

Legislative Assembly

Thursday, 30 April 1992

THE SPEAKER (Mr Michael Barnett) took the Chair at 10.00 am, and read prayers.

PETITION - PORT KENNEDY

Regional Park Creation - Tourist Development Opposition

MR KIERATH (Riverton) [10.05 am]: I have a petition which might interest you, Mr Speaker.

The **SPEAKER**: I doubt it, but try me.

Mr KIERATH: It is couched in the following terms -

To: The Honourable the Speaker and members of the Legislative Assembly of the Parliament of Western Australia in Parliament assembled.

We the undersigned residents of Western Australia urge the Parliament to protect the outstanding scientific, recreational and conservation values of the Port Kennedy area by creating a Regional Park as recommended by the Environmental Protection Authority.

Furthermore we request that the Parliament refuse to allow the development of golf courses or large scale tourist facilities which could destroy the existing natural values of the Port Kennedy area.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that you will give this matter earnest consideration and your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

The petition bears 234 signatures and I certify that it conforms to the Standing Orders of the Legislative Assembly.

The **SPEAKER**: Because I am the Speaker I have an obligation to direct that the petition be brought to the Table of the House.

[See petition No 28.]

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES - JOINT STANDING COMMITTEE ON DELEGATED LEGISLATION

Health (Cervical Cytology Register) Regulations Report Tabling

DR EDWARDS (Maylands) [10.07 am]: I present the Joint Standing Committee on Delegated Legislation's report entitled "Report on the Health (Cervical Cytology Register) Regulations 1991". I move -

That the report do lie upon the Table and be printed.

The committee did not disallow these regulations, although initially they were of concern to it. Following the committee's deliberations it was of the opinion that the idea behind the regulations is excellent and they do have the committee's support.

However, there are two issues which the committee would like to draw to the attention of members. Firstly, to some extent the committee is critical of the Health Department for not having consulted women's community groups more widely and it urges the department, in future, to do that with regulations like this. The committee is of the opinion that it played a valuable role in bringing together the Health Department and those groups concerned about this matter and discussing the issue with them. Secondly, the committee is very concerned that as much public education as possible occurs about this very important issue. Unless there is public education, the community will not be reassured and they will not take advantage of these regulations and take part in the program. I commend the report to the House.

Question put and passed.

[See paper No. 126.]

WILDLIFE CONSERVATION AMENDMENT BILL*Introduction and First Reading*

Bill introduced, on motion by Mr Grayden, and read a first time.

ELECTORAL AMENDMENT (POLITICAL FINANCE) BILL*Second Reading*

Debate resumed from 1 April.

MR CLARKO (Marmion) [10.11 am]: Is it not amazing that the Burke, Dowding and Lawrence Governments will go down as having the worst record of financial credibility of any political party in Western Australia, yet this legislation tries to take the high ground of political morality concerning the funding of political parties? It is like Al Capone giving the Easter sermon on the topic of truth, public morality and honesty. Each day the citizens of Western Australia read in the newspapers and see on television details of the incredible deals that Labor politicians, especially Premiers and Ministers, have entered into since 1983 in order to enhance not only their party and their Government but also themselves. When the Royal Commissioners make their recommendations and comments on these devious actions later this year we shall learn more precisely their considered views as to the honesty or dishonesty of this host of spurious transactions surreptitiously contrived by these Labor leaders.

Mr Pearce: Should you not take your hand out of your pocket and run your finger along the lines of that written speech?

Mr CLARKO: It is interesting to hear that comment because I have been delighted in the growth of the Leader of the House since he became a member of Parliament. He has admitted that he did not own a tie before he came to this place. I remember his first appearance in this Chamber when he wore a dreadful brown jumper and around his neck - making him look like a hermaphrodite - was a bangle and bead with an ornament on the end of it. The Leader of the House should be the last person to comment on me.

The SPEAKER: Order! I am of the view that members in this place are not generally highly regarded in the community; that has been fairly forcibly brought home in the past few days. People in the community think they can say whatever they like about anybody in this place with impunity. I believe that, in part, is caused by members in this place personalising their comments in debate and personally denigrating other members. I do not care from which side it comes; I have made a conscious decision that this will cease from today.

Mr CLARKO: This Labor Government has dirty hands because it has been involved in numerous grubby deals that involved State Government projects, and at the same time as those projects were proceeding backhanders were received from the people concerned. Money changed hands and the recipients of these good or favoured Government deals were secretly giving donations. It is very difficult to determine whether those donations went to the Labor Party or to the advertising account of Brian Burke. We need to examine this legislation very carefully to determine whether the proposed disclosure of political donations will stop certain grubby donations from being made. I refer for the moment to the donation to the Spare Parts Theatre (Inc). On 6 April 1991 an article appeared in *The West Australian* stating that in earlier evidence the commission was told that Western Continental Corporation made a cash donation of \$125 000 to the Spare Parts Puppet Theatre in April 1987, after originally pledging \$250 000. It also stated that Mr Pope of Price Waterhouse said he had advised Mr Goldberg that the donation was unwise because it could be linked to the whole transaction - the acquisition and disposal of Fremantle Gas and Coke Co Ltd. The article also stated that the cheque was made out to the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust with a request that it be given to the Spare Parts Puppet Theatre in a completely anonymous way. A further article in *The West Australian* on 15 March 1991 stated that it was a very large donation for such a small company.

A meeting was held on 9 May 1986 with David Parker - he was then the responsible Minister and also the member for Fremantle in which electorate the Spare Parts Theatre is located - at which Yosse Goldberg, the principal of WCC, handed over this cheque. The newspaper article further stated that at the meeting Mr Goldberg asked Mr Parker for ministerial

approval for a share capital increase at FGCC. Mr Pope said in his evidence on oath to the Royal Commission that eventual approval potentially trebled the value of the company. Not long after that, Mr Parker approved the share capital increase from \$5 million to \$15 million. Members may recall that Fremantle Gas and Coke was originally purchased by Yosse Goldberg for \$24 million in May 1985 and in October 1986 he sold it back to the Government for almost \$40 million. That is a tremendous increase in just over a year.

The critical thing to consider - because many people believe and the Government has contrived to create this impression - is whether this legislation will stop grubby deals such as that from taking place. It will not. Under the provisions of this legislation that donation by Yosse Goldberg to the Spare Parts Theatre would not be classified as a political donation to a political party. This legislation also does not cover any other gift that a shady businessman might give to a shady politician some time in the future, unless it were for election campaign purposes or party purposes in general, particularly since the Government promises worse and even more draconian legislation to follow this. The Minister in charge of this Bill says that this legislation will be ineffective until every State and the Commonwealth has uniform complementary legislation.

Dr Gallop: That is not what I said.

Mr CLARKO: The Minister has said that unless we see complementary legislation from the Commonwealth and other States this legislation has holes in it.

Dr Gallop: Small ones.

Mr CLARKO: I am told by Hon Max Evans that there will be nothing to stop future trusts making donations to a member of Parliament and the member then using that donation for election purposes.

Dr Gallop: You don't understand the Bill.

Mr CLARKO: I would not dream of comparing my knowledge about business, auditing and accounting practices with that of Hon Max Evans. I think the Minister is a fool if he tries to do that. Hon Max Evans tells me that it will be possible to set up a blind trust which could give money to a member of Parliament and which he could spend on a campaign. If that is incorrect, I would be delighted if the Minister made a statement about it later. I have read the Bill and the Minister's second reading speech in which he says problems arise with trusts and out of State organisations. I will come back to that later. According to the Minister, this legislation can be evaded by certain trusts and interstate arrangements. He said, as one would expect this Minister to say, that the legislation has only a small hole in it. However, many boats have sunk because they had only small holes in them.

This legislation will place the Liberal Party and Independents at a significant disadvantage when compared to the Australian Labor Party because many donors to the Liberal Party and Independent members are opposed to the possibility that they will be named by the media. The Liberal Party and the National Party receive a much higher proportion of their political funding from donors than does the Labor Party. Therefore, this legislation will have a significantly disproportionate effect on those parties. At the same time, donations to the Labor Party from the trade union movement will continue as usual. The unions are happy to be named as supporters of the Labor Party; they are probably the only people who are. That is the true purpose of this legislation. It has been introduced by a Government with dirt on its hands from its grubby deals. It is seeking through this legislation to improve its electoral chances.

The Minister has stated that he intends to introduce legislation shortly applying a maximum on how much money can be spent on future elections. That again parallels the disgraceful behaviour of the Federal Labor Government with its ban on media advertising for elections. This is yet another attempt to place limits on what can be spent on a campaign. That, again, is designed to advantage the Labor Party. Of course, such a move is totally undemocratic. A media ban is a blatant attack on freedom of speech. This legislation, in the sense that it is designed to inhibit actions of Labor's opponents, is yet another attack on free speech.

I turn to some examples of the dubious political donations received by the Labor Party. An article in *The West Australian* of 9 April 1991 states that Brian Burke's private secretary, Mrs Brenda Brush, opened a leader's fund bank account in June 1985 with \$300 000 in cash. I understand the account was called "The No 1 Advertising Account", but I have read

elsewhere that it was called "The ALP No 1 Advertising Account". The tax man would be interested in who used that account. The Royal Commission has been told that there were three such leader's fund accounts and that over the following two months up to \$3 million was deposited in those accounts. This is obviously relevant to my comments about that earlier arrangement between Yosse Goldberg and David Parker about the puppet theatre in Fremantle, the shareholding, and so on.

One of the early deposits came from Yosse Goldberg. An amount of \$200 000 came from Western Continental Corporation through lawyer Leon Musca's trust account. That went in a little later than the first deposit. *The West Australian* of 23 April 1992 referred to a donation of \$150 000 to the No 1 advertising account - I say to Brian Burke - in July 1985 of which \$75 000 came from Kevin Parry's Halls Head Company, Esplanade Mandurah, and \$75 000 from the State Superannuation Board. The Burke Government was not only squeezing political donations from a businessman it was dealing with at the time but also receiving political donations from the State Superannuation Board, a Government body. That is absolutely amazing! It was also most secret.

Many of these deals involved secrecy. The Western Australian public did not know that the State Superannuation Board gave \$75 000 to the Labor Party, or Brian Burke. In fact, many of the chief executives of the companies involved denied any knowledge of that transaction. Whether the Labor Party got all of the money, some of it, or none of it is yet to be discovered. Was that money under the control of Brian Burke? It does not appear that it was given specifically for campaign purposes. If it was not given for campaign purposes, I doubt that it is covered by this legislation; in other words, transactions like that could continue untouched by legislation such as this. This legislation will not stop unsavoury practices like that. Similar legislation was introduced into the Federal Parliament in 1983 relating to political disclosures. That legislation was deliberately evaded by representatives of the Labor Party.

In April 1992 *The West Australian* reported that Brian Burke got the boys together in June 1987 to collect funds for the 1987 Federal election. That was the famous luncheon which could be titled "No talk about the gold tax". That lunch was held on 15 June 1987 and was attended by the then Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, Premier Burke and a number of prominent Western Australian businessmen. That luncheon raised \$1.35 million for Labor for which Terry Burke received a commission of \$337 000. That destroys the claim there is no such thing as a free lunch! We found out later that apparently the taxpayers of Western Australia paid for that lunch, so the Labor Party was screwing the lemon pretty tightly. Terry Burke apparently raised \$2.4 million for the Labor Party through his fund raising for which he received a \$600 000 commission. The article to which I have just referred quotes the former ALP national secretary, Senator Bob McMullan, as saying that up to \$1 million could have been given from Western Australia to the national election campaign in 1987. The article states also that it is understood that the ALP escaped the provisions for disclosure by getting a friendly company to borrow money which it then donated to the party before the writs were issued for the 1987 election. Therefore, again we see that key people in the administrative side of the Labor Party have admitted that huge sums of money were passed from Western Australia to Canberra to deliberately evade the legislation which the Labor Party had introduced and embraced and on which it had tried to claim the high political moral ground.

The current National Secretary of the Australian Labor Party, Bob Hogg, is reported in *The West Australian* of 10 April 1991 as stating that the 1987 Federal Labor campaign received \$950 000 from Western Australia. That makes it pretty clear that about \$1 million went across to Canberra in that way; yet we have to listen to members of the same Australian Labor Party pretending to be moralistic about political donations and see Western Australia's political Al Capones seeking to claim the high moral ground. The Minister for Parliamentary and Electoral Reform, who introduced this Bill, is a key member of the ALP. I understand that he is still the State President of the Western Australian Branch of the Australian Labor Party. That branch declared to the Australian Electoral Commission for the 1987 Federal election that it raised \$107 643 in election donations. McMullan and Hogg have admitted that about \$1 million was donated, yet the records disclose that a sum of approximately \$100 000 was donated in Western Australia. Bob Hogg stated that that money came mostly from the unions - again, it is quite separate from that big lunch donation - and that no businessman donated more than \$5 000.

The *Sunday Times* of 7 April 1991 states that about \$1 million went into Burke's leader's account in Perth and that a Canberra based Labor Party company called Legacies and Gifts Ltd is shown in the Australian Electoral Commission records as donating approximately \$1.9 million to Labor Party funds between May and June 1987. The *Sunday Times* suggests that it seems possible that WA's donation was hidden in Legacies and Gifts Ltd's \$1.9 million donation. Therefore, although one statement is that it was borrowed and the other statement is that it was just paid in that way, they are not mutually exclusive, and clearly there was secrecy and evasion by the party which has introduced this legislation. Had it not been for the Royal Commission, the real source of those funds would never have been disclosed. We are talking about \$1 million and about a party hypocritically saying one thing yet taking another course of action.

This legislation will trap the small donor. The donor who may want to give \$250 to your campaign, Mr Speaker, or to mine, will be caught. His name will be splashed in the newspapers. That is typical cant and humbug. It is obvious to anyone who reads carefully the newspaper stories of the Royal Commission that Brian Burke was heavying businessmen with whom the Government did business. There is a story in today's *The West Australian* about how Brian Burke used to ring up people and heavy them to make donations.

Mr Court: And if someone complained, he sued him.

Mr CLARKO: Did he? Perhaps the member for Nedlands can talk about that later.

When a Government is heavily involved in a business deal with a particular businessman and at the same time comes the heavy on that person for a donation, that is traditionally and fundamentally seen as the quintessence of corrupt Government. That is bad enough if it involves donations to a political party. It is clearly worse if it involves donations to a member of Parliament, and much worse if it involves the Premier and the Ministers of the Government who have, as we all know, increasing power with regard to Government decisions.

It is worth my commenting on how these donations were used. We have heard repeatedly that some of them were used for illegal cavesdropping on Liberal Party politicians such as Ian Laurance and Ross Lightfoot at the direction of the former Premier, Brian Burke. We know about those persons. Who do we not know about?

Mr Kierath: There are more persons about whom we have not heard.

Mr CLARKO: Exactly. That is only the tip of the iceberg. It is a sort of KGB, Soviet Secret Police style of Government. Brian Burke's agent, Robert Smith, is now in gaol as part of this dirty tricks deal. If Robert Smith had been following the instructions of senior politicians, should not they pay heavily also?

Mr Court: What you are saying is very serious. Is it not interesting that not one Labor Party frontbench member is listening to what is taking place in this debate? They are not here because they cannot look any of us straight in the eye when this subject is raised.

Mr CLARKO: We know that this money was used for dealings in relation to purchasing stamps and trading in gold. It is interesting that because typical Labor people were running this, they lost money in both cases! I would not like to make a donation to the Labor Party and have the Labor Party invest it for me.

Mr Court: It is called the stamp of authority!

Mr CLARKO: Yes.

The SPEAKER: What if people made a donation and the Labor Party did not invest it?

Mr CLARKO: I reckon it would be much safer.

A further consequence of this WA Watergate is the serious effect that it has had on the physical health of Western Australians. The Labor Party has created a new disease called "WA Inc amnesia", also commonly known as "I cannot remember".

Mr Kierath: It is characterised by the fact that before and immediately after they have absolute clarity of memory.

Mr Kobelke: That is why you are reading your speech. You cannot remember what they are asking you to say.

Mr CLARKO: The member for Nollamara is a little man with a bullfrog voice, and he would do better if he tried to carry on as he inadequately performs around this place, because I am not reading. I have extensive notes because the member for Nollamara and his cronies in the political party to which he belongs have been involved in so many dirty deals that it is not possible, even for people with good memories, to remember them.

Withdrawal of Remark

The SPEAKER: I will cop the generalisation but not the specific allegation. Withdraw it.

Mr CLARKO: I certainly withdraw.

The SPEAKER: I might say, and I give each and every person in here warning now, that this will apply evenly to everybody in this place.

Mr CLARKO: I understand that. I am more than happy to cooperate with you, Mr Speaker, in any way where you find that I am saying something that is improper. You would have noticed this morning that every time I said those sorts of things it was in response to rude remarks made to me. The way I have been brought up in life is that if someone makes a rude remark to me, I give him something back, and it is usually better.

The SPEAKER: It is always better.

Debate Resumed

Mr CLARKO: I gave the example earlier of the \$300 000 that was given by Yosse Goldberg's Western Continental Corporation after that company won control of Fremantle Gas and Coke Co Ltd in a highly suspect Labor deal involving David Parker. A \$200 000 cheque went to the leader's account, yet Brenda Brush said in *The West Australian* of 16 March 1991 that she could not remember what she had done with the \$100 000 cash cheque that was also paid to her, although it had been cashed.

Mr Kierath: In my previous business dealings we used to handle millions of dollars, and I can remember almost every single cheque over about \$10 000 or \$20 000. To have somebody say that they can't remember -

Mr CLARKO: It was \$100 000, and she forgot about it. It has already been said repeatedly that when the Royal Commission asked for many records of the last nine years it was told by Labor people that they had been shredded. I talked about memory earlier. In regard to David Parker's purchase of his house in Fremantle, again those papers cannot be found. Chris Evans, the State Secretary of the Australian Labor Party, stated to the Royal Commission that the WA Labor Party did not have any records relating to the so-called leader's fund set up by former Premier Brian Burke. That appeared in *The West Australian* on 19 April 1991; yet at the same time that he could not find the records of Brian Burke's fund he was able to present records of a leader's fund administered by former Premier Peter Dowding. If one were a cynic, which I am not, one would wonder why the Labor Party lost one but could produce the other.

It is believed that about \$6 million went through or into Burke's leader's funds, \$3 million in June and July 1985, \$2.4 million in 1987, and other donations. In the *Sunday Times* of 21 April 1992 Martin Saxon said that between 1984 and 1986 the John Curtin Foundation received donations on behalf of the Labor Party of \$850 000 - just under \$1 million. In *The West Australian* of 26 March 1991 Chris Evans said - and we must believe him, must we not - that it was not used for election purposes but to develop the Labor Centre in Perth, to establish a Labor presence in regional WA and to finance scholarships and grants to advance young Western Australians. When he talks about a Labor presence in regional WA I do not know whether that means offices were set up throughout regional Western Australia. If that is the case it is sheer humbug for Mr Evans to say it was not used for election purposes.

The question of the morality of these Labor figureheads is raised most clearly by someone who should know, who said, "I am surrounded by liars and cheats. Now you want more money. Who are we saving from going to jail this time?" That was Peter Dowding, Labor Premier, in October 1988 as reported in the *Sunday Times* of 28 April 1991. He said he was surrounded by liars and cheats.

Mr Lewis: To whom was he referring - his Labor colleagues?

Mr CLARKO: Probably. No doubt all of the henchmen they had working with them.

Everyone in Western Australia who is interested in the affairs of this State knows that Peter Ellett purchased the Midland abattoirs and that he got it for a very low price - a red hot special of \$450 000. It was a real bargain.

Mr Pearce: You should look at the submission made by the solicitor to the Royal Commission in that matter and in terms of what the Government's position is.

Mr CLARKO: I have spoken to a few valuers who tell me that a number of acres of that land are right on the edge of the Swan River and that if properly subdivided the land would be worth millions. In *The West Australian* of 21 December 1991 the Royal Commission counsel, Mr Roger Davis, claimed that Mr Ellett donated about \$45 000 for the 1989 State election to the member for Helena - the Minister for Mines - and the member for Swan Hills. The Minister for Mines received a donation from Mr Ellett of \$30 000, which was 70 per cent of the cost of his campaign, and \$14 000 went to the member for Swan Hills. The point I am going to make is not the one members think.

Mr Gordon Hill: Are you supporting the legislation? You should.

Mr CLARKO: No, I am doing exactly the opposite. We have a situation where two people who have been Ministers in the Labor Government received these very large sums of money -

Mr Gordon Hill: We did not receive any money.

Mr CLARKO: - from a person who was involved in a deal which is under examination at the moment in regard to whether it was a true deal. We know the Minister for Mines received \$30 000 and the member for Swan Hills received \$14 000.

Mr Gordon Hill: That is not true.

Mr CLARKO: We know that money went to their campaigns, and the member for Swan Hills admits the accounts were done in such a way that that would not be disclosed. Now that we know that, let us say that there was disclosure of political donations and that those donations were disclosed in the returns of those two members. What would that prove? Would it prove they were corrupt? I suggest they would say it would not. I think the Minister for Mines would say that the fact that Mr Ellett gave him \$30 000 was not corruption, and that it was not a return for favours.

Mr Gordon Hill: It isn't true.

Mr CLARKO: Does the Royal Commission have this evidence? Is the Minister saying that the evidence that \$30 000 was paid by Mr Ellett for his campaign is wrong?

Mr Gordon Hill: It was paid to an advertising agent. That is a common practice and some members opposite -

Mr CLARKO: But it was still paid. I am not taking issue with that.

Mr Gordon Hill: I did not see any of it.

Mr CLARKO: It was for the Minister's campaign; and now that we know it, does that prove the Minister is corrupt? Of course it does not.

Mr Gordon Hill: Of course it doesn't.

Mr CLARKO: So if all of our records were produced and this came out every time, would it prove people were corrupt? The Minister and I say no, but the stickybeaks of this world would have a feast on that. Although the Minister believes, possibly truly, that there is no taint at all in regard to that money, when he retires from Parliament someone will write the story of how he was involved in a deal like this, making the innuendo that in some way he did something wrong; and he will deny that. This legislation does exactly that for every one of us. The Minister gives me his word that there is nothing tainted about that donation, and I am sure the other member would do the same, yet this legislation is designed to look at things exactly like that situation, and even less. A wealthy businessman might give \$30 000 to somebody and have no involvement of any sort with an abattoirs deal or anything else, yet people will make something of that as well. They will make the Minister's case a cause celebre, whether or not it was perfectly honest. The Minister will go to his grave with this hanging over him, and that is the situation the Government is trying to put over every member of Parliament and every future member of Parliament. That example highlights the grave weakness of this legislation.

Dr Gallop: Are you saying you are against this legislation in principle?

Mr CLARKO: I am saying this legislation is totally inadequate. It does not do the job.

Dr Gallop: Are you opposing the principle of this legislation?

Mr CLARKO: The Minister for Parliamentary and Electoral Reform does not run this place like a high school prefect. We have a classic case with these two members of Parliament. We know the information and these two members say it does not imply anything improper, and I would suggest they would say it does not need to be produced.

Dr Gallop: You are against the principle of disclosure.

Mr CLARKO: The Minister can try to put any words he wants into my mouth.

Dr Gallop: That is what you said.

Mr CLARKO: No, I did not say that. As usual the Minister is a complete stranger to the truth. We know when he is fibbing because his lips move. He regards truth as his most honest possession and he uses it sparingly.

Withdrawal of Remark

The ACTING SPEAKER (Mr Kobelke): Order! The Speaker has given a very clear instruction to the House today that he will accept no member making direct imputations against another member. The member who has the call just did that and I ask him to withdraw.

Mr CLARKO: What is the point you want me to withdraw, Mr Acting Speaker? I made no direct reference to the Minister. What I said about his being a stranger to the truth was a joke first told about a hundred years ago in the English Parliament.

The ACTING SPEAKER: I am upholding a direction given quite clearly earlier by the Speaker. A comment by the member for Marmion about a person's lips moving and his not telling the truth was made directly at a person interjecting and I ask him to withdraw.

Mr CLARKO: I certainly withdraw. I think it would be helpful if the Acting Speaker read the book on the words which must be withdrawn.

Debate Resumed

Mr CLARKO: The point is that the member for Swan Hills and the member for Helena were quoted in *The West Australian* on 8 February 1992 as saying that there was no evidence of corruption, illegality or impropriety with the two donations, and that it was reported in such a way that it would have left a smear on the names of those two people. That is what will happen in future in relation to disclosures of political donations.

Returning to the legislation, my first point is that if the disclosure of political donations should be revealed to an official body - and some people argue that political donations should be revealed to a political body - that does not necessarily mean the information should also be made public. My argument applies not only to this legislation but also to legislation which has been on the Notice Paper since 1989 due to the incompetence of the Government, relating to the disclosure of the assets of members of Parliament. Our amendment says that the information should be placed with the Chief Justice, and that it should be made available only if a specific complaint is made. It would not be axiomatic that the disclosure of political donations is made public. Such information could be disclosed only to a key person.

In Australia recent tradition is that Ministers disclose their assets to their Premier. The Premier retains that information and does not disclose it publicly. I do not believe there is a need for anything other than that.

Dr Gallop: So you are against public disclosure?

Mr CLARKO: If my father happened to give me a donation at election time, why should that be made public? If a friend of mine gave a donation, why should that be made public? We have no evidence that making such donations public advances the system of government of a particular place. No proof has been advanced or a sound case argued to support the theory that because everyone in Western Australia knows that Joe Bloggs gave a donation in excess of \$200 to candidate Smith, that somehow makes the political system pure. It does not. Absolute crooks and trade unionists - although I do not say trade union members are crooks -

do not mind being named. It is the honest people who do not like to be named because they know that they could be and are likely to be intimidated. That is the reason that past Federal legislation included a section saying that people could not be intimidated; because intimidation does occur.

