uses these dramatic words: "No wave on the great ocean of time can ever be recalled once it has swept past us. All we can do is to watch the form and motion of the next and launch ourselves upon it with all the strength and courage we can command." I think that is a wonderful thought. It is so much ahead of what Shakespeare said, rather gloomily, to the effect that when an opportunity is lost hope for recovery is gone. He said it, of course, in much more beautiful words than that when he spoke of the tide in the affairs of men. Sumner Welles reminds us that in this age there are opportunities with which we may perhaps make new discoveries for peace and take new actions for peace.

I am reminded that in 1806, when the Battle of Austerlitz was fought and won by Napoleon Bonaparte, the then Prime Minister of England, William Pitt, said in Parliament at Westminster, "Roll up that map of Europe; it will not be needed these next ten years." It was a true prophecy, because he shortly afterwards died of a broken heart owing to his inability to win that campaign. In that year the poet Wordsworth wrote, "Blessed was it in that dawn to be alive, but to be young was very heaven." I say that we must not be carried away too much by the gloom and the difficulties that beset us in these days. I want to refer now for a moment to what has happened in the United Nations to which we subscribed so hopefully and enthusiastically in 1945. I think it would be correct to say that the League of Nations failed very largely, not because of lack of idealism, but because the people of the different contributory countries failed to give it support and to create a public that understood its aims and objectives. I feel that we are to some extent moving in that same direction to-day.

Mr. COMBS.—Did not the United States step out of the League?

Mr. D. M. RAE

Mr. D. M. RAE.—The honourable gentleman is reminding me that one of the causes of the failure of the League of Nations was the abstention of the United States of America. I would agree it was a major cause, but very largely we left the decisions and the problems to the plenipotentiaries that went to Geneva, and as a people we largely forgot about them. The result was that when strains and stresses came to the world there was no public opinion, as there seems to be possibly in our day, of making decisions that we made over Korea, for instance. There was no possibility of that happening, and issues went by default. I remember, as I think other members remember, when the Lytton report was produced over Manchuria in 1931. In that year the whole issue was allowed to go by default, and Japan was allowed to infringe upon the rights of America and of the Western world in Manchuria. That was the beginning of a series of policies of appeasement which led to the second world war. I just feel that we as members of Parliament in New Zealand should give our weight and support, whenever we have the opportunity to do so, to those people who, in too few numbers to-day here and there in the cities and towns, are trying in the United Nations Associations and similar bodies to challenge public opinion to think of the aims and objectives of this great dream of mankind, which even to-day is not being backed by the public opinion that is so essential in such ideals.

I was present last year at the annual meeting of the Wellington United Nations Association, when we had no less important a speaker than Mr. James Thorn, who had just come back to New Zealand from being Chairman of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, a man thoroughly informed on the whole operation of the world affairs in relation to how they were guided by the United Nations. I think it would be right to say that there were no more than twenty people present in the great city of Wellington at the annual meeting of the association. We are allowing our enthusiasm which was so high in 1945 to wither and die with regard to one of the great hopes of the present time. I am reminded too—and I have mentioned this in the House before, for it is the most dramatic statement of the failure of the power of public opinion that I know of—that Walter Lipmann, in his book, "American Foreign Policy," tells the American people and the world, too, that twenty years before Pearl Harbour the American State Department knew the dangers that America was meeting with regard to Japanese infiltration into American interests in China in spite of the Washington Treaty of 1922 and in spite of the Nine Power Treaty which had really guaranteed the objective of preserving the territorial integrity of China. He said that no Government in America, although it knew quite well from the State Department what ought to be done, would have lived for five minutes if it had put into operation the policy which would have prevented Pearl Harbour. So I think Pearl Harbour had to come because of the apathetic

lethargic public opinion that had not been informed on the great issues that affected the destiny and rights of the American peoples. But I just feel that that is true to-day in relation to this great ideal of the United Nations. It is unfortunate that the high hopes we had that the splendid team-work that won such great victories in war-time would continue long into the years of peace, and that we would be able to have an organization that would solve some of the problems of mankind by arbitration rather than by the arbitrament of war, have not been realized. It is in spite of those high hopes that we are being forced to-day to rearm.

I again would remind members that the basic factor in foreign policy in all nations to-day is the relative military power as between the two great groups of people—the Western democracies and those nations which take their leadership from Moscow. We have to admit that, however unfortunate we might think that decision might be. We hoped that we would be able to devote a good deal of our resources to greater production, to the use of undeveloped land, to the housing of our people, to the using of capital investments to increase industries and to the development of a system of immigration that would allow suitable people from overseas to participate in the higher standard of living of this country. This has a bearing on some points raised by an honourable member in one other aspect of this debate. Unfortunately we have to devote a good deal of our resources to the needs of the defence situation. It seems to be one of the ironies of history that people like the Communists, who have a philosophy which claims throughout the world to alleviate human suffering and to bring about equality, is forcing one-half of the world to-day to devote an ever greater portion of its resources to the preparation for war against aggression. That seems to be a most amazing situation. Looking at our contemporary world, and realizing that the conference and arbitration system is hampered in all kinds of ways in settling disputes, we are forced reluctantly to turn to our defence plans to defend our way of life.

In this regard, recently I came across the report of an interesting address given to the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Australia last year by the Hon. Mr. P. G. Spender, then Minister of External Affairs. He gives a line to the Australian people in a five-point programme which takes into consideration the unstable situation in the world and gives a lead to the people of Australia. If I had time I should like to develop this further, but I shall deal with it to the extent I am able in the time left to me. He said, first of all, "We must build up collective armed strength for peace." That armed strength is not for aggression, but for peace. This policy is going to mean not only a bigger contribution for defence purposes by way of taxation for every individual, but also it is going to mean some limitation in the activities of individuals, corporations, and industries. I hope most people will understand the world

situation and what is at stake and will cooperate with the Government and those responsible to make it possible for this country to play its part on a national basis, in building up these Armed Forces for collective security. We have to build, not only to defend our own shores, but also to play our part in what might be called the regional strategic plan along with other Commonwealth Forces in defending perhaps the Middle East or, maybe, playing our part along with the Forces of the United States in safeguarding the conditions of a treaty which will shortly be negotiated between the United States of America, New Zealand, Australia, and other Commonwealth and associated Powers, and Japan.

It seems to me that we must look to our defences. The plan we thought sufficient—the eighteen-year-old training scheme to provide Forces by the year 1955—will not be sufficient preparation, and we shall have to make bigger demands on our man-power, and on the taxpayers, to build up the defence Forces that are so necessary in the circumstances. That is No. 1 point. The second one is a very important principle for people to follow; I think it is extremely important. It is just this: that in following out a plan, a policy plan for the future, we must see that there is no appeasement and no compromise with principle. Many of us realize that appeasement is dangerous, not only on a national basis, but on an international basis. We have realized, too, as we saw the lights of liberty go out in one European country after another, and the "iron curtain" boundary extended farther and farther to the westward, just what appeasement in our own age means.

Mr. McCOMBS.—Are you indicating that the treaty with Japan will be a source of trouble instead of peace?

Mr. D. M. RAE.—No, I am not, at all. At any rate, the honourable gentleman is a bit slow. I am well past that. I cannot go back and explain it to him. It is too difficult to go over all that again. I would like to discuss the matter with the honourable gentleman. I do not mean what he thinks I mean. That may be his fault, or it may be mine; I am not sure. The point I am making at the moment is just this: there must be no appeasement and there must be no compromise with principle. I think it was only when our contemporary world realized, after much backing and filling indeed, and many retreats, that in the Berlin airlift a strong line had to be taken, that a strong line did count in dealing with people like the Russians. Only then did we begin to realize that this strong line had to be followed. There was great satisfaction in the world, I think, over the line taken in Korea. The next point is also an important one—these are tremendous points—and it is just this: that there should be no provocation; that in the present state of the world we should not be guilty of provocation. I think we understand the real meaning of that when we look at the MacArthur episode that occurred just recently, where General MacArthur thought that the Eastern situation, the Korean situation,

could be best handled if the lines of communications of the Communist Forces, both Chinese and North Korean, could be bombed; that if towns in China and aggregations of defence materials could be bombed it would bring the North Koreans to their senses. Better counsels prevailed in America and throughout the Commonwealth Powers dealing with the situation, and finally, although it almost caused a revolution in America, the President, Mr. Truman, and his Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, had their way, and to-day we see that that policy of non-provocation has paid dividends.

I feel, as we look at situations in Pakistan and India, and at the situation that is obtaining at the present time in Persia, we would be wise to realize we must not be too precipitate in dealing with difficult situations like those. It does seem to be that this policy of no provocation, along with no appeasement and no compromise with principle, is a very sound one. Spender makes one other point. It might not be in this country quite so popular, although I think it is right. This fourth important point is that we must seek every honourable opportunity of making permanent agreements with the Soviet Powers and their like-minded nations to bring about some *modus vivendi* in this modern world of ours. We must seek honourable agreements and every opportunity to bring about some kind of understanding between Soviet Russia and her satellites and the democratic Powers. That is a policy that is regarded as being extremely important by the Australian Government, and in my view rightly so. In my readings on foreign affairs I have been much interested in articles published in an American quarterly by a man called Kennan, who is one of the best-informed correspondents on the Russian situation. He keeps reminding the world that time is on the side of the democracies, and that, if we are able to show, dynamically and vigorously, the democratic way of life in our countries, it will yet sink in on the Russian people, as it did on the Yugoslavs, that the Western world has something to offer. And when we realize that this fourth plan of Spender's seeks to challenge us courageously to look for some kind of agreement on honourable terms with the Russian people—

The Hon. Mr. DOIDGE.—The Foreign Ministers have been trying to do that in Paris for six months.

Mr. D. M. RAE.—That is quite so—and without much success. The final point is that countries like our own, which have a high standard of living, should render economic and technical assistance to the economically backward countries. That has particular reference, as most members will know, to the South-east Asian countries, in which the life span of the people is twenty-seven years as against sixty-eight years in New Zealand, and where the standard of life is very low indeed. I would like to congratulate the Minister of External Affairs on the part he has played for the

Mr. D. M. Rae

Government, along with other Commonwealth Ministers of External Affairs, in bringing to fruition the Commonwealth Colombo Plan to render technical and economic aid to the countries of South-east Asia. This may appear to be the eleventh hour, and it may appear that humanity has taken a long time to realize the problem at its door; but the Colombo Plan holds great hope for the future. Even this small country will be contributing £3,400,000 in three years, and with such action, even if it be considered from only a selfish point of view, I feel that twenty-five years hence we may find friends who might otherwise have been enemies. I think it is a marvellous plan, and no doubt the House will have an opportunity later on to debate it fully.

May I say in conclusion that I am very definitely against the amendment moved by the leader of the Opposition, because I feel that New Zealand has been saved by the courageous facing up of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Labour to this challenge, by the patriotism and loyalty of our Police Force and Services, by the sanity of the Federation of Labour, and by the common-sense of the people, who have stood solidly behind the Government.

Mr. ANDERTON (Auckland Central).—Sir, I join with other members in the time-honoured custom of congratulating the mover and the seconder of the Address in Reply. However, I do not think the member for Parnell will expect me to follow him around the world when matters in our own country are of such vital importance. The Prime Minister said last night that he would give the House an opportunity at some later date to discuss external affairs, but the member for Parnell took the opportunity of this debate to speak on that subject. I know he is a very sincere and honest-to-goodness Democrat, and I realize that he is in a most unfortunate position. He cannot support the Government of which he is a member, and he has had to make the best of a bad job. That is why he spoke to-day on external affairs. One of his remarks amused me considerably. He said it was absolutely essential that we should make our democracy more dynamic. I ask him, what has his Government been doing with democracy in this country during the last four months? It has made democracy a cat's paw. I shall deal with that later on. Unlike the member for Parnell, I am not opposed to the amendment moved last night; I support it. I believe it is more necessary than any other amendment ever moved in this House. I do not think the country has ever had a Government which has violated the principles of democracy to such an extent as this Government has. What did we find when the mover and the seconder of the Address in Reply spoke? They took us anywhere and everywhere except New Zealand. The member for North Shore and the member for Wairarapa dealt with matters completely outside New Zealand. The member for North Shore introduced the red-herring of Communism in an endeavour to deflect the minds of the people from the real issue.

Mr. MASSEY.—Tell us something.

Mr. ANDERTON.—I know that the member for Franklin is, in some respects, a worthy gentleman. He wants me to tell him something. I shall tell him that he is a member of a Government that has violated the principles for which his father stood four-square at all times. I am satisfied that if the honourable member's father were here to-day, even though he was the Prime Minister of a Tory Administration, he would wriggle in his seat at the knowledge that we have to-day a Government that is prepared to violate every promise it made to the electors, as the present Administration has done so studiously. What did members opposite say they would do? First of all, they said they would make the pound go further, but to-day the country is in a worse position economically than it has ever been before. In eighteen months the Government has increased inflation. One of the reasons for its attitude at the present time is the hope that the industrial dispute will hide a multitude of sins.

Even the Prime Minister, in reply to the leader of the Opposition last night, dared to suggest that the inflationary condition in the Dominion was somehow due to the industrial situation and to the industrial disputes over the past four months. The fact is that the right honourable gentleman knows that in the first twelve months of his Government's administration there was £34,000,000 more of inflation in our country than there was on the day he took office. The Prime Minister is well aware that all that extra inflation has nothing whatever to do with the industrial dispute. The Labour Government was accused by the National party of utilizing the printing press to create money, thereby depreciating our currency. No Government has gone further in that direction than the Tory Government now in power. The Minister of Justice in this Tory Government promised that legislation would be brought down to promote a stable internal price-level. We hear nothing about that to-day. The situation is such that the workers do not know from week to week what their wages will buy. They can never be sure that their wages this week will buy the same quantity of goods that their wages bought last week, and that sort of thing has been going on continuously since the Tory Government took control. Nevertheless, the moment the worker, the wealth producer, complains that he is not receiving his fair share of the national wealth, and points out that the cost of living has risen far above what his wages will stand, and asks for more, all the power of the State is brought into action against him. Without any doubt a case was made out before the Court of Arbitration by the Federation of Labour for an increase in wages that would have been fair, had it been granted.

Mr. S. I. JONES.—Then why did the workers not get it?

Mr. ANDERTON.—Because we have a Tory Administration that promised to deal with the workers. No one who has watched the economic trend in New Zealand since the National Government came into office expected anything less than the amount that the

employers agreed to pay to the freezing-workers—namely, 5s. an hour. The Prime Minister and the Minister of Labour know, or should know, that it is impossible for any worker, skilled or unskilled, to manage on less than 5s. an hour. The present dispute is not only a watersiders' dispute. Why have we heard little or nothing from the Government benches about conditions in New Zealand to-day? The explanation is that the occupants of the Government benches are not in a position to sustain the stand taken by Cabinet. We are not being governed to-day by a democratic Government. The Prime Minister admitted that last night. The Prime Minister last night said that fourteen gallant men and one lady, the Minister for the Welfare of Women and Children, had made up their minds to run this country and to introduce a new system into our industrial life. He also said that other countries were taking note of the methods used here and would adopt the same methods. Let me say that this country, over the past four months, has been ruled by a dictatorship of Cabinet, and a dictatorship of Cabinet is no better than a totalitarian dictatorship of the Mussolini and Hitler kind. The people are not going to continue to put up with these repressive regulations without voicing some protest. The unfortunate part about the management of this dispute is that the people associated with the dispute and the men who are in the dispute have been suffering untold hardships due to the regulations applied by this Government.

The Hon. Mr. SULLIVAN.—Nonsense.

