Hon. D. MacINTYRE: Statistical data on external trade for the year ended 31 March 1979 are not available; when they are, I shall be happy to find the answer for the honourable gentleman.

ADDRESS IN REPLY; AND PROPOSED AMENDMENT

Interrupted 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 proposed amendment.

Mr MAXWELL (Waitakere): When the House rose last Friday I was, in my maiden speech, urging the Government to abandon entirely its industrial relations practice of intrusion, confrontation, regulation, and scapegoating, because it is a failure. I called on the Government to give a commitment to the people, along with all trade unionists, to provide a modern union structure suited to our trading nation. I noted that amalgamation had been the Federation of Labour's policy since 1972, that employers had long called for such action, and that New Zealand could no longer afford 294 registered industrial trade unions wherein the 206 smallest unions have an average membership of only 112.

What steps are needed? First, there must be full and frank discussions with the Federation of Labour. The legislation on deregistration must be repealed entirely. This device, constantly used as a threat by this Government, is an intolerable hangover from the nineteenth-century thinking on industrial relations, and is a major impediment to a modern industrial structure in New Zealand. Has anyone calculated the tens of millions of dollars lost to the country because of the histrionic deregistration of the Wellington boilermakers? Is there anyone in this Chamber who performs better under threat?

The next impediment is human. In the same way that members of the House have been known to develop a reluctance to leave it, established union officials have a similar reluctance to embrace change that may leave them out in the cold. To remove this factor the Government should offer to negotiate a redundancy fund for union officials who are genuinely redundant. Then the Government might be seen to be doing something other than hurling abuse and iced water into the engine room. If Mr Jim Knox can, during his term, reduce the number of unions by half he will have earned for the trade union movement another knighthood. Let us go on and, among other things, answer the call of the retiring president of the Auckland Master Builders Association to break up the price rings that strangle the country. The alternative is to sink rapidly into Third World status.

In concluding, may I urge the new members of the Government caucus to collectively push for a change of attitude and direction by senior members. Most of us who remain in New Zealand have a fierce pride in the place. The Government should urge us to draw on our real heritage now. There is a real alternative to the dog eat dog, pull up the ladder, Jack, I'm all right world in which the strong exploit the weak, and society is encouraged to turn in upon itself and is offered a succession of scapegoats. That attitude leads ultimately to the jungle, and is bankrupt and barren. Accept—quietly, if you must—the lead of the Leader of the Opposition that the best days of New Zealand are still in front of us, and together we will make it.

[With the leave of the House, the speaking time of the member for Hunua was extended.]

Mr PETERS (Hunua): Mr Speaker, I begin my maiden speech by joining with the other members who have offered their congratulations on your re-election to the Chair. My entrance into Parliament is unique in that I am the only member who has entered the House as the result of a successful electoral petition to the Electoral Court. The Hunua petition would not have succeeded without the tremendous support I have received during the last 6 months from men and women of all political persuasions. The petition was initiated because of many serious irregularities that occurred on election day. Those irregularities were examined by the court, and were sustained. That is why I stand here today.

I want to thank particularly the people of my electorate who supported me, and the members of the party who helped in my campaign. It is appropriate that every member of the House, no matter what his or her political affiliation, should give due recognition to the role of voluntary party workers, for it is as a result of their efforts that our democracy survives. I thank my wife Louise for her support. The circumstances of my election have been such that my loyal supporters and my wife have worked hundreds of hours above and beyond what normally would have been required in an election campaign. It is for this reason that the gratitude I express has a special significance and meaning.
Hunua is a new electorate, and during the election campaign many people were unaware of its location. I think I can safely claim that it is now the best-known electorate in New Zealand. Hunua encompasses New Zealand in a microcosm, rural and urban. The population is European, Maori, and Polynesian. Men and women of every occupation and calling live there.

It is appropriate for me to say why I belong to the National Party, and what caused me to stand for Parliament. I believe the most effective government the country can have is one that believes in free enterprise, encourages hard work, keeps control and regulations to a minimum, carefully controls State spending, and sets taxation rates that are an incentive, not a disincentive, to work. We are experiencing difficulties at the moment, but that is not peculiar to Hunua, or, for that matter, to New Zealand. The difficulties are worldwide. However, I am an optimist, and I believe I know my electorate and my fellow countrymen.

I am aware that the energy crisis is a matter of grave concern to us all, but, despite the problems of rising fuel prices, we have some advantages. Let us emphasise the advantages we do have. We are blessed with a temperate climate. Our country is compact, so that we do not have to travel long distances between our cities. Of the less obvious advantages, our coastline is extensive, and the harnessing of the tides to create power is a feasible proposition. Solar and wind power are also developments to which Kiwi ingenuity will have the opportunity of applying itself. I can foresee no problems that the country cannot solve; yet the gloom merchants have been peddling their wares.