My second point queries the disclosure of donations of \$200 and above for a local candidate and \$1 000 for a political party. What is magic about the figure of \$200 for a candidate? I believe the \$200 figure comes from the first legislation in Australia on this matter which was passed in New South Wales in November 1981. I would think that in real terms \$200 in 1981 would be worth about \$50 today. The effect of this legislation will be to cut out donations, and donations usually come to parties of our type, not to the Labor Party. Fixed sums go to the Labor Party from the trade union movement, which does not pay income tax.

Dr Gallop: Those sums are not fixed.

Mr CLARKO: They have a free ride. Were the trade unions to pay income tax, or some other tax, it would be interesting to see how much lower the donations would be. The Government has not given a satisfactory explanation for the change in the figures from \$300 and \$1 500, as in previous legislation, to the \$200 and \$1 000 figures - except perhaps to make them consistent with the Federal legislation. Of course, it is convenient for the Government for these figures to be lower. Why not cut out all set amounts? Why not record every donation? No argument has been put forward for that proposition. I put it to the Government that the legislation highlights the fact that the amounts chosen are proof positive that this is an attempt to close off donations to other political parties. If one believes that these amounts should be publicly disclosed, or even just disclosed, they should be in the order of, say, \$10 000 for a candidate and \$20 000 or more for a political party. Certainly anyone who reads *The West Australian* and other newspapers would be aware that the amounts that are floated around are in the vicinity of \$100 000 to \$400 000. The people of Western Australia perhaps are becoming attracted to the idea of the disclosure of political donations because of the huge sums involved - not amounts of \$200. This is part of the cant and hypocrisy of this legislation.

In his second reading speech the Minister said that the potentiality of influence will be constrained if people reveal political donations. Will it constrain the unions? It will not do that in any way. Any union would be happy to give the Labor Party amounts of \$1 million, \$10 million or even \$100 million, if it had that money; they suffer no embarrassment. The Minister should have said that apart from the unions the potentiality of influence perhaps will be constrained. I wonder whether the names of the trade unionists should be published when trade unions give money to the Labor Party. That would be interesting.

Another serious question with this legislation is the retrospectivity factor. The Minister has stated that it is essential the legislation come into force before the next election in early 1993. If that is the case, all donations received by any party since March 1989 will be revealed publicly. That is, we will name the people who gave donations three or four years ago. The names of those persons will be published in the newspapers. If those people had asked when they donated to political parties whether their names would be made public they would have been told that would not be the case because there was no requirement to publish donations to a State election campaign. Those people have been gravely misled. Their names will be published in the first edition of any newspaper that comes out after this matter is reported. That is absolutely disgraceful because - if I read the Minister's comments correctly - it will be possible to go back to one month after the previous election of any sitting member. That will be the absolute pits; but then this Government has been in the pits for a long time. It is almost like changing the rules in a football game at three quarter time.

I have mentioned this case before: A few years ago a fellow came to me to make a political donation. At that stage we had a scheme run by Hon Bob Pike called Liberal bonds. That was the source of our funds to handle election campaigns and so on. The man who came to me was a Hungarian. He wished to make an anonymous donation, and I said that would be all right. I sent in the donation. However, unknown to me someone rang my office and asked who had made the donation. Whoever answered the phone gave the name of the donor. A year or two later, in the way that political parties and businesses work, someone went through the list and wrote to the person involved. When he came to my office his face was white with fear. He said that in his country in the past the Communists would come in

the middle of the night and take away people associated with opposition political parties. Those people were never seen again. He said, "That is what you have done", and I said, "I'm sorry; I did not mean to." However, that will be the outcome of this legislation because donations, not only those related to election campaigns, will have to be disclosed. As I read the extracts of the Federal legislation provided - for which I thank the Minister - it seems that it excludes money not to be used for election purposes. The Federal legislation is difficult to read because of a series of amendments; nevertheless, that is my reading of it.

Dr Gallop: It depends upon to whom the money is going; be it a party, a candidate and so on.

Mr CLARKO: It is important that the Minister clarifies this in his reply. It seems from the Minister's comments that in future incomes and expenditures of political parties will be controlled. The Minister wants to know every penny that a political party has and from where it came. Why? It is like the KGB.

Dr Gallop: We are looking to limit political expenditure.

Mr Kierath: You don't have any money and you don't want us to have any either!

Mr CLARKO: Members opposite obtain money in a different way.

Dr Gallop: We want to live in a free and open society.

Mr CLARKO: What humbug! What about the Government's record over the past nine years? How open was Brian Burke's leader's account? The Minister is the President of the Australian Labor Party in Western Australia. I belong to the Claremont Football Club and when the team loses people have a go at me. When the Minister is the President of the ALP, people will point the finger at him - and so they should. It is important that the Minister clarifies whether the Labor Party wants to know all of the moneys provided to political parties; that is, their incomes and expenditures. I suspect that it does. One does not have to be clever to know that the ALP wants the information on other parties. It has information on its own affairs, and it wants to know about others because it is a classic stickybeak and a ruthless power monger.

Mr Kierath: They want to know who else they can send around the bag man to see.

Mr CLARKO: That is right. The Minister claims in the second reading speech that -

The use of foundations, trusts and out of State organisations through which to channel donations in order to avoid disclosure of the original donor is harder to regulate.

That is because it is possible that the original donor will not be disclosed. However, Hon Max Evans indicated that it is possible to obtain money from trusts in the present situation.

Mr Lewis: The Labor Party has such a trust operating out of Canberra, which will be used.

Mr CLARKO: I return to the Minister's claim that if complementary legislation is not enacted with the Commonwealth and all States, it is not possible to have watertight legislation and to produce the names of all donors. If that is the case, people will be able to evade the requirements of this legislation. That is axiomatic. The Australian Labor Party, at a State and Federal level, introduces such legislation, yet it tells humbug stories about wanting to live in a free country. It has deliberately done the opposite, according to my colleague, and the ALP still has facilities in place to avoid the legislation and to hide the names and addresses of donors. What credibility!

Dr Gallop: You are wrong.

Mr CLARKO: The second reading speech indicates -

Significant progress has been achieved by the Commonwealth Political Broadcasts and Political Disclosures Act 1991, which now requires an annual report of all income, debts and expenditure by each registered political party and State branch.

This indicates that the Commonwealth legislation requires an annual report of all income, debts and expenditure of all political parties in Australia. I would appreciate it if the Minister would expand on that point later. If that is the case, why do we need the legislation before the House? It appears that the Liberal and National Parties, and presumably the Independents, must provide information to the Commonwealth; therefore, why are we undertaking this exercise?

Dr Gallop: For a simple reason: There are institutions called State elections. Right?

Mr CLARKO: The Minister says that it is not good enough to obtain information from the Western Australian Liberal Party on all debts, income and expenditure, and that he wants to go further. Does the Minister say that the money spent by the Western Australian Liberal Party in a State election must not be provided to the Commonwealth?

Dr Gallop: I am talking about people such as the member for Floreat.

Mr CLARKO: Why does the Minister not come out and say that it is necessary for the Liberal Party to provide that information now, but this legislation will require information on individual campaigns held on a district by district basis?

Dr Gallop: We must cover State elections.

Mr CLARKO: If all information must be placed on the Table in Canberra, why does the Minister suggest that he needs that information when it is already available? I find that incredible. The Minister introduced this legislation before the Federal legislation was passed, and now he has introduced his legislation a second time. He should have tidied it up a little more. The Federal requirements are a gross interference in State affairs. I felt weak and began to tremble when I read the Minister's second reading speech. It claims that a balance is necessary between the right of the public to know the extent of financial assistance in politics and the right to privacy.

Dr Gallop: That sounds like a balanced statement.

Mr CLARKO: I took out my smelling salts and drew myself together. Did the Minister have a Liberal Party mole helping him write the speech? How can the Minister introduce such legislation and talk about the right to privacy? Socialists do not believe in privacy. The Minister would have made a marvellous commissar in the KGB. The second reading speech also claims that this legislation "improves on the Commonwealth and New South Wales legislation". The Minister must use the same dictionary as the member for Perth: When he says, "improves" he means "increases control" and the possibility of intervention on individuals. Again, this is a gross intrusion into people's privacy.

This legislation deals with income, but the Minister proposed - the word should be threatened - that the Government would shortly introduce legislation dealing with limitations on expenditure and further disclosure. That is absolutely disgraceful! The Minister wants not only to know the information about parties, but also to control them. This is indicated in his comments regarding the introduction of campaign expenditure limitation legislation. That is totally reprehensible, anti-democratic and anti-Australian. It is just a device to try to weaken our electoral position. That is probably the most evil part of what has been said by the Minister in support of this legislation. A classic example of humbug was the Minister saying that political parties could voluntarily adopt a public code of ethics about fund raising. Why does the Labor Party not have such a code right now?

Dr Gallop: We have.

Mr CLARKO: That is typical of the Minister - he is speaking from outside the Chamber! And nothing will be said to him about it.

Mr Pearce: The member for Marmion is reading his speech. He can hardly complain.

Mr CLARKO: I am not reading my speech. The truth of the matter is that the Leader of the House would do a lot better if he read his speeches. About three-quarters of the members opposite read their speeches all the time. Many members opposite have been given the opportunity to deliver only two or three speeches. One cannot deal with this sort of legislation and all the matters raised by it and all the quotes I have to refer to without putting them down in some form on paper. There is a big difference between what I am saying and what is in my notes. It proves I am hurting the Government if the Leader of the House indulges in such a cheap comment.

It is sheer humbug for the Minister to say the Labor Party has a public code of ethics. If it exists, it would be desirable for the Minister to bring it out and tell us how long the Labor Party has had it. Did the Government have it when Brian Burke was taking these funds, when David Parker had his satchel with all the money? The newspaper headline on Wednesday, 24 April 1991 was, "Parker explains his satchel full of cash." That was the

Deputy Premier of members opposite. If those members read this morning's newspaper they would see an article headed, "Requests got ALP \$250 000" which stated -

Two leading WA businessmen told the royal commission yesterday that Brian Burke asked them to make donations of \$150,000 and \$200,000 . . .

These are people who were doing business with Government and that is what Brian Burke said to them. That is today's newspaper, and yesterday's probably was not much different, nor that on any other day of the week. The Minister made the point that we should not delay until after the Royal Commission has made its recommendations. However, in my notes I have jotted down three cases of various members opposite, including the Minister for Parliamentary and Electoral Reform, the Premier and another person, saying that they would not deal with a matter until after the Royal Commission had made its findings; that we should not jump into the matter while the Royal Commission is half way through its work. We are still hearing about these corrupt donations and we should wait until the Royal Commission has made its recommendations and said what should be done about the donations issue, or perhaps ignored it. On behalf of the Liberal Party I undertake that when it is Government, if the Royal Commission has not properly discussed the matter, we will hold an inquiry into the donations that we have been hearing about for the last year or so, and as a result of such an examination we will look at what the legislation should be in regard to the disclosure of political donations. This legislation is retrospective for three or four years and that is an absolute disgrace.

Dr Gallop: That is totally untrue. Read the transitional clause.

Mr CLARKO: The Minister did not make any comment about returns concerning the next election. The transitional clause says that when an election occurs one can go back to the month after the previous election. I will be happy for the Minister to say that is not true.

Dr Gallop: Well, it is not true.

Mr CLARKO: Then I can run around now and get all these donations. Members opposite have obviously been doing it because they are handling this legislation. Is the Minister telling me that I can get all these donations and get them sweet for the next election? Can I get all the donations I want in the way that the Minister thinks is reprehensible? Can I do that or not?

Dr Gallop: It is not retrospective.

[The member's time expired.]

MR PEARCE (Armadale - Leader of the House) [11.16 am]: I have had considerable difficulty in following the logic of the speech given on behalf of the Liberal Party by the member for Marmion. Several of my colleagues pointed out to me privately and by way of louder interjection for the benefit of the Chamber that the member for Marmion seemed to be giving an excellent speech in support of the proposition that legislation to reveal financial donations is required. In his long rundown about what he alleged had happened with donation collections by previous Labor Governments, one would have thought the obvious conclusion to be reached at the end of the member's speech was that public disclosure of political donations would not have led to the abuses which he alleges. But at the end of it the member for Marmion came to a quite different conclusion: That the right of privacy requires that these things not be revealed. If they are not to be revealed, which is what the Liberal Party wants, why are members opposite complaining about this legislation? If their view is that we ought not to have disclosure of political donations, why are they complaining about political donations being received and not publicly declared? That is the dilemma the Liberal Party must face in the debate today.

Mr Court: It wouldn't matter what the legislation was, you people would find a way around it. You would be the absolute experts at staying in power at any price.

Mr PEARCE: I have a different view. Because of the way in which the Royal Commission was set up, and because of the issues that were set before it, it was always going to be the case that the Labor Party's donations would be examined by the Royal Commission. There has not been a concomitant review of the Liberal Party's practices.

Mr Court: That is absolute nonsense.

Mr PEARCE: No it is not absolute nonsense. Apart from a couple of minor exceptions like former Liberal Premier O'Connor, there have not been, for example, search warrants executed on a range of Liberal Party bank accounts, or the kind of scrutiny which has been given to the Labor Party.

Mr Court: Don't spread it around, but we have not had a lot of money in the last decade.

Mr PEARCE: That is true, too. One of the points about this is that money tends to go to success. While we were in Government, and clearly going to be in Government, the bulk of donations came to us. I sat in this Parliament from 1977 and I was involved in campaigns going back to 1969 when the Labor Party was deep in Opposition at both State and Federal levels and in those years the Labor Party was outspent 10:1 or 20:1 in election campaign expenditure.

A classic example affected me in the 1980 State election when I held the most marginal seat in the State. I was subjected to a very substantial Liberal campaign to take that seat from me. On that campaign I spent \$3 000, all of which came from my own bank account. I was subjected to a campaign which on any assessment cost at least \$30 000 and maybe \$50 000. That money did not come out of the bank account of the Liberal candidate, it came from substantial donations. In the 1977 and 1980 elections which I contested there was a huge expenditure on television and newspaper advertising by the Liberal Party which dramatically overwhelmed the small amount the Labor Party was able to raise in the days when the Liberal Party was in Government. I do not believe that there was any substantial difference between the way in which the Liberal Party raised its funds from business in the days when it was in Government, and the way the Labor Party raised funds in the days when it was in Government.

Mr Kierath: There were no strings attached.

Mr PEARCE: Let us deal with the "strings attached" issue. The one point that was made by the member for Marmion in alleging there were strings attached related to the Prestige Brick and Midland abattoirs business. I know, as every member of this House knows and anyone who has followed the Royal Commission will know, that the Royal Commission's lawyers in making their submission in regard to the Midland abattoirs terms of reference made it quite clear that the Minister responsible - that is the person who acted for the Government in the whole business - was not dealing in any strings attached way. The Minister emerged not only unscathed but also with his reputation enhanced by the way in which the Royal Commission lawyers put to the commission the conclusions which they reached. So for the member for Marmion to suggest that the Royal Commission came to any conclusion about strings attached with regard to Midland abattoirs is simply untrue.

Mr Clarko: I did not say that.

Mr PEARCE: One could leap to conclusions that strings were attached in that same business, but in another direction. It is no secret to anybody that a significant contributor - and it came out at the Royal Commission - to the Liberal Party was Ric New from Midland Brick Co Pty Ltd. Who was standing up in this House week after week supporting Mr New's interests but the recipients of his largesse? That is to say, members of the Liberal Party. One may want to draw a very clear connection between the receiving of money from Mr New by the Liberal Party and the protection of his business interests in the Parliament by the Liberal Party. The Government always said that significant donations were made by Mr New, but because no public disclosure of them was made, that was denied by the Opposition. Mr New's representatives had to advise the Royal Commission of how much he had given the Liberal Party. The claims and counterclaims about political donations, allegations of strings attached and the perception in the community that if a person received money he would receive something in return -

Mr Court: They received plenty of favours for the money they gave you.

Mr PEARCE: That is not the case.

Mr Court: We will tell you about some of the favours.

Mr PEARCE: The member for Nedlands should do that. Why does he not attend the Royal Commission and tell the commissioners?

Mr Court: We have been there.

Mr PEARCE: The Opposition has not been before the Royal Commission and told it anything.

Mr Court: As you say, you should go to the proper authorities. We have been to the proper authorities and you people will have your judgment day.

Mr PEARCE: We will see about that. We have already discussed what happened regarding the terms of reference for the Prestige Brick-Midland saleyards inquiry. From reading the newspapers it seems to me that the person in the most trouble from the Royal Commission is a former Liberal Premier. I doubt that is what the Opposition thought would happen when it was pressing so hard for the Royal Commission to be established. We will see what the Royal Commissioners have to say about Mr O'Connor. It is fair to say that the one conclusion every decent person should draw from the Royal Commission's investigations is that many problems, real or perceived, would have been overcome had declarations been made of donations. People would have seen what the donations were and could have drawn conclusions. The fact that donations were not declared has led to this trouble. However, I have difficulty understanding why, given the performance of Opposition members this very second about alleged donations and links thereto, they are not supporting this legislation.

Mr Clarko: A lot of donations have nothing to do with this legislation. If Yosse Goldberg gave \$25 000 to the Spare Parts Theatre, how would that be covered?

Mr PEARCE: That was not a political donation.

Mr Clarko: Of course it was. He did it for whatever favours he could receive from Parker.

Mr PEARCE: That is an unbelievably specious argument. The member for Marmion is saying that millions of dollars were given in direct political donations and that that was a shameful thing. Yet he says those types of donations should not have to be publicly revealed because somebody may want to make donations to a puppet company which might have political ramifications; and if we cannot have a Bill which covers all aspects we should not have a Bill. What logic is in that? If the member for Marmion believes that donations made to groups like the Spare Parts Theatre should be included in the legislation, he can move an amendment at the Committee stage. In the light of what Opposition members are saying, what possible reason could they have for not wanting political donations to be revealed? The only answer is that if donations to parties are revealed, that will put a significant spoke in the Opposition's works.

Mr Lewis: The very simple reason is that people who donate to our side may also donate to the Labor Party. If members in Government know who is donating to us they may try to screw them for a donation. Government members would heavy them politically as did Premier Burke to Yovich and to other businessmen. He called them into his office and said that he wanted a donation of \$150 000 or else!

Mr PEARCE: I am pleased I stopped to hear those comments. That summarises very neatly the hypocrisy in the Liberal Party. It wants declaration of Labor Party donations, but not declaration of Liberal Party donations. That is exactly what the member for Applecross means. He is saying we must declare donations in Government, but not in Opposition, and that the Opposition does not want it to be known who is giving money to the Liberal Party.

Mr Lewis: The donors may not want it known.

Mr PEARCE: The Opposition is saying that if donations must be declared, people will not donate.

Mr Lewis: Do you really think Mr Connell would have wanted it known that he gave \$1 million to Premier Burke?

Mr PEARCE: Once this legislation is in place, if people do not want it known that they are making surreptitious donations, they will not make them. For heaven's sake, can the member for Applecross not see the logic of that? If this legislation had been in place when Mr Connell wanted to donate \$1 million - and he did not want that to be known - he would not have made the donation. One of the important aspects this legislation will achieve will be to prevent people from making surreptitious donations.

Mr Clarko interjected.

Mr PEARCE: That is specious. Members opposite should get their act together with their

argument. The member for Marmion is arguing that the legislation will not work because some categories of donation will not be covered. On the other hand, the member for Applecross is arguing that the trouble with the legislation is that if the Liberal Party had to reveal who were its donors the Government would heavy them. They are arguing along different lines. The member for Applecross is saying the Opposition does not want the people known who make donations to the Liberal Party. What hypocrites members opposite are! Week after week, month after month, year after year they have complained about political donations. However, when the Government indicates it would be fair to implement a system to make political donations open so that claims cannot be made, who is the first group to say it does not want declarations of political donations? It is not the party about which the allegations are being made; it is the party making the allegations. What strange hypocrisy! The member for Applecross has referred time after time to political donations being made surreptitiously and that they should be brought into the light of day. In response the Government has proposed a law which will achieve that, yet the Opposition has said, "Barleys; not our donations." Members opposite do not want to reveal their donations and there are reasons for that. A little later today one of my colleagues will make a few comments about political party fundraising by the Liberal Party and some of the things the Liberal Party may have to fear from this legislation.

Mr Bloffwitch: We haven't heard much about the donations we got, but we are hearing a lot about the ones you got.

Mr PEARCE: That is exactly right. The member for Geraldton should have come into the House a touch earlier. I made that point about the Royal Commission. He has supported something I said; that is, that the Liberal Party is very anxious that Labor Party donations are revealed, but not so much the Liberal Party donations. The Royal Commission has made a very substantial scrutiny of fundraising by the Labor Party. However, it has not made an equally extensive scrutiny of fundraising by the Liberal Party.

Mr Lewis: It has all our records.

Mr PEARCE: I am aware that some Liberal Party records were supplied to the Royal Commission, but no effort was made to obtain search warrants to search banks to determine what else took place with the Liberal Party. The matters my colleagues will talk about later today were not covered by the Royal Commission. Given its nature and the way in which it was set up, that is not surprising. It does not detract one bit from the intense hypocrisy of Liberal Party members in this matter. They cannot squeal for the Labor Party to tell them about its donations at the same time as they say they should not be required to reveal their donations. As did the member for Nedlands, the Liberal Party has compared its donations while in Opposition with Labor Party donations while it is in Government. I would like to see this issue examined retrospectively. Where did the Liberal Party money come from when the Labor Party was in Opposition and the Liberal Party was in Government outspending the Labor Party at a rate of 20:1 at election campaigns?

Mr Lewis interjected.

Withdrawal of Remark

The SPEAKER: Order! The member for Applecross should withdraw that remark.

Mr LEWIS: Why?

The SPEAKER: The words, "The protection money that you screwed out of people" directed at the Leader of the House are totally unparliamentary, undignified and unbecoming of the member for Applecross.

Mr LEWIS: I withdraw, Mr Speaker.

Debate Resumed

Mr PEARCE: Although I did not hear that interjection, it is not true of the Government. However, I will not canvass the issue further.

In seeking to have this kind of discussion, the Liberal Party should examine from where the donations came when it was in Government and in a position to do favours. When the Liberal candidate for Gosnells spent \$30 000 or \$40 000 in his campaign, against my \$3 000 campaign, where did that money come from? When Sir Charles Court wished to be on

television four and five times every night - at a time when we could not move for Liberal Party television advertisements - where did the money for those advertisements come from? At that time the Labor Party could not afford television advertising, except in the most limited way. Where did the money the Liberal Party had come from? The money came from business people who made donations to the Government. Those people may have believed that those donations gave them access to or influence with the Government, or the chance of receiving Government contracts, and their beliefs may have been true or false to a greater or lesser extent. I do not know. All I am saying is that the same methods of raising money from the business community, about which the Liberal Party has complained for the past eight or nine years, was the bread and butter for the Liberal Party all those years ago. Members of the Liberal Party are now squealing about political donations from the business community because the Labor Party has been receiving them instead of the Liberal Party.

No-one in this State who follows politics would argue against the proposition that the Liberal Party generally has more of a capacity to receive money from the business community than the Labor Party because, as a political party, it is closer to the business community. That is from where the Liberal Party's money came. It is from the same source that the Labor Party's money came. The Liberal Party has not been receiving that money because the Labor Party is in Government. That does not mean there is any difference between the way in which money was given to the Labor Party and the way money used to be given to the Liberal Party. In fact, some of the expedients which have been adopted to raise money for the Liberal Party in the current circumstances are, as one of my colleagues will demonstrate, substantially shady and would be caught by this legislation.

Mr Lewis: Like your sausage sizzle where you blatantly broke the law.

Mr PEARCE: Take it to the court. The Court of Disputed Returns was set up for that.

Opposition members interjected.

Withdrawal of Remark

The SPEAKER: Order! The member for Applecross should withdraw that allegation. The only way that members will be able to make allegations like that in this place in the future will be by way of a substantive motion. I intend to apply this ruling evenly and firmly.

Mr LEWIS: I withdraw, Mr Speaker. I have also noted your other comments.

Debate Resumed

Mr PEARCE: There is only one way of dealing properly with this: All political donations should be out in the open where everyone can see them.

Mr Clarko: You cannot do it.

Mr PEARCE: If the member for Marmion sincerely believes that there are deficiencies in what the Government is seeking to do, he should put forward amendments which will address those deficiencies. That is the proper action for someone who properly believes in the disclosure of political donations but is concerned that the legislation may not go far enough. He can accept the principles but move amendments to make the legislation cover the loopholes which he believes exist.

Mr Clarko: You are not serious about that, are you?

Mr PEARCE: That is the way to deal with these issues. All the member for Marmion is saying is that all sorts of political donations have been made, that rotten things have happened, that that is dreadful and that the Labor Party should pay for it. He is also saying, on the other hand, that the Labor Party should not have to tell anybody about that because there are ways around the legislation.

Mr Lewis: Haven't a lot of rotten things happened?

Mr PEARCE: Many rotten things have happened with regard to these things in the Liberal Party. The whole business of political fundraising, not only in Australia but also in other democracies, is becoming a huge problem because substantial money is required to run political campaigns. That problem is worse in big places than in small places like Western Australia. The political fundraising in the United States, which involves tens of millions of dollars and many candidates, congressmen and senators raising funds for their campaigns,

has resulted in huge scandals. The same happens in Japan. The issue of political fundraising must be faced in all Western democracies.

Dr Gallop: Do you know what the Opposition is ignoring? It is the general framework that the regulations will now place around political parties and candidates in the process of politics. They don't want it. Why?

Mr PEARCE: That is right.

Mr Lewis: We live in a free society; that is why.