Mr. ANDERTON.—It is quite easy for the Minister of Labour to cry "Nonsense," but it is for him to stand up in this House and justify his actions. He has not done that. Last night the Prime Minister had an opportunity to justify the Government's actions. He did not do so. He spent all his time vilifying the Opposition and asking what the Opposition had done during this dispute. The only way he can see to get out of the unfortunate position in which he has placed his Government is to take that line. As the Prime Minister it was his duty to stand up in this democratically elected House and justify his actions in violating every democratic principle on which he was elected, instead of asking the Opposition what it had done and blaming all and sundry for the position in which the Government finds itself. That is not the right way for a Prime Minister to speak in this House. He has a duty to the House. He and every member of his Cabinet was elected democratically, as every other member of the House was. What are the back-bench members of the National party doing in this matter? They are just political toads croaking in the darkness of their own despair.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order. The honourable gentleman must withdraw that remark.

Mr. ANDERTON.—I withdraw it, Sir, and I say that the back-bench members of the National party have no democratic say in the institutions of government in this country. They seem to have no power whatever to

curtail the repressive actions of the few selected persons in Cabinet who have ruled this country over the past four months.

Mr. HARKER.—Tell that to your friends the Communists.

Mr. ANDERTON.—It is surprising how this word "Communism" is being bandied about the House to-day.

An Hon. MEMBER.—You should—

Mr. SPEAKER.—I wish honourable members would realize that they must not address another honourable member directly. That has been going on all the afternoon. I have endeavoured to pull members up, but I have had the feeling that they did not know why I was pulling them up. If they want to refer to another honourable member, they should refer to him as the honourable member and not say, "You have done this" or "You have done that".

Mr. ANDERTON.—This week the Government kindly placed in the box of every member of the House a copy of the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights", in which Article 2 says:—

"(1) Every one is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

"(2) Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether this territory be an independent, Trust, Non-Self-Governing territory, or under any other limitation of sovereignty."

Article 3 says:—

"Every one has the right to life, liberty and the security of person."

Article 5 says:—

"No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment."

I think this dictation by Cabinet has violated every one of those human rights during the past four months. At Huntly there are thirty Polish miners who were told that unless they continued to get coal from the mine they would be deported.

Hon. MEMBERS.—That is not correct.

Mr. ANDERTON.—And they have been working in those mines under the threat of deportation to Poland, whereas we in this House were elected to preserve and protect the rights of the people of the democracy. I say that the member for Tamaki, the member for Otahuhu, the member for Raglan, and all the other members on that side of the House have failed in their duty in not protecting those liberties and human rights specified in the Declaration. They formed themselves into a coterie or extraordinary committee of dictatorship and went so far in their efforts

Mr. Anderton

that they not only violated the particular rights I have read, but were also prepared to deny free speech.

Mr. SIM.—Where is the proof of your statement?

Mr. ANDERTON.—That can be easily obtained. I do not make statements in this House unless I have absolute proof of them. I have been in Huntly and met the men, and I know that the Polish miners in Huntly were kept at work under threat of deportation unless they remained at work. This Government was elected to govern this country. I say that the amendment which has been moved has been moved simply because this Government has failed, and failed lamentably, to govern this country. It is not governing this country, and the methods which it has adopted over the past few months have brought ruin to the country and to many of the people. A farmers' Government, they call it! I am sure the farmers are very happy with it! I am sure they will be very happy with this dictatorial Government and the way in which it is handling this industrial dispute! The stupid way in which the Government handled this dispute has cost the farmers millions of pounds. The farmer has been denied the opportunity of getting the world price for his wool because of the attitude of the Government towards this dispute. There were no wool sales in March, and I guarantee that when wool sales are held the farmers will receive 50 per cent. less than they received at the previous wool sale. I hope that the farmer-members of the Government are happy about that, and about having to pay the 64 per cent. surcharge on freight. All this would have been avoided if the Government had handled this dispute in a sane, sensible way.

All the Minister of Labour has done has been to deny on every occasion the approaches made by any form of industrial labour. He has changed his ground on each occasion when approaches have been made for a settlement of the dispute. The question is not when or how the dispute could have been settled, for the plain fact is that the dispute could have been settled and should have been settled and would have been settled had we had a Government capable of dealing with the situation. The whole trouble is that the Government has proved incapable of dealing with the problem. The merchants, the manufacturers, and the people as a whole are suffering because of the muddled handling of this dispute by the Government. On numerous occasions the Government could have settled the whole matter. Why has it not settled the trouble? We are not being controlled and governed by the elected members of this House, but by the shipowners. I say, quite candidly, that the dictatorial policy adopted by the Cabinet has been by arrangement with the shipping companies so as to browbeat the workers of New Zealand. How simple are the people on the other side of the Chamber who discuss international affairs. Do not imagine that this is purely a New Zealand problem, for it extends very much further than the shores of this

country. And the trouble does not come from the communistic quarter either, but from the capitalist quarter. The capitalists require the removal of political liberty and industrial freedom and the British way of life that has grown up over the centuries.

Just look at the honourable member for Remuera, that great stalwart of constitutional law. He should be ashamed of himself. He sits as a member of the Cabinet and denies political liberties and industrial freedoms to our people—indeed he is a party to this sort of thing. I wonder what he would have said had he been on the other side of the House and another Government had acted in this way. I could imagine his going up and down the country from university to university quoting constitutional law against a Government that dared encroach on the liberties and the sanctities of democracy. Is he prepared to do that now? Or is he going to discuss international affairs instead of discussing our domestic affairs? Of course he will. Why do not honourable members get up and discuss matters that affect this country? When it is said that the Government has not interfered with the political liberties and the industrial freedoms of the people, I would point out that the police definitely denied me the right, as it also denied the right of the honourable member for Ponsonby, to speak in Auckland. In reply to my question whether that applied to the leader of the Opposition I was told by the chief of police, "Mr Anderton, there will be no meetings allowed; you cannot discuss the regulations and you cannot discuss the strike." I said, "I have been doing that all around the country."

Mr. Gorz.—You advocated the strike.

Mr. ANDERTON.—I did not advocate the strike. I discussed the strike and anything pertaining to the welfare of the people. That is what I am doing now. I was denied the right to speak, as were three of my colleagues in this House. That denial was not made on the spur of the moment. Before the chief of police in Auckland denied me that right he took three hours in which to ring Wellington to get the full facts of the situation. He rang me back and said, "All political meetings are banned." I was not allowed to speak, the member for Ponsonby was not allowed to speak, and then I asked, "Does this ban apply to the leader of the Opposition?" He said it applied to everybody. It is no use the Prime Minister or the Minister in Charge of Police denying that. I sent the Prime Minister a telegram, and I will grant the Prime Minister this, that he got busy after that, because I had a ring from the Minister in Charge of Police a couple of hours after the Prime Minister received my telegram. The Minister in Charge of Police said, "There must be some mistake. Make arrangements to hold your meeting." Of course there was some mistake, and this is why—this telegram that I sent to the Prime Minister:—

"The Right Hon. S. G. Holland, Prime Minister, Wellington.—It was my intention to hold a public meeting in my electorate within

ten days to deliver a pre-session address Owing to the fact that the Auckland City Council refusing the Town Hall to the New Zealand Labour Party, Auckland Branch, for the Right Hon. Walter Nash to deliver a pre-session address on May the 22nd I referred my intention to hold a meeting to the Chief Inspector of Police, Auckland, who now informs me that I am not permitted to hold any meeting. Is this refusal the policy of His Majesty's Government? If so, I emphatically protest against this shameful disregard of the 'political liberty' that makes possible your position as Prime Minister, and mine as a parliamentary member representing His Majesty's Opposition. This lenial to democratically elected representatives of the people to address any public meetings is in contradiction to the very spirit of British tradition and justice. If your objection to a public meeting is in fear of large assemblies of people, will you grant me the right, and allow me as a member of Parliament to address my constituents over the radio within the next ten days.—W. T. ANDERTON."

It is to the credit of the Prime Minister that he saw the position into which he had brought the country. He had to get busy, and I was pleased to get the reply.

Mr. CONNOLLY.—Was that a collect telegram you sent?

Mr. ANDERTON.—I was very pleased to pay for the telegram. I would have been pleased to pay for the telephone call when the Prime Minister withdrew that stupid regulation which prevented free speech. He wisely saw that he had got this country into such a condition that he had to get out of the position in some way or another. This was the way in which he could release the ban on freedom of speech. It is about time this House and the country realized that British people have taken democracy, political liberty, and industrial freedom too much for granted. While they take it for granted they are losing it, not to Communism, but to Fascism, in this country. While that is taking place I am going to raise my voice against it. I shall fight to the last breath in my body to express my views in this and any other British country.

The Hon. Mr. FORTUNE.—And fight for democracy?

Mr. ANDERTON.—I know the Minister in Charge of Police has no respect for democracy. He has always had the mind of a little dictator. That is the reason he is where he is to-day. It is well for the Minister to treat lightly the accusations I am making now. I say they have not been answered. The Prime Minister did not answer them last night. Probably the constitutional lawyer, the honourable member for Remuera, will try to justify his position in a Government that has accepted dictatorship by Cabinet.

Mr. JOHNSTONE (Raglan).—Sir, we have just listened to one of the greatest ranting speeches ever delivered in this House. It was full of inaccuracies and I will prove there were inaccuracies in it. He whistled up his courage

supporting what is definitely a very, very bad case. The honourable member started off by saying that the mover of the Address in Reply had drawn a red-herring over Communism. The honourable member did not say what he thought of his friends, the Communists. We remember when he went to a City Council election meeting held by the Communists and said, "You support us, and put up your two men, and we will sweep the polls." "My friends, the Communists"! That is the red-herring of Communism. The first inaccuracy I will prove the honourable member made was in reference to a meeting at Huntly. I do not know whether it was a pre-sessional address or not. Huntly happens to be in the Raglan electorate. He did not tell me he was going there—

Mr. ANDERTON.—Why should I?

Mr. JOHNSTONE.—In ordinary courtesy. The honourable member stated that there were thirty Polish miners in Huntly and that they had been told that if they did not go to work they would be deported. I want to tell him that there are not thirty Polish miners in the whole of the Huntly mining district. None of the underground mines have been working. So that is an inaccuracy on the part of the honourable member. Somebody has been leading him "up the garden path." It may have been his friends the Communists. While he was at that Huntly meeting I wonder whether he attempted to get those chaps to go back to work. I have a long list here of utterances by the honourable member. I hardly know which one to pick out. For instance, he said this country was in the worst financial condition in its history. What a ridiculous and stupid statement to make. Wherever one goes through this country to-day there is evidence of prosperity. If honourable members opposite wish to take an example they have quoted many, many times, the totalizer—well, the figures have soared and soared. They have taken that example, and I follow their own example.

The honourable member said that the second of the Address in Reply had mentioned how prices have gone up overseas, but had said nothing about prices in this country. The second of the Address in Reply did show—and he made an excellent job of showing to the House—that prices in this country have been forced up by costs of commodities overseas. He made a good case and he proved his case up to the hilt. He dealt not only with matters overseas but with matters inside this country. There are still one or two points I want to take up with the member for Auckland Central. First of all, I would like to congratulate him on being the first member of the Opposition to come right out into the open on the side of the strikers and on the side of the Communists. He ranted about the dictatorship of Cabinet, describing it as the negation of democracy and as a violation of every democratic principle. He then made a very insulting remark to the back-benchers on this side of the House. It was a remark which I resented very much and which I think members of his own party resented also.

*Mr. Johnstone*

Mr. ANDERTON.—You ought to resent it.

Mr. JOHNSTONE.—And we do, very definitely. I am not allowed to repeat the word he used, because you declared it out of order, Sir. I desire to ask the honourable gentleman this: How did his Government manage Parliament in its fourteen years of office? Did it have a Cabinet?

Mr. MATHISON.—Yes, a very good one.

Mr. JOHNSTONE.—And of less numbers than the present one.

The Rev. Mr. CARR (Timaru).—A point of order, Sir. I understood the honourable gentleman to say that if he repeated what the member for Auckland Central had said you would rule him out of order. Did he mean thereby that the member for Auckland Central had been out of order and that you had failed to call him to order?

Hon. MEMBERS.—No.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The position is perfectly clear. The statement made by the member for Auckland Central was out of order, and that statement, on my instruction, was withdrawn.

Mr. McCOMBS.—And should not have been referred to.

Mr. SPEAKER.—When I want some assistance from the member for Lyttelton I shall ask for it. It is perfectly true that it should not have been referred to. It was referred to under provocation.

Mr. JOHNSTONE.—I would ask the member for Auckland Central this: How does the House of Commons, the Mother of Parliaments, get along? Has it a Cabinet? There are about seven hundred members in the House of Commons, and the Cabinet numbers, I should say, twenty or so. How does it get along? Is it a dictatorship? If it is, I wonder where our British democracy is getting to? It has served the people for many hundreds of years, and if it is not a democratic set-up, then I do not know where we are getting to. But I believe we are more democratically ruled to-day than we have been for many years past; and I would say that our Prime Minister has in the last eighteen months done a great job in leading his team in Parliament. He has consulted the private members of his team whenever he had the opportunity, and we back-benchers are perfectly satisfied with the way he leads his team.

The member for Auckland Central referred to the mover of the resolution as trying to draw a red-herring across the trail when he spoke on the question of Communists. He was trying to put the question off. He wants to divert attention from his friends, the Communists, as he referred to them on a past occasion. The member for Grey Lynn said the Labour party was as much opposed to Communism as was anybody else. I want to refer to this question of communistic domination in certain quarters in this country. I propose to refer to the activities of those people who owe allegiance to a foreign power,

and who would, with great satisfaction, sabotage their own country and the British Empire. Our men in Korea are fighting people who hold the same ideology as the saboteurs in our own country who accept direction from Moscow. I shall quote now from a letter written from Korea to an elderly lady in the Waikato. It says:—

“Many of our chaps think it is a waste of time fighting Communists in foreign countries when many men with the same political outlook are allowed to cause disturbances through the trade-unions at home. These same men snap their fingers in derision at the particular Government in power, and I only hope that this time the Government stands firm. After all, they are the body placed there by the people to make decisions for the benefit of all and not one section of the community.”

Unfortunately, these men are allowed freedom in this country to disrupt and sabotage, and they are assisted in their efforts by fellow-travellers. I think we can say the fellow-travellers are like unto the shark which is accompanied by its pilot fish. I also would quote Mr. McLagan; I think it bears repeating. The member for Otahuhu quoted this same passage from a white-paper, “Recent Waterfront Disputes Affecting Waterfront Work,” by A. McLagan. On page 20 it says:—

“Peaceful methods of settling industrial problems are very abhorrent to them, and no effort is spared to ensure the failure to establish systems of arbitration. This is an avowed Communist aim, but their fellow-travellers who allow themselves to be dupes of the Communists also lend themselves to this wrecking policy.”

Then further down we read, “The Government will not deal with those whose object it is to hold up work as often and as much as possible.” Those words were written by the Hon. A. McLagan, lately Minister of Labour, and, I think, at one time a member of the Communist party. He would know the working of the minds of the Communists. You can set a thief to catch a thief. I am only speaking figuratively, of course. I am not suggesting anything derogatory towards the honourable member for Riccarton. I only wish he were here to-night, because he could then tell his bench-mates something of the Communist ideology. I now read a quotation from the *New Zealand Herald* of the 26th June, 1951. It is headed, “Communist Threat in Australia,” and is the report of a statement by Mr. Cosgrove, Premier of Tasmania. This is what it says:—

“‘The “Reds” are to blame for the sick state of Australia’s economy,’ said Mr. Cosgrove. ‘They control several key unions, and their officials are working closely to the directions of Moscow. Stoppages and strikes, go-slow tactics and general industrial unrest are the commodities they deal in. People would be buying more for their money were there no Communists in this country.’”