We are told of the mass exodus of people—the sinking-ship mentality. Some of us have become a pack of whingers and moaners—characteristics that have been attributed to others in the past, but never to ourselves. We hear of declining community standards and deteriorating race relations, and we are accused of being lazy and unproductive, and of having bad industrial relations. Is this really the New Zealand we live in? It is not my New Zealand.

What is my New Zealand? It begins with my family. My father is a Maori elder and my mother is a Scot. Together they raised 11 children, 6 of whom are university trained. By sheer hard work, beginning in the depression, my father, with the help of his family, developed a dairy farm. Many such families exist in New Zealand—families who have worked together, who help one another, who serve the community voluntarily, who stand up for their children when they get into difficulties, and who help their members to achieve their goals.

I turn now to industrial relations. It must be emphasised that many factories have never been affected by strikes, many union organisers are responsible and effective, and in many industries productivity is high and compares favourably with productivity ratios overseas. I believe that half of our industrial problems are the direct result of a lack of choice by workers for whom they can work. Over the last 7 years employment numbers in the public sector have been four times as great as those in the private sector. We should remember that the man who cannot walk down the road and advance his position by seeking better employment elsewhere is more likely to retaliate against his present employer with go-slows, strikes, and disputes.

When I say I believe in private enterprise I extend that concept to workers, for they are entitled to a free market for the services they render. Let us not forget that our farmers rank amongst the most efficient in the world. Their productivity is high, and they are a shining example of free enterprise at work. Many of us forget, perhaps because we live in cities and because it is unfashionable to refer to them as such, that farmers are and will continue to be the backbone of the country. Farmers should be encouraged to carry on with their work with as little State intervention as possible. Farming is, after all, for farmers, not for bureaucrats.

I am proud to be here today, joining my fellow members from Awarua and Wairarapa. We are Maoris who represent the general seats. In the lobby to the left of the entrance to Parliament Buildings is the statue of Sir Apirana Ngata, who was once the member for Eastern Maori. He was the last Maori conservative representative in a Maori seat. He stands as a reminder to all New Zealanders of the oratory, the eloquence, and the dignity of the Maori people. At a time when there are those in our midst who would have us believe that our race relations have reached troubled waters, his memory is a reminder to all Maoris of what we can do. The prominence of his position in the House should be a reminder to all New Zealanders to continue to work for harmony and understanding between races. I am a New Zealander, I am a Maori, and I am also a lawyer. New Zealand is not a monotonous garden where every flower is the same; it is a garden where the diversity of the blooms
It is right that we should recognise that the private sector of the economy has made tremendous adjustments in these difficult times. I believe that the good management exemplified by the private sector is a major factor in the relatively good shape the economy is in today. However, many of us express anxiety about the growth of the public sector — both central and local government, and agencies — which we must control, and even reduce. The private sector must be given positive incentives to flourish. In the private sector the business that is not efficient goes under; the market place is harsh. But the public sector is not subject to those realities. The Government must constantly battle to keep its growth within bounds. The greatest challenge facing our society today — and, indeed, facing Western society — is an appreciation of what freedom really means. When the State controls more than half of our earnings, how many of our citizens can say that we really are free? I believe in the welfare state as an umbrella for genuine and deserving needs, but we are our brothers' keepers, not our bludgers' keepers. We must ensure that we expend welfare moneys only on genuine needs. As parliamentarians we must ensure that we are as careful about spending other people's money as we are about spending our own.

We have a society in which bureaucracy continues to overburden the citizen and we must see that what is happening is the direct result of Government control. It has long been held that the twin of freedom is responsibility, but if, by centralisation or excessive Government controls, we take away a person's responsibility, we remove initiative from the community. If we abandon those admirable qualities in favour of the State, then we deny freedom to the citizen. What is all too clear in 1979 is that New Zealand cannot accommodate socialism; moreover, in attempting to do so we would deny our country and our communities freedom of expression.

Throughout the Hunua electorate, in every area, there are thousands of families demonstrating their willingness to participate in community life, and at no cost to the State. I give two examples. The first is the Howick Colonial Village, a project of the Howick Historical Society and its 900 members. The project demonstrates all that is best in New Zealand's society today. The village is being restored almost entirely by volunteer enthusiasts — members of the society who have acquired the necessary skills within its organisation. They include several retired tradesmen who advise and assist regularly. Many members, as well as providing labour, also donate materials at their own expense for the restoration of the buildings. Every weekend, volunteers are assigned work in small groups on a particular part of the village, and this gives them a real interest and a sense of accomplishment. By fund raising and with the rent from the Bell House Restaurant and the custodian's homestead, together with donations from members, the society has been able to build up the village without relying on Government or local body funds. I am sure that, at this stage, members of the society would appreciate some help. The society believes that if its members actively participate in the physical restoration and preservation of the buildings, and in fund raising, they become dedicated and enthusiastic about this community project.