Mr PEARCE: If it is a free society it must be a society where people are free to give donations, yet the member for Applecross argues against that. He does not worry so long as the Liberal Party receives donations, but he thinks there is something obscene about the Labor Party receiving donations. The attitude of all Liberal Party members is that if the Liberal Party receives a donation from a businessman, that is a business person giving voluntarily because, in that person's opinion, it is the best party to run the State. However, it is the Liberal Party's opinion that if a different business person seeks to make a donation to the Labor Party it is because he is being coerced or is a sleazy person after a favour. Members opposite must realise that many wealthy people in this State thought that the Labor Party would provide the best Government and that the Liberal Party was hopeless. That is the basic reason much of the money was given to the Labor Party. Those business people thought that the Labor Party would make the best Government and some of them said so bluntly. When the former Leader of the Opposition raised the issue of Mr Bond's donation before the last State election, and although Mr Bond denied the amount, he admitted openly that he had given a substantial donation to the Labor Party. He said publicly that the reason for that was that he thought the Labor Premier would run the State better than his opponent would.

Mr Clarko: But he was wrong.

Mr PEARCE: The member for Marmion may think he was wrong, but that was not the general view in the community. The Liberal Party should begin to consider the hypocrisy of its position. Either a democracy requires that political donations be exposed so there cannot be a perception of corruption, or it does not.

Mr Clarko interjected.

The SPEAKER: Order! I suggest that the member for Marmion may like to have a cup of tea at this time.

Mr Clarko: Mr Speaker, you were here when I began my speech and will know that the Minister for Parliamentary and Electoral Reform constantly interjected.

The SPEAKER: I have been back in the Chair for about six minutes and your interjections have been incessant - although, that may only have been the case since I have been here.

Mr Clarko: The Minister interjected on me repeatedly, not only while you, Mr Speaker, were here but also when your colleague was in the Chair, and I began to use strong language.

Mr Taylor: But you are a skilled and adept debater.

Mr Clarko: And the Leader of the House is also. He can handle himself in this matter.

The SPEAKER: Members should interject in a more formal manner.

Mr PEARCE: If the perception or reality of corruption is to be avoided in Western democracies, donations must be exposed. That is happening throughout the world. For example, the Federal Parliament is making efforts to reduce the cost of elections by restricting access to the television media, which is the most expensive form of advertising. Some people may argue that that infringes on freedom of speech, but, unless there is some system whereby the money raising guidelines for these things are clearly understood or there is some system of public funding, it will always be the case that the party with the greatest capacity to raise donations will have the best presence in the elections; and if its donations are suspect, people should know about it.

The Government believes that public revelation of donations will do three things: Firstly, it will make it clear to ordinary citizens from where the money for political parties is coming. They will then be able to watch the decisions that the Government makes and reach any

conclusions that they may wish about a tie between a donation which was given by an individual and any decision which the Government makes to favour that individual. That is important. Secondly, it will have the effect of limiting or inhibiting donations which are intended to influence. I believe that parties on both sides of the fence say to donors that there are no strings attached to donations. Donors to the Labor Party are certainly told that and I am also prepared to believe that donors to the Liberal Party are told the same thing. Nevertheless, I am sure that there are people who donate in the belief that their donation buys them a string, irrespective of which party is in Government. I am not saying that is a reality, but I am sure that some people make donations with that view in mind. If their donations have to be revealed publicly in this way, they will be inhibited from making those donations in the first place and it may limit the amount. Therefore, not only will this legislation be a good control over or regulation of the donors but also, in a sense, it will be a good control over the amount of the donation, because if a donation cannot be made surreptitiously it is likely that the donors will be more careful. People who routinely - there are a lot of them on both sides of the fence - donate to a political party will have to revise their decisions about donating to both sides on the basis that that information will be revealed to all. There are companies which see, as a legitimate part of their public participation in elections, the funding of political parties as one of their responsibilities, and they often make comparable donations to both sides of the political fence because they believe political parties have a right to get their message across. There are complex reasons and motives in the business of political donations.

One thing which stands out clearly in the whole business of political donations is that a system in which donations are public is vastly superior to a system in which donations are not public. That is my third point. Most of the things that I have said about this matter really come down in the end to that single judgment. Is an open system better than a secret system? We say it is. In the past we have raised funds on the basis that what was sauce for the goose was sauce for the gander. When the Liberal Party was in Government it did not hesitate to raise substantial sums of money from the business community to fund its elections. When we were in Government we did not hesitate either. I do not believe there is a substantial difference in the fundraising techniques used by either set of people while in Government. The Liberal Party has always used the method of sending out letters begging for more donations more than we have and it has put the hard word on individual business people when in Government. A system that is open for everybody will largely overcome that problem.

Having accepted that as a principle - that is, an open system is better for the workings of a democracy than a secret or covert system - we come down to a much more pragmatic set of questions including how do we make the best legislation with the least number of loopholes to ensure that the principles we seek to set out are put into practice. That is where the member for Marmion should hop up, because if he believes there are ways of getting around the legislation, he should move amendments which will close those gaps so that we have a system that is totally open. However, even if it will never be possible to close all the loopholes, that does not lead me to the conclusion that we should not have legislation in the first place.

Dr Gallop: That is like having no road rules.

Mr PEARCE: It is clearer than that. The member is arguing that because there are loopholes in the tax laws of this country, we should not have tax laws. That is the conclusion he seeks to make in relation to political donations. I am sure that having no tax laws would be popular among the citizens of Australia. However, when the people find that they suddenly have no more schools, hospitals and roads, or many of the other things that they have come to know and love, they will decide the member for Marmion's system is not such a good one at all.

Mr Bloffwitch: So you are suggesting that we should have an open ballot, not a secret one.

Mr PEARCE: What a ridiculous interjection! The member for Geraldton was doing all right with his inane interjections; now he has moved to the stupid. Just leave it alone.

In summary, I am prepared to believe that the member for Marmion cannot see the inherent contradiction in the argument he put to the Parliament. I do not believe that his colleagues cannot see it; they understand it well. His colleagues are driven by a deeper motivation than

the misunderstandings in principle of the member for Marmion. They do not want their political donations revealed. They are afraid of the spotlight of public scrutiny of Liberal Party political donations. Despite the claims by members opposite about what has happened here, the calculation they have made is that they have damaged the Labor Party over political donations but they do not want anybody to know about theirs. That is a hypocritical and unprincipled decision which is unfortunately worthy of them. It is part and parcel of the way they have comported themselves over many decades of political activities in this State. However, their hypocrisy is appallingly and compellingly apparent to the people of Western Australia.

MR COWAN (Merredin - Leader of the National Party) [11.46 am]: I make it clear from the outset that the National Party is opposed to this legislation. How does one legislate for the state of mind of a person or political party? We should acknowledge that all political campaigns must be funded, and all political parties and persons involved in campaigns will solicit or seek funds from their supporters to ensure that they can launch a campaign that will give them a prospect of success at a coming election. I am greatly concerned that this legislation is based on the assumption that political donations will be made with strings attached, and that nobody will make a donation to a political party unless he believes that it will give him preferential treatment from that political party, irrespective of whether it is in Government or has not reached the Treasury benches. I suppose it could be rightly assumed when reading the evidence reported by the Royal Commission that that is the attitude taken by a lot of people, particularly people from the Government side of the House where there were deliberate campaigns for funds based on the fact that if one did not contribute one would not be in the good books of the Labor Party. That evidence was given at the Royal Commission and, worse still, the history of economic performance and events that have occurred in this place indicate very clearly that the Labor Government in the past offered favours to particular people. Whether it is as a result of feelings of guilt that the Government has decided to introduce the legislation, it seems to me that we are trying to legislate to deal with the state of mind of people, and we all know that will not succeed because, no matter how hard we try, there will always be someone who will make this legislation redundant.

One or two issues must be raised in the general second reading debate. The first is that we have already in this country a Federal reporting requirement for political donations. There is some debate about whether that impacts on State elections or State politicians. The advice we have received from the Federal Electoral Commission and the Australian Taxation Office is that we are responsible for reporting any donation in excess of \$1 500 per annum, irrespective of whether it is used for a Federal or State election, or even for the management and operation of the political party.

Mr Pearce: That is a donation which is made to the party itself; it is not if the donation is made to the candidate.

Mr COWAN: If it is made to me it is not, but I did say, "the political party". That must be remembered.

Mr Clarko: I think it says that if it is not given for a so-called political purpose, it is debateable whether it should be reported.

Mr COWAN: It must be reported.

Mr Pearce: The Leader of the National Party is right about that.

Mr COWAN: Any donation to a political party, irrespective of the purpose for which the money is intended to be used, or in fact is used, must be disclosed. The member for Marmion will find I am right.

Mr Clarko: I am not suggesting you are wrong.

Mr COWAN: I am not trying to be confrontationist either; all I am saying is that the National Party sought an interpretation from the Federal Electoral Commission and that was its response.

Mr Pearce: There is a huge loophole in that: It does not cover a donation to an individual candidate in a State election. The Minister's amendment covers that loophole.

Mr COWAN: If the Leader of the House wants to talk about legislating to cover loopholes in existing legislation, one of the issues the Government and political parties as a whole must

deal with is the other action which is generally taken to complement the reporting provisions which exist in the Federal arena and other States; that is, public funding of political parties. There is a simple purpose for that, although the original reason for public funding to some extent might be diminished because the Federal Parliament has legislated to ban advertising in the electronic media, particularly television, and all members know that the cost of advertising in that medium is usually very high. I have no doubt that over time political parties will find ways of stealing a march on other political parties, whether it be through direct mailing or some other system of advertising or promotion, and it will be extremely costly. However, it will give an advantage to the political party in the process of advertising, launching or maintaining its campaign in favour of the policies espoused by it. I hope that the Government is not thinking of introducing public funding of political parties. In other States where more stringent reporting provisions are in place public funding of political parties has been one of the consequences. Political parties cry that they have no funds and that they must be publicly funded. It is a disgrace that political parties should be publicly funded.

Several members interjected.

Mr COWAN: Of course we do; does the Minister for Parliamentary and Electoral Reform think we should not?

Dr Gallop: I am not saying that. You are saying it is a disgrace.

Mr COWAN: The concept of taking money from the public purse to fund political parties is a disgrace.

Dr Gallop: You don't have to take the money. You can give it back to the taxpayer.

Mr COWAN: Of course the party does not have to take it.

Dr Gallop: Send it back to the Commonwealth of Australia.

Mr COWAN: It would be a fine principle, but even the Minister would acknowledge that it is also foolish.

Mr Kobelke: The Liberal Party in New South Wales did it for a short time and then it had to succumb.

Mr COWAN: Of course it did.

Several members interjected.

Mr COWAN: I have been attempting to say that as soon as we have a political advertising system which gives a party an advantage, other political parties must follow that lead. The advantage is only ever taken once and then other parties will follow. A slick media campaign was an advantage in the 1980s and that advantage went to the Labor Party. It was the Labor Party which developed the capacity to use the television medium far better than the conservative parties. It was the Labor Party which adjusted much more rapidly to the concept of presidential-style elections. Through the electronic media, particularly television, attention was focused on the leader and other Labor Party candidates were blurred images. That still happens today. It is something which other political parties are attempting to follow. All parties, except the National Party, are looking for a leader with some charisma.

Several members interjected.

Mr COWAN: It is a fact of life, and in the case of New South Wales there was public funding. The Liberal Party adopted the position of principle, as the Minister suggested I should do, for one election only and it discovered that it had been left behind. No political party will tolerate an unlevel playing field.

Mr MacKinnon: What did the New South Wales' Labor Party do? It drove a giant-sized truck through Canberra seeking money.

Mr COWAN: I have no doubt that it did. The fact of the matter is that as soon as provision is made for stringent disclosure mechanisms two things usually happen: Firstly, people attempt to find a way to avoid disclosure, and because so many people put their mind to that task they achieve it and, therefore, they avoid disclosure. Secondly, someone cries, "We are totally impoverished and our political system must be publicly funded." I suggest that both of those things have occurred at a Federal level and with some of the other States and all we

are doing is setting up legislation which will require those two things to follow in this State. Either some clever person will find a way around this legislation and the money will still flow in, or someone will decide that a particular party is not getting any money and that political parties should be publicly funded. It will become a policy objective on the platform of one of the political parties. Inevitably the wheel turns and when it does that party will find its way into Government and we will have publicly funded election campaigns.

Mr Clarko: Another thing is that they will control how much you can spend on a campaign.

Mr COWAN: I am glad the member for Marmion raised that issue because he, you, Mr Acting Speaker (Mr Watt) and other members will recall those occasions on which they had to fill out a form stating that they had spent no more than \$2 000 on their election campaign and send it to the Western Australia Electoral Commission. I am sure that all members came up with the figure of \$1 999 as their list of expenses. I am quite sure that neither you, Mr Acting Speaker, nor the member for Marmion, as I did not, indicated to the Electoral Commission how much money was spent by their best mate or the political party.

Mr Clarko: We were asked to state only what we spent.

Mr COWAN: That is right. In this case there will probably be a refinement and the total expenditure will be from all sources as opposed to the previous system which stipulated what an individual was entitled to spend. The member for Marmion's interjection raises the issue of how much is spent on an election campaign. One of the provisions of this legislation is that the agent of a political party must report to the Electoral Commission on an annual basis. I could find nothing in the legislation indicating what will happen to that report once it has been made to the Electoral Commissioner. Will it be forwarded to the Minister, laid on the Table of the House, or become public property or will it remain with the Electoral Commissioner for him to decide whether to divulge the information? The Bill states that on 30 December the agent of a political party shall submit a return to the Electoral Commissioner. I could find no indication that a report will be compiled by the commissioner, handed to the Minister and laid on the Table of the House. It is very important that we know what will happen to the report. I ask the Minister to indicate in his response to the second reading debate the action required to be taken by the Electoral Commissioner following receipt of the reports of the agents of political parties or candidates.

Dr Gallop: Clause 175ZF states that the Electoral Commissioner shall prepare and submit to the Minister a report on the operation in relation to that financial year and the Minister shall cause a copy of each report to be laid before each House of Parliament as soon as practicable after receiving the report.

Mr COWAN: I did not find that in my original reading of the Bill, but it is a clear indication that the information will become public knowledge. Whether we like it or not, a number of people support a political organisation because they have the similar philosophical views. Also, a number of people are a little more evenhanded and they support all parties; some contribute on a pro rata basis and in other cases the amounts contributed depend entirely upon the decision of the management of those organisations. These people support all parties because they want to be sure that they do not offend whichever party is in Government or is likely to be in Government. That raises the question: If there is to be public disclosure of information on donations, a person with strong philosophical views who supported only one side of politics, could be discriminated against, in the allocation of Government contracts or work arising from Government agencies, by the party to which it did not contribute in the event of a change of Government. That is a very strong accusation; I do not deny that but I want members to understand that it applies to any political party that does not receive a donation. Once again, we return to the state of mind of the person involved in the decision making process. For example, an individual, corporation or body could donate \$50 000 to the Labor Party and when the wheel turned and the conservative parties found their way to the Treasury benches, someone becoming aware through that public disclosure that no donation was made to the conservative parties could make sure that the people involved were not treated evenly in their bids for Government business. That is not as theoretical as it sounds. Once again, I refer members to the evidence reported in the media from the Royal Commission in which some fundraisers for the current Government have implied that that would be the case. We shall be assuring those people that there will never be any confidentiality and that any donation made will be available for public

consumption. Therefore, they will never be able to escape the fact that if they have not donated to one political party, when that party is in Government they may not have an opportunity to secure contracts for Government business. That is a slightly different argument from that put by the member for Marmion but it is pretty much the same principle; that is, the information that is made public could be used by the people in power to discriminate against those who donated only to parties on the other side of the political fence. That is another reason that donations should be confidential. Members of Parliament should have enough confidence in their ability to deal with this matter, particularly after the events at the Royal Commission. I know I am making an assumption based on media reports, and that the Royal Commission has not yet reached any conclusions, but it has become apparent that the chickens will come home to roost for those people who seek donations for political parties on the basis of there being strings attached. That lesson is very valuable. Although it may be necessary to learn it yet again some time in the future, I believe that for quite some time in Western Australia political parties will be meticulous in the way they seek donations from businesses or individuals. They will be even more meticulous about the way they disburse the funds gathered. I am quite sure they will not apply the standards that have been applied in previous years, and which have produced a Government response in the form of this legislation. I do not think that is necessary. There is no question that one cannot legislate to deal with the state of mind of people. The National Party is strongly opposed to this legislation in principle and will vote against it at every stage.

MR KOBELKE (Nollamara) [12.09 pm]: The Electoral Amendment (Political Finance) Bill is of particular importance to our whole electoral system, and very much so at present when there is so much concern about things alleged to have happened. The accountability which this Government and all Governments have faced in the 1980s must also apply to political parties. We cannot expect Governments to be accountable while political parties and people, who play a major role in the election of Governments, somehow escape the need to be accountable. That accountability must be open and direct to the people of this State.

Mr Clarko: Your Government and your political party have not been accountable.

Mr KOBELKE: If that is true, the Opposition has been no more accountable. The expression of the will of the people in an election is a fundamental part of our democratic system. In order for the people's will to be expressed at an election, elections must be seen to be conducted fairly and regularly. We obviously have regular elections in this State due to the form of our Constitution, which controls how and when elections are held. However, when it comes to an election being fair, one must cover a far wider range of issues. A crucial issue with regard to the fairness of elections is the amount of money spent by various political parties or candidates. All parties and candidates obviously must communicate to the people in their electorates their particular policies or positions. In order to do that in our modern society, great demands are placed on candidates and parties to fund their election campaigns. That is a fact of life with which we must live and which exists in other democracies. Later I will give some examples of how other countries have tried to address the issue which we are now debating in this Parliament.

The cost of these elections has got completely out of control. Figures have been bandied around in Western Australia, but because there is no disclosure legislation it is possible to get only estimates or allegations and not accurate figures. The United States is an example of the absolutely monumental amounts of money that can be involved in elections. A report in the American magazine *Politics*, dated 3 November 1990, used figures from the Federal Election Commission, and indicates the receipts of major party candidates for general elections up to 17 October 1990. The point to be underlined is that all party funding in the United States must be reported to the Federal Election Commission so that it is out in the light of day and can be seen by the public. During that reporting period, the incumbents raised \$US262.4 million, the challengers raised \$US64.7 million, and open-seat candidates raised \$US30.9 million; so in excess of \$US350 million was raised during that reporting period for election purposes. That is a considerable amount of money.

If we are to have a vibrant and true democracy, it is essential that political parties can campaign and have the money to do so. Other countries have tried to manage that in different ways. The important factor is that a system be in place so that the money which political parties must solicit in order to be able to conduct campaigns is open and accountable and people can see where the money has come from and hold the system in respect. One of

the big problems we have at present is the low esteem in which members of Parliament and the parliamentary system are held. I have raised that matter previously in this House. We cannot underestimate the importance of that perception. Therefore, while earlier in this debate members have made allegations or gone over particular ground with regard to what may or may not have happened in the immediate past, it is clear that the public perception is that there is a smell about the whole business and that it needs to be cleaned up. The Opposition would be remiss if it did not face up to that. It is very shortsighted for Opposition members simply to make allegations against the Government and say that because the smell is coming from this side of the House, that is the only place it is coming from and, for that reason, they do not need to take any steps. Most of the propositions put by the Opposition are equally shortsighted and completely fail to front up to the major issues which come before this Parliament.

This legislation, therefore, is very important from the point of view of creating a better public understanding of the system and instilling in the public some trust in the system. The member for Marmion in his speech used an example of someone who had made a donation to him and asked that it remain anonymous to argue that the reason that this legislation should not go through is that it would infringe on people's privacy. In fact, that example is a good reason that we should support this legislation; namely, that the ground rules would be laid down clearly. Everyone would know that a donation over a certain amount would be reported publicly. Therefore, people would not make donations on the assumption that they would be kept private and then find suddenly that they had not been kept private for one reason or another. People would know exactly where they stood with regard to the legislation rather than the wink and nudge attitude that the Opposition would prefer to maintain in this State. The public have the right to expect a high standard of propriety by Governments and political parties, and this legislation is an important step in ensuring that that is achieved.

Other democratic countries which have taken up this important area of electoral reform, not all with complete success, include Austria, Britain, Germany, France, Finland, Denmark, Israel, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Canada and the United States. That list makes it clear that what we are embarking upon here in the Western Australian Parliament can hardly be seen as trailblazing or as being out on the frontier of electoral reform. We are following what most modern democracies have regarded as necessary.

Mr Clarko: Most - 12 out of about 140!

Mr KOBELKE: Is the member for Marmion saying that there are 140 modern democracies in the world?

Mr Clarko: No. For a start, you would have to define what is a modern democracy.

Mr KOBELKE: The member should stop trying to misrepresent what I am saying. He is very good at this. He likes to misrepresent what other people are saying.

Mr Clarko: I asked you a question, you donkey.

Mr KOBELKE: The member for Marmion spent an hour on his feet, reading his speech almost totally, yet he will get up regularly and take points of order when anyone else refers to just a few brief notes. I do not wish to be distracted by the member for Marmion when I am trying to make a contribution to this debate.

In Britain, election candidates are legally responsible for all campaigning on their behalf and must disclose election expenditure - on which, by the way, there are limits - and donations. A member of Parliament cannot enter Parliament unless the disclosure return is made. Companies and trade unions are required to disclose details of political donations. Some election expenses are provided by public funding. There is a mix of both disclosure and the need to have a limit on some of the expenditure. In Germany, political parties receive public funding in proportion to the votes that they receive, and they are required to disclose details of substantial donations. Therefore, again there is the twin branch of disclosure and some public funding. In Canada, limits are set on election spending by parties and candidates, both of which must publicly disclose income and expenditure. Some public funds are provided, and donations to parties and candidates qualify for income tax credits. In the United States there is full disclosure and limits on donations. There are tax incentives for donations and public subsidies for presidential campaign expenses. Those are examples where systems are

in place and I hope the Opposition will look to other countries to see whether there is a better way of doing it, if they are not happy with this legislation.

The only other country I will refer to is Japan, as I am not trying to be comprehensive but rather just to give an indication of how this matter has been taken up by many countries. There are various ways in which it can be done. Japan's failure in this type of legislation has had far reaching consequences. We have seen in recent times in Japan a fairly rapid turnover in Prime Ministers and considerable instability in the whole political system. One of the main causes of that instability has been a whole series of scandals surrounding donations to political parties. So again, I would suggest to the Opposition that there is a great need for us to have legislation of this sort if our democracy is to continue to flourish and if we are to ensure that elections in Western Australia are free and open and have the respect of the population.

In Australia some States already have this kind of legislation and others are moving in that direction. Even in Western Australia the Royal Commission into Commercial Activities of Government and Other Matters has indicated that there is a need to look in this area. I will read one or two quotes from a letter that was sent to all members of Parliament.

Mr Clarko: Are you reading it out? What a humbug you are!

The ACTING SPEAKER (Dr Edwards): Order! The member may read a quote.

Mr KOBELKE: I said that I would quote from a letter from Mr Wicks, the principal solicitor of the Royal Commission, which was sent to me and I assume to all members of Parliament. I would not wish to try to quote a letter from memory in this place and therefore misquote. It seems only appropriate that if I wish to quote from a letter I should read from it. The letter said in part -

The public is entitled to expect that the officers and agencies of government will act honestly, impartially and disinterestedly in the discharge of their functions. But if public confidence is to be maintained in the integrity of government, it is of the first importance, not only that our public officials in fact act with propriety in their offices, but also that they be seen to do so. The appearance of impropriety can be as subversive of public confidence as actual impropriety.

Virtually all governments in this country are now pursuing measures designed to promote integrity (or "ethics") in government. This is not a distinctively Australian concern. It exists in many Western democracies. Although this subject raises a considerable variety of issues, we will only refer to some matters which appear to be of immediate relevance to our inquiries.

The letter then goes on to raise a number of issues from that and I will quote one more paragraph of the letter which takes up an issue which relates directly to the matter covered by this legislation. It says -

Thirdly, there is the difficult question of the appropriate responses which should be made on electoral matters, and particularly on fund-raising by, and contributions to, candidates and parties. As public funding of elections is not presently an accepted feature of our democratic processes, reliance upon private contribution for the moment is a necessary part of our political landscape. What is important is that that reliance does not create or appear to create compromising relationships with donors. Equally, it is important that the solicitation and receipt of donations does not create the opportunity for actual corruption.

The question then is asked -

Should electoral donations be publicly declared and registered? Is it desirable and feasible to put monetary limits on individual donations or on campaign expenditure? Should each candidate and party be obliged to have an "electoral agent" who is responsible and accountable for all financial aspects of a campaign?

We can see from that that the matter presently before this Parliament covers an area which is of concern in all modern democracies, throughout the States of Australia, and here in Western Australia from the Royal Commission itself. It is very proper that this Government should be bringing forward legislation, which it has allowed the Parliament to view for some time now, so that we can come into line with other modern democracies and ensure that not

only do we have very strong impediments to impropriety in election funding, but also that the matter is open to the public so that they have respect for our political system.

I turn now to the position that has been put by the Opposition. I would have hoped that the Opposition would support this legislation, but it seems from the remarks of members opposite who have spoken so far that that is not the case. Given the rhetoric from the other side of the House I have some difficulty understanding their lack of support for this legislation or some variation on it. The position very clearly seems to be that in principle the Opposition parties do not believe in the disclosure of the funding of political parties.

The Leader of the House has taken up some matters I would have liked to cover but I will not go over the same ground with respect to many of the allegations made by members opposite and the fact that the Opposition seems to consider that the Labor Party should disclose its donations but its own members should not. That is a particular quirk in the logic of members opposite which most people would have great difficulty understanding and I think the Leader of the House put that argument very well.

What position does the Opposition take with respect to this legislation? Will members opposite be willing to put forward some variation? I have said that alternatives exist in other States and other countries, and if members opposite were really serious about their wild allegations against this Government perhaps they would be willing to put in place some form of legislation. It will be most interesting to hear if they will put forward some alternative to this legislation, or some amendments.