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About twelve months ago I was talking to an old hand in the Huntly coal-mining district. He told me that he had heard that a certain gentleman from Ohura was to come into the Huntly coalfield. The honourable member for Waimarino would know him. His name is McRae. The honourable member for Westland would know him, McRae is one of the leading Communists. I think both honourable members will agree with me on that point.

Mr. KEARINS.—No.

Mr. JOHNSTONE.—Evidently there are bigger fish, because I would say definitely that he is one of the leading Communists in New Zealand. I think that he stood for the office of secretary of the Miners’ National Council at the last election of members.

Mr. R. MACDONALD.—How did he get on?

Mr. JOHNSTONE.—He was heavily defeated. I am pleased to say that Mr. Crook, who has proved himself to be a responsible man, was elected. McRae is an avowed Communist. I think I heard the honourable member for Grey Lynn state that there were no Communists on the miners’ self-appointed central committee, the strike committee.

Mr. HACKETT.—I did not say that. I said there were no Communists on the executive of the Miners’ Union in Huntly.

Mr. JOHNSTONE.—There is no Northern Miners’ Union in Huntly. It was disbanded. There is only what is called the central committee, on which are self-appointed men from the individual mines. McRae is one of those committee members. I believe that he is directing the strike in the Huntly coalfields, and that with him he has fellow-travellers who are doing his bidding. That is my opinion, and I am entitled to it. McRae is an intellectual and the honourable member for Waimarino knows that that is so. McRae has had a good education, and is able to sit back more or less behind the scenes and direct operations from his throne. He arrived in Huntly coalfields about twelve months ago, just after the division between the followers of the Trade Union Congress and the Federation of Labour. He was able, over the heads of the elected representatives of the miners, the Northern Miners’ Union, to call a mass meeting, and that at a time when he had only been about five minutes on the coalfield. He led the breakaway movement there. One might say that the strike was over nothing. It had no result of any kind other than the loss to the miners of £60,000 in wages.

We have seen the end of the longest strike on the Huntly coalfield. Why was it started? The statement has been made that it was started in protest against the Emergency Regulations. Is that correct? I heard the honourable member for Grey Lynn mention the matter. The strike in its early stages had nothing to do with the Emergency Regulations. It came about because there was a tie-up between the waterfront and the miners’ leaders in the Huntly District as well as with the Communists. There was direct liaison between the two bodies. Whenever a mass meeting was

held in Huntly, watersiders would be either in the town or at the meeting. Similarly when any meeting or procession was held in Auckland by the watersiders there would be present in Auckland representatives from that self-appointed committee. What was the reason for the tie-up? Was it because the Communists and their fellow-travellers believe that domination of the mines and stoppages of work there would bring about the disruption of industry, thereby bringing the country to its knees?

I was at a meeting in Glen Massey during a previous election, and I was talking to miners there about coal. One man in the audience—a man by the name of Gair—got up and said, "What's the use of your talking—don't you forget that coal is power and we hold that power, and whether a Labour Government or a National Government comes back, we are on top now and we intend to stay on top. Coal is power." I believe that is the reason for the tie-up between that committee and the watersiders. The regulations were never applied to the miners. The miners were not fighting for conditions. Their conditions are probably the best in the world. They were not fighting for higher rates of pay. Their rates of pay are high to-day. I believe that a correspondent in the press put it very aptly. I refer to the *New Zealand Herald* of the 30th June, 1951.

Mr. ANDERTON.—A good paper.

Mr. JOHNSTONE.—Yes, it is a good paper. This was a letter signed by J. O'Brien—Mr. "Joe" O'Brien of Rotowaro—and was headed "Why Miners are on Strike." It read:—

"Sir,—Having spent 51 years in and about the New Zealand coal-mines, thirty-eight of them in Huntly, I have been asked daily what are the Waikato miners on strike for and when are they going to resume work. My authoritative reply is: 'We are on strike for nothing and definitely will not go back to work until we get it.'

"Huntly.

J. O'BRIEN."

That is a man who has spent a lifetime in the coal-mining industry, who has been a delegate on the union, and is a man who knows what he is talking about. The so-called leaders to whom I have referred say they are afraid of victimization by the Government and the management of the mines in the district. It is quite all right that they should victimize the whole community. It is quite all right that children and elderly people should have to go without fuel for fires, and without food. It is quite all right for them to declare flour "black." They have eaten the "black" flour, and they have been using the "black" coal.

The Rev. Mr. CARR.—And they were eating "black" bread.

Mr. JOHNSTONE.—Yes. Think of the conditions they created by withholding the huge quantity of coal that should be offering at this time of the year. Think of the conditions the people of Wellington have had to put up with during the last fortnight. It has been pretty cold. Members of this House have been cold and have got as near to the fire as possible

Mr. Johnstone

when they could find one. These people, in keeping this coal from the people, have not thought of the misery they were causing elderly people and children throughout the country. One of the Christchurch members was worried about the amount of coal coming into Christchurch. The coal available was distributed equitably.

Mr. McCOMBS.—No.

Mr. JOHNSTONE.—I believe it was the member for Lyttelton who referred to the matter. Those members could have done something about it, but they did nothing to get these men to go back to work and produce some coal. These people have caused disruption throughout industry, and at what a cost. Members of the Opposition have referred to the lack of houses. They have a responsibility there. We have had a lack of coal, and this has meant a lack of cement, bricks, and other building-materials, which in turn means a shortage of houses eventually. Members of the committee which has been directing the strike in the Huntly District have said, "Stick to it for another fortnight, boys, and you will have 'Sid' Holland on his knees." It is not so much that they want "Sid" Holland on his knees, but the country on its knees. That was the objective. Are we to have ordered government in this country or is it to be under the direction of Moscow? I would say to those gentlemen, that if they do not like our country, let them pack up. I, personally, would help to pay their fares to the country they think so much of, but I would only pay the fares one way. There would be no return tickets. The lack of responsibility shown by these so-called leaders in the district is deplorable. What about their families? The families of miners have lost from individual miners at least £200 and even up to £300 apiece that they would have gained in wages, and the total in the Huntly coalfield would have been £350,000 lost in wages.

I wish now to pay tribute to those who have kept the opencast mines in operation—the managers, the underwriters and the clerks in the offices who took a hand and helped to keep things going. They have carried on under very difficult conditions with the scurrilous insults which they and their families have been subjected to. These people are deserving of the highest thanks from every section of the community. For months now a large majority of the miners have been anxious to return to work. There would not have been a strike if all the miners had been allowed to express their opinions per medium of a secret ballot. Ballot-papers were sent out to all the unions in the country, but in the Waikato they were withheld by the extremist leaders. These so-called leaders have continued to see that a secret ballot has not been taken on that coalfield. For about four months these leaders have exhorted their followers to "Stick to it for another fortnight, boys, and we will have 'Sid' Holland on his knees," and they have tried to hold out by the use of scurrilous propaganda, distortion and vilification. I have some samples of the literature sent round

among the mining community and distributed on the Auckland waterfront. Some members may have seen copies of "The Scab," the most scurrilous, disgusting thing ever written, and much that has been written and distributed is not fit for human ears to read.

Hon. MEMBERS.—Ha, ha!

Mr. JOHNSTONE.—Ears to read or eyes to see. Anyhow, I have driven that point home. These people attack men who have given almost a lifetime of service to the rank and file. Some of the men that have been attacked filled high positions to which they had been elected by the miners themselves and by large majorities. Who have done more on the Huntly coalfield than the Hall brothers in the past twenty years; and Messrs. Prendiville and Crook? Who has done more than they for the miners of this country? Yet these men were defamed and kicked about and disloyalty was shown to them by some of these so-called leaders. The question has been continuously asked as to why the majority who obviously desire to get back to work do not assert themselves. "Why do they not stand up to the extremists?" some people ask. "Do they lack courage?" I say that cannot be said. What is the technique? It is known by many members of the Opposition. If they do not know, let them ask the member for Christchurch Central. I will refer them to his remarks when the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Bill was debated in 1947, and also to the expressions used by the member for Miramar at different times on the same occasion. Honourable members opposite, I repeat, are aware of the methods that have been used. The members of the Opposition had a great responsibility thrust on them. They could have wielded sufficient influence to have caused this strike to end months ago, instead of which they just stood by and left it to the Communists and their fellow-travellers to try to wreck this country. They were hoping all along that some mistake would be made by the Government, whereby they would be able to take advantage of the situation, and cause dissension in the community.

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER (Brooklyn).—Sir, with other honourable members of the House I congratulate the mover and the seconder of the resolution. Like other honourable members I welcome the announcement in the Speech from the Throne of the visit to New Zealand by Their Majesties, and I earnestly hope that the health of His Majesty the King will be maintained and that he will be able, with the Queen, to visit this country. I congratulate, too, as other members have done, His Excellency the Governor-General on the well-merited honour that has been bestowed upon him.

At the present time the House is discussing and addressing itself mainly to a no-confidence motion which has been moved by the leader of the Opposition. It is the contention from this side of the House that the National Government stands indicted on a number of counts. It is indicted, first, because it has done next

to nothing to arrest the rising cost of living. It went before the electors with a promise, which many people believed it would carry out, that it could and would adopt measures to ensure that the purchasing-power of the pound would be preserved. We are charging that the Government has done next to nothing to prevent living-costs from rising.

I listened with very great interest the other night to the honourable member for Wairarapa, who seconded the original motion. I am not quite sure what he set out to prove, but he did in fact prove that living-costs have risen to such a considerable extent that the 15-per-cent. wage-increase granted by the Court of Arbitration is pitifully inadequate to cover these increased costs, and that such increases as have taken place in pensions are also entirely insufficient to cover the rises in the cost of living which have, in fact, taken place. I do not need to quote the Government Statistician or to show how food-prices, rent, gas-prices, fares and commodity prices from one end of the country to the other have risen. Every housewife and every one else knows how living-costs have risen, and the Government is doing, I repeat, next to nothing to arrest the rising tendency.

We maintain, further, that the Government stands indicted because of its failure to implement its election policy to intensify the housing activity of this country. Last evening the leader of the Opposition quoted certain figures showing how the number of houses being erected had diminished during the last year. What was the answer of the Prime Minister? He brushed these figures airily aside, and said the leader of the Opposition was referring to State houses. It was the Government's policy of course, to increase the number of private dwellings even though the number of State houses being built may diminish. I will leave on one side for the moment the Government's undertaking, made when it was the Opposition and sought the support of the people, that it would intensify the State house-building programme; but I draw the attention of the House to the significant figures showing the building-permits issued in the four chief centres. Here are the Government Statistician's figures. In the month of March last year, new dwellings including State rental houses and Government dwellings for which permits were applied for in Auckland numbered 264, whereas this year the number was 171 for the same month. In Wellington, in March of last year the number of permits issued was 146, and this year 57. I could quote figures over six-monthly periods to indicate just to what extent housing is being retarded in New Zealand to-day. Last year I listened with great interest to the broadcasts from this House, particularly as to the extra houses being erected, but I knew, and every builder in the country knew that the intensive building-activities that the Government was claiming credit for did not, in fact, exist.

The Hon. Mr. MARSHALL.—It does exist.

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—The Minister in Charge of the State Advances Corporation says that it does exist—it exists in his imagination. The people do not want houses in the imagination of the Minister in Charge of the State Advances Corporation. They want houses in which to live. I maintain that they are not getting more houses under the present Government and that certainly the promises made by the Government have not been fulfilled.

The Government stands indicted because of its change in our foreign policy. There will be further opportunities in the course of this debate to charge the Prime Minister with a change of foreign policy in this country. According to reports, he is alleged to have said that this country would support the United States of America right or wrong. If that statement is correctly reported, and I hope it is not, it indicates a considerable change in policy and a change which should have been approved by this House before the statement was made by the Prime Minister. Furthermore, the Government stands indicted because of its failure to arrest inflation in this country, particularly over the last twelve months. This afternoon the honourable member who has just resumed his seat said that there was evidence of prosperity on all hands. It is true that the amount of income enjoyed by the people is greater than it has ever been, but that is enjoyed by a comparatively small section of the people. The increase in the amount of spending-power is largely in the hands of the few, whereas the great masses of the people have not sufficient, and honourable members opposite know that.

The Hon. Mr. DOIDGE.—What about going to Trentham next Saturday?

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—The Minister of External Affairs is suggesting that the totalizer figures are a reflection of our prosperity. If they were an indication of prosperity this country would be prosperous indeed, but ask the housewife and the ordinary worker's wife how they are getting on to-day, with the miserable wages their husbands receive. They will tell the honourable gentleman what they think. He and his friends may have ample, but they will tell him of the difficulties they are having in making ends meet and meeting the domestic budget. The Government stands indicted because of its failure to implement its election promise that when it varied the procedure concerning import control manufacturers would not be ill affected. The Minister from his place in the House said that manufacturing industries were better off than they had ever been.

Hon. MEMBERS.—Hear, hear.

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—I ask those honourable members who say, "Hear, hear," to ask individual manufacturers what they think about the present policy of the Board of Trade. I ask the acting Minister of Industries and Commerce to say, if he will, what the policy of the Board really is—that is, if it knows or if he knows. Has he given it any direction?

Does he prefer to allow it to dictate policy? I tell him that one manufacturer who went to the Board of Trade recently and complained about the fact that he and others had been ill affected by the policy of abandoning import controls—carried out too quickly and on too large a scale—was told, "You fellows have been selected as the guinea-pigs."

The Hon. Mr. WATTS.—That is incorrect.

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—That is correct; it is absolutely correct. I will bring before the Minister, if he wishes, the manufacturer who told me. I will tell him definitely that the policy of the Board apparently was to try it on the dog. Let us see how it works, how it affects industry, a number of industries, and in the light of that let us decide whether to carry on the policy further. The Government stands indicted most of all because of its muddling ineptitude demonstrated during the present industrial trouble. Last night the House listened with very great interest, as I did, to the speech of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister claimed that he was proud, and the country ought to be proud, of the record of the Government.

Hon. MEMBERS.—Hear, hear.

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—All right. He claimed it deserved the congratulations of the country.

Hon. MEMBERS.—Hear, hear.

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—All right, let us have a look at the achievement of which the Government is so proud. More men have been idle and for a longer period than on any previous occasion in the history of this country. More dislocation of our economic life has occurred than in any previous industrial turmoil. The loss, cumulative and affecting all sections of the community, is incalculable. It may amount to anything if you take into account the loss the woolgrowers have suffered or will suffer through the fact that sales at which they would have sold their wool were not held. The total loss to the country, having regard to all factors, may easily amount to £50,000,000.

New Zealand has been under a state of emergency for four months, and regulations have been passed which are the very negation of democracy, and are an offence to all liberal-minded citizens. I concede there may be occasions in the history of a country and in the actions of a Government when a heavy price may be necessary in order to achieve a worthwhile objective. There are people who would be prepared to shoulder the burden of hardship cheerfully if something were being done which was worth the sacrifice. But what has been achieved in this case? Does any one seriously suggest that because of, or rather in spite of all this country has gone through during this last four months we are likely to have an era of perpetual peace on the waterfront or in industry generally. The Prime Minister himself does not believe it. Last night in this House he said, "I do not think for a moment we have come to the end of strikes." That

is the point I make. The country would have been prepared to pay a heavy price if something really worth-while had been achieved, but I want the House to look dispassionately at the facts. I suggest that nothing worth-while has been achieved to justify what the country has had to suffer, and all sections of the community have had to suffer, over the last four months. What has the Government's firm stand attained? There are many serious-minded people who are asking themselves that question to-day. What this party maintains is that the Government could have ended this dispute, without loss of dignity or prestige, long before now.