Too much Government or local body finance, often imposing restrictions, kills such initiative and real enthusiasm. The Government and local bodies should provide the climate for people to use their initiative, and both the Manukau City Council and the Howick Borough Council have helped in that way. It is expected that the village will probably cost the society at least $80,000 before it opens to the public in March 1980. Its value at that time is expected to be about $500,000. The society recognises that the venture has been made possible only by the large groups of volunteer workers who regard their labour as one of love, not sacrifice, and whose work is motivated, not by self-interest, but by an appreciation of history and the desire to preserve for generations yet unborn the particular character of a special area of Auckland.

My second example is that of the East Tamaki Rugby Club in Otara, a club which, were it not for a regrettable decision of the Auckland Rugby Union, would now be playing in the senior competition there. A visitor to the club on a Saturday evening would see more than 400 people of all races and ages socialising in harmony with each other — without violence and without acrimony, intent on enjoying and contributing to what the club has to offer. Control there is self-control, policing is self-policing, organisation is self-organisation. In contrast, not too far away from the club are hotels providing a climate which is a certain preparation for some of their customers to appear at the nearest magistrate's court on the following Monday morning. A family loses, the community loses, and the taxpayers wonder what is happening to their country. That process will go on until sufficient members of the
House realise, as a short-term and a long-term objective, the need to revive in the citizens and in the community a sense of freedom, of independence, and of responsibility.

I have sought thus far in my address to enunciate in a general way some of the principles of my party's political philosophy. I shall address my closing remarks to what has become a disturbing feature in New Zealand today. It is sad that there is growing in our country today a self-contemptuous culture made up of people scornful of our society. It is curious that those who have this attitude see others as the appropriate target. I am not talking about the critic who hits out at evil, injustice, and hypocrisy nor those whose stance is that of a parent, where, behind the criticism is the message, "We both know that you can do better." The critic I am talking about does not see the improvement of society or of the individual as the objective beyond the admonition; rather his criticism is a goal in itself. Far from urging New Zealanders to strive against injustice, this subculture of critics preaches a doctrine of despair, guilt, and pervasive unworthiness. The doctrine does not set out to identify specific problems, but rather all of man's progress is subject to scorn and derision.

Most New Zealanders will recognise the member of this fashionable group. They have their own language. The growth of this culture has served to confuse both dissent and leadership as concepts in New Zealand. Opposition, criticism, and dissent are worthy pursuits when combined with a sense of responsibility. They have a purifying effect on society. Areas in need of urgent attention can be identified and courses of action may be initiated. However embarrassing to community or national leaders, the results are enormously beneficial to the total well-being of the community.

The critic I am speaking about has no such goals. He sets out to exploit every tremor and spasm in society, the economy, or race relations, seeking to use every such event as a vehicle to project his own public personality. This critic never joins the ruck of human existence; his opinions are never put at risk. His non-participation is a fail-safe device. For instance, this critic cares nothing about the Maori or Polynesian people, for he seizes every opportunity to set these people against their European brethren. The vast gains of the country's education and social systems are dismissed with fashionable cliche-ridden rhetoric with not a word of praise for those who have striven and dedicated their lives to its improvement.

The message of the thirty-ninth Parliament must be one of hope. The people long for hope. It is indeed fortunate that so many of our countrymen still have an impulse for constructive action and will respond to the call of David: "I will lift up mine eyes to the hills from whence cometh my help." In 1978 I promised my electorate I would work hard for its interests and for our country. It has been a hard road to Parliament, and in my case an extraordinarily hard road. Today I say to the people of my electorate that I will work hard for them, not just in 1979, but year after year. I wish to renew that pledge.

Hon. M. RATA (Northern Maori): I join other members of the House in pledging my loyalty to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of New Zealand. In doing so I pay a personal tribute to the present Governor-General, notwithstanding my opinion about his appointment. I believe that future appointments to the very important high office of Her Majesty's representative should be made with the concurrence of Parliament. Furthermore, I look forward to the day when the high office will be graced by a person of Maori descent, who could reflect the objectives of this country.

Hon. T. F. Gill: Is the honourable member nominating himself?

Mr Talbot: Are you a candidate?

Hon. M. RATA: The member knows I am not a candidate. The concurrence of Parliament is necessary to avoid the hassles brought about by the Government's appointment. I join all members in expressing congratulations to the new members of Parliament. Most members add their personal congratulations to the new members because they have had an ordeal and won for themselves a place in Parliament. It is a matter of great sorrow that the same cannot be said to the member for Hunua. I say this in all humility, knowing that the honourable member entered Parliament with a cloud hanging over the position he now holds. There is no denying that his effort entitles him to that cloud. The member cannot hope to successfully represent all the interests in Hunua unless the cloud is removed. The people, the court has ruled, must be represented by the member for Hunua. That decision has left rancour, bitterness, and considerable doubt.

We may be able to gain a better perspective if we return to the position of the country 139 years ago. The country gained its sovereignty by the marks of more than 546 chiefs. The nation was created by a document that was notable for its marks. The marks were not
Peters, Winston: Address in Reply
[Sitting date: 5 June 1979. NZPD Volume: 442; Page: 406]