Mr Clarko: During my contribution to the debate I said that we believe we should wait upon the findings of the Royal Commission and if they do not deal properly with it, in Government we will set up an examination of the matter.

Mr KOBELKE: I am happy to have that interjection from the member for Marmion because I had noted that down as something I would take up a little later. The Opposition's position is to back-pedal; that is what it is all about. The Opposition wants to say, "We will delay this until the Royal Commission brings down its report. We will then look at that and find some other reason to delay and back-pedal, and in the end we will decide we do not need to do anything because we want to keep hidden the shonky mess in the Liberal Party and enough of what has happened in the Labor Party is out in the open. The mud will stick to them. Let us keep the door closed because we do not want anyone to know what shonky dealings have gone on in the Liberal Party." That is the position of the Opposition, and it is back-peddalling. The member for Marmion has made it absolutely clear. I did not even need to quote what he said in the House - he interjected just now and made it absolutely clear that the Opposition does not want to take any stand on this issue, because it wants to keep its stinking little mess well and truly covered.

Mr Court: You started by saying that the smell was on your side of the House, and you will resolve that smell by getting rid of the people involved in the party who created it.

Mr KOBELKE: Again, the member for Nedlands wants to move away from the issue. We have an issue before this Parliament today which has been addressed in most modern democracies but the Opposition will not even look at the issue because its members have too much to hide. That is what it is all about.

Another reason why I think Opposition members are particularly keen not to address the principles of the disclosure of party political donations is that it is in their own political interests. We all take considerable care as to what is in our own political interests. That is part of the game; no-one expects otherwise. However, what we see in this case is a decision and a clear position by the Opposition as to where it sees its political advantage. Members opposite see a political advantage in representing the wealthy and established interests in this country. Therefore, they feel that any system which lays it on the table would be to their political disadvantage. Any system which means that everything must be out in the open so that everyone knows where the donations come from means that a party such as the Australian Labor Party, which represents the ordinary men and women in this State, will receive many thousands of small donations; the Liberal Party, which represents a select group of vested interests, will not be able to raise such money. Despite all their rhetoric about representing small business, members opposite know they do not have small business in their pockets. The Opposition continually creates problems for small business as a result

of its lack of policies. If members opposite belonged to a party which had representation among the vast number of ordinary people they would not fear this legislation at all. The underlying problem is that members opposite represent a very small clique of vested interests, or people who for their own interests will put money in the pockets of members opposite.

We saw at question time yesterday a good example with the member for Nedlands. Does he represent the interests of this State? He does not. On whose behalf does he ask questions? I suggest that it is on behalf of a corporate high flyer who is trying to get money out of this State. That is what the Opposition is all about. The Opposition offers no skerrick of representation for the ordinary people of this State. Members opposite have no pride in this State; they do not wish to see this State develop and progress. They are interested only in moving to this side of the House so that they can return to the cosy deals they had in the past. That is the reason the Opposition does not support this legislation; its opposition is not based on any principle. Any member listening to the debate would realise that.

I note that the member for Cottesloe has stormed out of the Chamber because he cannot take the truth. I did not expect such a good reaction. He has spat the dummy and left. That reinforces my point: When one looks at the lack of logic put by the Opposition for not supporting the legislation, one must look behind its members' remarks and see the reason. When every modern, democratic nation is looking to some form of disclosure, when other States have or are looking at forms of disclosure, the Opposition's stance is to put off consideration of the problem. The Opposition does not want to be involved in something that will make life difficult for it or bring out into the open its dirty linen.

As I said earlier, I had hoped for a more rational approach by the Opposition and that it would see this legislation as being absolutely necessary. We need to talk about the details of it. This is a very good Bill, but if the Opposition thinks improvements can be made or other forms of disclosure can be introduced - as in other nations - that can be debated. That could be a profitable exercise; but simply to get on one's bike and ride away as fast as possible from the issue indicates that the Opposition has a real problem with it. One problem is that the Opposition does not want to air its dirty linen. A second problem relates to the groups the Opposition represents. The Opposition represents people with money, and members opposite wish to keep it quiet so that the money will keep flowing in. This side of the House represents the ordinary working men and women of this State. On that basis, this legislation is not a threat to fundraising.

I support the Bill and look forward to its rapid passage through this House.

MR COURT (Nedlands) [12.34 pm]: This debate is bordering on the bizarre. That members opposite should talk about the need for accountability for political donations is the biggest joke I have heard during my 10 years in this place. It is absolute nonsense for the member for Nollamara and the member for Marangaroo to say that the Labor Party has been representing the ordinary men and women of Western Australia. This is no laughing matter, because this debate covers a decade of abuse of a privileged position in this community.

Mr P.J. Smith: Why don't you support the legislation?

Mr COURT: We cannot legislate to make people honest. No matter what legislation passes through this Parliament, the Government will find a way around it. Before members opposite bother to claim again to represent the ordinary men and women of Western Australia they should reflect on what they have done to those people over the past 10 years. The Government's track record is full of deceit. The problems are so bad in the Labor Party that millions of dollars were donated and now Government members are arguing among themselves about whether that money went to the Australian Labor Party itself or to individuals. They cannot work out who is paying tax on the money involved. Members opposite who have shown their total irresponsibility when handling political donations cannot get their act together within their own party. I will give examples of that sort of thing shortly. I will give examples of cases - and this is public knowledge - of disputes over whether the money belongs to a member of Parliament or whether it belongs to the ALP.

Dr Gallop: Legislation like this will clear up those concerns.

Mr COURT: I am talking about the Government's track record.

Dr Gallop: Why not talk about this legislation?

Mr COURT: I will. I am making a contribution at the second reading stage on the question of political donations, and on the total dishonesty and deceit of members opposite. Time and again when we discuss matters such as the \$5 000 donation from the Teachers Credit Society to the ALP and the \$250 000 donation from Laurie Connell to the ALP, members opposite deny the donations. I can provide quote after quote if members wish, but members opposite have denied that they knew anything about the donations. They went to great lengths to do that.

Mr D.L. Smith: We agreed to a Royal Commission. You will not allow any scrutiny by the Parliament.

Mr COURT: One step at a time. When we debated the appointment of the Royal Commission, Premier Lawrence was against such a proposition. She said the suggestion that members on the Government side and she knew of the donations and therefore decided not to hold a Royal Commission was poppycock and did not deserve the time of day. Those comments were made before the Premier announced the appointment of the Royal Commission. In the same debate, the current Leader of the House went to great lengths to say that in relation to the two donations the Opposition must prove that those donations went to the Labor Party. In the end he was right because we did not know whether the money went to the party or a member who collected it. We find in hindsight that one of the Labor Party members who collected the funds might have received a great deal of commission. Members opposite were absolutely desperate to cover up all the political donations and were prepared to say in the Parliament -

Mr Graham: You have not produced one ounce of evidence that what the Premier said in here was wrong.

Mr COURT: Let me finish my speech and I will tell the member. Members opposite said that they did not know anything about the donations, but the reality is, as revealed by the Royal Commission, that members who said that they did not know about the donations were actually personally involved in collecting millions of dollars in donations. Premier after Premier said that they did not know about it, but they were personally collecting the donations. It was the ultimate cover-up.

Mr Graham: You suggest that the Premier was collecting the money; she did not. There is no evidence of her doing so.

Mr COURT: I said former Premiers.

Mr Graham: No. You quoted Carmen Lawrence, the current Premier of Western Australia, saying that she did not know about it. You linked it by saying that she collected money, which was not true.

Mr COURT: The Premier said -

The suggestion that members on this side, and I as Premier, knew of these donation and therefore decided not to hold a Royal Commission is absolute poppycock . . .

Mr Graham: You produced no evidence to indicate that that statement was wrong.

Mr COURT: The current Premier sat on the Labor Party committee which authorised Terry Burke to receive 25 per cent of all funds raised. The member asked for evidence, and I will provide it again. The current Premier said she was not aware of what was happening with the donations, yet she sat on the Labor Party committee which authorised Terry Burke's commission. Does the member for Pilbara suggest that she did not know what was going on? The member would not mind attending a lunch and receiving \$300 000 commission for fundraising.

Dr Gallop: The first lesson for all politicians in the 1990s is to address the issues at hand or they will get nowhere. You are failing, and people are sick of this. Address the issue before the Parliament.

Mr COURT: The Minister says, "Address the issues before the Parliament".

Several members interjected.

The ACTING SPEAKER (Dr Edwards): Order! I am trying to hear the member for Nedlands.

Mr COURT: We are discussing political donations and I am explaining to the Parliament at great length how members opposite wanted to cover up what was taking place in what will be regarded as the most disgraceful decade in this State's political history. Members opposite established the McCusker inquiry but provided it with only limited terms of reference; they thought they would get away with it. The inquiry looked at a number of people but did not inquire into the dealings of the Government members themselves; therefore, the McCusker inquiry is important in relation to political donations. The Government tried to pull off one-half of the equation and the subsequent report gives an insight into what took place. The current Premier works on the same basis as former Premiers Burke and Dowding: She manipulates issues to her advantage. The Premier said -

The report reveals the appalling conduct of the central figures involved in misleading the company shareholders, depositors and investors, the Government, Australian business and the public at large.

She does not mention the Government. The comments give the impression that many people are guilty of wrongdoing in WA Inc dealings, but not the Government. It implies that the Government had nothing to do with it. The Premier said that she encouraged the Opposition or anyone else who had evidence of any wrongdoing in relation to this or any other matter, to take that evidence to the relevant authority; she said that course had always been open and would continue to be. We have always taken the evidence to the proper authority. Time and time again we explained in the Parliament our concerns and we went to the proper authority when we believed that something should be done. Our concern was regarding official corruption. Does the Minister for Parliamentary and Electoral Reform know what that is?

Dr Gallop: You are going to tell us, I guess.

Mr COURT: Official corruption is when people receive political donations in return for favours given; WA Inc centres on that issue. Members opposite say, "Produce the evidence"; we have been producing evidence for 10 years and now the Royal Commission has been sifting through these details. Of course people say that no favours were attached to political donations, because the minute they do so they will be charged with official corruption. The Royal Commission has a duty to consider when donations were given and any favours provided to the persons involved and to determine whether they match up.

Mr Taylor: That is interesting as far as the Opposition parties are concerned, given the nature of the political system in this State, because over the last 100 years the Government has never had a majority in the upper House. A variety of amendments and knockbacks with legislation have occurred in the upper House. One could paint a very interesting picture up there, and the member for Nedlands should not forget that.

Mr COURT: The Minister has had the opportunity to raise matters; it is a matter of going to the relevant authority or using the powers of the Parliament. The Opposition used Parliament's powers and the opportunity of parliamentary debate to explain that a Royal Commission was required. We made it clear when we were promoting the Royal Commission that it should consider both sides of the equation; namely, to inquire into activities of not just the Government, but all political parties operating during that period. I do not understand the Minister's point; the same opportunities were available 60 years ago to raise those matters.

In debating political donations the first point to come to my attention was the Northern Mining Corporation NL purchase - the first major business deal of the Government. A legal officer at the Royal Commission has already provided a summary of this matter in which he outlined what he considered to be the improper conduct associated with that deal. That was the beginning of the big sums of money directed into the Labor Party in return for deals. Members opposite do not want to talk about this, but they cannot run away from it. The beauty of the Royal Commission is that three judges will make decisions on these matters.

Dr Gallop: The New South Wales Opposition does not debate in Parliament matters which are before the Independent Commission Against Corruption because they are more principled than you.

Several members interjected.

Mr COURT: There is a difference between a corruption commission and the Royal Commission. The Minister says that when issues are before the corruption commission in

New South Wales they are not debated in Parliament. Then he says there is not a lot of difference between the corruption commission and the Royal Commission here - that was a slip of the tongue. The issue of political donations is not an easy one. As was explained by the member for Nollamara different types of legislation have been tried in many different countries. I am reasonably familiar with legislation in the United States and Britain. I am not familiar with legislation in Japan and some other Asian countries. I do know that the Federal legislation is a joke.

Dr Gallop: Hang on, does the member refer to the new legislation or the previous legislation? The member for Nedlands could not argue about the new legislation. The member has missed the fact that the Federal Government has changed its legislation to overcome problems.

Mr COURT: I know it has changed the legislation and I hope the Government will decide to change it again in a couple of weeks. In a democracy, where individuals and companies should be able to make their own decision about whether they want to support a person or a party politically, the minute we start moving in the direction of making it compulsory to make the donation public we run into the very real problems associated with people's privacy. The former and since departed member for Floreat discussed this issue many times in this Parliament. He gave a point of view which was and still is held widely by many people who emigrated to Australia from countries with totalitarian Governments. He told us in this Parliament of his personal experience of escaping from countries where they spy on their citizens. If the citizens were found to be doing something the Government did not think was in its best interests they would be in very grave danger.

Mr Bloffwitch: Such as telephone tapping and that sort of thing.

Mr COURT: Yes, that sort of activity. Those people came to Australia because it was a true democracy. It was a country where if they wanted to support a person or party politically they would be able to do so and have their privacy respected. The Minister is saying to those people who want to donate to a party, who have lived in fear of Governments' damaging their own personal situation by misusing their power -

Mr Clarko: Almost all are socialist Governments.

Mr COURT: They are always socialist Governments. The Minister would have to agree that the Government will start running into problems if it legislates to make it possible for people to donate privately without those donations being made public, because what people do is their business. The Minister is trying to come up with a form of legislation which means that these people will not be given that protection. We all must raise money for the running of our political party. We all must go out there and try to encourage people to support us as individuals or as a political party because we believe that we have to convince them that we can offer a better form of Government for the country. But a problem arises when one starts collecting donations associated with a promise. I will not mention examples in this Parliament, but if the Minister wants to know privately I can give him examples of people I know who have rejected political donations because strings were attached.

Mr Lewis: I have.

Mr COURT: That comes down to the individual's saying, "I am not going to accept that money if there is a string attached to it."

Mr Lewis: Or an implied string.

Mr COURT: Yes. I do not need legislation to help me make that decision. That is the situation we are getting into. We cannot legislate to make people honest. The member for Nollamara said that, yes, there has been a smell coming from his side of politics.

Mr Cunningham: He did not say that.

Mr COURT: The member for Marangaroo had better read *Hansard*.

Mr Cunningham: It may have been in the uncorrected copy but he did not say that.

Mr COURT: I am sure he will correct it. We have gone through an unprecedented period during which millions and millions of dollars flowed into one particular party. Members opposite might say that we are envious or jealous, and to a certain extent we are, because we have worked hard to try to attract financial support and we have not been successful to the same degree as the Labor Party.

Mr Marlborough: Is the member for Nedlands one of the key fundraisers for the Liberal Party? The member's standing in his party would indicate to an outside observer of politics that he is a key fundraiser.

Mr COURT: I would not regard myself as a key fundraiser.

Dr Gallop: I have heard the member for Marmion say in this Parliament many times that your party has a set of rules that does not allow its members of Parliament to raise funds. Yet the member for Applecross is saying that he has knocked back donations on the basis that there were strings attached. That leads me to think that perhaps the member for Applecross was raising funds.

Mr Lewis: If the chairman of a member's finance committee came to him and said, "I have a donation from such and such", that member would say, "I don't want to know about it."

Mr COURT: I will answer the Minister's question: As politicians we must convince people to give financial support to our party. As far as the actual fundraising goes - and I do not know what the case is with other members of Parliament - I do not handle that money myself. That is the point that the Leader of the House and other members made in a debate some years ago - that they were not involved with the money. That is why the Royal Commission has made a mockery of what members opposite were telling us because in fact they were handling the money. I am not saying it was the Leader of the House, but other Ministers and former Premiers were telling us that they were not handling the money when they were. I have a file of Press cuttings and I will go through a few headlines: ALP campaign funds for personal business.

Mr D.L. Smith: The member for Nedlands has avoided a critical question about whether he had been involved in fundraising.

Mr COURT: No, I am saying that these are the people who have made speeches in Parliament saying they have not been involved in political fundraising.

Mr Marlborough: I am trying to seek clarification from the member for Nedlands on his advice about how he collects money for the Liberal Party. He said it was a Liberal Party rule that members could not collect donations.

Mr COURT: I do not collect money.

Mr Marlborough: The member went further and said that it was a rule within the Liberal Party that politicians did not collect money.

Mr COURT: The member for Peel can make a speech in a minute. The headlines include: QC accuses Parker of cash cover-up; paper bag with \$300 000 left for discreet collection; Burke admits investing in gold without advice; Burke kept secret \$18 000 in a stamps. These headlines refer to people who have stood up in Parliament and said they were not involved in fundraising. The headlines continue: WA Labor Party pays no tax on interest: Brush; Burke kept \$100 000 in office; and Burke controlled ALP funds while ambassador. We are told this week that Brian Burke also got a \$400 000 loan while he was ambassador. The headlines continue: Hundred thousand dollars of donations to be paid in cash. These headlines refer to Government members who told us in Parliament that they were not connected with the fundraising activities of their party. The headlines continue: Parker explains his satchel full of cash; and \$55 000 fee paid to Brenda.

[Leave granted for speech to be continued.]

Debate thus adjourned.

[Continued on p.1605.]

Sitting suspended from 1.00 to 2.00 pm

[Questions without notice taken.]

MATTER OF PUBLIC IMPORTANCE - UNEMPLOYMENT AND JOB CREATION

THE SPEAKER (Mr Michael Barnett): Earlier today I received a letter from the Leader of the Opposition seeking to debate as a matter of public importance the issues of unemployment and job creation. If sufficient members agree to this motion, I will allow it.

[At least five members rose in their places.]

The SPEAKER: In accordance with the Sessional Order, half an hour will be allocated to each side of the House for the purpose of this debate, and a further 10 minutes, if necessary, to those Independent members who wish to speak on this matter. Before I call on the Leader of the Opposition, I ask members who wish to debate a matter of public importance that in their letter they simply put the motion and not include argument.

MR MacKINNON (Jandakot - Leader of the Opposition) [2.34 pm]: I move -

That this House expresses its alarm at the fact that -

- (a) The latest unemployment indicators for Western Australia indicate that 95 200 people are currently unemployed in Western Australia and that 13 400 people or 30.5 per cent of the population under the age of 20 have no job or hope of a job; yet
- (b) The Government's legislative program is dominated by matters that will do nothing to assist in overcoming the economic problems of Western Australia that have led to this unemployment crisis;

and calls on the Government to -

Reorder its legislative and ministerial priorities to those which will address the key issues of unemployment and job creation.

In the four weeks of this parliamentary session, one would have thought that the Western Australian economy was in good shape and that there were no economic problems in Western Australia. However, the fact of the matter, as you know, Mr Speaker, and as the people of Western Australia know also, is that unemployment in Western Australia has reached crisis proportions. The statistics indicate clearly the extent and nature of that crisis. In January 1989, 48 900 people were unemployed, yet by March 1992 that figure had increased to 90 200, or 11.2 per cent of the population. The unemployment rate in Western Australia has exceeded 10 per cent in every month since March of last year, and no relief is in sight. The current unemployment rate for people in this State under the age of 20 is 30 per cent, and for the past 16 months more than one in four people under the age of 25 have been without a job. I seek leave to incorporate in *Hansard* four statistical charts.

[The material in appendix A was incorporated by leave of the House.]

[See pp.1612-1615]

Mr MacKINNON: One would think that in the light of that unemployment crisis, when the unemployment rate has been in excess of 10 per cent for the past 12 months, this Government would give some priority to the matter. Let us look at what has happened in the first four weeks of this parliamentary session and at what is on today's Notice Paper and, secondly, at what the Government has done in the past 12 months. Let us look at the legislative matters that this Parliament has been asked to address to see whether the Government's priorities are as they should be. Twenty items are listed as Orders of the Day on today's Notice Paper. Orders of the Day Nos 1 and 17 are about payroll tax, it would seem, but the Government has not even prepared the Bills and those two items have been deferred. They are the only Bills that we have been asked to debate in the past four weeks that have even a remote relationship to employment. Another new item of legislation that this Government has presented to solve the unemployment problem is the disclosure of political finances Bill. This is the third time that legislation has been before the Parliament. Order of the Day No 4 is the Members of Parliament (Financial Interests) Bill, which was introduced on 31 August 1989. We really have a Notice Paper that is getting to the root cause of the economic crisis! Orders of the Day Nos 8, 9 and 10 are about the State Government Insurance Office. The SGIO is no longer to be corporatised, so that matter will not even be debated. Another matter is the duck shooting Bill, which again is recycled legislation.

Mr C.J. Barnett: Save ducks instead of jobs!

Mr MacKINNON: Exactly. Orders of the Day Nos 18, 19 and 20 relate to the Parliament. You would know, Mr Speaker, that we have just had a debate about some allegations in relation to this Parliament, and we have been told that the Government has this legislation in

hand. Orders of the Day Nos 18, 19 and 20 are all Bills that are to be read a second time. Even in areas where the Government claims to be doing something, the Notice Paper contains five Bills to be read a second time. They are not ready; they must be postponed. However, we do have time to debate the disclosure of political donations. That will go a long way towards putting young, unemployed people in this State into jobs! The situation is worse in the Legislative Council. That House has 19 items on the Notice Paper, not one of which addresses the question of employment.

Mr Clarko: Would they be older than the Dead Sea scrolls?

Mr MacKINNON: I would say that some of that legislation would be close to that age. The situation might not be so bad if we could say that the Government had performed well over the past 12 months. Because I am interested in the unemployment situation in this State I have undertaken some research. I have done an analysis of "The Weekly Parliamentary Digest" of February 1992. We debated many pieces of legislation in 1991, but we actually passed 62 Bills. Of the 62 Bills, two were initiated by the Opposition, and three related to the Budget. Over the past 12 months, we saw the unemployment rate rise beyond 10 per cent. The Bills which could be considered somehow related to employment would be the East Perth Redevelopment Bill, which could be seen as enabling development and the creation of jobs, the Iron Ore (Marillana Creek) Amendment Bill, which could be called an employment creator, and the Land Tax Relief Bill, which could be termed an employment saver rather than an employment creator, given that all it did was provide relief from the onerous burdens placed on people. So, out of 62 Bills, perhaps at best two would go some way toward creating jobs. Last year the Budget cost the State jobs. If members opposite are keen to defend this position I would remind them that the Government borrowed \$50 million in order to sack public servants. That is not exactly a Budget designed to create employment.

Mr C.J. Barnett: It cost the Government \$70 million to get rid of jobs in the public sector.

Mr MacKINNON: That is a good point. Not one of the Bills over the past year addressed the question of industrial relations reforms. The rest of Australia is involved in massive industrial relations reform programs, but not Western Australia. Not one Bill has been designed to give tax relief, other than the Land Tax Relief Bill which was designed to reduce burdens, not to reform tax. The Government has made no commitment to regulation reform. Yet, in early February this year we heard about major reforms and commitments by the Government to jobs in its WA "Disadvantage" document released by the Premier. The member for Cottesloe will draw attention to those matters in a moment. However, it is interesting in passing to note that while the Premier was firm on tariffs, no longer does she have the same commitment. Her commitment to tariffs lasted as long as the heat in the kitchen. Bearing in mind the commitments contained in that document - some of which I acknowledged were solid and a move in the right direction - four weeks after Parliament has resumed we do not see any commitment to Aboriginal heritage legislation or reform. Sixteen months down the track we still have a 10 per cent unemployment rate. We have had no industrial relations reform, despite the persistent calls for it from the member for Riverton. We have no land tax reform, despite the fact that last year the Government said it would review land tax. Indeed, it has only just established the review committee. We still see no commitment. We have not had stamp duty reform. We still have no power station. The Minister for Microeconomic Reform is so micro that he cannot see any reform.

An Opposition member: He is the Minister without portfolio.

Mr MacKINNON: He is the Minister without performance. He does not have one run on the board.

Dr Gallop: That is nonsense.

Mr MacKINNON: The Minister has made a duck in every innings in this Parliament. Still we see no commitment by the Government to the creation of jobs. Without doubt, when we move around the community of Western Australia, one missing factor above all is confidence. It does not matter whether one travels to Derby or Broome, to Albany or Kalgoorlie, or around the suburbs of Perth; the missing link is confidence. There is no confidence in the community of Western Australia to spend money. In my opinion the money is available to be spent; many people have investment ideas. We have people with vision but they have not been provided with leadership or confidence by the Government to make investments.

Dr Gallop: Rubbish!

Mr MacKINNON: "Rubbish", says the man whose greatest claim to fame is to not get a power station for Western Australia. He has been bowled out on every occasion. The Minister should try to get some runs on the board.

Dr Gallop: The runs are on the board.

Mr MacKINNON: The Minister should provide jobs. The Government should make a commitment in that area. Why do the Premier and her Ministers vigorously oppose the abolition of payroll tax?

Dr Gallop: We are reducing payroll tax.

Mr MacKINNON: The Premier said during question time today, as did the Leader of the House, that she opposed Fightback and all it stood for. That document stands for the abolition of payroll tax.

Several members interjected.

The SPEAKER: Order! Members of this House should not interject in a way which is designed to shout down the person who has the call.

Mr MacKINNON: Thank you, Mr Speaker. This year we should abolish payroll tax for new apprentices. The number of apprentices employed in this State is decreasing, yet the Government does nothing. We should get rid of payroll tax in those areas in an effort to stimulate employment and to restore confidence in that sector. We should make a meaningful commitment to industrial relations reform. Where is the essential services legislation? Does the Government support that legislation?

Dr Gallop: We do not.

Mr MacKINNON: Right! Does the Government support enterprise bargaining?

Dr Gallop: Yes.

Mr MacKINNON: Where is that legislative reform?

Dr Gallop: It is happening.