Mr SHEAT.—By giving in.

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—No, not by giving in.

Mr. SMITH.—On the watersiders' terms.

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—No, on the Government's terms. That is the answer. There were three occasions when the dispute could have been settled. On the first, the miners and the freezing-workers, negotiating on behalf of the watersiders, assured the Government in writing that the watersiders were prepared to let their dispute go to conciliation and arbitration.

Mr. SMITH.—How many assurances had your Government had before that?

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—And a number of them were broken. I will refer to that later. The point I want to make is that that assurance was given and I want to point out to the Government that that was a month after the outbreak of the trouble. If the Government had been prepared to meet the watersiders at that time; if it had been prepared to sit around the table with them and—

Mr. MURDOCH.—And give in.

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—No, not to give in, but to submit the case to arbitration, which was what the Government wanted. That was what the Government had asked for, and what the watersiders were prepared to agree to. I want to suggest that what the Government mistook for firmness was just stubbornness, and a stubborn attitude on the part of the Government is just as reprehensible as on the part of the shipowners or the watersiders. A further opportunity occurred for a settlement. The Government, after it had turned down the original offer, enunciated seven points as points on which it insisted before a resumption of work was possible. After a period—it was a long period, and there were long negotiations in which the leader of the Opposition was concerned—the watersiders agreed to accept the seven points.

The Hon. Mr. SULLIVAN.—No.

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—Yes. The Prime Minister will not deny that. He did not deny it last night. What he did say was that a certain condition was imposed which he was not prepared to accept. At that particular time, let me affirm, the watersiders

were prepared to accept arbitration, which was what the Government asked for; and they were prepared to accept the seven points, which was what the Government asked for. It is true that in the last paragraph of their letter the watersiders said, "We take it that the acceptance of these conditions will mean that the deregistered unions"—which, as the Prime Minister pointed out, would also include the Waterside Workers' Union—"will be re-registered." They said, "We take it." I suggest to the Prime Minister that the opportunity was then open to get together with the watersiders and say to them, "You know very well that the Government could not agree to abandoning those who have decided to work on the waterfront, and we cannot re-register the old union because we are in favour of individual port unions." It could have taken that attitude, but for reasons best known to itself it declined to do so. It spurned the offer notwithstanding the fact that in his broadcast address on the night of the 19th April the Prime Minister implied that the terms were not unreasonable and that it looked as if an avenue for settlement might be found. The following day his attitude had changed completely. Who had been talking to him in the meantime?

Hon. MEMBERS.—The shipowners.

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—I am not saying who it was. The Prime Minister may tell us some day. Suggestions have been made, but the Prime Minister on the Saturday was a very different man from the Prime Minister who on the Friday night broadcast in conciliatory terms to the country. At that point what was the only matter outstanding between the watersiders and the Government? The question of whether there should be port unions over the whole country, or one national union. The Government had said that it insisted on port unions being formed. We will leave aside for a moment whether the watersiders should or should not have accepted that condition.

I understand that the Minister of Labour has said and that the Prime Minister has said that if port unions were formed they could see no objection to the unions forming a federation, and that federation being the mouthpiece of the unions in negotiations with the shipowners or the Government. Am I right or wrong in that? The Minister remains silent. He knows very well that he said that. I ask the House to-night, and I ask the speaker who follows me, what is the difference between a number of individual port unions registered as such forming a federation and negotiating through that federation, and a national union doing exactly the same thing? What is the difference? The difference between tweedledum and tweedledee. But remember that this dispute started over the question of 3d. an hour. Last night the Prime Minister said that he would refer to the 50-per-cent. increase in shipping freights if he had time. He saw to it that he did not have time. He knew very well that the Government was on slippery ground there. On the one hand it said to the watersiders, "What! You ask for another 3d. an hour?"

That is far too much, and it would ruin the country." But what did the Government say to the shipowners who increased their freights by 50 per cent.?

The Hon. Mr. FORTUNE.—Read the newspaper.

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—Huh! Read the newspapers!

Mr. GERARD.—What is the British Government doing?

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—Listen to the Junior Government Whip from Ashburton, who told his electors a few months ago that, in fact, this Government had redeemed its promise; that it had made the pound go further. I can show him the newspaper cutting if he wants it. And if he wants to interject, I shall let him have more at the same time. It is no use the honourable member getting angry. That will not assist his case in the slightest. I am asking what the Government really did about this increase of 50 per cent. in shipping freights—a far greater increase and a far greater burden on the community than the increase of 3d. an hour that the watersiders asked for. The Government has apparently uttered a mild protest about the matter—yes, a mild protest. There is no question of submitting the case to arbitration; there is no question of seven points. There is nothing but a supine acceptance of what the shipping companies propose to do. I understand that the Minister of Agriculture is to follow me. The farmers will be very interested indeed to hear his justification—or excuse, perhaps, would be the better word—for the Government's action.

An attempt was made by the Prime Minister last night to suggest that the Labour party was lacking in its public attitude on account of its action, or inaction, during this trouble. Let me assert that right from the beginning of this trouble the Labour party has affirmed certain fundamental principles; that conciliation and arbitration must be the basis of settling industrial disputes—there could be no ambiguity about that—that agreements made should be kept during the term of such agreements; that if a dispute does arise the parties should be brought together under an independent chairman, compulsorily, if need be. We affirm that had the Government adopted that course early in this dispute settlement would almost certainly have been effected, as it was in the case of the lampblack dispute last year. Furthermore, this party has maintained that the causes of friction should be removed, and it has condemned violence, by whatever party violence is used, in unmistakable terms. What are the salient points in this dispute? Let it never be forgotten that the watersiders were prepared to work a forty-hour week.

Reference was made last night to the unfortunate wastage that had occurred with the apples and a number of other things, and to the fact that food meant for the people of the United Kingdom was not being sent or would not have been sent had not the emergency powers been taken. Our answer to that is

*Hon. Mr. Nordmeyer*

that although the waterfront industry could not be carried on permanently on a forty-hour-week basis, had the watersiders been permitted to work a forty-hour week no one in this country would have gone short of food, and no food intended for the people of the United Kingdom would have remained unshipped. Had the negotiations been conducted as they were, in fact, done under the Labour Government, we believe it would have meant an early settlement of this dispute. It is interesting to notice that the Government takes exception to the statement of the leader of the Opposition, "I am neither for nor against." That statement has been used again and again. But listen to the Minister of Labour. Early in the dispute he said, "The Government itself is not taking sides. It does not propose to adjudicate whether the employers' offer is or is not a reasonable wage for watersiders." My interpretation of that statement is that the Minister of Labour is neither for nor against. The Government took up the challenge. It was the Government that decided that the watersiders should not work a forty-hour week. It was the Government that took the responsibility of deciding that those not prepared to work overtime should be shut off the wharves altogether. That is my point—the strike was ultimately, although not initially, the responsibility of the Government. The Prime Minister last night complained of the lack of help he had received from the Opposition.

Mr. SMITH.—Hear, hear.

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—Government members say, "Hear, hear." That comes strangely indeed from the gentleman who in the greatest war crisis this country has been in walked out of the War Cabinet in 1942 when the "Japs" were almost knocking at our very doors. Then we had some rich quotations from the Prime Minister. He said, "We are a Government that believes in honouring agreements." It is the Government which promised the electors in 1949 that, given the opportunity of becoming the Government, it would institute household deliveries. It would reduce the cost of living. It would curb inflation. It would increase State housing. It would intensify private housing. It would not reduce subsidies. It would not abandon import controls. And that is the Government that turns round and says, "We are not going to negotiate with people who do not keep their promises." That is rich indeed coming from that source. I was meaning to refer to the Emergency Regulations, but unfortunately there is not time to do so. I would say, however, that there was one statement made in the course of the Prime Minister's speech last night to which I, personally, took the greatest exception. There were many people inside the Christian Churches who were seriously disturbed at the trend of events.

Mr. S. I. JONES.—It had to come.

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—Yes, it had to come. They were seriously disturbed at the trend of events. They saw the Prime Minister and discussed the matter with him.

They pointed out what a violation of the ordinary accepted canons those regulations were. Last night the Prime Minister said that it would be better if they kept out of the business. That is something which I hope the people of this country will remember. I close on this note: the Prime Minister could use his huge increase in revenue to keep down, by way of subsidy, the cost of woollen goods and other household commodities. But "he won't." He could use his surplus to reduce the social-security charge and thereby help the small taxpayer. But "he won't." He could increase the family benefit and thereby materially assist mothers in their difficult, if not impossible task of balancing the domestic budget. But "he won't." He could take some active steps to restore household deliveries. But "he won't." He could instruct his Departments to institute a drive against profiteering and price evasion. But "he won't." He could, by the exercise of monetary and banking controls, prevent the upward surge of inflation in this country. But "he won't." He could build more State houses for the purpose of assisting those in desperate need of better housing conditions. But "he won't."

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE (Minister of Agriculture).—Sir, I join with the last and other speakers in offering my very warm congratulations to the mover and the seconder of the original motion on their thoughtful and worth-while contributions to this debate. Then, too, I join with all other members who have preceded me in expressing pleasure at the fact that the Royal Family will visit New Zealand next year, and in this I express the pleasure of all the people I represent in this House. I should like to join also in offering my felicitations to His Excellency the Governor-General and Lady Freyberg on the great honour that has come to them. I think that all our people, without exception, will be delighted. We shall all bask in the reflected glory of the honour that has come to this grand couple.

Then I must offer my congratulations to the member for Brooklyn on his maiden speech. I thought that, for a maiden speech, it was a trifle noisy and provocative. It seemed to me to indicate that he was a little unsure of himself—the speed, the noise. I did take a note or two of the honourable gentleman's remarks, but I do not want to deal at any length with what he said. I do not intend any discourtesy, but, after all, one has one's own speech to make. He said we had done nothing about the cost of living—to prevent costs rising. Let me mention briefly some of the salient things this Government has done. First, we have stood firm against inflation. This Government has issued no Reserve Bank credit of its own volition to finance Government works. In the last year of the Labour Government the present leader of the Opposition printed £26,000,000 of currency. This Government, instead of financing public works with created money, raised £20,000,000 of existing money from the people. We have frozen one-third of the woolgrowers total income—£50,000,000 to £60,000,000. Do honourable members think the

Labour Government could have achieved agreement with the farmers on that? There is something this Government has done that would never have been done otherwise. Last year we gave licences to import £163,000,000 worth of goods as against the £127,000,000 worth issued in the last year of the Labour Government. We have freed over £125,000,000 worth of imports from import control to bring goods in so that they will come into competition and be readily available for consumption in this country. Those are just the salient, the big, things we have done. May I ask whether the last speaker is the same gentleman I knew five years ago, who, as Minister in charge of stabilization in 1947, took £12,500,000 off subsidies? Is this the same gentleman? Why did he not mention that to-night.

The Right Hon. Mr. HOLLAND.—It was just an oversight.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—Yes, just an oversight. Admittedly, only just on £7,000,000 of that £12,500,000 was for foodstuffs. The member for Brooklyn, who was a Minister in 1947, was wholly responsible for that stabilization measure, and immediately afterwards the price of tea went up by 1s. 1½d. a pound, sugar by 2d. a pound, and meat 1½d. to 3d. per pound.

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—How much is it now?

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—The honourable member does not like this. Perhaps he thinks I should not have referred to this as a maiden effort; we should let bygones be bygones. However, immediately after he took £12,500,000 off subsidies in 1947, bacon went up 4d. to 4½d. a pound, ham 1½d. to 2½d. a pound, apples 2½d. a pound, cheese 4½d. a pound, oatmeal 1½d. a pound, rolled oats 1d. a pound, and cigarettes 1d. a packet. Rail freights went up, too. I speak more in sorrow than in anger! He was responsible for raising rail freights 15 to 20 per cent. I must briefly and in passing mention these things. He has turned his attention now to housing, and what romancing there is to-night. The house that Jack built is nothing to it in comparison. It is now the member for Brooklyn versus the Government Statistician. I have here the Government Statistician's figures, and I have his letter in my desk. In 1948-49, the last full year of the Labour Government, 15,200 houses were built in New Zealand. In 1949-50, half of that year being the Labour Government's and half the present Government's, there were 15,800 houses built, but the Labour Government was responsible for most of them because the contracts had been let for Government houses and licences had been given for private building.

The Right Hon. Mr. NASH.—90 per cent. of that was the Labour Government's.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—Let me help the leader of the Opposition and ascribe 100 per cent. to the Labour Government if he wants it that way. In the last two years of the Labour Government 15,200 houses were built and then

15,800 in its last year, but in the first full year of the National Government the number of houses built was 16,400, just 600 more houses. I will have to leave it to the member for Brooklyn to argue that out with the Government Statistician. The honourable gentleman who has just resumed his seat also referred to manufacturers and import licences, saying that one manufacturer had been told by the Board of Trade—

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—Not by the Board itself.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—Then by whom?

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—I am not going to mention the gentleman's name.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—There is no authority for it and—

Mr. SPEAKER.—Will the Minister of External Affairs please cease these continual interjections. The Minister of Agriculture is quite capable of making his own speech without all this assistance he is receiving from the benches all round.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—Thank you, Sir, for the very nice compliment you paid me. Then the honourable gentleman said that even if there were higher-money incomes the people were still worse off.

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—Too right they are!

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—He knows it is silly.

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—It is silly to claim otherwise.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—It would take me too long to go through all the lists I have here, so I will just deal with one.

Mr. R. MACDONALD.—The people will not believe you if you do.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—But these, again, are the figures of the Government Statistician. Is he a fool? Is he wrong? He was appointed by the Labour Government and is following the rules laid down by it. Savings went up by £12,000,000. Unemployment, he says, is non-existent. The production of primary produce we know is up beyond all records, and manufacturing production is up as well. Exports have gone up by £195,000,000 last year, compared with £139,000,000 in the last year of the Labour Government. I have told the House that last year we imported goods to the value of £163,000,000, as compared with £127,000,000 when Labour was in office. Who used all these imports? Just a few—the rich, fat people the last speaker conjured up in his imagination? If the people buy more goods, exactly who buys them? I think the Prime Minister gave this figure last night concerning butter consumption, which increased by 5,000 tons last year. These few rich, fat people must be just about bursting if they consumed all this butter. Milk consumption increased by over 1,000,000 gallons last year. It takes a

*Hon. Mr. Holyoake*

lot of people to drink an additional 1,000,000 gallons of milk. The consumption of cream also increased tremendously. Beef consumption in the first full year of the National Government increased by 15,000 carcasses; more beef was consumed than ever before. Did a few rich people eat all this? Veal consumption increased by 31,000 carcasses and mutton by 31,000 carcasses, while the consumption of lamb increased by 46,000 carcasses, and of pork by 9,000 carcasses. So it goes on.

The Right Hon. Mr. NASH.—Were there not forty thousand more people in the country last year?

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—Well, it is true that we are doing very much better with immigration than the Labour Government did—about five times as well. The Labour Government brought in nearly two thousand people a year, and we are expecting eight thousand this year, and hope to step that figure up greatly.

The Hon. Mr. SKINNER.—The people you expect to bring in did not consume the beef last year.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—The honourable member for Buller is buttressing my argument. He said a lot of people had not eaten beef. Well, who ate the 31,000 extra carcasses?

