

fringe dwellers, the council, the Aboriginal people themselves, or any of their associations. I shall gladly call meetings on a continuing basis, if they like, to discuss their problems and to bring those problems to the place where something might be achieved. I have a feeling that this offer will not be taken up. I hope it will be and I repeat I am available for them to use whichever way they think fit.

The SPEAKER: The member has five minutes remaining.

Mr HERZFELD: Thank you, Mr Speaker. I believe there is a reason that the problems these people have are being tackled in the way we have seen over the last six months or more. I believe it stems from a sense of frustration and I offer some remarks in a constructive way, to try to help in some of the areas which are a source of frustration and could be improved. The two areas I see that cause this frustration are the question of administration and the question of priorities of funding.

On the question of housing, I have been able to establish that there are nine Government departments and associated bodies that have a direct influence on housing for Aboriginal people. There may be more that I have not come across. It must become very frustrating at times for the Aboriginal people. Certainly I found it frustrating when attempting to get information and was pushed from one department to another. I guess it all comes about because of a decision taken in 1972 when legislation was introduced to change the system that we had of administering Aboriginal affairs. Up to that date there was one department that looked after Aboriginal affairs. Today there is a whole host of them.

Mr Speaker, the bulk of funding for Aboriginal people comes from the Federal Government. I suggest that a federalism policy, if I might call it that, should be adopted in connection with these funds so that the State would become responsible for the disbursement of funds and to become responsible also for the implementation of priorities that it establishes. Hopefully, it might be possible to review the administrative structure that exists today and to rationalise it so that something more of a cohesive structure is achieved, something akin to the old Native Welfare Department. I believe that if something can be achieved in this area a lot of the frustration that is felt by some of the Aboriginal people will be removed.

The other question is one of priorities. I find it somewhat incredible that there should be people who have no adequate shelter when we consider

some of the projects that are undertaken with funds allocated by the Commonwealth Government for Aboriginal welfare. I instance one project mentioned in a report to the Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority for the year ended June, 1975, and I will read from it as follows—

Reserve Improvements

Grant \$95 970—for the Beagle Bay Fencing project and to fence reserve No. 23345 Wyndham (Aboriginal Burial Ground). Both projects are continuing and expenditure has amounted to \$101 724. An application for an additional grant to cover the excess and to complete the projects has been lodged.

I wonder about priorities when \$100 000 is spent on fences. I believe if these priorities could be looked at at a State level instead of a Federal level we would achieve much more.

My time is running out and I would like to leave that matter for now. I started on a note of optimism and I intend to finish in the same way. In the 1960s this State bubbled with a great sense of purpose and direction. Men and women shared the feeling of excitement and achievement. The potential for a return to activity still is here. How quickly it comes and at what rate surely depends on a return to the sort of industrial relations which generate confidence and a climate conducive to investment.

Through my presence in this Chamber I pledge my commitment to the task.

MR WILSON (Dianella) [7.45 p.m.]: I thank members for the encouragement of their applause and their anticipated forbearance on this sole occasion as they stifle their interjections. It is no mean effort on their part because I am the third in a row to deliver a maiden speech. I thank them if only because of my past congregations which have always dutifully denied me the consolation of audible applause and equally dutifully refrained from the temptation to incite me by their knowledgeable interjections.

Mr Speaker, may I offer to you my sincere congratulations on your election to the onerous office you now hold. I wish also to congratulate other new members on their very impressive maiden speeches expressing as they did some of the great concerns of our time in a manner indicating deep appreciation for those they represent.

I am probably the strangest of the fine array of new members in that I am the first of my kind—the first clergyman to become a member of the Western Australian Parliament. The amendment

to the Constitution Acts Amendment Act removed the disqualification for membership for this tiny minority which we shared previously with undischarged bankrupts, debtors, traitors, and felons. Of course, it is not that we were ashamed to be aligned with such people but no doubt it was thought we might better represent them in the Parliament.