Mr MacKINNON: It is happening in the Minister's mind. In reality it is not happening. Where is the Government's legislation on productivity arrangements? The Ministers and the Deputy Premier should be soundly condemned. The Minister for Mines said today, now that Western Mining Corporation has given in to union militancy and muscle, that the Government will pass legislation to allow Western Mining to do what we have seen several companies around the State do. The Government has stopped a \$100 million investment to protect its union buddies. That legislation should have been under way long ago. Where is our Aboriginal heritage legislation? I do not hear any answers. If we need any further proof that the Government cannot make a decision, it is in what happened with trading on Anzac Day. The rest of Australia got it right but the Western Australian State Government got it wrong because it would not make a decision based on commonsense. The facts speak for themselves. The unemployment rate in this State is at record levels and continues to increase. We have a Notice Paper bereft of any initiatives and Ministers bereft of any performances.

MR TAYLOR (Kalgoorlie - Minister for State Development) [2.51 pm]: Perhaps it is appropriate for me to begin with the very ordinary attack on me by the Leader of the Opposition in relation to Western Mining Corp Ltd in Kambalda. The Leader of the Opposition did not state the facts so I will point out a few facts to increase his knowledge of this issue. In 1991 the Government conducted some very good discussions with Western Mining on a whole range of issues associated with, firstly, its refinery at Kwinana, secondly, its smelter at Kambalda, thirdly, its expansion of the Leinster nickel mine and, fourthly, its planned expenditure at Kambalda. Western Mining has decided to proceed with the expansion of its Kwinana refinery to produce not 32 000 tonnes but 40 000 tonnes of nickel metal per annum. The expansion of Western Mining's Leinster operation is under way. Some members opposite would have been to Leinster and would be well aware of the company's operations.

Mr Court: We know our way around.

Mr TAYLOR: It is like a paddy field at Leinster - we are thinking of growing rice there.

Members would be aware that that expansion will double the size of the Leinster nickel operations.

Mr Bloffwitch: We got bogged 200 yards from the estuary.

Mr TAYLOR: The Chamber of Mines should have looked after the member a bit better than that; he deserved a little better.

Mr Kierath: We could have used the Kingair.

Mr TAYLOR: I was using it on a very long trip to Surabaya, Port Hedland, Geraldton and Kalgoorlie. I had had it when I got there. It is a hard life, but we will not weaken.

Mr MacKinnon: You talk about the Kingair while 95 000 people have not got a job.

Mr TAYLOR: I will not let those interjections divert me.

Work is under way, to the satisfaction of Western Mining, to upgrade the Kalgoorlie nickel smelter. If the Leader of the Opposition wants to talk about jobs we can talk about the refinery at Kwinana, the smelter at Kalgoorlie and the expansion of the Leinster operations. Each of those projects is under way.

Mr Court: The Minister has it wrong. Western Mining wanted action taken two years ago and in the newspaper this morning it was reported that the Government might be bringing in changes to enable continuous underground mining. The Government has taken two years to do these things, so it cannot be proud.

Mr TAYLOR: I know exactly what is happening with those negotiations as I have been involved from the very first day when I sat down with Hugh Morgan and the Premier to discuss the progress of these matters.

Mr Court: There are two nickel mines that need to get off the ground, that need assistance with power.

The SPEAKER: Order!

Mr TAYLOR: I will come to those too.

The SPEAKER: Order! The member for Nedlands has clearly no difficulty with his mouth but there is a problem with his ears. When I call for order several times I expect the member, on one of those occasions, to take notice.

Mr TAYLOR: I held a very firm line on the Kambalda situation.

Mr MacKinnon: Yes, the union line.

Mr TAYLOR: Not a union line but the commonsense line and the line that was recognised in *The West Australian*.

Mr MacKinnon: Do not duck the unions, they will not pay your bills.

The SPEAKER: Order! Do any members read *Hansard*? Can they imagine what that last five minutes looks like in *Hansard*?

Mr TAYLOR: I know all members read *Hansard* enthusiastically.

The line taken on the Kambalda operations was a commonsense line. *The West Australian* acknowledged today that the position Western Mining found itself in was a most unfortunate one. Now commonsense has prevailed. The Leader of the Opposition talked about enterprise bargaining and how this should work in Western Australia. Western Mining is an example of how enterprise bargaining can work as is the Edgell-Birds Eye cannery. At Manjimup the work force, the union and the company have got together and produced an eminently sensible approach. I want to take up a couple of other matters mentioned by the Leader of the Opposition, in particular payroll tax. The Leader of the Opposition parades around Western Australia saying glibly that he will abolish payroll tax.

Mr MacKinnon: Absolutely.

Mr TAYLOR: The payroll tax system in Western Australia raises \$400 million to \$500 million a year.

Mr MacKinnon: We will abolish it in 1994.

Mr TAYLOR: We have a payroll tax system where 90 per cent of the companies in Western Australia pay no payroll tax. The Leader of the Opposition intends to replace that with two worrying things. First of all, it is his intention, if he ever gets into power, to have not 10 per cent of companies paying payroll tax as is the case today, but 100 per cent of those companies paying the goods and services tax. The other worrying thing is that the Leader of the Opposition will once again place Western Australia in a situation of being tied to the apron strings of Canberra. It will not work; it cannot work and the Leader of the Opposition is not able to deliver on that issue and he knows it.

On the issue of labour costs -

Mr C.J. Barnett: You want to tax jobs.

Mr TAYLOR: The member for Cottesloe should listen to this given his hard line on industrial relations.

As far as labour costs are concerned, and as the member for Cottesloe would be well aware, Australia is one of the lowest labour cost nations in this area.

Mr C.J. Barnett: A severe recession brings down labour costs.

Mr TAYLOR: Our labour costs are extremely competitive. That has come about because of the cooperative approach between the State and Federal Governments - a Federal Government of our mould not that of members opposite - as well as the Australian Council of Trade Unions and the unions it represents, who have been able to work together. In the last decade there have been great and lasting benefits to labour costs and strike and industrial dispute procedures.

Mr C.J. Barnett: In Western Australia 100 000 people are out of work.

Mr TAYLOR: The member for Cottesloe travels around Western Australia to places like the Pilbara and the goldfields. He has seen the benefits of that sort of approach to industrial relations. The bushfire approach that the Liberal Party intends to take at a Federal level - because it will not get the opportunity at a State level - will scorch the earth as Mr Keating said. That is because the Opposition has only one approach to life and that is to divide and rule. Members opposite would never have been able to do what was required to bring about the sorts of things that were necessary over the last decade or so. I want to talk about the approach taken by the Leader of the Opposition, the member for Nedlands and the member for Cottesloe and others who day by day are going around Western Australia pulling down this State.

Mr Court: We have never done that.

Mr TAYLOR: You have done that and you are doing it in here. Your leader has just finished doing that. In *The West Australian* of 29 April an article is headed "Bank executive sees bright future for WA" and states -

The WA economy will lead Australia out of recession and to a "bright and exciting future", says Challenge Bank's Collene Hansen.

Mr MacKinnon: And due to victory by the coalition at the next election.

Mr TAYLOR: The article does not say that at all and the Leader of the Opposition knows it. The article continues -

The WA economy had defied a deficit trend at a national level and continued to produce a positive trade balance, primarily due to expanding markets in Asia.

Collene Hansen goes on to say how well this State has been able to fight some of the depths of the recession which have affected the Eastern States. It is unfortunate that the Opposition is prepared to glibly say that a legislative program is needed to address the problem of unemployment rather than getting out and doing things as the Government does.

Mr MacKinnon: Like Central Park and Westralia Square.

Mr TAYLOR: The Leader of the Opposition should talk to the people at Central Park and Westralia Square.

Mr Nicholls: What about the people suffering losses?

Mr TAYLOR: The member for Mandurah should also find out what is happening at

Westralia Square. The Opposition should not suggest that a legislative answer is needed to create new jobs. The member for Cottesloe knows as well as I do that that is not the situation. We cannot legislate for new jobs but must work with people in industry to ensure that jobs are available. That is exactly the approach this Government has taken. Our attitude and cooperative approach with industry and unions in Western Australia has placed the runs on the board and that is compared to the divide and rule approach the Opposition would impose on this State.

MR HOUSE (Stirling) (3.02 pm): I was pleased to hear the Deputy Premier's comments because they show that he does not want to take responsibility for what is happening, when indeed he should. The Opposition is not calling for legislation to change the problem but is talking about the Government creating an environment in which employers can employ with confidence. It is talking about responsibility so employers can create business opportunities which will help in employing people. That is what the Opposition is talking about, not legislating to do that but having confidence in Government to do that. That is the most important point the Government has missed. Governments can help and must work to create that environment. Rural areas at the moment are suffering the highest unemployment ever. More young people in rural areas are out of work and without the opportunity of gaining employment than ever before. Country areas have the highest number of bankruptcies and small businesses in country towns are closing down every day. They are not the traditional machinery dealer or chemical supplier businesses but the carpenters, the plumbers and the roof tilers. They are the people who provide the infrastructure in those country towns. Rural Western Australia is faced with a crisis beyond comprehension. People's lives have been destroyed by what is happening in this State.

Mr MacKinnon: And they are talking about increasing licence fees for vehicles.

Mr HOUSE: Yes, and increasing them by 400 per cent to 500 per cent in some cases. The Government does not understand the problems visited upon rural communities by its decision-making. Apprenticeships are not available to school leavers in any small country towns.

Mr Graham: That is not true.

Mr HOUSE: It is true in the area I represent.

Mr Graham: You said in any small town. Apprenticeships are available in towns in the north west.

Mr HOUSE: I accept that apprenticeships are available in mining industry areas, but none is available in agricultural regions. We must change that by doing a number of things. We must stop the rush to the cities by young people when they leave school. To do that we need to create an environment for employment. We must ensure that businesses are viable in those areas. Government decision-making must be fast tracked so that when people have ideas about industry they are able to put those ideas into practice quickly. The first thing we must do in my region is re-establish full employment in those businesses which have wound down their number of employees. An employer in my region who used to employ 23 people in sheet metal work now employs three people. He has the opportunity to re-employ those other 20 people but he must have the confidence to do that. The Government has the responsibility to create that confident environment.

I feel strongly about tariff protection and have no hesitation in declaring myself an interventionist and protectionist. I will argue those positions with anyone, anywhere and any time. Tariff reduction can be implemented only as a package - as will be done by the next coalition Government - so its effect is on an equal basis; that is, input and output at the same time and no industry being singled out from another, because that cannot be done without creating a lot of pain and dislocation.

This Government has increased enormously charges on small businesses. One example of that is the increased charge by the State Energy Commission of Western Australia to connect power - that is a 500 per cent increase in the rural area. When establishing a business that is the first cost with which one is faced. The Water Authority of Western Australia has also imposed a 600 per cent to 700 per cent increase - depending on what example is used - for headwork charges towards the establishment of any new building in a rural area. Country people are again singled out to pay these costs on an individual basis. I put it to the

Government that this is not fair. If the Government is talking about creating jobs and making sure that we have employment available for our young people, they are the sorts of things we cannot afford. We cannot just talk about these things, we must do something about them and in the areas I represent it calls for confidence by employers to put people back on the payroll. They are waiting to do this, but need to know the Government supports them.

MR McGINTY (Fremantle - Minister for Housing) [3.07 pm]: This motion and the material provided in support of it by the Leader of the Opposition amount to gross generalisations and inaccuracies. It is obvious that the Leader of the Opposition is unaware of what is happening in the community and in many senses has ideological blinkers on which do not enable him to address the real issues involved in this debate. The deputy leader of the National Party has identified the need for the Government to act to create an environment in which employers can take on employees and apprentices and look forward with some confidence to the future. All of the indicators emerging in industry show that that is exactly what is occurring due to efforts by this State Government in creating those very opportunities.

Mr MacKinnon interjected.

Mr McGINTY: The Leader of the Opposition should conduct himself with more dignity and not come out with the nonsensical drivel that he has thrown into this debate.

Mr MacKinnon: Look at the Premier and the scandalous stuff she has been throwing about in the last few days.

Mr McGINTY: There is nothing scandalous about our Premier. The Leader of the Opposition should conduct himself with the sort of dignity that is expected from a Leader of the Opposition and not in the way he is drivelling on at the moment.

If we examine in some detail this resolution and the housing record of this Government - one of its major economic portfolios - the Leader of the Opposition will find he is not able to sustain the argument he tried to advance in addressing this motion. The policies adopted by this Government have seen Homeswest set a record housing construction target this year. It is well on the way to achieving the little under 2 000 construction starts for the 1991-92 financial year. In the real world that translates to jobs and a lot more jobs than have been available in this industry in the past. If members opposite talk to people in the building industry they will hear them say, "Thank God for the State Government and thank God for Homeswest because their activities have kept us afloat in recent times." That is what they tell me repeatedly. Members opposite are criticising the State Government for something which these employers thank the Government for every day; they thank it for keeping them in work and afloat.

Mr Bloffwitch: Do you think that is sufficient?

Mr McGINTY: I am addressing the question of housing. In the housing industry we are seeing what the Government is trying to achieve across departments; that is, creation of an environment in which people can look forward to a prosperous future and in which employers can take on more employees and apprentices.

Mr C.J. Barnett: Do you know the unemployment figures for the building industry?

Mr McGINTY: I will tell the member about the home building industry. The most recent figures from the Australian Bureau of Statistics for the housing industry in Perth show that in the 12 months from March 1991 to March 1992 there was a 90.9 per cent increase in housing approvals in Perth. Over the last 12 months the level of activity in the housing industry has nearly doubled. If members were to look at the figures for March compared with February this year they would see that there was a 29.9 per cent increase in March. Therefore, there has been a dramatic revitalisation of the housing industry.

Dr Gallop: Did you know that the R & I Bank approved new home loans valued at \$550 million in the last six months?

Several members interjected.

Mr McGINTY: The value of those housing approvals for March 1992, which is the most recent figure available, is \$82 million. I am sure members opposite appreciate the very labour intensive nature of the housing construction industry and, therefore, the effect that that

sort of injection will have on the economy and employment. Members should take it one step further and ask what has caused this massive upturn in the housing industry. There is one dominant factor: Over the last 12 months there was a 90.9 per cent increase and over the last month it was a 29.9 per cent increase.

Mr Bloffwitch: It follows what was a particularly bad year.

Mr McGINTY: My point is that it is picking up. It is coming good and it is directly attributable to State Government initiatives in providing assistance to people on moderate incomes - the people who should be provided with this sort of assistance.

Mr MacKinnon: Is Alan Bond one of those people? Is Brian Burke one of those people? Is Peter Dowding one of those people?

Mr McGINTY: I suggest to the Leader of the Opposition that he raise the standard of his debate. A little bit of intellectual input from him would be a refreshing change. We are certainly not getting it from members opposite at the moment.

Mr C.J. Barnett: It would be better if you were to resurrect your social conscience and address the social problems.

Mr McGINTY: There is no problem with my having a social conscience. I will tell the House what will be the effect of the Liberal Party's policies on those people who need the support of a Labor Government the most. They will be the people who will be hit for six by a Liberal Government.

I will develop the argument about the housing finance approval figures a little further. This financial year 5 000 families in Western Australia will be helped into home ownership, which they more than likely would not be able to afford. Those families who are a borderline case for home ownership will be assisted by the Government into home ownership. This Government will help a large number of people through schemes like Keystart in which people can obtain a low start loan; they would be struggling to afford a full start loan in the private market.

Mr Bloffwitch: We are not arguing about that, but what about the 10 per cent of people who will lose their jobs and who will not be able to afford to meet their loan commitment? They are the people we are concerned about.

Mr McGINTY: The Government's activity in assisting people into home ownership by providing finance and having record construction programs will generate jobs for those people who will be able to afford home ownership in the future. It is all interrelated.

Mr C.J. Barnett: In your time in Government there has been a 40 per cent real cut in capital works. You are building houses now.

Mr McGINTY: We are building a massive number of new houses. The Liberal Opposition has an amendment on the Notice Paper to the Western Australian Land Authority Bill which will remove Homeswest's involvement in assisting people with finance for housing. The amendment will amend section 12 of the Housing Act by limiting the role of Homeswest.

Mr Bloffwitch: Only in development.

Mr McGINTY: No. It states that the commission, and by that it means Homeswest, shall at all times limit itself for the purpose of carrying out the objects of the Housing Act to the provision of housing where there is a social need to supply people with accommodation who would otherwise be unable to afford accommodation and to the provision of land for its own needs in providing such housing. Homeswest performs three functions - land development, housing provision and housing finance. By this proposed amendment the Opposition is seeking to get Homeswest out of the housing finance function. In other words the 5 000 families and the jobs created as a spin-off from that will not be assisted by Homeswest. If that accurately reflects the Opposition's view it is an absolute disgrace because more people will find themselves out of the area in which they can afford housing and people will become more dependent on Homeswest for housing and, more importantly, the building industry and the building supply industry will be denied the work generated by not making those loans available for 5 000 housing starts in the private sector. If that is an accurate description of the Opposition's policy, it is a disgrace.

What the people of this State, particularly the lower income earners, can expect is that

Homeswest's role will be completely circumscribed to the extent that families such as the 5 000 who have been assisted by the Labor Government will not be assisted by a future Liberal Government by way of Keystart, terminating building societies and Homeswest's providing direct financial assistance to those people.

The Liberal Party's policy does not stop there. While members of the Opposition have been talking about the Federal Liberal Party's Fightback policy they have not been saying too much about its reference to housing. It states that the coalition believes that taxpayer support for public housing should be in the form of a means tested rental subsidy with ownership and management of housing stock resting with the private sector. It also states that the coalition will, therefore, move towards the elimination of housing payments for capital purposes and that this decision will be phased in starting in its first year in office. I will translate that into single syllable terms. Under a Liberal Party Homeswest or the State Government will not provide money to build houses to add to the Homeswest rental stock. It will be phased out and that will be the end of it.

Mr C.J. Barnett: Further on in the document it states that for every \$1 million of Federal money 35 families will be helped with rental assistance compared with nine.

Mr McGINTY: Let us not skate over it. The Federal Fightback policy states that the ownership and management of housing stock rests with the private sector and that a Liberal Government will phase out capital support to Homeswest. In other words, the Opposition's policy means that Homeswest will have no role to play in housing construction; that is exactly what it means, let us not skate around that.

Mr Lewis: How much money was paid from the Consolidated Revenue Fund to Homeswest last year?

Mr McGINTY: Let us talk about Fightback. The member for Applecross always tries to slither around the issue. Members opposite are not game to tell the people of this State that the Opposition in Government would not build any more Homeswest houses for the needy people of this State. The member for Cottesloe talks about social conscience, but I have not forgotten where I came from and the need for this kind of housing.

Mr C.J. Barnett: We will build houses for people.

Mr McGINTY: The Opposition would not build houses. Is the member for Cottesloe denouncing the Federal Fightback approach? Where will the Opposition get the capital funds?

Mr C.J. Barnett: We will fund Homeswest to build houses and provide rental assistance. The Minister will get the details of that when he gets a copy of our policy. The Minister wants to talk about the Liberal policy because he does not have one of his own. He will get our policy in due course, but for the moment should talk about this Government's rotten record.

Mr McGINTY: The member for Cottesloe is the person who congratulated me only two nights ago in the House on the housing policy this Government adopted and what it had achieved. The member for Applecross may clap like a monkey in the zoo, but people opposite know that this Government is doing an excellent job on housing and that job opportunities are being created as a result of that. Opposition members want to do away with Homeswest's construction program.

Several members interjected.

Mr McGINTY: What does ownership of housing stock resting in the private sector mean if the Opposition in Government will still build it?

Several members interjected.

Mr McGINTY: This document says that ownership and management of housing stock rests with the private sector. That is hardly consistent with Homeswest continuing.

Several members interjected.

Mr McGINTY: Is the member distancing himself from what Hewson said? That would be a remarkable stand for people who pitch their star absolutely on what John Hewson puts forward nationally.

Mr Court: Are you selling off Homeswest houses in the Pilbara?

Mr McGINTY: Yes, at value, and we will put that money straight back where it came from in order to replace them. That is quite different from the Opposition's policy.

Mr Court: You are putting Homeswest homes back into the private sector.

Mr McGINTY: At value.

Several members interjected.

Mr C.J. Barnett: Is that at full market value?

Mr McGINTY: Yes. We have a valuer go into those homes and give us a valuation, and the houses are sold at that price.

Several members interjected.

Mr McGINTY: The Opposition's policy is one of flogging off the assets of this State at less than their value. As a consequence it will be unable to provide that assistance to people in the future. People in this State should be made aware of what that will do to the private construction market, which has relied so much on Homeswest's massive construction program this year; that is, that it will not be able to rely on such a program if members opposite ever come to Government because in power they would not build Homeswest houses. The Opposition would be unable to do what the Government has done; that is, act counter-cyclically in order to support the industry at a time when it is down and ease off when boom conditions return. There is every indication that those conditions are starting to return at the moment. If I take the Opposition's policies and the words put forward, the Opposition will move Homeswest out of providing financial assistance to the needy to help them gain home ownership.

Mr Lewis: Who said that?

Mr McGINTY: The Opposition did. The member should read the motion. It may merely disclose inept drafting, but as I understand the motion I read out to members a few minutes ago, they want to get out of Homeswest providing housing and being able to provide assistance to the housing construction industry in this State. Members opposite are a disgrace! The poor people of this State and the lower income earners will be hit for six by the Opposition's policy in this area. All I can say is God help the poor of this State if the Opposition ever comes to Government.

DR LAWRENCE (Glendalough - Premier) [3.24 pm]: I have a few things to say in summarising the key issues that seem to have been overlooked by members opposite. As I said yesterday in answer to a question, I remain disappointed by the fact that the Opposition cannot grasp the idea that one of the important factors in an economic recovery is confidence. This is something well understood by the business and financial communities. However, members opposite seem unable to grasp that point.

My first point is that no-one in this State is complacent about the present level of unemployment. We are identifying those means by which the State Government can assist the unemployed. The Government is certainly acutely aware of the means by which the Federal Government can assist, or in the case of the Opposition prevent, economic recovery. Members opposite may say that unemployment is a problem that never existed in this State before. That is simply not true. That is the implication of what members opposite are saying. However, over the past eight years some 186 000 jobs have been created in Western Australia. That is a growth of over 30 per cent during that period in Western Australia's work force. The important point is that this compares favourably with a loss of 24 200 jobs in the previous eight years. Which party was in Government then?

Mr C.J. Barnett: What a disappointing approach.

Several members interjected.

Dr LAWRENCE: If members opposite wish to compare the record of different Governments that is an appropriate comparison. That job growth in this State has come at a time of rapid increases in labour force participation rates. I hope the members opposite are aware of that. That participation rate has risen from 62.9 per cent of the civilian work aged population in 1982 to the current level of around 66 per cent, the highest participation rate in Australia.

The number of people employed as a percentage of the total working aged population is around 59 per cent compared with 56 per cent in 1982; so in those areas of job growth and participation rate there clearly has been a significant improvement. No-one is complacent about that. If members opposite look at our legislative program, contrary to the impression they have created, they will see it includes a considerable number of measures designed to directly assist the unemployed. If members opposite had looked at the Governor's Speech they would have seen, for instance, that legislation is to be introduced to allow construction of the Fremantle to Mandurah rapid rail transit system; the Industrial Relations Act will be amended, the Mines Regulations Act will be amended, and so on.

I simply say to members opposite that if they are to bring motions before this Parliament they should show some clear understanding of what is going on in the State at the time and not talk it down.

MR C.J. BARNETT (Cottesloe) [3.27 pm]: I note for the public record that the Premier came into the House for the last eight minutes of this debate and is now leaving. I remind the House that in March 1992 the latest figures for unemployment showed 95 200 people or 11.2 per cent of the work force were unemployed; also, that 30.5 per cent of youth are unemployed. Since our now absent Premier took office in February 1990 the number of unemployed in this State has risen by a massive 64 per cent. No other Premier in our postwar history has presided over such a large and sustained rise in unemployment as this Premier who will not debate this issue.

The Leader of the Opposition is a fair man. When he moved this motion he referred to seasonally adjusted unemployment figures, as is fair and appropriate. However, there are no seasonally adjusted people only real people. If one looks at the raw data, one sees that those real people without jobs in March 1992, which are the latest figures available, total 102 400. Congratulations to the Labor Party! It has "topped the ton" for the first time in Western Australia's history. I do not know whether you follow football, Mr Deputy Speaker, but if one looks at a capacity crowd in the Melbourne Cricket Ground, that is how many people are unemployed in Western Australia. One could not fit the unemployed of Western Australia into the MCG on grand final day. If one added their wives and families they would fill the car parks surrounding the ground. The problem is that this Government will not debate that fact. The Leader of the Opposition pointed to the Government's abysmal, barren legislative program that does not try to address these issues. I am disappointed that when confronted with this debate on unemployment the Premier came in for three or four minutes to dispute the result; she talked of participation rates and job growth in the long term and hid from the basic fact that 100 000 people are out of work. So that the record is straight, the Premier said that one of the problems is that the participation rate has increased. I have some figures on that. When Dr Lawrence became the Premier in February 1990 the participation rate for Western Australia was 66.1 per cent. Now it is 65 per cent - it has actually fallen while she has been the Premier. I suggest that, had the participation rate stayed constant during her period as Premier, the unemployment rate in this State would be about 120 000; so not only is our Premier and Treasurer ignoring this issue, but also she does not even understand the most basic labour force statistics. She is 100 per cent wrong.

What has been the response by this Government to the unemployment problem? The first major attempt by this Premier to address unemployment was in February 1991 when she launched the great housing package. I will not go through that, I simply refer members to the housing package of February 1991 and *The West Australian* of 9 December 1991, in which an article headed "New homes plan proves a job flop" began -

A State Government scheme to generate thousands of jobs and stimulate the building industry by constructing 1500 houses in metropolitan and country areas has flopped.

Only 110 houses have been built or are on the drawing board . . .