The Hon. Mr. SKINNER.—I said nothing of the kind.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—I, too, want to talk of the strike, but am only going to cover two or three aspects, because most of the main points have been so ably covered already by this side of the House. But I must address myself to the motion before the House—this extraordinary no-confidence motion. It was actually moved by the leader of the Opposition, but I think that even before the debate, and certainly since the debate started, hardly any one in New Zealand could have believed that it would actually be moved by the leader of the Opposition. The debate has proved conclusively that a motion of no confidence should have come from this side of the House—no confidence in the leader and the members of the Labour party. The whole thing is absolutely laughable. I was very amused last evening, for the leader of the Opposition had been clamouring for months for Parliament to be called together to settle the strike issue, yet when he had an hour and a half in which to speak, under a special arrangement we gave him, he spent about twenty to thirty minutes on the strike. There was a constant clamour for Parliament to be called together on this vital matter, but all the leader of the Opposition did last night was to spend less than one-third of his time on the strike issue. I am really very worried about the leader of the Opposition. I want to help him and the other members of the Opposition as well. I do not want them to be tearing their pants on the barbed-wire fence. Come down off the fence, and let us see exactly where you stand. Cannot we help the Opposition members to make up their minds?

The last speaker is president of the Labour party, and so speaks with some authority. I believe that any one listening to the last speaker would conclude that he and the Labour party are definitely on the side of the strikers. I could draw no other conclusion from his vociferous condemnation of every action of the Government and his seeming support of the strikers. Surely it is clear by now, even to Opposition members, that the people threw the Labour Government out so determinedly because, in the main, they were sick of a Government that refused to govern; sick of seeing a Government pushed from pillar to post by this pressure group and that pressure group. The people had had strong words and weak action for too long, and that is the main reason why they threw out the Labour Government. What was the pattern of dealing with industrial problems under the Labour Government? We know that first of all the Labour Government took up a strong attitude denouncing the workers in the strongest possible terms and the strongest possible language. I wish I could rise to the heights used by members of the Labour Government, in condemnation of strikers. Then the Labour Government would promise the people that it would stand for law and order. The next step would always be that the then Government would start to appease the workers, and the next and final step, almost always, was—

An Hon. MEMBER.—Abject surrender

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—I thank the honourable member for the words—abject surrender on the part of the Labour Government. That was the usual pattern, and that is the main reason why the people so definitely threw out the Labour Government at the last election. Now we have a new Government, and now we are faced with another serious industrial problem, but the new Government stands firmly for law and order. I can understand the concern and consternation of the Opposition. Every day and every week emphasizes and re-emphasizes the ineptitude of the Labour party. Its members are more inept in Opposition than they were as a Government. During this debate, and prior to the session in their speeches throughout the country, Labour members, according to reports, could not make up their minds. The last speaker, as I have said, is president of the Labour party, and when he spoke at the last Labour party conference he "had a bit on both ways." The leader of the Opposition says that he is neither for nor against, and the deputy leader of the Opposition, the honourable member for Buller, is against just everybody. He says that everybody is wrong—that the Government is wrong, that the strikers are wrong, that the shipowners are wrong, and everybody, I suppose, except the Labour party. The handling of industrial problems by the present Government will stand comparison with that of any other Government in the history of New Zealand; there is no question about that. We have stood firmly for law, but we have been tolerant and reasonable and just, and no one will deny that.

I want to refer briefly to the railway strike, already discussed in this debate. This took place prior to Christmas and new year, and it had all the elements of a serious industrial crisis with a threat of a nation-wide strike. Railway men are employees of the Government, but their wages and conditions of work are fixed by a tribunal presided over by a Judge. A dispute arose before Christmas, and we immediately met the men's representatives around the table. The railway union leaders are reasonable men; they fight hard for the members they represent, but they are reasonable men. We sat around the table for some days and some nights in an endeavour to settle the difficulties. The railway men insisted on a certain increase in wages or else they would go out on strike. In fact, they did go out on strike, and threats were made that other unions would go out on strike. The Government was unmoved by these threats.

An Hon. MEMBER.—One halfpenny an hour.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—I do not know that I would offer even one halfpenny an hour to the honourable gentleman. As I say, the Government was unmoved by these threats. It insisted upon the constitutional procedure, and said it was prepared to negotiate with the men in conciliation, and that whether they agreed or not the matter would have to go to the tribunal. We knew, and they knew, that the tribunal would not meet until May. These were the conditions under which we negotiated with the railway men. They accepted that position in good faith and directed the men to go back to work. We were chided in this debate for not having settled the question until five months had gone by. I think the member for Grey Lynn said that. If not, it was some one else. The fact was that, by agreement between the conciliators on both sides, a survey was taken at the request of the railway men, a survey of actual wages paid in outside industry. That took some considerable time, and the leaders of the railway men have no complaint whatever about the time that was taken to settle the whole problem. The negotiators for the Government and the negotiators for the men met over quite a period. They did not come to complete agreement. At that stage they came back to the employers—the Government. We sat around the table again with both sets of negotiators and we arrived at complete agreement, which was later, of course, endorsed by the tribunal. I just run over this briefly to show the reasonable, tolerant, fair, and just attitude of this Government in an industrial problem where the union leaders are reasonable men.

Mr. McCOMBS.—The Prime Minister was out of the country.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—That had nothing to do with it. It was simply a triumph for constitutional procedure, a triumph for reason and negotiation, and a triumph for the conciliation and arbitration system. In these negotiations the leaders of the Federation of Labour were very helpful both to the union and to the Government. They stand for conciliation and arbitration. They were prepared

to be helpful in this industrial problem we are in at present. They could have been as helpful if the men had accepted their offer. Why has not common-sense prevailed in the waterfront strike? Because the men are differently led and badly led. I say that without any equivocation or hesitation at all. They have been for many years. The whole history of the waterfront and disputes on the waterfront is a sorry tale, a tale of refusal to conciliate, refusal to arbitrate, refusal to accept decisions of tribunals, refusal to follow constitutional procedure, refusal to keep undertakings given by the men and employers, and, finally, refusal to accept the rule of law. I say, deliberately, that the waterside leaders have been made bold by the weakness of the Labour Government over fourteen years of mishandling. I think there are some misunderstandings about the early stages of this strike. It is true the Prime Minister was out of the country just a few days. As soon as it arose we called Cabinet. Cabinet decided we should call a meeting of the shipowners and the Waterside Workers' Union—a compulsory conference.

Hon. MEMBERS.—Oh!

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—Wait a moment. Let me finish the sentence. Not in the sense we generally refer to compulsory conferences in industrial terms.

Hon. MEMBERS.—Oh!

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—Let me follow through. We compelled the two parties to come together. The Minister of Labour, the Attorney-General, and I discussed the question with them. The shipowners stated their case, the origin of which I will outline. Their case, briefly, was that they had offered the watersiders exactly what all the other unions had been granted by the Court of Arbitration—that was a 15-per-cent. increase in wages, overtime, meal allowance, and all the rest, less the amount that had been granted in May of last year. That was exactly what the Court of Arbitration had given to all other unions. There was a question whether the shipowners would negotiate. Mr. Barnes wanted to argue along those lines and said that the shipowners refused to negotiate at any length. We asked the shipowners why they had refused any further negotiations at that stage. Their reply was simply that they believed that they had been fair, that they had offered exactly the same as the Court had given to everybody else. They thought it would be wrong to offer more and upset the balance of wages in all other industries throughout New Zealand.

Mr. ANDERTON.—That was not right.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—They thought it was right. They said they were not prepared to offer more, because the men were being reasonably paid for the work they do. When we see what the new waterside workers are earning under the old conditions, I think most people will agree that was right. The shipowners said that under the circumstances it would have been quite insincere of them to go into any further negotiations, because that was

*Hon. Mr. Holyoake*

their final offer; and that final offer was exactly what all other workers throughout New Zealand had received. I then asked both parties would they go to arbitration. The shipowners said immediately, with no hesitation at all, "We are prepared to submit the problem to any arbitration tribunal you like to set up." I then asked Mr. Barnes was he prepared to let it go to the Waterfront Authority, but to my surprise he said the Authority did not exist. That was the first that we as a Government knew about its ceasing to exist. The fact was that the Waterside Workers' Union had instructed its two assessors on the Authority to resign, and the resignations were not at that time in. We were surprised, although, of course, we should not have been, because it was the same tactics as they had followed in the past. As has been stated, five different tribunals were destroyed by the watersiders in that way. I then asked Mr. Barnes would he submit to any other sort of arbitration, and we suggested several. He would not accept them. Finally, he did say that he would recommend to his union that they sit under Mr. Gilmour. I asked him if they would be prepared to accept the decisions of Mr. Gilmour, and he said emphatically that the union would not accept the ruling of Mr. Gilmour as Chairman.

The Hon. Mr. WEBB.—That is correct.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—That made it clear beyond any doubt that the leaders of the union were determined not to follow the constitutional procedure any more.

Mr. ANDERTON.—At what time did you have the conference with the shipowners?

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—At exactly the same time.

Mr. ANDERTON.—But you had a separate conference with the shipowners.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—I have told the House what the shipowners said to us at that separate conference—that they were prepared to go back into conciliation, but to do so would be insincere because they had made their final offer, which was exactly the same as all other workers throughout New Zealand had received. It was clear that the watersiders were determined to do what they had done in the past—first of all, to destroy the tribunal which they had asked to be set up and on which they had two men to represent them; secondly, to defy constitutional procedure; to challenge the law; to challenge the Government; and, in effect, to challenge the power of the people, and the welfare of the people. And this Government accepted that challenge on behalf of the people. I submit that no self-respecting Government, no law-abiding, constitutional Government, could have taken any other course. Would the Opposition have had us, on behalf of the people, surrender to the law-breakers at that stage? Would it have had us surrender the functions of the people? It is true that we had plenty of examples of that during the fourteen years of Labour's rule. But this Government was not prepared to follow the many bad examples given to us by the Labour Government. This Government

decided to govern. That is something that has been lacking in New Zealand for quite a few years, and I believe it is something the people have been yearning for for a long time—a Government that would govern. It now has a Government that is prepared to govern. I am afraid I have spent a little too long on this matter.

The Right Hon. Mr. NASH.—Tell us about the shipping freights.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—What do you want me to say?

The Hon. Mr. NORDMEYER.—What is the justification for the increase?

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—The member for Brooklyn has been so busy preparing the notes of the speech he has just delivered that he did not read this evening's paper. The whole statement is there. Let me ask members opposite this: What did they do with the overseas shipping companies while they were the Government? To-day, as in the past, the freights of shipping companies domiciled in New Zealand are controlled by the Government. Exactly as in the past, exactly as for fourteen years under the Labour Government, there is no control over overseas shipping.

The Right Hon. Mr. NASH.—The Government would not even let an inquiry be made.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—The leader of the Opposition will hear the whole story one of these days if he listens. I am challenging him to tell me of one occasion during the fourteen years his party was the Government where, whatever he would have liked to have done, he had the power to fix the freight rates for ships trading between Great Britain and New Zealand. Will he answer that one?

The Right Hon. Mr. NASH.—They were fixed by the United Kingdom for six years.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—And they are being fixed by the United Kingdom at the present time. A Labour Government in the United Kingdom, which is buying produce f.o.b. from New Zealand, under a bulk-purchase arrangement, agreed to this 50-per-cent. increase imposed by the shipping companies.

Mr. HACKETT.—They belong to an international union.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—They may do. I am asking the Labour party to give one instance where it had the power, and what power it exercised, to control the freights of overseas shipping companies. Where we have the power in the coastal waters of New Zealand, that power is exercised and the freight rates controlled. I hope the next speaker will give us an instance of where the Labour Government did that at any stage.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I am sorry to interrupt the honourable member, but his time is up.

Mr. COMBS (Onslow).—Sir, we have had a very belated admission by one of the principal members of the Cabinet as to the situation on the eve of the lock-out on the 16th February last. He told us that the Government had got

the two parties together in his office, and that two other Ministers of the Crown were present. Finally the Government decided that it would agree with the shipowners and disagree with the waterfront workers. The Government had forgotten completely that the Prime Minister in his pre-election address told the country that provision would be made for compulsory conferences of contending parties. The Prime Minister also said that power would be taken to freeze union funds. I suggest that the time the deputy Prime Minister had the two parties together in his office and the waterfront workers' representatives refused to accept Mr. Gilmour as arbitrator, was the time to compel a compulsory conference, instead of taking sides with one of the parties. If the Government had decided to govern at that stage, it would have carried out its duty. However, it failed to carry out the promise given by the Prime Minister in his pre-election address.

The Minister of Agriculture also made some reference to the increased consumption of milk and butter as proof that the people of New Zealand were better off. A quick glance at the figures has shown me that, while 1,000,000 gallons more of milk were being consumed in New Zealand—admittedly a substantial increase—there were forty thousand more people in New Zealand during the twelve months. The 1,000,000 gallons of milk would have given those forty thousand people less than one pint a day each.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—If the honourable gentleman will permit me. While I gave the figures of 1,000,000 gallons more of milk and 5,000 tons more of butter for the whole of New Zealand, they should be for Wellington alone.

Mr. COMBS.—Are the rest of the Minister's statements just as reliable.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—The rest of the figures are for New Zealand as a whole. The milk and butter figures relate to Wellington alone.

Mr. COMBS.—Then I cannot continue on that particular line. The honourable gentleman also said that the people of New Zealand were sick of having a Government that refused to govern. Evidently he had not examined the figures relating to industrial disputes in the regime of the Labour Government as against those relating to industrial disputes in the fourteen years before Labour was in office, when the country was under anti-Labour Governments. Under Labour the total of industrial days lost in fourteen years was 820,000 whereas, in the fourteen preceding years, the number of industrial days lost was 850,000, being 30,000 more days lost than under Labour. On the honourable gentleman's argument we could not have had a Government governing New Zealand between 1922 and 1935 if it is now contended that Labour did not govern between 1936 and 1949. In this latest dispute, which has occupied such a long time, and which has affected everybody in one way and another, New Zealand has lost 1,500,000 industrial days over the four months. That is

a terrific price to pay for a Government which says it will govern, but which, on the eve of the dispute, having gone the length of bringing the parties together, turns one away, the reason being that the Government does not dare to call a compulsory conference and have compulsory arbitration. No one likes to see an industrial dispute continued, and yet the Government has allowed this dispute to drift along for four months, putting 17,000 people out of work and causing the loss of 1,500,000 industrial days. Those facts provide one reason why the Opposition is right in moving its amendment of no confidence in the Government.

I, too, join with other honourable members in expressing appreciation of the fact that His Majesty and the Royal Family will be coming to New Zealand next year. I hope it is correct that the King's health will be so improved that he can come here, and that his stay will lead to still further improvement in his health. I join also in congratulating His Excellency the Governor-General on his elevation to the peerage. I think he deserved the honour, and I am glad that it has come his way. I also extend my compliments to the mover and the seconder of the Address in Reply. I pitied them in the task that lay before them; it was most difficult. I listened carefully to His Excellency's Speech, and I have never listened to a more innocuous one since I have been a member of the House. There was nothing in it for the mover to expand on. All he could do was to stage a fight about Communists. His seconder moved away from the Speech altogether, and told us nothing of what the Government intends to do. Perhaps he is not in the confidence of the Government, and so had nothing to say.

If we look at the genesis of the present uneasiness and unrest prevailing throughout New Zealand we find it lies at the door of the Government itself. It came into office and found New Zealand in a reasonably good condition—wages were good, hours were good, employment was good, and housing showed fair promise of being expanded to the point where it could meet the needs of the people. The general conditions of New Zealand were good. Within five or six months, however, the National Government had disturbed the whole equilibrium of the country and upset the domestic needs of the people. These domestic needs are of paramount importance, because they concern the vast majority of the people. The wages and incomes of most of our people are stabilized; they are tied to arbitration awards, classification scales, tribunal findings, or wage agreements. The Armed Services are tied to wage scales; the dairy-farmers are tied to a labour-unit in the price-control structure. The children of New Zealand are tied to the 10s. a week, and the pensioners and other social-security beneficiaries are tied to the scales laid down under the Social Security Act.