It was only a tiny reform but I regard it optimistically as an earnest of much more important constitutional reforms in the not-too-distant future. I am indebted to the learned member for Mt. Hawthorn for the part he played in bringing in the amendment and having it passed, despite the fact that a similar measure had been defeated a few years earlier in another place when the spectre of Ian Paisley was raised.

It may well be thought that the change of role that I have had to undergo has been more traumatic than in other cases. However, I have been very fortunate in the kind consideration and encouragement I have received from the people of Balga among whom I formerly lived and worked for eight years and whom I dearly love.

I am grateful also for the kind consideration I have received from Archbishop Geoffrey Sambell and his fellow bishops. I continue to hold his authorisation to officiate as a priest of the Anglican Church, although I am on leave of absence from any parish assignments. I cherish the links I am able to maintain in this way, links which go back to the very earliest days of my childhood.

There well may be those who see the role of priest and parliamentary representative as conflicting. I personally find no conflict. I have always understood Christianity as being concerned with the whole of life and hence that there is a close relationship between Christianity and politics.

My understanding of politics is that it is concerned with the whole nature of man's existence in society; that it is about the means by which decision-making is achieved in communities composed of individuals, and the resolution of potential conflict. But politics in our kind of society and democracy is party politics and the reason I sit on this side of the House and not on the other is, to some degree, because of accident of birth, but, in the main, because of personal conviction.

The important reference points of the development of my political consciousness are located in childhood experiences, experiences revolving around my father's life as a miner working in shocking conditions underground—always in

danger of falling to his death, being crushed by falling rock, or being eaten up inside by silicosis—while the real rewards of his labour were enjoyed by faceless men thousands of miles away in the City of London; or my mother's life, one long unending life of drudge and grind, just managing with the bare minimum; or the life of the poor placid black men who would call at the back door begging for tea and sugar in exchange for clothes props. All these points continue to refer me to the greatest need of all, the need for a more socially just society.

All these reference points led me, for instance, to question whether the Prime Minister was good beyond challenge, or whether Australia was the best country in the world. These were questions which led to convictions that the political order in which I was growing up and was to undergo for 23 unbroken years was quite definitely an enemy of sorts of my folks, or at least indifferent to their needs—even contemptuous of them.

It was out of this kind of deep personal conviction that I joined the Australian Labor Party because I was convinced then, as I am now, that it was the party which was concerned about winning a greater measure of social justice and following the valued policies of sharing and caring. It is as a member of that party holding dear to those ideals that I am proud to be here now.

However, that pride is balanced by the very humbling thought that I also stand here as the first parliamentary representative of the State electoral district of Dianella. Anyone who believes in parliamentary democracy must view the role of representing people as almost having a sacred significance, one to be handled with the greatest precision, the greatest perseverance, and the greatest compassion. I am very grateful to have the opportunity to serve as the first member of this new electorate, grateful to those who put their trust in me, and to the hundreds of campaigners, and to my wife, my family, and my friends who gave such staunch and unrelenting support in a very successful campaign.

The electorate of Dianella is a microcosm of the metropolitan area. It includes parts of several suburbs—a large portion of Dianella and sections of Morley, Noranda Hills, Nollamara, Balga, Girrawheen, and the whole of the new suburb of Koondoola. It is a growth area within fairly close reach of the city and has enough vacant State Housing Commission land for another 5 000 or so dwelling units.

The development of the \$10 million Mirrabooka town centre, including a large shopping complex and associated civic and recreational facilities,

designed to service the suburbs of the electorate, in the very near future will form a natural focal point and will facilitate the recognition of the electorate as an identifiable unit.

Perhaps I can illustrate something of the nature of the electorate and its people with the following examples: Koondoola in the north of the electorate is the newest section. It is one of the best planned Housing Commission developments in which land has been sold cheaply to those who qualify and homes have been built by private developers rather than by the commission.

There is a great deal of civic pride among the people in this new area. It came to the fore recently when local people heard of SHC plans to build extensive residential accommodation in the area. They made it quite clear that they wanted to have a say about the way their area developed. They are concerned that mistakes made in other older SHC areas should not be repeated in their own district.