I agree with the Minister for Housing - they got that one completely wrong. He failed dismally in that first job creation scheme. Now he has realised that if we want jobs we must do something, and he is now building some houses. It is a pity the Minister for Fuel and Energy does not realise that if we need power we must build a power station. He does not seem to comprehend that.

I turn now to the Premier's second attempt to address unemployment, which was the WA

Advantage document. Members should listen carefully, because this is all that is said about unemployment in that document -

Unemployment is the main social and economic problem facing the community. The waste is enormous.

The economic costs alone of unemployment nationally are estimated at between \$6 billion and \$8 billion of lost output each year for every one per cent increase in the unemployment rate. There is also a direct cost to government caused by reduced tax revenue to meet greater demand for social welfare.

The document goes on -

It is a complex issue defying a simple solution.

If the Premier cannot understand participation rates she certainly will not understand unemployment; but this is the analysis -

But Western Australia is uniquely placed to take advantage of changing economic circumstances.

And that is it. Nothing else is said about unemployment in the WA Advantage document. The Premier says unemployment is there, it is a difficult problem, but we have changing circumstances. That is all.

When the Leader of the Opposition released Fightback WA, that document contained chapters on unemployment. He set a target of 147 000 jobs just to get the unemployment rate down to five per cent, a modest target. But what did this Government say about a detailed, planned job target which was statistically backed up? The Minister for Employment and Training said, and I quote from the *Sunday Times* of 16 February 1992 -

Mrs Hallahan also said the Liberal Party target of 140,000 new jobs and 5 per cent unemployment could not be met.

In other words, this Government has given up on the unemployed; and I notice that there is not a single Minister presently in the Chamber. They have given up and will not debate the issue.

Dr Gallop: I am here.

Mr C.J. BARNETT: What are they doing? Let us look at their performance. The Minister for Fuel and Energy interjects. The Collie power project is the largest commitment for a State Government in this decade.

Dr Gallop interjected.

Mr C.J. BARNETT: The Minister interjects. In March 1989, three years ago, he called for expressions of interest. Eighteen months ago he said we would have a coal fired power station. A year ago he said he had appointed a sole tenderer. Now, three years after the process started, we have nothing - not even a contract or an interim contract. Where is the legislation? Where is the project? The Minister has not fired a shot.

Dr Gallop: This is pure rhetoric.

Mr C.J. BARNETT: The Minister should tell the people of Collie it is pure rhetoric.

I turn now to payroll tax. Let us see how the Government has performed on that matter. Last year the Premier made speeches to the Australian Mining Industry Council and talked about the damaging effect on jobs of payroll tax. The Liberal and National Parties have come up with a program to completely abolish payroll tax. Because we have the initiative and the policy the Premier now has gone lukewarm on the idea. She is not sure; she thinks we should keep it; and why? Because we may have a problem with Commonwealth-State relations. That is a valid point, but is that a reason for keeping a tax which costs at least 17 500 jobs in this State? The Premier has introduced reform this year, although I do not think we have yet seen the Bill, to increase the payroll tax threshold by 10 per cent, from \$320 000 to \$352 000.

The State which has the payroll tax threshold closest to ours is South Australia, which is \$98 000 ahead on its threshold. The threshold is \$500 000 in Queensland, New South Wales and Tasmania, so we are a long way behind. In question time today the Premier equivocated

on tariffs. She does not know whether she is gung ho for Western Australian industry or not. She was in February, until the Labor Party started to go soft on tariffs after the Wills by-election. Now she does not know what her policy is.

I will conclude by saying something optimistic. This economy is improving, though very slowly. We will not get the 4.75 per cent growth rate predicted by the Prime Minister. It will be nothing like that, but we will get a modest pick-up in some sectors. However, it will not be sufficient to bring about a significant cut in unemployment. Unemployment will not go below 9.5 or 10 per cent in the next 12 months unless the Government has the courage to introduce labour market reform and to make sure that any pick-up in the economy is translated into jobs. However, this Government and this Premier have no policy.

Opposition members: Hear, hear!

MR DONOVAN (Morley) [3.36 pm]: I will not support the motion and the only reason I will take any time of the House is that I believe it is important to say why I will not support it.

I was a bit surprised at the Leader of the Opposition because I have just had the opportunity, with a number of other people, to hear him make one of the best speeches I have ever heard him make. However, it was not in this place but down the street at lunch with the Dalai Lama of Tibet, when he had what he described as the privilege of responding to the Dalai Lama's comments. It is interesting that the Dalai Lama is all about the politics of peace, compassion and altruism. The Leader of the Opposition made a three minute speech, conscious as he was of the need to get back here for question time, in which he addressed that issue in a very peaceful, compassionate and altruistic way; but when I returned to the House he was going at it hammer and tongs again.

Mr C.J. Barnett: It is because he is concerned about the 100 000 unemployed people in this State.

Mr MacKinnon: I told you I had difficulty getting the message through.

Mr DONOVAN: Obviously the member for Cottesloe shares that view, because he went at it hammer and tongs even more loudly, strongly and vociferously than did the Leader of the Opposition. I wonder if that means he is making a bid for somebody's job.

Seriously, one cannot look at a motion like this without having some sympathy for the points it contains. My electorate would be one of those hardest hit by unemployment when I think of suburbs like Lockridge, Eden Hill and Bassendean, and I suppose a few other members share that situation. However, I and other members have said before in this place that we cannot simply lay all of the problems of an economy that is nationally and internationally recessed at the feet of a very small and, on a global scale, relatively insignificant State like Western Australia. Therefore, it is not quite realistic for us to lay the blame at the feet of the Western Australian State Government. Whether we like it or not, we are linked to an international economic system; I think everybody knows that.

It was interesting to hear the member for Cottesloe observe in his closing remarks that in fact the economy in Western Australia is improving, though slowly.

Mr Lewis: It cannot get much worse.

Mr DONOVAN: But he did say it was improving. We cannot have it both ways. Either the State Government is responsible for the economy going into recession and for this level of unemployment and therefore must be responsible when the economy starts to improve, or it cannot all be the Government's fault. We cannot logically have a situation where a Government is totally responsible for a receding economy but has nothing to do with an economy that is reviving. That does not make sense.

I acknowledge something that the Deputy Premier said. It contains a little wisdom: We cannot simply legislate for jobs. I remember last time we were in a recession and being part of a vociferous Labor movement which said that the former Liberal Government should legislate for jobs. That Government said then that we could not legislate for jobs. Perhaps that Government was right and we were wrong. We must consider the Notice Paper. While much of the legislation on it and which is planned certainly does not sit well with my view of politics and my view of what a Labor Government should be about, that is one thing; but we cannot look at the Notice Paper and say that it contains no legislation aimed at economic

initiatives. Order of the Day No 1 is an economic Bill, and the Western Australian Land Authority Bill which has occupied most of the time of the House this week is an economic Bill.

Mr Lewis: It is not an economic Bill.

Mr DONOVAN: Of course it is. Land is the most basic economic resource. Members opposite cannot totally reorganise their approach to land management and say they are doing that detached from the economy.

Mr Lewis: It is creating jobs - jobs for the boys!

Mr DONOVAN: The National Rail Corporation Agreement Bill, and so on, are things which State Governments have traditionally done in response to economic requirements.

Mr C.J. Barnett: This is the member's reason to opt out. He is looking at semantics and technicalities, and these will be the reasons that he will not vote in this place to ease unemployment. He will find a neat way to make himself comfortable.

Dr Gallop: He knows where you stand on unemployment.

Mr C.J. Barnett: That is the reason I am surprised at his line.

Mr DONOVAN: This is not a motion on unemployment, and the member knows that.

Mr C.J. Barnett: If the member had any heart for the people and if he did not worry about semantics he would be on our side.

Mr DONOVAN: Down in comfortable Cottesloe the member does not need to worry about where his next loaf of bread is coming from. In areas such as Eden Hill, Bassendean, Lockridge and Beechboro people do need to worry about that. The member does not need to tell me much about the unemployed. This motion is not one on behalf of the unemployed. It is on behalf of the Liberal Party in a pre-election year. I understand that. No-one here does not understand that.

Mr C.J. Barnett: You were elected to represent people on issues. Here is an issue, and the member turns it into pre-election politics.

Mr DONOVAN: Do not try to tell me it is a motion on behalf of the unemployed. It is not.

Mr C.J. Barnett: That is a shameful statement.

Mr DONOVAN: I go back to the starting point, despite the comments of the member for Cottesloe which could easily provoke me. We cannot look at this motion without sympathy for the issues it raises. Equally, we cannot take paragraph (2) of the motion and say that will fix the issues. It is a nonsense motion. It cannot be supported because there is no rational basis upon which to support it.

My feeling of the Government approach to the economy is that it does not sit easily with me, but one cannot say that and say the Government is not doing anything about it. One might not like what it is doing but one cannot say that the Government is not doing anything when at the same time we recognise that the economy is improving. Either the recession is the Government's fault, and in which case the improvement is the Government's fault, or the recession is much bigger than this State Government's fault, in which case this motion does not make sense.

Division

Question put and a division taken with the following result -

Ayes (20)

Mr C.J. Barnett
Mr Bloffwitch
Mr Clarko
Dr Constable
Mr Court

Mrs Edwardes
Mr Grayden
Mr House
Mr Kierath
Mr Lewis

Mr MacKinnon
Mr McNee
Mr Nicholls
Mr Shave
Mr Strickland

Mr Trenorden
Mr Fred Tubby
Mr Watt
Mr Wiese
Mr Bradshaw (*Teller*)

Noes (23)

Mrs Beggs	Mr Graham	Mr McGinty	Mr Taylor
Mr Catania	Mr Grill	Mr Pearce	Mr Thomas
Mr Cunningham	Mr Gordon Hill	Mr Riebeling	Dr Watson
Mr Donovan	Mr Kobelke	Mr Ripper	Mr Wilson
Dr Edwards	Dr Lawrence	Mr D.L. Smith	Mrs Watkins (<i>Teller</i>)
Dr Gallop	Mr Marlborough	Mr P.J. Smith	

Pairs

Mr Blaikie	Mr Leahy
Mr Ainsworth	Mrs Henderson
Mr Minson	Mr Troy
Mr Omodei	Mr Bridge
Dr Turnbull	Mr Read

Question thus negatived.

ELECTORAL AMENDMENT (POLITICAL FINANCE) BILL*Second Reading*

Debate resumed from an earlier stage of the sitting.

MR COURT (Nedlands) [3.48 pm]: I conclude my comments on the Electoral Amendment (Political Finance) Bill by repeating my opening remarks: This debate has a touch of the bizarre. For members opposite to be coming to Parliament and telling us how political donations should best be handled is very difficult for the Opposition to comprehend after witnessing the activities of the Government during the past decade. The Labor Party has not hidden the fact that during the last decade it has been desperate to hang on to power at any price. It has used tactics which are not acceptable to the people of this State. The Government is being shown up by its tactics. Over the last decade the Government has shown its terrible greed for power. Before members opposite start pontificating about how things should be done regarding political donations, it would not hurt if they admitted that they have not acted correctly during the past decade. If people want to be dishonest, without integrity and take money at any price, no legislation will stop them.

Mr Graham: What happens if you apply that principle to the Criminal Code?

Mr COURT: It does apply, of course.

Once the Royal Commission and other inquiries have completed their work, particularly in the field of official corruption, it will be interesting to see what judgments are made on the past decade.

Mr Graham: The principle to which you refer is a push-off: It says that there is no need for legislation because people will not take notice of it. In that case you would not have legislation against stealing.

Mr COURT: I did not say we should have no legislation. I indicated that members opposite try to take the high moral ground regarding political donations; however, I have engaged in four election campaigns in which the Labor Party has outspent the Liberal Party by a ratio of five to one. During the last general election members opposite were spending so much money on advertising in the northern suburbs that it was embarrassing. The newspapers had numerous full page advertisements using the millions of dollars donated.

Members opposite may be in Government today, but once the public knows the whole truth of what they have done regarding political donations, they will not be in Government again for many years. The public trusted members opposite and their supporters gave money to the Labor Party which never reached the Labor Party. At this very moment disputation has arisen within the Labor Party regarding who is the rightful owner of a great deal of political donations. The tax man will have a good look at this matter in considering who should be paying tax on the income earned through donations.

Mr Lewis: Do you mean that the Labor Party or Mr Burke deliberately evaded tax?

Mr COURT: On the evidence given, with ALP members disputing this issue -

Mr Lewis: They were evading tax?

Mr COURT: Very much so. When the Royal Commission produces its recommendations, undoubtedly some will relate to political donations. I do not know what those recommendations will be, but they will certainly be closely considered by the Opposition.

I repeat what I said at the beginning of my speech: It does not matter what legislation is enacted, it cannot make honest people of those who want to remain dishonest. We have had a decade in which members opposite have shown how they react to raising money, in which time they were prepared to grab millions of dollars in return for favours. It will be interesting to see the judgment of the Royal Commission.

MR MARLBOROUGH (Peel) [3.54 pm]: I support the Electoral Amendment (Political Finance) Bill, and in so doing I take up from where the member for Nedlands left off. In the final five minutes of his speech he mentioned that the Labor Party outspent the Liberal Party at a ratio of five to one in the last State election.

Mr Court: Sorry, it could have been 10 to one.

Mr MARLBOROUGH: I will explain reasons for that. The member claimed that people making donations to the Labor Party do not know where their money has gone. He finished by suggesting that from time to time the ALP and its members had attempted to avoid tax. All of those accusations apply to the Liberal Party. I have proof in front of me of exactly what has been taking place within the Liberal Party and its fundraising over many years.

Mr Lewis: We are listening to you.

Mr MARLBOROUGH: The member should be listening closely because, although he may not like it, he may learn something. This legislation is needed. For many years money has been collected from loyal Liberal Party supporters and that money has not gone to the candidates for whom it was collected. It is collected and used to avoid taxation.

Mr Lewis: By the Labor Party.

Mr MARLBOROUGH: No, by the Liberal Party. Let us follow a particular track with Liberal Party fundraising; let us consider what this Opposition party is about when it comes to disclosing fundraising and why it does not want to see this legislation passed. The Opposition makes arguments to prevent the legislation from proceeding through the Parliament, but let us see why. The mentality in the Liberal Party today is so corrupt that those with any honesty are leaving in droves. That is why the member for Floreat is an Independent today; she could not put up any more with the deceit, corruption and lying going on within the Liberal Party.

Point of Order

Mr CLARKO: No doubt, you heard the word "lies" used, Mr Speaker. I would like it withdrawn. The word corruption was used inaccurately but I do not know whether it should be withdrawn.

Dr Gallop: We hear it every day, Mr Speaker.

The SPEAKER: I have not ruled in the past that the word "lies" used generally in this place is out of order. I have said that the word must not be used regarding individuals - I have always ruled that that be withdrawn. I have asked on a number of occasions that members support my general intention in this regard by not using the word at all.

Mr Clarko: It was the specific reference to the Liberal Party which caused me concern.

The SPEAKER: I understand that, but the member must understand that the Liberal Party is huge.

Mr Clarko: We would like it to be, Sir.

The SPEAKER: It is a generalisation and it is difficult for me to rule for a withdrawal. I ask the member to cooperate in using appropriate words.

Debate Resumed

Mr MARLBOROUGH: Thank you for your guidance, Mr Speaker.

The reasons I will give explain why the member for Floreat is no longer a member of the Liberal Party and why Bob Greig and others who supported the party in the past are no longer members of the party. It is the deceit and corruption which is causing these problems. This was demonstrated in Floreat. The same people involved in the Floreat deceit of Liberal Party voters are, interestingly, the same people who are involved in the senior decision making of the Liberal Party and in raising funds. They have been for many years.

To be more specific, Mr Jock Barker was the Liberal candidate for Stirling in the Federal election in March 1990. I refer to the process involving Jock Barker and his ability to raise funds in that campaign.

Mr Cunningham: He was a good candidate.

Mr MARLBOROUGH: From what I have heard, he was a good candidate. He said today that he is no longer with the Liberal Party. From the evidence in front of me it can be seen why he is no longer with the Liberal Party. Working against him at Stirling was a group of grubby, greedy people who wanted to get their hands on money and who were happy to use him as a vehicle by which they could do that.

I draw members' attention to the company which was used to raise money not only for that seat but also for the Liberal Party generally and in previous State elections. I understand it is still involved in raising funds. The company is called Controlled Marketing of which the principal shareholders and the directors are: Gregory Arthur Wallace, Charles Michael Porter, Andrea Margaret Costa, Glen Clark Thompson and Leonie Catherine Wallace. It may have caught the attention of members that Charles Porter is also better known as Chilla Porter who is also the Executive Director of the Liberal Party.

Mr Pearce: He is an honorary life member of the Wembley Downs branch!

Mr MARLBOROUGH: While he was the Executive Director of the Liberal Party he continued to run a company which was the major fundraiser for the Liberal Party. He did that for many years.

Mr Court: I don't think you have your story right.

Mr MARLBOROUGH: Just how many supporters of the Liberal Party were aware of his involvement in that company? The company's agents in the field offer the following deal to donors to the Liberal Party: From the money raised it takes \$90 of the first \$100. I understand from my sources within the Liberal Party that one pays \$10 to sign with a branch of the Liberal Party. The company takes \$90 of the next \$200 and 55 per cent of any more funds. I draw the attention of the member for Applecross to a previous comment he made about the 25 per cent commission paid to Terry Burke.

Mr Lewis: You need your ears washed out.

Mr MARLBOROUGH: Do I really? The member is recorded in *Hansard* as having said to the Premier that as part of an arrangement Terry Burke had with the ALP he received 25 per cent commission on donations. Controlled Marketing, headed by Chilla Porter, a senior Vice President of the Liberal Party now - he was the executive director of the party - takes 55 per cent of money raised. How many people who donate to the Liberal Party are aware that of every dollar they donate to support an honest campaigner like Jock Barker, 55¢ disappears into a private company?

Mr Court: That is absolute nonsense.

Mr MARLBOROUGH: Is it really?

Mr Court: How much money was raised?

Mr MARLBOROUGH: I am coming to that.

Mr Court: If you have your story wrong will you go outside and apologise?

Mr MARLBOROUGH: Never mind about going outside. The member for Nedlands should just sit and listen.

Mr Court: I hope you will apologise if you have your story wrong.

Mr MARLBOROUGH: The member for Nedlands is fairly closely linked with Chilla Porter.

Mr Court: Yep!

Mr MARLBOROUGH: I knew that would grab his attention. They are lifelong friends and part of the faction within the Liberal Party which is trying to gain control of it - the Crichton-Brown/Campbell/Court group who are more than just mates having a drink around Steve's bar. They are associated with a company which controls the money going into the Liberal Party and they are trying to gain control of the Liberal Party.

An innocent in the world like Jock Barker simply believed he was doing the right thing. He wanted to be a proud member of the Liberal Party and he ran for the seat of Stirling in 1990. The head office of the Liberal Party gave him a list of 1 500 businesses to assist his campaign committee to solicit funds for the election. He dutifully took that list, thanked head office, and set about talking to those companies, sending letters and doing whatever was appropriate to raise money. During that process, lo and behold, the Liberal Party head office decided to call in its now wonder boy in the Federal Senate, Mr Ian Campbell, and give him and a group of helpers such as Chilla Porter, Mr McAullife and others involved with the Stirling campaign the same list of 1 500 companies and other appropriate names. They also set about raising money. They sent out a flyer which I am happy to table and which I will read to members. The innocent supporters of the Liberal Party should know to whom they have been donating. The story gets worse as it goes on. The flyer reads -

URGENT MESSAGE TO PEOPLE WHO MAKE THEIR LIVING FROM BUSINESS.

At the time of writing, Jock Barker's campaign is in need of \$20 000.

To guarantee the most effect campaign possible.

We need funds NOW.

Another 3 years of Labor would be catastrophic.

We must elect a Liberal Government this time or face a bleak future.

Your support is crucial. We need any amount, \$100, \$50, whatever you can afford, but we need it now.

Just fill in the endorsement supply slip and return with cheque in enclosed Business Reply envelope.

This is urgent.

Thanking you.

Ian Campbell.

President Stirling Division.

Liberal Party.

Well over \$8 000 can be accounted for which was collected as a result of that pamphlet. Jock Barker will tell anyone who wants to listen and the people behind the pamphlet that well over \$20 000 was collected with it and that not one penny went to his campaign. The story gets interesting -

Mr Court: Where did it go?

Mr MARLBOROUGH: The member for Nedlands can tell me where it went.

Mr Court: It is your story. I would not have a clue.

Mr Lewis interjected.

Mr MARLBOROUGH: The member for Nedlands does not have a clue, but the member for Applecross knows exactly where it went. He should tell Jock Barker now because he has not been told before.

Mr Court: It might have gone to the Liberal Party!

Mr MARLBOROUGH: It may have gone to the Liberal Party, but why has someone not told Jock? At the time of writing, Jock Barker was in need of \$20 000. I think that is specific. The line the Opposition took with Brian Burke when he was Premier was that, if he raised money in this way, it should be for specific purposes.

Mr Court: So you are saying that this money did not go to Jock Barker but to the Liberal Party.

Mr MARLBOROUGH: I am not saying anything. However, I can tell the member where most of it went. Fifty five per cent of it went into somebody's pocket.

Mr Lewis: No, it did not.

Mr MARLBOROUGH: The member for Applecross is the only one who says that he knows where it went. Two sentences ago, the member for Nedlands said that he had no recollection of where it went. He then changed his story and said it went somewhere in the Liberal Party. He has never presented that evidence anywhere. It is now delightful to hear the member for Nedlands and the member for Applecross trying to tell us where the money went. Let me inform the House about what happened to Mr Barker. On 23 November he wrote to two people in the Liberal Party. He wrote to Anthony Nutt, the assistant director and he wrote to Ian Viner, the treasurer. The letter states -

Dear Tony

Earlier this year I had a number of discussions with a former Executive Director of the party Mr Tony Hall. The discussions related to certain fund raising activities carried out in Stirling, during the 1990 Federal Election.

In my discussions with Mr Hall I made it quite clear that the fund raising to which he referred was NOT associated with my Campaign in any way what-so-ever.

That fundraising under his name was not associated with the campaign. The letter continues -

In fact my fund raising committee was outraged that 2 or 3 Liberals from the Stirling Division saw fit to cut across our Campaign Fund Raising Committees' efforts. They were even more incensed when it appeared that Head Office had provided those involved, with a list of nearly 1500 businesses and Liberal Party members to be approached.

He was a candidate for a political party, working his backside off door knocking in the electorate and trying to win votes in a marginal seat that the Liberal Party had to consider as winnable and he was being white-anted from within the Liberal Party's head office. That is certainly how Mr Barker saw it and it is certainly how his campaign director saw it because he later resigned as a result. The letter goes on -

Bearing in mind my campaign had already approached most of the business community in Stirling, those approached a second time thought we were either incompetent, greedy or both.

Mr Lewis: This is weak.

Mr MARLBOROUGH: The member for Cottesloe does not think it is weak, nor does anybody else. The letter states further -

I understand an investigation is being carried out, however my concerns remain as follows:

- (a) The fund raising activity carried out using a "yellow flyer" and which carried the name of my campaign was NOT associated with my campaign.
- (b) My campaign did not benefit in any way from that particular fund raising activity.
- (c) Those who donated in response to the "flyer" did so in the belief that they were assisting my campaign - when in fact they were not.
- (d) I understand at least \$8,500 was raised by those responsible. If further information is now available I would appreciate being advised as to who actually benefited from the unauthorised fundraising activity.
- (e) My information is a direct marketing company associated with a Liberal Party member (who had not declared a personal interest) clearly benefitted.

Mr Lewis: You are assuming that the directors of that company benefitted.

Mr MARLBOROUGH: I am not assuming anything. Let me make it quite clear: I am assuming nothing. I am reading from a letter - which I am happy to table - from Jock Barker to the assistant executive director of the Liberal Party. I am not assuming anything. The letter continues -

In fact is it possible with the "fundraising" (so called membership drive) currently being carried out in Stirling the same situation exists in relation to the direct marketing company?

- (f) I believe the fund raising activities, which were unauthorised by my Campaign, may have damaged the Liberal Party and could have, prima-face put my Campaign in breach of the Electoral Act.

I wish to point out this matter has also been previously raised by me with the current President of Stirling Division, Mr Mark McAuliffe. Present at that meeting was the now Senior Vice-President of Stirling Division, Mr C Porter. Following that meeting my concerns remained.

In other words, an innocent abroad, a Liberal Party candidate in Stirling, was ripped off by greedy administrators of the Liberal Party's fund raising campaign. Let us follow the line of members opposite. There is nothing wrong with that; Jock has it mixed up! When the Liberal Party put out a flier for Jock, what it meant was that it was money for the Liberal Party! Everybody understood that and it was a bit sad that Jock did not! However, on the basis that he did not understand it, Jock went to the president of the Stirling division, Chilla Porter and the assistant president, Mr Mark McAuliffe and said that he was an innocent abroad working his backside off to win that seat for the Liberal Party and he told them that he wanted to win it so that the Liberal Party would win the Federal election. He then said in this letter to Ian Viner and Tony Nutt - an appropriate name - that his concerns remained. His letter continues -

My legal advice is that as the matter involved members of the public, the unauthorised fund raising may well constitute "fraud" by those involved. I believe that the concerns raised by me with Mr Hall should have been resolved by now.

Members should not forget that this letter was written on 23 November.

Mr Court: When?

Mr MARLBOROUGH: In 1990, six months or more after the election. This man was not the sort to rush around willy nilly not knowing what he was doing when he wrote this letter. He had been through an election campaign and had been beaten. That money had been raised in his name and he received none of it whatsoever. Chilla Porter, the senior president of the Liberal Party, had taken 55 per cent of everything that was raised and, at the end of the day, Jock Barker got nothing of what was left. He received not one penny.

Mr Lewis: You have changed your story.