There are probably 1,200,000 people at work in New Zealand, including the housewives, who work as hard as any one. Their ability to

*Mr. Combs*

provide daily needs is linked to what the breadwinner brings home in his pay envelope at the end of the week. Of those 1,200,000 people, at least 1,100,000 are tied up in such a way that they cannot improve their position, very much if a variation takes place in the cost of living. They are beholden to Courts, tribunals, and the like to obtain any improvement, and that all takes time. In November, 1949, they were in a reasonably secure position, but by May, 1950, they had been rendered uneasy, first by the fictitious story about a £25,000,000 deficit, making them wonder what was going to happen next, and then by the whole structure of the wage-scale being turned more or less upside down on "Black Friday" in May, when stabilization was challenged and subsidies were withdrawn. From that time onward all the working-people, the 1,100,000 who relied upon salary scales and the like, were put to the bother of fighting for something better to take the place of what had been withdrawn, and they have never got it back. It was this general uneasiness and uncertainty which gave rise to the industrial unrest and culminated in the waterfront lock-out in February last.

The Government, when it came to handling the trouble, did not pay any attention to its promises; it forgot all about its promise to the people that it would govern; that it would compel parties to industrial disputes to sit around the table and submit to compulsory arbitration. It failed at that point. Ever since then it has been blaming the Opposition for not saying that the Government did the right thing. Surely when the Government took over the problem of the shipping companies it did something which was against all reason. The Government was there to be impartial; to carry out its duty faithfully to all the people of New Zealand, not to the shipowners and people in that class alone, but to the 1,100,000 persons who had been upset by the Government's activities. I say straight out that a Government that would do that does not deserve the confidence of this House. It is not entitled to the confidence of this House. The Government has forty-six members who will out-vote the thirty-four on this side, but I know that there is a degree of disappointment and discouragement outside which will reverse those numbers when 1952 comes round. That is in the offing, only eighteen months away. I would go further and say that this Government during the course of this industrial dispute has governed outside the law, and that is a very serious thing. A Government that breaches the laws it is sworn to maintain does not deserve the confidence of the people. It should be voted out, even by the followers who are on its benches to-day. Have any members of the Government read the Constitution Act of New Zealand, 1852, which was adopted in the first Parliament of 1853?

The Hon. Mr. ALGIE.—Yes.

Mr. COMBS.—If members will turn up the annotated copy of the consolidated statutes on the shelves of the General Assembly Library,

they will see section 53. It is still alive on the statute-book despite the fact that the Statute of Westminster was passed recently in this House. That section says:—

“Power of General Assembly to make laws.—It shall be competent to the said General Assembly . . . to make laws for the peace, order and good government of New Zealand, provided that no such laws be repugnant to the law of England.”

Among the laws of England are several which were of very great importance in my schoolboy days, and were hammered into me in a way that makes me remember them. They include Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights, *Habeas Corpus*, and the Bill of Rights. The latter was passed by the English Parliament in 1690 when William III ascended the throne. In the Bill of Rights, which is the law of England still and should not be repugnant to the laws of New Zealand—

The Hon. Mr. ALGIE.—You are off the track.

Mr. COMBS.—The Bill of Rights says that “the pretended power of suspending laws the execution of laws by regal authority”—in New Zealand that would be by Proclamation—“without the consent of Parliament is illegal.”

The Hon. Mr. ALGIE.—That is old stuff. What about the Ten Commandments?

Mr. COMBS.—These are laws on which the Minister once instructed students in the law section of the Auckland University College for many years.

The Hon. Mr. ALGIE.—But not that way.

Mr. COMBS.—He did not tell the students those laws would be abrogated when he became a member of the Government. He had reverence for the laws then and upheld them in the minds of the students, and they carried away his ideas. The Bill of Rights says “that the freedom of speech . . . ought not to be impeached or questioned in any Court or place out of Parliament.” Yet we have had the spectacle of the leader of the Opposition almost refused the right to speak at a public meeting in Hamilton and at Auckland.

The Right Hon. Mr. NASH.—He was.

The Hon. Mr. ALGIE.—Was not the right of freedom of speech questioned in war-time, too?

Mr. COMBS.—This is peace-time. The Bill of Rights says nothing about peace or war. It says that freedom of speech shall not be questioned in any Court or place out of Parliament. Section 13 says “that for the redress of grievances and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the law, Parliament ought to be frequently held.” As members of the Opposition we have claimed many times that Parliament should be assembled to go into the question of the Emergency Regulations because they are outside the law. A Government that governs outside the law does not deserve the confidence of Parliament, of all places. It certainly will not receive the confidence of the people once they realize that the Government is a law unto itself. The Government will probably pay a

good deal of attention to the Right Hon. Winston Churchill. He gave an address in America to a great gathering of influential citizens in the course of which he extolled the unity between the United States of America and Britain in the matter of their both having great faith in Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights. One of the first amendments made by the American Congress to its Constitution was the passing of a Bill of Rights which applied to all citizens of America. The Bill of Rights was passed in England in 1690, and although America cut the painter with Britain in 1776 she maintained the Bill of Rights as soon as she had a chance to have one of her own. That Bill of Rights is practically common to the American and the British statutes. It is also common to the New Zealand statutes, but it has been abrogated at the present time, or overlooked—I do not know which—or deliberately set aside. In that case how can we have confidence in a Government that does not maintain its own law.

To-day we have had placed in our Bill-boxes a booklet from the Minister of External Affairs, setting out the “Universal Declaration of Human Rights.” While this strike has been in progress human rights have been set aside, and it is strange that at this time we should have this booklet sent to us. I shall read Article 12 from this booklet. This article, by the way, was endorsed by Canada about six months ago, and is now endorsed by our Minister of External Affairs. It reads:—

“No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.”

Yet, in the last month more than a dozen homes have been invaded by police officers without any warrant, and a search carried out. I have had two cases in my own electorate. Last week one woman was visited by a policeman in uniform and another policeman in plain clothes. She opened the door, and the policeman put his foot in the opening so that she could not close it again. She was then told that he had come to search her home. Yet we are told that a man's home is his castle. The police were evidently searching for some evidence on which they could issue a summons. They had not the evidence—they were guessing. This woman's children and her mother were in bed, and the beds were searched. The wardrobes were searched, as also were the pockets of the clothes. The clothes inside the drawers in the room were searched, and the children were upset. The grandmother, who was in bed with a weak heart, has not been well since. She has had to have medical care since then. Is it right that such an invasion of a home should be carried out without a warrant? That is merely one of a number of cases, but I happened to know about it. It is a terrible thing to happen in a free country like New Zealand, where we do pride ourselves on maintaining the rights of the citizen.

A policeman in uniform without a warrant accompanied by a plain-clothes constable can walk into a house and insist on searching it. They made the search in spite of the opposition of the lady in charge of the house. The man of the house was away. Possibly they chose that time in order to make the search. I do not know. No warrant was presented, and no charge was made against any person inside the house, and yet that sort of thing is applauded by members of the Government. I heard them applaud it just now. Where does human liberty stand when such things happen in our country? Freedom is completely undermined by arbitrary action of that sort. If there was only one case one might think that a policeman had erred, but I can give a list of a dozen cases, although the circumstances vary with each one. No charges have been made, and no warrants have been issued. The Emergency Regulations have had a completely demoralizing effect on the community. It is a serious position in which we find ourselves. Take the case of the waterfront worker in the new union who sent £3 to help his sister whose husband happens to be a striker.

Mr. SUTHERLAND.—That was blown right out this afternoon. Did you not hear that story before?

Mr. COMBS.—I am putting my story forward, and I hope that the Senior Government Whip will take it seriously to mind. The man who sent £3 to his sister, the wife of a striker, was dismissed from the new union, and the whole of the union agreed to that dismissal. I have never heard of a more despicable and miserable action. That is the level of unionism as established by the Government under the Emergency Regulations. Then, take the case of a member of the Nelson Hospital Board, Mr. Coltman, whose remarks are reported in the *Nelson Evening Mail* of the 21st June, 1951. This is headed, "Hospital Treatment for Strikers." This is what Mr. Coltman, a member of the Hospital Board, says:—

"We are in the throes of what is more or less a general strike. The miners are not producing coal, the men are not working the ships, and the watersiders are not handling cargo. This Hospital Board should take steps to refuse attention at the hospital to a watersider or any other striker."

I repeat the words, "this Hospital Board should take steps to refuse attention at the hospital to a watersider or any other striker." The Medical Superintendent, who was present, intervened and said, "You mean refuse treatment except to those admitted into hospital?" Mr. Coltman replied, "I do not care if they die inside or outside the hospital." As a member of the Hospital Board he has been completely demoralized by these regulations, his standard of ethics is lowered and he should disappear from the Board. If these are the cases we hear about, what about the cases that we do not hear about? The demoralization brought about by the Emergency Regulations has been carried even further and become completely demoralizing to our public press.

Mr. Combs

No one minds very much what the editorial opinion of a paper is, but its duty is to publish news and views of citizens. How many of our daily papers have published any letters, any news having any bearing on the present industrial dispute other than one-way views and news? They are completely demoralized. Where is the vaunted freedom of the press to-day when the papers themselves are silent when there are cases to be reported? Take that Nelson case. That was reported in the *Nelson Evening Mail*. It was news. It was not telegraphed anywhere, it was not picked up by the scissors and paste man and reported anywhere. No. Complete silence on a serious statement like that. The stultification of the freedom of the press as done by these Emergency Regulations has been a very, very sad thing as far as the people of New Zealand are concerned. I do not know how far it will carry on or how great the after consequences will be, but we have the demoralization of a new union, we have the demoralization of a member of a Hospital Board, we have the demoralization of our press, and, finally, as I have already illustrated, we have the demoralization of the police, who will not obey the law of the land and who take it upon themselves to search homes, the free homes, the castles of our fellow-citizens. A Government which sits quietly by and sees those sort of things done is not a Government that deserves the confidence of this House. It has lost the confidence of this country.

Mr. TENNENT (Palmerston North).—Mr. Speaker, like other speakers, I associate myself with the congratulatory remarks passed to the members for North Shore and Wairarapa for the speeches they made in moving and seconding the Address in Reply. I think all will agree that they were excellent speeches, showing a great deal of preparation. They were original in outlook and very effectively delivered. I would like also to express my congratulations to His Excellency the Governor-General for the high honour recently conferred upon him by His Majesty the King, an honour which we all agree is thoroughly well deserved. I would like also to express my loyalty to our King and to express the hope that his health will be sufficiently recovered to enable Their Majesties to visit this country next year. The member for Onslow, in attacking the Government on this no-confidence motion, unfortunately began on a very poor plane. He set out his figures for all New Zealand based on the figures for Wellington alone, and the rest of his speech was devoted to criticism of the Emergency Regulations.

The Hon. Mr. HOLYOAKE.—It was my fault—those figures.

Mr. TENNENT.—I understand that. Evidently the honourable member for Onslow does not know that these regulations were taken out of pigeon holes, having been prepared by his own Government when it was in office. Also, he evidently does not realize that the Court of Appeal was asked to adjudicate as to whether these regulations came within

the law, and it was unanimously of opinion that they did come within the law. I think there is just the same credence given to his opinion on this as was given to his unfortunate statement at the beginning of his address. All the members of the Opposition have based their attack on the Government in connection with the strike by attempting to make the frills of this discussion appear to be the kernel of the discussion. Whether the waterside workers get 15 per cent., the Emergency Regulations, and so on, the key point of this discussion, and it is the only point on which such discussion should take place, is this: Who is to rule this country? The Government or the militant unionists and extremists? For far too long the militant unionists and extremists under a weak Labour Government for fourteen years have dominated this country, and it does appear that the Labour party is now resentful of the fact that we have a Government on these benches that has the courage to stand up and say to these men, "Thus far and no further."

The people were amazed, and still are amazed, at the utterances of the leader of the Opposition, and whatever fine descriptions have been made of him in the past I am satisfied that for ever afterwards he will be known as the leader who, in a time of crisis, was neither for nor against. I submit that that statement—"I am neither for nor against"—will be recorded in that great book, "The Last Utterances of Famous Statesmen!" The Prime Minister dealt so effectively with the honourable gentleman last night that I do not intend to spend any more time dealing with him this evening beyond saying two things to him. The first is that the words "He that is not for us is against us" have never before held such a wealth of truth as they have done in this crisis; and by the word "us" I do not mean the Government, but the decent, law-abiding, and honourable citizens of this country. In his efforts to remain neutral the leader of the Opposition has ranged himself dangerously alongside the strikers, and has brought his parliamentary party along with him.

The other thing I want to say to him is this: that what he asked the Government to do, boiled down, in the final analysis, is to put these men back into exactly the same position, in exactly the same set-up, and with exactly the same power as they had before, so that in twelve months, six months, or perhaps three months, or less, they could do the same thing all over again. I submit that such a situation would be simply intolerable; that the people would not stand for it for one minute. What the honourable gentleman suggested would mean throwing overboard those loyal courageous men who came out in the face of threatened victimization and formed new unions. What would those men think of a Government that did that when they expected loyalty and support? Such a Government would for ever forfeit the respect of all decent people, and would for ever have to hang its head in shame. I tell members opposite that the members on this side of the House are not of that type.

The previous speaker criticized vigorously the introduction of the Emergency Regulations. He knows very well, however, that without the regulations we could never have put the servicemen on the wharves; we could never have manned our coastal ships with naval ratings; we could never have stopped picketing and riots; we could never have carried on the essential services of the country; and we could never have prevented the people being brought to their knees. Members opposite know also that no Government in the history of the world has administered Emergency Regulations as leniently as has this Government. The late Right Hon. Mr. Fraser, when he was Prime Minister, was threatened with a complete hold-up of shipping in the whole of the Pacific, and he made the statement that if that eventuated he would not hesitate for a minute to introduce these self-same Emergency Regulations, and that he would enforce them to the limit. Are we to understand now that members opposite have repudiated that policy; that they would prefer to see the people starve; that they would prefer to see the country crippled; that they would prefer to see the people of Great Britain go without still more food rather than face up to the introduction of these regulations?

The Hon. Mr. ALGIE.—Well, they have thrown socialism overboard.

Mr. TENNENT.—They did that, yes. Some of them have said that we brought in these regulations to starve into submission the wives and children of the watersiders. They were brought in to prevent the watersiders starving the rest of New Zealand into submission. Not only has the leader of the Opposition been talking in this strain, but I was surprised to find that the deputy leader of the Opposition has been making speeches with even more inciting statements in them. On the 12th May, at a little settlement called Rapahoe, just a few miles north of Greymouth, he addressed a gathering of about a hundred people. A large proportion of that gathering would no doubt be miners, and he would, therefore, be talking to his friends. The speech was reported in the *Grey River Argus*, which is a very strong Labour paper. We can take it, then, that that speech would not be mis-reported. In that speech he criticized the Government in most distorted statements. I am not worrying about or criticizing that. We have got used to that sort of thing, and expect it. I do say, however, that he had no right whatever to criticize the police in distorted statements.