Mr MARLBOROUGH: I have not changed anything. The letter from the Liberal Party dated 9 January 1991 states -

Dear Jock

I reply to your letter dated November 23, 1990, but which was not received at the State Secretariat till Monday, January 7, 1991.

This matter has been placed in the hands of the Party Treasurer, Hon Ian Viner QC -- and noting that you have already sent him a copy, there is little else for me to add.

As soon as Mr Viner has made a determination on the issue, I will ensure that you are informed.

No such information has been passed to Jock Barker. This Opposition which stands up and attempts to take the high moral ground on the issue of fundraising is absolutely full of corrupt members who are raising money under the banner either of a candidate or a political party, 55 per cent of which goes into the pocket and the rest of which -

Mr Court: Into whose pocket?

Mr MARLBOROUGH: Into their pockets. When the candidate tries to find out in an honest way what happened to the money, he is told nothing. Not only did he not receive anything from that exercise, but also the current Federal Leader of the Opposition came to Western Australia and launched his campaign at a dinner for which the tickets cost \$50 a head. More than 200 people attended that dinner which was held specifically for Jock Barker's election campaign. He introduced Dr Hewson at the dinner, yet none of the money raised on that

occasion went into his campaign fund. Opposition members can shrug their shoulders all they like, but quite clearly we need this legislation. The public of Western Australia need to be protected from these hungry, greedy, corrupt political members who sit on the other side of the Chamber and who try to hide - as they have for many years - their methods of raising money. It has been clearly shown that even the people endorsed by the Liberal Party as its candidates can no longer be loyal to the Liberal Party. They see how they were used by the sorts of people who raised money, who simply used their hard work and reputation and the other people who were willing to support them.

Mr Lewis: Do you need an extension of time?

Mr MARLBOROUGH: No, I do not need to extend my time; the message has been clearly put across. The Opposition suggests it is not worried about the rake-off of the Chilla Porter company. As a result of these events Ian Viner, QC has been promoted and is now the State president. On 11 April 1992 a letter from Mr Viner was sent to the electorate asking businesses for donations. The letter contained Mr Viner's handwritten postscript that donations made in response to the letter were not subject to a commission payable to anyone and they would be used in full for the purposes referred to in the letter. This Liberal Party which is not concerned about this matter has obviously not been able to convince its State president.

Point of Order

Mr LEWIS: On the basis that for the past 30 minutes the member has not been talking to the Bill, should I move that his time be extended to allow him to make his point?

Mr MARLBOROUGH: The member for Applecross is so bright that the last time there was a power strike he spent four hours on an escalator while shopping in Myer. When he was asked why he had not climbed down from the escalator he replied that he was going up at the time.

The SPEAKER: I had intended to communicate to the member for Applecross that it is inappropriate under our Standing Orders to raise frivolous points of order but I will not do so following the very kind assistance given by the member for Peel in dealing with the matter.

Debate Resumed

Parliamentary Procedure - Pearce, Hon Robert - Apology for Discourteous Act

Mr PEARCE: During the course of the address by the member for Peel on this legislation I inadvertently passed between him and you, Mr Speaker. I appreciate that that is a discourtesy that should not occur in this Parliament. I apologise profusely for doing so. I assure you that it will not occur again. I spoke to you, Mr Speaker, as soon as I had done it and indicated that I would apologise at the end of that member's speech, which I have now done. That is the proper course of action. I trust you will accept it in the spirit in which it is given.

The SPEAKER: Certain members may be surprised and feel that this is the only occasion on which I have allowed this response to what I believe to be a gravely discourteous act. It is not the only time I have allowed it. Very few members in this place would be allowed to wait until the end of the speech before apologising. When I believe that a certain member almost 100 per cent of the time endeavours to treat this House in a courteous way, on the odd occasion when that member makes a mistake, this is the appropriate action. It has been afforded to members on both sides of the House in the past.

MR BRADSHAW (Wellington) [4.27 pm]: Mr Speaker, I seek leave to continue my remarks at the next sitting of the House.

[Leave granted for speech to be continued.]

Debate thus adjourned.

House adjourned at 4.28 pm

PARLIAMENTARY NEWSLETTER FROM THE LEADER'S OFFICE

NO: 11 - 10/4/92

UNEMPLOYMENTWA SEASONALLY ADJUSTED UNEMPLOYMENT STATISTICSJANUARY 1989 TO MARCH 1992

MONTH	UNEMPLOYED PERSONS	CHANGE	CHANGE %	UNEMPLOYMENT RATE %
JAN 89	48,900	-	-	6.2
FEB 89	46,500	-2,400	-4.9	5.9
MAR 89	45,600	-900	-1.9	5.8
APR 89	43,100	-2,500	-5.5	5.4
MAY 89	43,100	0	0.0	5.4
JUNE 89	45,500	+2,400	+5.6	5.8
JULY 89	44,400	-1,100	-2.4	5.6
AUG 89	47,100	+2,700	+6.1	5.9
SEPT 89	53,100	+6,000	+12.7	6.6
OCT 89	49,400	-3,700	-7.0	6.1
NOV 89	44,400	-5,000	-10.1	5.5
DEC 89	53,800	+9,400	+21.2	6.6
JAN 90	58,000	+4,200	+7.8	7.1
FEB 90	57,700	-300	-0.5	7.0
MAR 90	57,700	0	0.0	7.1
APR 90	60,200	+2,500	+4.3	7.3
MAY 90	61,400	+1,200	+2.0	7.4
JUNE 90	63,200	+1,800	+2.9	7.7
JULY 90	63,400	+200	+0.3	7.6
AUG 90	67,100	+3,700	+5.8	8.1
SEPT 90	70,800	+3,700	+5.5	8.5
OCT 90	73,800	+3,000	+4.2	8.8
NOV 90	72,300	-500	-0.7	8.7
DEC 90	70,500	-1,800	-2.5	8.5
JAN 91	75,600	+5,100	+7.2	9.0
FEB 91	81,900	+6,300	+8.3	9.8
MAR 91	86,100	+4,200	+5.1	10.3
APR 91	94,200	+8,100	+9.4	11.1
MAY 91	84,500	-9,700	-10.3	10.0
JUNE 91	88,400	+3,900	+4.6	10.5
JULY 91	93,600	+5,200	+5.9	11.2
AUG 91	93,900	+300	+0.3	11.0
SEPT 91	92,600	-1,300	-1.4	11.0
OCT 91	97,800	+5,200	+5.6	11.6
NOV 91	94,100	-3,700	-3.8	11.0
DEC 91	88,000	-6,100	-6.5	10.9
JAN 92	95,400	+7,200	+8.2	11.3
FEB 92	93,400	-2,000	-2.1	11.0
MAR 92	95,200	+1,800	+1.9	11.2

Source: ABS Cat No. 6202.0 (Table 10)

WA SEASONALLY ADJUSTED UNEMPLOYMENT RATE — JANUARY 1989 TO
MARCH 1992



SOURCE: ABS CAT. NO. 6202.0

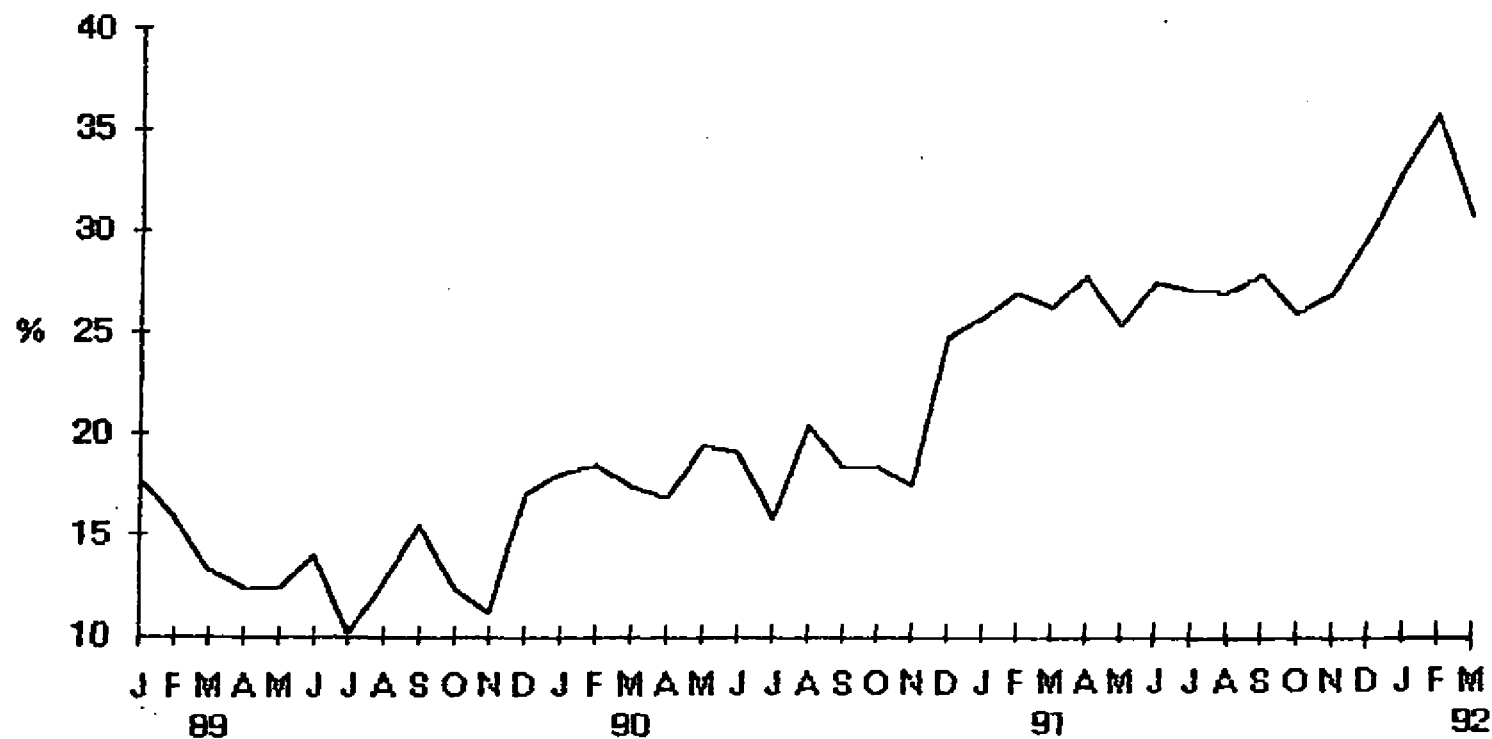
YOUTH (15-19) UNEMPLOYMENT IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA - JAN 89 TO MAR 92

(LOOKING FOR FULL TIME WORK)

MONTH	UNEMPLOYED	CHANGE	CHANGE %	RATE %
J	11200	N/A	N/A	17.8
F	9600	-1600	-14.3	15.9
M 89	7500	-2100	-21.9	13.2
A	6600	-900	-12.0	12.3
M	6400	-200	-3.0	12.2
J	7100	700	10.9	13.9
J	5800	-1300	-18.3	10
A	6900	1100	19.0	12.5
S	8600	1700	24.6	15.3
O	7000	-1600	-18.6	12.2
N	5800	-1200	-17.1	11
D	10300	4500	77.6	16.8
J	11900	1600	15.5	17.9
F	11500	-400	-3.4	18.3
M 90	10400	-1100	-9.6	17.2
A	9900	-500	-4.8	16.6
M	10900	1000	10.1	19.2
J	10500	-400	-3.7	18.8
J	9200	-1300	-12.4	15.6
A	11200	2000	21.7	20.2
S	10700	-500	-4.5	18.1
O	10200	-500	-4.7	18.2
N	9700	-1500	-14.7	17.2
D	13800	6100	68.6	24.6
J	14700	900	6.5	25.5
F	14100	-600	-4.1	26.7
M 91	12300	-1800	-12.8	26
A	12200	-100	-0.8	27.5
M	10500	-1700	-13.9	25.1
J	11700	1200	11.4	27.2
J	12000	300	2.6	26.8
A	11200	-800	-6.7	26.7
S	11800	600	5.4	27.6
O	11200	-600	-5.1	25.7
N	10900	-300	-2.7	26.7
D	14900	4000	36.7	28.5
J	16400	1500	10.1	32.8
F	16700	300	1.8	35.5
M 92	13400	-3300	-19.8	30.5

SOURCE: ABS CAT. NO. 6202.0

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IN WA — JAN 89 TO MAR 92



SOURCE: ABS CAT. NO. 6202.0

QUESTIONS ON NOTICE

TAFE - STAFF DEVELOPMENT

Expenditure 1990-91

96. Dr CONSTABLE to the Minister representing the Minister for Education:

In the 1990-91 financial year how much money was spent by Technical and Further Education on staff development -

- (a) in total;
- (b) on lecturing staff;
- (c) on overseas visits;
- (d) on interstate visits;
- (e) on total quality management;
- (f) on clerical staff?

Dr GALLOP replied:

The Minister for Education has provided the following reply -

- (a) \$1 770 000
- (b) \$1 141 000
- (c) \$17 355
- (d) \$71 172
- (e) \$210 000
- (f) \$419 000

It should be noted that funds allocated for staff development related travel are included within expenditures on staff development for lecturing staff (b) and clerical staff (f).

HOSPITALS - SIR CHARLES GAIRDNER, ROYAL PERTH, FREMANTLE

Surgical Procedures Waiting Lists

130. Dr CONSTABLE to the Minister for Health:

- (1) What are the current numbers of patients on waiting lists for surgical procedures in the following categories at Sir Charles Gairdner Hospital, Royal Perth Hospital and Fremantle Hospital -
 - (a) orthopaedic;
 - (b) ear, nose and throat;
 - (c) ophthalmology;
 - (d) general surgery;
 - (e) plastic?
- (2) What were the numbers of patients on the waiting lists referred to in (1)?
- (3) How many operations are performed per week on public patients at each of the hospitals, in the five categories listed in (1)?

Mr WILSON replied:

(1)-(2)

Numbers of people on the waiting list as at 31 March 1992 compared with 31 December 1991 are as follows -

	RPH		SCGH		F	
	Dec 91	Mar 92	Dec 91	Mar 92	Dec 91	Mar 92
Orthopaedics	775	893	579	630	1 099	1 094
ENT	701	680	446	457	542	618
Ophthalmology	335	292	606	657	192	177
General surgery	480	528	426	498	585	505
Plastic surgery	267	313	380	402	187	206

- (3) The average operations per week for the quarter October-December 1991 were as follows -

	RPH	SCGH	F
Orthopaedics	88	33	50
ENT	14	15	14
Ophthalmology	19	14	13
General surgery	74	70	65
Plastic surgery	41	26	18

A special allocation of \$8 million has been provided for waiting list reduction management this year which will purchase an additional 1 933 procedures at various public hospitals.

GOVERNMENT MOTOR VEHICLES - MINISTER FOR HEALTH
Statistics, Allocation Policy, Public Service Officer Classification Level

249. Mr NICHOLLS to the Minister for Health:

- (1) How many motor vehicles are attached to your department?
- (2) What is your policy of allocation to and usage by public service officers and/or sub-departments?
- (3) What is the classification level of the public service officers to whom the motor vehicles have been allocated?

Mr WILSON replied:

See the Premier's response to question 246.

**GOVERNMENT MOTOR VEHICLES - MINISTER FOR FUEL AND ENERGY;
 MICROECONOMIC REFORM; PARLIAMENTARY AND ELECTORAL REFORM;
 MINISTER ASSISTING THE TREASURER**
Statistics, Allocation Policy, Public Service Officer Classification Level

255. Mr NICHOLLS to the Minister for Fuel and Energy; Microeconomic Reform; Parliamentary and Electoral Reform; Minister assisting the Treasurer:

- (1) How many motor vehicles are attached to your departments?
- (2) What is your policy of allocation to and usage by public service officers and/or sub-departments?
- (3) What is the classification level of the public service officers to whom the motor vehicles have been allocated?

Dr GALLOP replied:

See the Premier's response to question 246.

WESTERN AUSTRALIAN TOURISM COMMISSION - ANSETT WA
Joint Advertising Expenditure

374. Dr CONSTABLE to the Minister for Tourism:

What was the level of Tourist Commission funds spent on conjunctional advertising with Ansett WA during 1991?

Mrs BEGGS replied:

During 1991, the Western Australian Tourism Commission spent the following on cooperative advertising campaigns with Ansett WA -

Broome Getaway	\$25 000	
Broome Breakaway	70 000	
Slipaway campaign	25 000	(October 91 to April 92)
Total	\$120 000	

HEALTH (CERVICAL CYTOLOGY REGISTER) REGULATIONS - TABLING DATE

402. Mr MINSON to the Minister for Health:

- (1) Have the proposed Health (Cervical Cytology Register) Regulations 1991 been tabled?
- (2) If so, when?
- (3) If not, when will they be tabled?
- (4) If they will not be tabled, why not?

Mr WILSON replied:

- (1) Yes.
- (2) 5 February 1992.
- (3)-(4) Not applicable.

WA ADVANTAGE - NET COST ESTIMATE *Funding Source*

416. Mr MacKINNON to the Treasurer:

- (1) Can the Treasurer confirm that the Department of Treasury has estimated that the net cost of her WA Advantage economic statement will be about \$157 million per year for the next three years?
- (2) If not, what will that cost be?
- (3) Can the Treasurer also confirm that she has not, to date, indicated the source of funding for this extra net expenditure?
- (4) If so, what is to be the source of funding?

Dr LAWRENCE replied:

(1)-(2)

The Treasury has estimated that over the next three years - 1992-93 to 1994-95 - the WA Advantage initiatives will result in additional costs of around \$472 million, \$300 million of which is the estimated cost of the extension of the railway to Mandurah. This cost will not be spread evenly over the three years.

(3)-(4)

While no detailed source of funds statement has been prepared, it is intended that the funding will be accommodated through both a reprioritisation of existing program expenditures and the capacity provided by the completion of existing capital works.

RAILWAYS - ELECTRIC TRAINS

Maximum Speed on Express Sections - Armadale, Fremantle and Midland Lines

418. Mr McNEE to the Minister for Transport:

- (1) What is the maximum speed of the new electric trains on the express section of their routes on -
 - (a) the Armadale line;
 - (b) the Fremantle line;
 - (c) the Midland line?
- (2) What is the limiting factor?
- (3) Is it still intended that northern suburbs trains will travel up to 120 km/hr?
- (4) If so, what is the reason for the difference between the lines?

Mrs BEGGS replied:

- (1) The design speed of the train is 110 kms per hour -

- (a) maximum speed on Armadale line is 100 kms per hour;
- (b) maximum speed on Fremantle line is 80 kms per hour;
- (c) maximum speed on Midland line is 100 kms per hour.
- (2) Limiting factors are track structure, track alignment and signalling.
- (3) Maximum speed on Joondalup line is 110 kms per hour.
- (4) Joondalup line is straighter and has fewer stations which are spaced further apart. Track structure and signalling has also been designed for the higher speed.

DAYLIGHT SAVING REFERENDUM - YES "TICK", NO "CROSS" PRACTICE
Ballot Papers with "Crosses" and Rejected Statistics

426. Mr CLARKO to the Minister for Parliamentary and Electoral Reform:

- (1) Is it a long standing, universal practice in Australia, for persons who are asked to express their opinion or position either for or against a question that is set down in either an official or non-official document, that when a "tick" is accepted as Yes, then a "cross" is equally accepted as No?
- (2) If so, how does the Minister specifically explain why the Electoral Commissioner determined a "tick" as Yes for the April 1992 referendum on daylight saving, but rejected a "cross" as being No?
- (3) How many ballot papers were marked with a "cross" in this referendum and rejected from the count?

Dr GALLOP replied:

- (1) Not necessarily. A cross - X - in some situations is used to indicate a person's preference and it is acceptable in some circumstances in a parliamentary election. In earlier cases of first past the post voting, voting was by means of writing the letter X in the appropriate box to indicate the voter's preference. Much depends on how the question is constructed.
- (2) Section 5 of the Daylight Saving Act 1991 sets out the prescribed question which had to be submitted to the electors under and in accordance with the Referendums Act 1983 on Saturday, 4 April 1992. If an elector was in favour, the word "yes" had to be placed in the space provided at the bottom of the ballot paper. The word "no" had to be written if the elector was not in favour. These instructions were clear and simply expressed on the ballot paper for the daylight saving referendum and were emphasised in the Electoral Commission's advertising about how the ballot paper was to be marked. However, section 24 of the Referendums Act provides that if an elector marked the ballot paper otherwise than in the authorised manner of "yes" or "no", if the ballot paper clearly indicated the elector's intention that ballot paper would be counted as formal. A similar provision regarding ballot papers in parliamentary elections is in section 140 of the Electoral Act 1907.

It was necessary, therefore, for the Electoral Commissioner to give some direction to returning officers under section 102A of the Electoral Act as to how ballot papers were to be treated if an elector marked the ballot paper other than with a yes or a no. The Electoral Commissioner sought legal advice on the matter of formality of ballot papers and consequentially, the commissioner set out directions in his circular to returning officers No 3 of 1992 dated 12 March 1992. A copy of that circular has been tabled.

The directions given on ticks and crosses are covered by paragraphs 7(a) and (b) of that circular which read as follows -

(a) Is a tick in the box below the question on the ballot paper regarded as a 'Yes' vote?

It makes the elector's intention clear and equates a 'Yes'. It is an unmistakable indication of an intention to vote 'Yes'.

(b) Is an X cross in the box on the ballot paper regarded as a 'No' vote?

An 'X' may be acceptable in some circumstances in a parliamentary election but in the case of the Referendum the use of an 'X' in the box leaves too much room for doubt. An 'X' may be regarded as a 'No' or alternatively, as an indication of choice. That possibility of doubt must in itself render the vote informal.

- (3) A survey of the ordinary ballot papers for four electoral districts on the night of the referendum after polling closed showed that only eight ballot papers had been marked with a tick and only 16 with a cross. A more extensive sampling of referendum ballot papers will be made by the Electoral Commission to give an indication of how many were marked with a tick. The number of ballot papers marked with a cross will be determined from the survey of informal papers. This information will be given in writing to the member after the Electoral Commission has completed the survey.

[See paper No 127.]

HEALTH DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA - ENVIRONMENTAL
HEALTH BRANCH

"Stubby" Holders Issued to Staff

433. Mr KIERATH to the Minister for Health:

- (1) Has a senior officer in the environmental health branch of the Health Department caused each staff member of the branch to be issued with "stubby" holders?
- (2) If so -
 - (a) who was the officer;
 - (b) how many stubby holders were issues to each staff member;
 - (c) what was the date and nature of the occasion on which the stubby holders were issued;
 - (d) what was the total number of stubby holders issued to staff in the environmental health branch;
 - (e) was each stubby holder marked with the initials of the staff member;
 - (f) why were the stubby holders issued;
 - (g) were the stubby holders made of polystyrene;
 - (h) if not, what material were they made of;
 - (i) what was the total cost to the taxpayer of issuing the stubby holders to staff?

Mr WILSON replied:

- (1) Yes.
- (2)
 - (a) Director, environmental health branch.
 - (b) Four Drinksafe stubby holders to each.
 - (c) Prior to Christmas 1989. They were to emphasise the Drinksafe message and were allied to a comprehensive Drinksafe campaign running at the time. This campaign included sponsorship for some major events - Carols by Candlelight, the Leeuwin concert and 96FM Skyshow. It also involved making available free Drinksafe promotional material to organisations, both private and Government, for distribution and use by their own staff to promote responsible drinking over the Christmas and holiday period.
 - (d) Approximately 530.

- (e) No.
- (f) See (c).
- (g) Yes.
- (h) Not applicable.
- (i) They cost 83¢ each or \$3.32 per staff member, a total of approximately \$450.

STATE BANK OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA - TRANSPERTH ELECTRIC RAILCARS
Commercial Involvement

437. Mr LEWIS to the Minister for Transport:

- (1) Does the State Bank of South Australia have any commercial involvement in the financing/leasing of Transperth's existing new electric railcars?
- (2) If so, what is the nature or detail of the involvement?

Mrs BEGGS replied:

- (1) Yes.
- (2) The lease arrangements for the first 21 railcar sets provide for them to be leased by ABB Credit to the State Bank of South Australia which subleases to Mercantile Mutual Life Ltd, which in turn subleases to Westrail. This "cross-border" leasing structure is designed to provide a leasing cost to Westrail lower than normal Treasury Corporation funding by a net present value of \$4 million to \$6 million.

ALBANY PORT - DECKING STRENGTH
Loading and Unloading of Ships to Trucks - Container Storage Facilities

449. Mr HOUSE to the Minister for Transport:

- (1) Further to question on notice 46 of 1992, is the decking of Albany Port of sufficient strength to allow the loading and unloading of ships onto trucks alongside the ships by means of -
 - (a) a ship's own crane;
 - (b) a wharf mounted crane?
- (2) If not, what would be the cost of upgrading the decking to allow for the above unloading processes?
- (3) Does the Albany Port have sufficient storage facilities to store containers, and to complement the loading and off-loading of containers from the ships onto trucks?
- (4) If not, what would be the cost of providing this facility?

Mrs BEGGS replied:

- (1) (a) Containers can be loaded and unloaded direct from ship to truck using ship's gear.
- (b) The preferred wharf - No 2 - does not have sufficient strength to permit a wharf mounted crane.
- (2) The estimated capital investment to upgrade No 2 wharf is \$5.3 million. This does not include investment in a container crane.
- (3) No.
- (4) An estimated cost of the development of a suitable site would be \$50 000.

MINISTERS OF THE CROWN - OVERSEAS TRAVEL EXPENSES
Credit Cards Policy

450. Mr MacKINNON to the Premier:

What is the current policy relating to the use of credit cards by Government Ministers for expenses relating to Ministers' overseas/interstate travel?

Dr LAWRENCE replied:

Credit cards issued to Ministers may be used only for official purposes in accordance with Treasurer's instruction 321.