I submit that if any body of men has earned the gratitude of the people it is the Police Force. It has the responsibility of maintaining law and order, and in the conditions brought about by this strike it has had a particularly difficult task. All decent-minded people will admit that the members of the Police Force have done a wonderfully good job. They have carried out their work with wonderful patience, and it ill-behoves any responsible citizen, let alone the man who holds the important position of deputy leader of the Opposition, to make statements calculated to inflame public opinion

against the police. Rather should he be prepared to express his thankfulness that in that force we have such fine, honourable, painstaking, loyal, and tolerant men as we have. I go so far as to say that the speech to which I have just referred has gone a long way towards branding the deputy leader of the Opposition as a political irresponsible. I am prepared to say, also, that that speech, together with speeches by the leader of the Opposition, has done more than anything else in recent months to incite the strikers to continue on strike. I suggest that members read that speech. It appeared in the *Grey River Argus* of the 14th May. It would seem that the deputy leader of the Opposition does not care one iota what suffering is inflicted on the people as long as it brings to him and his party some political kudos. It would seem that it does not matter very much to him if he is assisting—and I am prepared to say unwittingly—methods which are the aim of the Communist intriguer. The speech was, to say the least of it, of an inflammatory type of reasoning.

As a result of the speeches made by the leader of the Opposition and his deputy, the people need no longer wonder where those gentlemen stand. The only people condemned by one or both of them are the Government and the police. Neither of them has condemned the wreckers who have caused all this trouble; neither of them has condemned the wreckers who were a thorn in their side for fourteen years. Not only do they not condemn them, but they want them put back into the same position with the same power and the same union set-up, so that they can cause the same trouble again just when it suits them. Had they taken the attitude adopted by the Federation of Labour, the leader and deputy leader of the Opposition would have earned the gratitude and respect of the whole country, and the strike would have been shortened by many weeks. Instead of that, the attitude of the parliamentary Labour party, as expressed by its leader and deputy leader, has constituted a potential menace, not only to the authorities who have the responsibility of administering the law, but also to sound democratic government and the welfare of the people as a whole. Because of that attitude before the bar of public opinion they must stand condemned.

The leader of the Opposition and his parliamentary colleagues knew very well that the efforts made by the strikers to persuade the watersiders in England not to unload food ships would have brought hardship and suffering to thousands of people in that country and in this. Yet they made no attempt whatever to support the Government and sound trade unionism, as expressed through the Federation of Labour, to crush this scheme, which would impede our British way of life, which would impede the British war effort, drive trade away from British ports, and bring ruin to New Zealand's economic structure. The men who are leading this strike are men whose one aim is to bring discord and disruption to all aspects of our industrial organization and ruin to the economic structure of the country. Yet the leader of the Opposition and his parliamentary colleagues

*Mr. Tennent*

have sat on the fence twiddling their thumbs while large volumes of food rotted in the stores and thousands of cases of apples have been rotting on the ground.

Mr. KENT.—We heard that last night.

Mr. TENNENT.—It is worth repeating. Now the Opposition members declare that the Government should put those same men back with the same power so that they can do the same thing again. When you come to think of it, it is a strange situation, because, for fourteen years, those men were a thorn in Labour's side. Never once did the Labour Government seem prepared to stand up to those men and put them in their place. So the militant section grew stronger and stronger and bolder and bolder until anarchy reached the stage we have witnessed in this recent strike. I am prepared to say that had the Labour Government stood up to those men five or ten years ago, the strike we have just gone through would never have been caused. What was the cause of this strike? Is it a strike for wages? Is it a strike for working-conditions? Some people say that it is, but that is simply a blind to cover up the real cause. Some honourable members may have read the Communist speech delivered by one Ernest Thornton, a celebrated Communist who was the secretary of the Australian Iron Workers' Union, at Peiping, and rebroadcast from the Moscow radio. There is not the slightest doubt that what happens in Peiping and in Moscow has a very marked effect on what happens in New Zealand.

Not very long ago the extremist element of the Federation of Labour cut adrift from that organization and formed what is now known as the Trade Union Congress. It consists of the extreme elements of the Federation of Labour, and in that group are leaders of the Waterside Workers' Union. That union became affiliated with the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, the W.F.T.U. I am not suggesting that all the leaders of the Waterside Workers' Union are Communists, but I do say that a number of them are openly avowed Communists. I say also that a number of them are Communists but do not admit it. There must be a considerable number of them in power, when their union went so far as to appoint this same Ernest Thornton as their accredited representative at the meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which met in Italy early in 1949, and when they went so far as to appoint the celebrated Communist E. V. Elliott, of "Wanganella" fame as their accredited representative at the Peiping Conference in September, 1949. This conference had some interesting men directing it. I use the word "directing" advisedly. There was comrade Yakovlief, councillor at the Soviet legation at Bangkok, he was chairman. Then there was comrade Rostovsky, former head of the international department of the Soviet Council of Trade Unions, and there was comrade Soloviev, present secretary of the Soviet Central Council of Trade Unions. Those three men were directing that conference.

In Peiping they conferred with the Chinese Communist trade-union leader Li-san, and they

set up the Peiping Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Two months later their task was completed, and then they set about deciding trade-union policy for Asian and Pacific countries, and they received their instructions from Moscow behind closed doors. In March of last year they held another conference at Peiping, where Mr. Elliott again represented them, and there they received orders from Moscow to do two things. The first was to prevent the flow of military equipment from the Western democracies to any Asian country by holding up delivery at the port of Viet-Nam, Ceylon, Indonesia, India, and Australasia. The second was to prepare the way, with China as a base, for further Communist successes in South-east Asia. It so happened that the time was inopportune for a general strike in Australia, when the Australian Government was discussing legislation to deal with the Communist menace, and so we in this country had a complete hold-up of all the shipping in our ports at a time when we were exporting the greatest proportion of our produce.

This hold-up is not one caused by wages, nor is it caused by conditions in work. It is all part of the plan directed from Moscow and worked out at that particular conference, and it was designed to upset Britain's defence plans and the assistance she was giving in Korea. I have here a leading article from the *Greymouth Evening Star* of Thursday, the 26th June, an excellent article on the danger of the strike. The article sets out to prove how foolish is the statement of the leader of the Opposition that this strike has nothing to do with the "cold war" on the Western democracies. It states:—

"Here are the actual words used by a strike leader in exhorting a striking organization to continue its efforts to shut out the light of common-sense from the minds of the waverers amongst its followers: 'From the day this dispute cracked we told our members that it was the offensive of the Holland Government, their preliminary to a third world blood bath; it was a fight to a finish . . . Intensify the fight, and bring the maximum amount of economic losses, losses so great that they will not recover from them. We have already struck a mortal blow to their war plans, and only capitulation now will let them recover. Now is the crisis!'"

The article goes on to say that those words are contained in the official minutes of a meeting addressed by the man concerned, and were circulated amongst certain union executives. Typical Communism. Yet, the leader of the Opposition suggests that to say Communism is behind this strike is all humbug. There is not the slightest doubt that this is a Communist-directed plan, and as such must be resisted and defeated. There can be no half-way measures. It is a contest between two sections of the people—on the one hand, that section that would bring anarchy and disorder into our midst and rule by force, and, on the other hand, that section of the people who wants law and order and fair play in all aspects of our industrial and economic life. The Government dares not lose this battle. If it did, then

the forces of anarchy would forever dominate the whole of our industrial life. In actual fact, the leaders of this watersiders' union have boasted that out of the present strike they would succeed in overthrowing the State and bring the Holland Government to its knees. The Holland Government is not on its knees. The Holland Government can stand up and look the whole world in the face and say, "We have had the courage to face these Communists; we have done our duty." The stakes in this contest are far too great to allow for any rail-sitters. It requires strong government backed up by the loyal support of all decent-thinking people right throughout the country.

One of the alarming incidents of the strike was a little happening in Christchurch which was not much publicized. In Christchurch there is a State Coal Depot through which all the coal from the West Coast passes for distribution to Canterbury. When the West Coast miners came out on strike, certain Communist leaders came over and took charge of the depot and they distributed the coal as they thought it should be distributed, but when it was found out they got their marching-orders. That was typical Communist technique—to place key men in certain positions in industries so that when a time of crisis comes they could step in and take charge. We got away with that one. It was a small incident, but it does not require much imagination to realize what would have been the consequences if that kind of thing took place in the Police Force, the Post Office, and the radio. The strike has really been won, but the war is not over. This struggle is going on. It will go on within the unions, and within twelve months there will be a battle again. Those men who have been dethroned will be making every endeavour to get back into the unions and to get control.

Here is something which concerns all the people—Government, citizens, and Opposition alike. I believe the Government will have to give consideration to the introduction of legislation to deal with the Communist element. It will also have to continue with legislation to make a contented people, because Communism will never flourish where the people are happy and contented. Our Government is doing that and it is daily winning people to our ranks. We, as business men, all have a very important part to play in this. I submit that every business man must see to it that he runs his business on the highest ethical principles and must treat all members of his staff as real men. As one goes about the country visiting factories, one sees that the happiest staffs are those where there are incentive payments, but, above all, where there are happy industrial relationships between employers and employees. I say also that all of us who employ labour have to examine ourselves very carefully and ask ourselves whether or not we are doing all in our power to promote the happiest relationships between ourselves and our staffs. I say also that all employers must see to it that they encourage their employees to take part in their unions. We must have strong

unions, but, above all, we must see to it that sane, strong and reasonably minded men are not only assisted to obtain control but also to maintain it. If we do those things, I submit that we will be striking a blow at the seed-bed of Communism.

I believe this Government has made great progress in arresting the progress of Communism in this country. The weak attitude of the Labour party over the past fourteen years has encouraged the growth of Communism, and its attitude in this strike has encouraged it still further. I believe that the men in the new unions see in this Government one which is strong, just and fair, and we, as the Government, see that these men are honest, reasonably minded and anxious to do a fair day's work for a fair day's pay. Because of that relationship which has been developed, I believe we have initiated and have brought about a new order on the waterfront. This Government, I submit, has the confidence of the people, and if an election were held to-day the leader of the Opposition would find that he has got completely out of touch with public opinion. I also submit that the Government would receive the backing of the people in a way which has not been given to any Government before.

Mr. MATHISON (Avon).—Sir, I should like first of all to endorse the sentiments expressed concerning the speeches made by the mover and the seconder of the Address in Reply. I think both gentlemen acquitted themselves admirably. Of course, one recognizes the very difficult job they had. However, they carried out their task very well. I should like to associate myself with the references made to the recovery of the King's health, and to the possibility—and the probability now—of the Royal Family coming to New Zealand next year. I should also like to congratulate the Governor-General and his good lady on the elevation to the peerage of His Excellency.

Now, I want for a few moments to refer to some remarks made by the honourable member for Palmerston North. He said, "Those who are not with us are against us." Last evening the leader of the Opposition quoted from a Church magazine an article criticizing the Government over the introduction of these drastic regulations. Would the honourable member for Palmerston North suggest for a moment that because the Churches are critical of the Government they are against it? I do not believe that for one moment. There are many church people who are associated with the National party, and many who are associated with the Labour party. But because they dare criticize the Government for introducing those undemocratic, un-British regulations to govern this strike, they must necessarily be against the Government. I refuse to believe that. It is sheer exaggeration. The honourable member said that if the Government had not done what it did it would have forfeited the respect of all decent people in this country. I suggest that the forty-five instances of broken promises that we could

*Mr. Tennent*

quote to-night, if time permitted, have resulted in the Government forfeiting the respect of the people.

I was amazed to hear the honourable member for Palmerston North say that the leader of the Opposition had criticized unfairly our Police Force. I challenge the honourable gentleman to prove that statement. On the contrary, I have frequently heard the leader of the Opposition paying tribute to the Police Force. In fact, he has more confidence, more faith in the Police Force than the members of the Government, otherwise it would not have created the civil defence organization apparently to assist the Police Force. I am one of those who believe that our Police Force is competent and capable of handling any situation in this country. Never on any occasion has the leader of the Opposition criticized the Police Force unfairly. We recognize, of course, that the Police Force is carrying out its instructions. I hope before I conclude my speech to-night to give an illustration of what happens. When a decent, reliable Police Force is compelled, through force of duty, to do some of the things that its members would probably prefer not to do, I should like to know who instructed them. They did not do it on their own initiative. I am sure they had their instructions, and, being loyal members of the force they carried out their instructions.

It is quite obvious that the honourable member for Palmerston North does not understand the real cause of this industrial trouble. It is obvious that he, in common with thousands of others, has not been able to learn the real cause of this trouble, because of the suppression of free speech that the Government has brought about through the Waterfront Emergency Regulations. I hope, if the honourable gentleman listens, that he will know something in a moment or two about those regulations. He tried to link Communism with the strikers, in spite of the fact that the deputy leader of the National party to-night paid great tribute to the railway strikers for their reasonableness over conciliation proceedings. There was no suggestion that the railway strike was communistically inspired. And no more is the present strike communistically inspired on the waterfront, in the mines, or anywhere else. Of course the Communists come into it, because they have been brought into it. There is no place in the world where Toryism has not bred Communism. We will have evidence of that in a few moments.

The honourable member for Palmerston North quoted the foreign names of people in Moscow who attended a conference. Well, it is only a few weeks ago that I read in a Christchurch paper of an alleged assault on two gentlemen with foreign names—Mr. Fulrer, and Mr. Paul Schwegler. So we do not have to go to Moscow to get foreign names. Go to the waterfront in any port in this country and you will find them by the dozen, if not by the hundred. I am inclined to believe that they were more or less forced to take work on the waterfront, or else go back as displaced persons.

An Hon. MEMBER.—Talk sense.

Mr. MATHISON.—Well, where did Fulmer and Schwegler come from? You do not have to go to Moscow to find such names. We find them here in New Zealand. At a time of industrial trouble you will find them all right. I do not blame them. I congratulate the leader of the Opposition on the speech he made last night. It was a masterly survey of the promises made by the Government which led to the election of the National party to office. I congratulate the leader of the Opposition, too, on his survey of the absence of achievement on the part of the Government. It will be noticed that the Prime Minister, who followed him, was canny. He was almost a Scot in that respect, but only in that respect, instead of being a Yorkshireman. He never mentioned the charges made by the leader of the Opposition; rather did he seek to cover up the actions of his Government during the industrial trouble. He took credit for the longest and most tragic dispute in our history. The second largest industrial dispute was in 1913. Is it just a coincidence that on both occasions the Tory Government occupied the Treasury benches? It is not a coincidence—it is deliberate Tory policy. We will prove that in a moment.

When the Government stepped into the industrial dispute between the waterside workers and their employers it had an ulterior motive. I will prove that also in a moment. That motive was to compel at least one section of the working-class people to accept a much lower standard of living than they previously enjoyed. In spite of the Emergency Regulations I want objectively to analyse the real cause of the waterfront dispute which subsequently led to all the rest of the industrial trouble and suffering, not only among the workers, but among the civilian population in Christchurch and elsewhere. I want the honourable member for Selwyn, particularly, to listen to this: when the Court of Arbitration on the 15th February granted a 15-per-cent. increase to wage workers, it stipulated specifically that there must first be a deduction of 7s. a week for men and 4s. 9d. a week for women. That was done, but that did not apply on the waterfront. Does the honourable member know how much had to be deducted from the wages of the men working on the waterfront? It was not 7s. a week but 19s. 1½d. a week. I want to ask honourable members opposite who did not know that, if they consider it fair that the watersiders should have to agree to a deduction of 19s. 1½d. a week when all other male workers had their wages deducted by 7s. a week only.

An Hon. MEMBER.—What are they earning to-day?