ROADS - ALBANY HIGHWAY-CANNING HIGHWAY, VICTORIA PARK

Slip Road Construction Study

452. Mr MacKINNON to the Minister for Transport:

- (1) Has the Government concluded the studies examining the possible construction of a slip road from Albany Highway to Canning Highway (westbound) in Victoria Park?
- (2) If so, what was the conclusion of that study?
- (3) If the study has not been completed, when is it likely to be completed?
- (4) Has the report been made public?
- (5) If not, why not?

Mrs BEGGS replied:

(1), (4)

No.

(2), (5)

Not applicable.

- (3) The initial study is complete and indicates that the issues are more complex than expected involving the entry and operation of the causeway. The Main Roads Department is presently engaging a consultant to prepare a detailed engineering report by June 1992.

OLD AGE HOMES - PUBLIC HOSPITALS

Discharge of Patients Notification Advice

491. Mr MINSON to the Minister for Health:

- (1) Are residents of aged persons' homes, who have been sent to public hospitals by their doctor, often, if not required to stay in overnight, returned from public hospitals to those homes during the night or in the early hours of the morning, in taxis, and left to fend for themselves when they arrive back at the homes?
- (2) Could the Minister at least ensure that the aged persons' homes are advised that these persons are being returned to the homes so that there is someone on hand to help them back to their beds?

Mr WILSON replied:

- (1) I am not aware of any such specific discharge incidents. The Health Department is currently developing guidelines for hospitals to support good discharge practice which will further insure against such events occurring.
- (2) The guidelines being developed for patient discharge include notification to the prime carer - in this case an aged residential service - prior to the patient's discharge from the hospital. Trained staff are available 24 hours per day for patients living within a State Government-run nursing home.

CENTRAL PARK BUILDING - COMPLETION DATE

Leases

507. Mr MacKINNON to the Minister assisting the Treasurer:

- (1) When is it anticipated that the Central Park building will be completed?
- (2) What is its expected completion cost?
- (3) What proportion of the building has been let?
- (4) Have any non-Government tenants signed up for leases and if so, what proportion of the building has been let to private tenants?

Dr GALLOP replied:

- (1) The tower is expected to be completed in September 1992 and the associated site works in December 1992.
- (2) \$338.5 million.
- (3) 23.3 per cent of the office space.
- (4) Yes - 19.1 per cent.

TAFE - FEDERAL ALLOCATION 1991-92

Amount and Purpose

515. Dr CONSTABLE to the Minister representing the Minister for Education:

- (1) How much money was allocated by the Commonwealth Government in the 1991-92 financial year for the purpose of technical and further education in Western Australia?
- (2) For what specific purpose(s) were the funds made available?

Dr GALLOP replied:

The Minister for Education has provided the following reply -

- (1) \$20 486 000.
- (2) Technical and further education
Aboriginal education and strategic initiatives programs
Adult migrant education program
Australian traineeship system
Adult/youth - Jobtrain - training programs
Special assistance for unemployed youth
Women's preparatory programs
Adult literacy programs
Staff development
Aboriginal children's services courses.

TAFE - CLUSTER SYSTEM

Effectiveness Review

521. Dr CONSTABLE to the Minister representing the Minister for Education:

- (1) Has a review period been set to determine the effectiveness of the cluster system in technical and further education colleges?
- (2) If yes -
 - (a) how long is the review period;
 - (b) what factors will be taken into account to determine the success of this new system of organisation;
 - (c) who will be charged with reporting on its effectiveness;
 - (d) what data is to be collected for the review?

Dr GALLOP replied:

The Minister for Education has provided the following reply -

(1)-(2)

'Clustering' is part of a process of regionalising the management of TAFE colleges, which has been adopted throughout most Australian TAFE systems and by many other Government agencies such as the Health Department. Regionalisation has brought many benefits to the TAFE system in this State, such as increased responsiveness to local needs, and more effective and efficient management structures. With the establishment of the Department of Employment, Vocational Education and Training, it is now departmental policy to foster regionally based management and integration of employment, vocational education, and training services. While reviews of

management performance are ongoing, there will be no specific review undertaken to determine the effectiveness of 'clustering' colleges.

APPLE SCAB - STONEVILLE RESEARCH CENTRE

534. Mr HOUSE to the Minister for Agriculture:

- (1) In relation to the outbreak of apple scab detected recently at the Stoneville Research Centre, when does this outbreak date back to?
- (2) Which varieties have been affected?
- (3) Can the Minister confirm that the varieties affected are part of the plant breeding programme?
- (4) Has any budwood from the infected trees been distributed under the plant breeding programme?
- (5) If yes, to which properties?
- (6) What steps were taken in the past by the Department of Agriculture to ensure that the Stoneville Research Centre was apple scab free?
- (7) In light of the outbreak, what procedures is the department following to eradicate the disease from -
 - (a) the Stoneville Research Centre;
 - (b) any properties infected from budwood sourced from the Stoneville Research Station?

Mr BRIDGE replied:

- (1) Symptomatic pathological evidence suggests apple scab was present in fallen leaves last autumn - 1991.
- (2) Sundowner and apple breeding program hybrids.
- (3) Yes.
- (4) No. Budwood released from the Stoneville Research Station since 1989 has been from separate sections or blocks other than where the infected trees were located. These blocks have been intensively surveyed and found free of infection.
- (5) No reply needed.
- (6) The station was surveyed after the outbreak at Manjimup. Department of Agriculture advisers and station staff are experienced in the detection of apple scab so inspection is ongoing. Advisers and research staff involved in apple scab surveys of infected orchards in the south west followed disinfection procedures on leaving orchards and before returning to the stations.
- (7) (a) The station has been placed under quarantine. Removal of any parts or products of apple trees is prohibited. The station is being modified to allow access to spray equipment and leaf litter cleaning. All apple trees not considered essential have been disposed of by burning. The station will follow eradication programs identical to those required on infected private properties. These are fungicide and urea sprays in autumn, leaf litter destruction in winter and eradicator and protectant sprays in spring and early summer.
 - (b) Properties that have received budwood have been surveyed and found free from infection. These properties will have frequent surveys during next spring and summer.

MINING INDUSTRY - RESTRICTIVE WORKING HOURS REGULATIONS *Mining Operations Exemptions*

542. Mr COURT to the Minister for Mines:

- (1) How many mining operations have been exempted from the restrictive working hours provisions of the mines regulations in the last twelve months?

(2) On what dates were these exemptions made?

Mr GORDON HILL replied:

- (1) Seventeen.
- (2)

21 June 1991	
12 July 1991	2
9 August 1991	2
23 August 1991	2
6 September 1991	2
15 November 1991	
11 February 1992	4
6 March 1992	3

MINES REGULATIONS ACT - AMENDMENTS PROCLAMATION
Occupational Health and Safety Legislation Parts 3 and 4

543. Mr COURT to the Minister for Mines:

- (1) Have the amendments to the Mines Regulations Act 1946 covering the inclusion of Parts 3 and 4 of the occupational health and safety legislation to be included in the mines regulations been proclaimed?
- (2) If no, why have they not been proclaimed?

Mr GORDON HILL replied:

- (1) No.
- (2) Proclamation awaiting consideration of a revision of the regulations consequential to the amendments.

FISHING - AMATEUR NET FISHERMEN
Legislation Changes

560. Mr HOUSE to the Minister for Fisheries:

- (1) Can the Minister outline whether proposals have been raised requiring amateur net fishermen to remain within 100 metres of their net at all times whilst the net is set, and to check their net every hour?
- (2) If so, under what legislation are these changes being made?
- (3) If not, have any changes to the rules governing amateur net fishing been proposed?
- (4) If so, what are they?

Mr GORDON HILL replied:

- (1) Yes, amateur fishers will be required to remain in attendance - within 100 metres - of set nets while those nets are in the water.
- (2) Necessary legislation is being effected by notice under the provisions of the Fisheries Act 1905 to come into effect on 1 July 1992 to apply to all Western Australian waters open to netting.
- (3)-(4) Not applicable.

QUESTIONS WITHOUT NOTICE

SELECT COMMITTEE INTO SEXUAL HARASSMENT - PREMIER'S REMARK
Apology or Withdrawal

107. Mr LEWIS to the Premier:

Will the Premier withdraw or apologise for her remark in this House yesterday that several members would be unsuitable for service on a Select Committee to inquire into sexual harassment because of their sexual proclivities? Alternatively, can she provide any substantiation to that claim?

Dr LAWRENCE replied:

I am absolutely stunned by that question because anyone listening to the debate during question time yesterday would have heard me say clearly that that is the kind of question which may be raised; it is the type of issue which would become relevant. I have read the *Hansard* transcript and I did not need to make any amendments because the *Hansard* reporter obviously heard very clearly what was said. Members should also have heard. It is extraordinary that the second part of the question from the member for Applecross should be asked at all. Yesterday I said to the member for Applecross that those issues would inevitably be raised. I made no comment about any individual and I was very careful not to. Unlike the member for Applecross, I have no interest in the sexual behaviour of members of this House except where they may affect parliamentary staff and those employed in this place. The Government announced yesterday an appropriate remedy for that concern which members have properly expressed. The solution suggested by the member for Applecross and the way he approached this matter is frankly disgraceful.

Point of Order

Mr LEWIS: The Premier just made an innuendo to the effect that I had certain sexual preferences. I ask that she withdraw those remarks.

Several members interjected.

Mr LEWIS: She said "unlike the member for Applecross".

The SPEAKER: Order! The member has asked me to rule on this matter. I have great difficulty in determining that the member does not have sexual preferences.

Mr LEWIS: I ask the Premier to withdraw the statement "unlike the member for Applecross" as she went on to indicate that I perhaps had strange sexual preferences.

Dr Lawrence: I did not say that.

Mr LEWIS: I ask for that comment to be withdrawn.

Mr Pearce: You might say that clearly it pays to advertise!

Mr LEWIS: I was sat down twice this morning.

The SPEAKER: Order! I believe the member for Applecross has misconstrued what was said. I do not believe the words "strange sexual preferences" were used. I caution against further action on this point of order, and would be happy to discuss the matter behind the Chair at a later stage if the member feels that is necessary.

Questions without Notice Resumed

WHISTLE BLOWER LEGISLATION - EQUAL OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
Protection of Complainants

108. Mr RIEBELING to the Premier:

Does the Premier propose to introduce so-called whistle blower legislation to protect those who want to complain to the Equal Opportunity Commission?

Dr LAWRENCE replied:

This gives me an opportunity, I hope in a more measured way than is characteristic of the questions being asked by the Opposition benches, to answer a question which is very important since it has been raised in the public arena. As members will know, the committee we established from this Parliament to look at the question of official corruption recommended, among other things, the desirability of appropriate generic legislation which would protect people who wanted to complain about the behaviour of Government departments, Ministers and so on - so-called whistle blower legislation. The Government has already indicated its intention to introduce such generic

legislation; however, in relation to the Equal Opportunity Commission, very strong provisions already exist to protect people who wish to make complaints under that legislation. I was amazed this morning to hear a gentleman on radio, one Mr McNicol, alleging that our legislation does not provide that protection: It clearly does. Section 67 of the Act, as I hope members will know, and if they did not know they now do, makes it unlawful to threaten or victimise anyone who makes or intends to make a complaint to the commission. Therefore, even intention is covered under the Act.

That section has been contained in the Act since 1985 when it came into effect. There is no record of debate in this Parliament of the section being something that members were not prepared to support. As I said, the section came into effect in 1985, yet a gentleman, who seems to enjoy some credibility in some sections of the media, is saying that people would not be protected under this legislation were they to make a complaint. That is simply wrong, and I must say that he is clearly not conducting himself in a reasonable and sensible way in this matter. People who make complaints under the Act must be reassured that they can do so. Indeed, the Equal Opportunity Tribunal, were it to hear such a matter where people had unlawfully threatened or victimised or even disclosed the nature of a complaint to the commission, could be liable for award of damages of up to \$40 000. It is also not legislation without teeth; it has very strong teeth.

As late as today Mr McNicol was making the claim that the legislation does not provide protection. It does provide very substantial protection and anyone who complains can be assured of fair treatment before an independent commissioner and tribunal.

Mr Lewis: Huh!

Dr LAWRENCE: Is the member for Applecross attempting to say that the Equal Opportunity Commissioner is not independent and impartial?

Mr Lewis: I said "huh".

Dr LAWRENCE: It is quite clear what the member for Applecross is trying to imply. If what I have heard this morning about Mr McNicol's view is true, and having raised this question of sexual harassment and now having a clear solution provided for those complainants who may exist, he is now prepared to abandon them. He is basically saying that it does not matter so much because they can take civil action. If that was open to them in the first place - which we do not believe it was - it was open to them from the beginning. In this case he seems to have used - if indeed he has any allegations before him - people who might have expected better behaviour from someone who purports to want to protect the interests of public servants and members of parliamentary staff. The legislation the Government will introduce next week will do that, but the existing legislation already provides that sort of security for those people who blow the whistle in this respect.

STATE ENERGY COMMISSION OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA - REVIEW BOARD PROPOSAL

Estimated Cost and Budget - Terms of Reference

109. Mr COWAN to the Minister for Fuel and Energy:

- (1) What is the estimated cost of the proposed State Energy Commission of Western Australia review board?
- (2) Will the cost be born by SECWA or the Consolidated Revenue Fund?
- (3) Have funds been made available this financial year from either SECWA or CRF?
- (4) Can the Minister provide the House with the specific terms of reference when they become available?

Dr GALLOP replied:

- (1) The precise amount of money that will be required to conduct the review of SECWA is yet to be finally determined. Certain figures have been examined.

Mr Kierath: What is the budgeted amount?

Dr GALLOP: The final figure has yet to be determined because there are some matters to be finalised in respect of the consultancy that is required. However, when that figure is available I will pass it on to the Leader of the National Party.

Mr House: Give us a rough idea.

Mr Court: Is it \$5 million?

Dr GALLOP: I do not think it would be \$5 million.

(2)-(3)

Where the money will come from is a matter for discussion within the system of Government at the moment and when a final decision is made I will report to the House.

- (4) The terms of reference have now been finalised and I will be only too happy to bring those to Parliament next week.

EDGEELL-BIRDS EYE - MANJIMUP
Investment - Government Action

110. Mr P.J. SMITH to the Deputy Premier:

Is the Government doing anything to ensure that the reported investment of millions of dollars by Edgell-Birds Eye in the south west will go ahead?

Mr TAYLOR replied:

I thank the member for the question. I was pleased to read in this morning's financial section of *The West Australian* the Edgell-Birds Eye comment that work had been put in by a large number of people in Western Australia, including the management of the company, workers and people in the Manjimup area. A copy of the report on the Edgell-Birds Eye working group has been made available to me and it seems that work is coming to fruition. Edgell-Birds Eye has made the decision to adopt a number of the report's requirements which must be met by the State Government and others. It will also invest additional funds in the Manjimup area. Of course, the member for Warren would know that will benefit the people in that area.

It is also interesting to note that in the same article Edgell-Birds Eye representatives pointed out that it has decided to close its operations in three locations in the Eastern States. The closure of the operations in Cowra, New South Wales, will have a significant impact on that community. That emphasises the importance of being able to deal with these sorts of issues. Members know that in September last year, with the possibility of the Manjimup plant closing because of a breakdown in negotiations between the growers and Edgell-Birds Eye, we were able to work together and come up with answers that will see that operation not only continue but also develop. That will require the cooperation of Edgell-Birds Eye, a number of Government authorities and instrumentalities, the workers and particularly the potato growers in relation to what they are growing and the quality and price of the potatoes. I do not underestimate the effort involved for all of that to work. I congratulate the people who put the report together. They hit the nail on the head and we will see that further investment in the Manjimup area.

EDGEELL-BIRDS EYE - MANJIMUP FACTORY
Consultative Committee Report Tabling - Potato Marketing Authority
Abolition

111. Mr OMODEI to the Minister for State Development:

- (1) Will the Minister table the consultative committee's report on the Edgell-Birds Eye factory in Manjimup?

- (2) Does the Government intend abolishing the Western Australian Potato Marketing Authority as a result of that report?

Mr TAYLOR replied:

(1)-(2)

I received that report late last week. I want to go through it properly. If I am satisfied with it and it is appropriate to table it, I will do so. My quick reading of the report reveals that it does not recommend that the Potato Marketing Authority be abolished. I want to be very clear for the member for Warren about that authority. An article in this morning's newspaper indicated that Edgell-Birds Eye believes that the operations of the authority do not enhance the future prospects for a french fries industry in the south west of Western Australia.

Mr Omodei: Answer the question.

Mr TAYLOR: It would be interesting to see the reaction of the member for Warren if I or the Minister for Agriculture abolished the authority through legislation.

Mr Omodei: Do you intend doing that?

Mr TAYLOR: If I were to do it, what would be the member's response?

Mr Omodei: I would oppose it.

Mr TAYLOR: The member would oppose it! Based on that response -

Mr House: There is a lot of unity between the Liberals and Nationals on this issue.

Mr TAYLOR: I never underestimate the power of bush socialism. I would not underestimate this being the one issue in 1992 when the National Party and the Liberal Party would feel comfortable in voting together to reject something.

Mr Omodei: What are you going to do?

Mr TAYLOR: I will read the report. I will take advice from people such as the member, the Minister for South-West and even the member for Stirling before I make a decision. On such an important decision, input by the Minister for Agriculture will also be vital. Neither the Government nor I have made a decision. However, I do not underestimate the ability of the Liberal and National Parties to come together on that one issue.

SCHOOLS - BALGA SENIOR HIGH
Maintenance Work Delays

112. Mr CUNNINGHAM to the Minister representing the Minister for Education:

Is the report in this morning's *The West Australian* of significant delays in maintenance work at Balga Senior High School accurate?

Dr GALLOP replied:

I thank the member for some notice of the question. The Minister for Education has advised me on this matter. I am pleased to be able to speak about the Balga Senior High School.

Mr C.J. Barnett: Answer the question; do not make a speech.

Dr GALLOP: Gee whiz; so much for free speech in Parliament. I am encouraged to go on now and point out that, when I was Minister for Education, I visited the Balga Senior High School with the members for Nollamara and Marangaroo. They raised a number of matters concerning that school and, as a result of that representation, a significant Budget allocation was made to the school.

Several members interjected.

Dr GALLOP: As the patron of the Western Australian Volleyball Association I was also pleased to visit the Balga Senior High School because the school at that time held the national school title for volleyball. It was a great credit to that school and to the staff and students.

Several members interjected.

Dr GALLOP: The report in this morning's *The West Australian* is not an accurate representation. Maintenance of schools was given a very high priority in last year's Budget in the form of a \$75 million two year school improvement program. Balga Senior High School was allocated over \$60 000-worth of preventive maintenance this financial year. Most of that work has been done or is nearing completion. In addition, considerable faults maintenance has been undertaken and 318 separate repairs or faults rectifications have been carried out since 1 January.

It is true that after heavy rain approximately eight weeks ago there was a serious problem with water entering the manual arts area, but the necessary work was undertaken within a matter of days. It is important to note that on top of the regular maintenance work a \$1 million upgrade of the school was completed recently. I congratulate the local members, the Minister for Education and the Balga Senior High School.

RURAL ADJUSTMENT AND FINANCE CORPORATION - PART C *Compensation Approvals - Acceptance-Decline Ratio*

113. **Mr MINSON** to the Minister for Agriculture:

Some notice of this question has been given to the Minister and it is a rather long question which is in five parts, but I am sure the answer will be brief.

- (1) How many farmers exiting the industry received compensation under Rural Adjustment and Finance Corporation part C in the financial year 1990-91?
- (2) How many farmers exiting the industry received compensation under RAFCOR part C between 1 January 1992 and today?
- (3) In terms of the numbers applying, what is the acceptance/decline ratio?
- (4) What percentage of applicants has successfully received the full amount of \$34 000?
- (5) What is the period of time between receipt of the farmer's application and the payment of the relocation grant?

Mr BRIDGE replied:

I thank the Deputy Leader of the Opposition for some notice of this question.

- (1) In 1990-91, 13 claims totalling \$343 555 were approved for re-establishment assistance.
- (2) From 1 April 1992 to 30 April 1992 five claims totalling \$171 171 were approved for re-establishment assistance.
- (3) The acceptance/decline ratio is 13:2.
- (4) One hundred per cent of the applicants received the full amount to which they were entitled.
- (5) My advice is that it takes only a few weeks.

ENTERPRISE CENTRES SCHEME - EXPANSION CONSIDERATION

114. **Mr KOBELKE** to the Deputy Premier:

Given the important role played by local enterprise centres, is the Deputy Premier able to inform the House whether the Government is giving consideration to expanding the local enterprise centre scheme?

Mr TAYLOR replied:

I thank the member for the question because I know he has an interest in this scheme. Many members in this House have had some interest and involvement in the enterprise centres which operate throughout Western Australia.

The centres have been successful and in more recent times I am told that something like 1 000 new jobs have been created as a direct result of their actions. More importantly, in terms of job creation these centres cost far less than some of the schemes which have been suggested or which have been implemented by State and Commonwealth Governments throughout Australia.

Another interesting aspect of this scheme is that almost one-third of the 138 local authorities in Western Australia now have a direct financial stake in the running of these centres and about 200 professional people give their time and expertise free of charge in order to ensure the scheme is a success, centre by centre. In country areas in particular - some country members will be aware of this - the scheme is attracting new businesses and widening the local economies in some smaller communities throughout Western Australia. I am pleased to say that we are seeing more evidence of a number of farming enterprises and farming families using that sort of program to increase their farm incomes by further processing some of the produce from the farms. This scheme is proving to be a great success, and it is intended to further expand the operation of the scheme because it has the runs on the board.

**TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AUSTRALIA - FERTILISER
TRANSPORTERS, KWINANA**
Union Membership Fees Threat

115. Mr WIESE to the Minister for Transport:

- (1) Is the Minister aware that officers of the Transport Workers Union this morning told drivers collecting fertiliser from the CSBP and Farmers Ltd works in Kwinana not to return unless they had \$187 in their pockets to pay for union membership?
- (2) Is she further aware that they were told that they will not be able to load superphosphate unless they become union members?
- (3) Does the Minister condone such conduct?
- (4) Can the Minister verify that such threats are illegal under part 6 of the Industrial Relations Act?
- (5) Will the Minister ensure that such threats are not acted upon and that road transport operators will be able to collect superphosphate from the Kwinana works, for delivery to farmers throughout rural Western Australia who rely totally on road transport?

Mrs BEGGS replied:

(1)-(2)

I am not aware of any of those matters. They certainly have not been brought to my attention.

(3)-(5)

I am aware that such action is illegal and if these complaints are made to my office I will have them investigated. I cannot take action on hearsay. If complaints are made to me I will certainly take action.

Mr Trenorden: You have just heard it in this House.

Mrs BEGGS: I hear lots of statements in this House that I do not believe. I am not suggesting in this case that the member has brought this matter to the attention of the Parliament without the greatest of integrity. However, I cannot take action officially unless these matters are raised with me. In any case, it is a matter for the Industrial Relations Commission and not for me, but I certainly do not condone that sort of action. If the member wants to talk to me about the problem privately, I will see what I can do to substantiate the matters raised.

TARIFFS - WA ADVANTAGE, HEWSON FIGHTBACK PACKAGE CLAIMS
Abolition of Tariffs Support

116. Mr C.J. BARNETT to the Premier:

(1) In the WA Advantage document did the Premier claim -

Tariffs work against our exporters by raising input costs. It has been estimated that protection costs Western Australia \$2 billion a year. The benefits from protection flow largely to manufacturing companies in the Eastern States.?

(2) Is the Premier aware that the Hewson Fightback package states -

By the Year 2000, customs duty will have almost disappeared as a result of the Coalition's decision to reduce protection to negligible levels by the end of the decade . . . ?

(3) Can the Premier confirm her support for the abolition of tariffs as being in the best interests of Western Australia and, therefore, add her public support to the program of tariff reduction, as outlined in the Hewson Fightback package?

Dr LAWRENCE replied:

(1)-(3)

Yes, I have very clearly outlined in the WA Advantage document, and on many occasions prior to that, that Western Australia, as an export oriented State with most of its exports in the commodity section, has not benefited from tariff protection, and that Western Australian consumers and businesses pay a form of industry assistance which does not benefit the local regional economy. Estimates for that cost vary, but the \$2 billion is certainly one that Treasury officers tell me is quite reasonable. I have publicly, and indeed in writing, indicated to the present Prime Minister and his predecessors that from Western Australia's point of view tariff assistance, especially at the high levels seen in some industries, is not a sensible course of action for the Western Australian economy. I know that other States put a very different argument, and the argument is not in my view about whether or not there should be any tariff protection. I have not said there should be no tariff protection but that it should be a matter which ensures we have proper competitive export oriented industries, and from our point of view the lower the tariff the better.

Mr C.J. Barnett: You have gone soft.

Dr LAWRENCE: No. I do not step back from that. That is clearly the best outcome for Western Australia. I would never endorse Dr Hewson's package, because it contains a lot of other elements on which, frankly, every one of us should choke. I know that the rural sector would like to see maintained some elements of industry protection. Therefore, it is a debate that we should properly have. It is clear that, for Western Australia, high levels of tariff protection are absolutely the wrong thing. I have said that on many occasions, we have printed that in our document, and I do not resile from that. However, I am not silly enough to believe that other States that have protected manufacturing sectors would necessarily agree with that. I argue that Western Australia's point of view should be put publicly as often as it can be - which I do - and it should be communicated to the Federal Government - which it has been. The Federal Government has taken action to steadily reduce tariff levels. The sort of scorched earth policy that is being offered by Dr Hewson - the immediate abolition of tariffs, and hang the consequences - is not good planning. The goal might be desirable but the method that Dr Hewson proposes is, frankly, one that the Australian community has already shown that it rejects.