Mr. MATHISON.—Never mind; how long are they working for what they get? If the honourable gentleman spent as much time at work as those men did, he would earn considerably more than they do. Is it fair that there should be that disparity in the deductions in the weekly wages? There is no reply. It is not fair. Honourable members did not know that was the case, because they were

prevented from knowing it by the refusal of their Government to allow the newspapers to publish the case of the waterside workers. But I know that. I have spoken to hundreds of people at public meetings and after public meetings, and I have pointed that out, and without fail people said they did not know that. I guarantee that the Minister himself who is in charge of all this trouble did not know it. How does that come about? A watersider—I have his letter here—who is not a Communist but has remained loyal to the decision of his union because it was carried by a majority, proves this point, and that is the reason why he considers there is something very serious at stake so far as he is concerned. Thousands of others of the eight thousand waterside workers look at it from the same point of view. No Communist could influence this particular man. This is what influenced this man—a reduction of 19s. 1½d. per week, where all other male workers were only asked to accept a reduction of 7s. before the application of the 15 per cent. granted by the Court of Arbitration. I want the Minister of Labour to listen to this very carefully. There was 3d. an hour difference. The employers said, "We will deduct first of all 3d. an hour and pay you 15 per cent. on the remaining 4s."

An Hon. MEMBER.—That is right.

Mr. MATHISON.—Monday to Friday on a forty-hour week at 3d. an hour is a loss of 10s. Monday to Friday, overtime on the basis of three hours a day at 4½d. an hour is 5s. 7½d. On Saturday morning, four hours at time and a half, there is a loss of 1s. 6d., and on Saturday afternoon, four hours at double time, a loss of 2s. There is a loss of 19s. 1½d. on the basic rate operating on the 15th February. Is it fair to expect these men to accept a reduction of 19s. 1½d. before the application of the 15 per cent.? The officers of the Federation of Labour—this is on record—acknowledged that the waterside workers had a case on the question of wages. The criticism of the Federation of Labour is on the way the dispute has been handled. The Government is not free from criticism there either. Let the Minister remind himself of the things the leaders of the Federation of Labour have said to him.

The Hon. Mr. SULLIVAN.—You look after yourself.

Mr. MATHISON.—I will look after myself all right. The Government is not entirely free from criticism there so far as the Federation of Labour is concerned. The watersiders had a case. I say the only complaint the Federation of Labour has is the way in which it was handled. I have no time for Mr. Barnes or Mr. Hill. I want to make that perfectly clear. Mr. Hill is not a Communist. Mr. Barnes worked like a Trojan for the National party at the last election.

Hon. MEMBERS.—Ha, ha!

Mr. MATHISON.—I suggest to the Prime Minister that he should be a little more careful in the selection of his political friends at the next election. Here is one chicken that has

come home to roost. There is no doubt about the continued friendship of the right honourable gentleman and the Minister of Labour with their erstwhile supporter in the Ponsonby electorate. The honourable member for Ponsonby will assure us that there is no doubt that they were very good friends until this trouble occurred. They have thrown Mr. Barnes overboard; they have sold him out, lock, stock, and barrel. The waterside workers believed that the long hours they had worked with the consequent high earnings were going to materially and detrimentally affect their future earnings, so they decided to do what other workers do, and in accordance with the law, and that is work a forty-hour week.

Mr. COOKSLEY.—And break their agreement.

Mr. MATHISON.—How many agreements has this Government broken in its short term of office? It should be the last to suggest that any one has broken promises or agreements—the very last to do that. It holds a record in that respect I will guarantee for the rest of our history. That offer of the waterside workers was not accepted. Why was it not accepted? Because it did not suit the purpose of this Government to look after the interests of the shipping companies and increase the profits of the shipping companies. Would the Minister of Labour tell the people where bonuses could possibly accrue to the deregistered waterside workers unless some profit was being made by their employers, the shipping companies? Would the Minister explain that point? I cannot understand it. That hundreds of thousands of pounds belonging to the members of deregistered union are frozen—

The Hon. Mr. SULLIVAN.—That is not correct.

Mr. MATHISON.—Not correct? It is in the papers every day—£300,000 of frozen money. It has since been paid out, I understand. How is that money accruing when the shipping companies are supposed to be losing so much money? You do not pay bonuses on losses—or at least no other firm or company or business does. You pay bonuses on profits. I hope the Minister will explain that one. However, the dispute did occur. There is no doubt about that. We have known that for the last five months. And the Government, siding with the shipping companies, said to the workers, "Get back to work—or else!" The Minister of Labour said that.

The Hon. Mr. SULLIVAN.—Quite right.

Mr. MATHISON.—The Minister also said, "I am not on any particular side. I am fair. I would as soon stand up for the workers as for the employers." But he said to the workers, "Get back to work—or else!" And that in spite of the declared policy of his leader as expounded in Dunedin on the 28th November, 1949. "Our policy is compulsory conciliation—the present law. Secondly, compulsory arbitration—also the present law. In the war we had compulsory conciliation and voluntary arbitration. That simply cannot work. We take it one logical step further—a compulsory conference bringing the contending parties

*Mr. Mathison*

together; quick hearing of their dispute, to begin within twenty-four hours if necessary. Troubles have been allowed to fester until a little trouble becomes a very big one." The Prime Minister declares that to be the policy of his party. The Minister of Labour, though, immediately there is a dispute says to the workers, "Get back to work—or else!" Not only does he do that, but he also deregisters their union. May I ask him why he has not been consistent. Why did he not deregister the miners' union, the seamen's union, and the other unions that have been affected?

The Hon. Mr. SULLIVAN.—I would like to deregister the honourable gentleman.

Mr. MATHISON.—I extend an invitation to the Minister to come down to Christchurch and make the effort in November, 1952.

The Hon. Mr. SULLIVAN.—You will be down the Avon.

Mr. MATHISON.—The Minister will be very welcome in Christchurch. We had an increased vote last time, and we will have an even bigger increase next time if the Minister comes down. Any intelligent Government or Minister of Labour with any idea of the psychology of the trade-union movement would have endeavoured to keep the strike confined as much as possible to the one industry. What did the Minister do? He extended the strike so that it embraced others who should not have been on strike at all. He brought down the Emergency Regulations, and the freezing-workers, the drivers, the seamen, and the miners all came out on strike, not in sympathy with the watersiders, but against the regulations. They regarded them as un-British, undemocratic. At one time these men were bemedalled and decorated for making a stand in the interests of democracy, but to-day they are abused and maligned by this Government because they make precisely the same stand for the preservation of democratic rights, the right to speak, the right of assembly, and the right to refuse entry into their homes in the dead of night. What does the Minister say to that?

An intelligent Minister of Labour would have confined the strike to the one industry, but the Emergency Regulations that the Minister brought into operation extended the strike throughout the length and breadth of the country. What are these regulations? You are going to hear about them for many a long day. For two hundred and five years no Government within the confine of the British Empire has ever adopted such drastic regulations as these. They are a complete violation of all that democracy stands for. We condemned Hitler and Mussolini and "Joe" Stalin for doing precisely the same thing as is being done in this country to-day. Does the member for Palmerston North agree that we should condemn Hitler and Mussolini and Stalin, and yet do precisely the same thing ourselves to-day? The Minister of Railways said, "If Hitler did that he must have been right." This country spent £641,000,000 and lost ten thousand of its best manhood, while thousands of others were

crippled for life, fighting against the things about which the Minister of Railways said, "If Hitler did that he must have been right."

Let us have a look at those regulations. I ask the Minister if he really agrees with them. A citizen may be arrested without warning; police may search private premises without warning; a citizen may be convicted and sentenced by a Magistrate without the right of trial by jury; evidence not normally permissible may be used in any trial; in many instances an accused can be declared guilty unless he can prove his own innocence, which is a complete reversal of recognized British custom and method; freedom of speech, both oral and written, has been suppressed in this country for the first time. It is no use the Minister saying that those regulations are drastic but that they have been interpreted liberally. What did the Government do when on the Opposition benches? The Labour Government in 1947 threatened to introduce regulations to control the black market in certain essential commodities, in the interests of industry and commerce and in the interests of domestic consumers. What did the National party say? Its members did not say that we would interpret them liberally. Oh, no. They did not say that we would not exercise them unless it was absolutely essential. To every home in the country went a pamphlet called "Russianizing New Zealand." And those regulations that the Labour Government threatened to introduce were not half so drastic as the Emergency Regulations introduced during the present waterfront strike.

It was not necessary to introduce those regulations in 1947. The mere threat of them was sufficient to stop the black market in certain commodities. Members opposite said we were "Russianizing" New Zealand. What are these strike regulations doing to New Zealand to-day? There have been no worse regulations anywhere than the waterfront strike regulations introduced by the Minister of Labour and the Tory Government. "Russianizing" New Zealand, said the Tories. Last night the Prime Minister quoted from a pamphlet allegedly written or issued in 1915 by the Communist party, and dealing with strike strategy and tactics. He described it as a scurrilous document. I would quote one issued much more recently by the National party, and if the Prime Minister can find anything more scurrilous in Communist party literature I challenge him to produce it. Listen to the advice given by the Prime Minister's own party to its candidates for the 1938 election:—

"National party speakers must remember that their first duty is to oppose the arguments, claims, and promises of the present Socialist Government. Oppose! Oppose! Oppose! That is the essential duty of Nationalist speakers. Use every possible play of words, every fact that you can advance to show that your political opponents are fools, political hypocrites, opportunists, seekers of power, despots, traitors to their own class, to their country, or their Empire."

Has anything more scurrilous ever emanated from the Communist party than that advice issued by the National party to its candidates? Each and every candidate at that time got on the platform and told the people that members of the Labour party were traitors to their class, their country, and their Empire. Now we find the Prime Minister pledging New Zealand, not to Great Britain, not to our Empire, but to the United States of America. We are pledged to stand by the United States, right or wrong. In the very same breath he assures the Old Country, in the phrase of the late Mr. Savage, "Where Britain goes we go." My time is about exhausted, and I have not dealt with half the things I wanted to deal with, but there will be further opportunities. I want to draw attention to the courage of the Churches and to the statement made by the Prime Minister in his speech last night. He had the audacity to tell the Churches of this country to keep out of this dispute, to accept the undemocratic and un-British Waterfront Emergency Regulations, and to suggest that the Communists were using the Churches and drawing them into the Communist party. If the Prime Minister gets away with that, without a very strong protest from the Churches, I would be very surprised indeed. They have courage. Indeed, they have more courage than the Minister is ever likely to display—much more. Let me repeat what Dr. H. S. Leiper said when speaking at the Durham Street Methodist Church in Christchurch:—

"Government should be with the consent of the governed. No threats to the home or to individual thought, no means of suppression, can exist in a democratic society. In a free State there can be no manipulation by the Government of the press or of the radio. There can be no ban on comment or criticism."

What do we have in this country to-day? Everything that is contrary to democratic principles is operating. Even the newspapers have apparently accepted the threat of the Government that they would be prosecuted if they printed the other side of the trouble. At a dinner given in Sydney to the overseas newspaper visitors who were jubilee guests of the Federal Government, Mr. R. A. Henderson, acting chairman of the Australian Associated Press, declared, "Democracy will not function unless people are informed of what is going on." I want to inform the people of New Zealand to-night of what is going on. This is the 5th of July. I hold in my hand a letter, dated the 3rd July. I shall read that letter so that honourable members on the Government benches may consider what they are doing. The letter reads as follows:—

"At 7.45 last night my home and adjoining outhouses were searched by three police officers headed by Detective Patterson of the Security Police. These individuals were not in possession of a warrant, and the search was very intensive. They further intimated to my wife that 'we are aware of your husband's activities.' The spectacle of my wife being stood over by a six-foot policeman made me very

upset, as my wife had been in hospital suffering from fibrositis and nervousness for long periods. She is seven stone in weight, and 5 ft. 3 in. in height, so they were on fairly safe ground. I wish to register the strongest possible protest, Sir, against this violation of my privacy and fundamental rights for which there is no apparent reason apart from the fact that I am a deregistered waterside worker."

There are no worse conditions in a police State than are existing in New Zealand to-day. What a change there has been in the last eighteen months before which we had peace and plenty and confidence in the future. Through sheer trickery of the electors—of which there are forty-five instances in this little pamphlet in my hand—we find a Tory Government again in power, and this is what we get. When the Tories were last in power in 1913, industrial trouble was general. In 1951, thirty-eight years later, we have the worst and most tragic industrial trouble in the history of our country, and yet we have the Minister of Labour trying to tell the public that he would sooner stand up for the working-men than for the employers. He told us that the shipowners have not received all that they wanted from the Government. How much did they want? What did they want from the workers on the waterfront? They tried to persuade them to agree to a wage of £8 8s. 6d. clear a week, but even those who were trying to break the strike turned that proposal down emphatically. I wonder whether honourable members opposite will be as keen to put the new port unions under the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act as they were to put the unions under it in 1947 and 1948. Is that the policy of the Tory Government in relation to the new employees on the waterfront? If it is, then the Government has not solved anything in this strike. On the contrary, I should say that the conclusion of the strike is the time when the headaches of the Government will start.

Mr. TENNENT (Palmerston North).—Sir, I have been misrepresented. The honourable member for Avon alleged I said the leader of the Opposition had criticized the police. What I said was that the deputy leader of the Opposition had criticized the police.

The Right Hon. Mr. NASH.—You linked the two together.

Mr. TENNENT.—My words were "One or both."

Hon. MEMBERS.—Ha, ha!

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order. The honourable gentleman must be allowed to make his explanation.

Mr. TENNENT.—What I said was that the leader of the Opposition and the deputy leader of the Opposition had criticized one or both. The deputy leader of the Opposition has criticized both the Government and the police; the leader of the Opposition has criticized only the Government.

Debate adjourned.

The House adjourned at twenty-seven minutes past ten o'clock p.m.

*Mr. Mathison*

FRIDAY, 6 JULY, 1951

*Force for Middle East: Notice of Question—British Industries Fair: Notice of Question—Address in Reply: Want of Confidence—Address in Reply: Missing Document—Business of the House: Waterfront Emergency Regulations*

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at half past ten o'clock a.m.

PRAYERS.

#### FORCE FOR MIDDLE EAST: NOTICE OF QUESTION

The Hon. Mr. F. JONES (St. Kilda).—Sir, I give notice that, on next question day, I shall ask the Prime Minister the following question—Whether the press message issued from London that the New Zealand Government is at present considering the provision of a token Force as part of the Commonwealth Forces in the Middle East is correct, and, if so, whether the members of the House will be consulted before such a proposal is adopted?

The Right Hon. Mr. HOLLAND (Prime Minister).—Mr. Speaker, I should like to answer that question immediately. It will go on the Order Paper in the ordinary way. The Government has not considered the question of token Forces in Egypt at all.

Mr. McCOMBS.—Does the Prime Minister limit the answer to Egypt.

The Right Hon. Mr. HOLLAND.—This is a supplementary question. I shall go much further and say "any part of the world."

#### BRITISH INDUSTRIES FAIR: NOTICE OF QUESTION

Mr. McCOMBS (Lyttelton).—Sir, I give notice that, on next question day, I shall ask the Minister of External Affairs the following question—(1) Whether his attention was called to reports that the Right Hon. W. J. Jordan felt that he had to apologize to the King and Queen for the inadequacies of the New Zealand stand at the British Industries Fair, and that the Right Hon. W. J. Jordan and the Hon. M. H. Oram, who accompanied him, were obviously despondent and critical? (2) Whether he was responsible for the decision to erect the stand? (3) Whether, on his taking over office as High Commissioner, he will see that the Government does not expose New Zealand to ridicule by a parsimonious Government?

Mr. SPEAKER.—That word should not have been used. The honourable member knows that perfectly well. The question will be revised.

Mr. HAYMAN (Oamaru).—Sir, I rise to a point of order. I do not like to make an unfair accusation but did I hear the Senior Opposition Whip say something to the effect that this House was like the Reichstag?

Mr. CONNOLLY (Dunedin Central).—Sir, I would like to compliment the honourable member for Oamaru on his hearing. When it was suggested that the word "parsimonious"