In the south, Dianella is a much older and more comfortably established suburb, but unfortunately, not so well planned. Bad planning, or lack of planning, has resulted in people living in houses located too closely to major traffic arteries suffering the constant invasion of their lives by high-volume vehicle noise, in several cases in children having to cross major roads to get to and from schools, and in a number of very dangerous intersections.

The recently completed community recreation centre and playing fields being developed on part of Dianella's regional open space are proving a great boost to local sporting and recreational groups in a supposedly affluent area which, up to recently, has been starved of adequate community facilities.

The Balga portion of the electorate includes the Balga Senior High School which, in view of its relatively short existence, has played a significant part in the life of that community. In fact, the development of the school is a symbol of the development of the Balga community which has been marked by the determination of the people themselves to shrug off the unjustified disreputable name with which they were branded and to establish a high degree of community co-operation and pride.

The school has recently obtained a grant under the disadvantaged schools programme to provide study and recreational facilities, better standards of health and nutrition, the development of school-parent communication, and a remedial programme in literacy and numeracy.

The school is the first established school to be classified as a special school, a change which will operate from the beginning of 1979, and allow for a greater measure of local autonomy. The library of the school is providing an extended hours service on week nights and Saturday mornings to students, evening class students, parents, and other members of the community. The school has a very successful school council, comprising teachers, students, and community representatives operating as an advisory body to the board of the school. The enthusiasm and high commitment level of the staff of the school cannot be praised too highly, and the quality of care provided for the students is, indeed, very heartening.

Apart from the concern for my electorate and the individual needs of my constituents—which I regard as my predominant concern—I bring three other associated concerns with me into Parliament. The first relates to the developing strains in the relationship between the Parliament and the people. Ours is a time that has been marked by the shaking of foundations, and the shaking of institutions. There is no reason that the institution of Parliament should remain unshaken; better that than it be ignored or treated with disdain.

There is no doubt about the fact—and other speakers have referred to it—that Parliament and politicians are not held in high public esteem. There has been such an extreme polarisation of thought, such frequent recourse to vicious personal abuse and point scoring, and such an evasion of realities that people have simply stopped listening. Too often, when people listen in to parliamentary debates—and perhaps these remarks apply more to another Parliament than to our own—it appears that what is at stake is the ego of the politicians rather than the interests of the electorate.

The Parliament is in danger of becoming an island, cut off from the rest of the community. One major impression which has struck me since I have been here is that coming into Parliament is like entering another world.

Coming as I do from a very simple life style, I have been struck in many respects by the opulence of this place. There seems to be some sort of onus placed on new members to consider themselves as members of a kind of exclusive club for gentlemen—somehow apart from the everyday lives of ordinary people.

The concept of Parliament as a forum in which important issues confronting the State are debated by the parliamentary representatives of the people, who represent the interests of the people in terms of passing legislation which will

promote the well-being of the whole community, seems to be in danger of being lost. It is in danger of being lost for a number of reasons.

I believe the first reason is the increasing dominance of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is another institution which has its own inward-looking mechanism for self-preservation. We all must have experienced the shock, the indignation, and the frustration of being an ordinary member of the public who has come up against the bureaucracy and been made to feel that one is trespassing on the private preserve of someone else. The associated danger is the way in which we find ourselves swamped in masses of regulations which simply need to be gazetted to be binding on us. Most of the time the majority of us are unaware of them. They are never debated in Parliament or aired publicly. They come into force as the result of a decision by bureaucrats, unknown, unelected, and conditioned to believe that they are not rightly answerable to any person outside their own department.

A dynamic relationship between Parliament and the people is also put at risk by an authoritarian Government. An analysis of the history of the past 50 years will show that in times of economic crisis there have consistently been minority groups calling for strong government, or a messianic leader figure as the only solution.

Unfortunately, strong government is more often than not no more than a euphemism for the autocratic rule by one person, or by an executive elite. It is a style of government which spurns concepts such as participant democracy and consultation on a broad scale as being signs of weakness. It is uncomfortable and impatient with parliamentary democracy, and yearns for more executive control.

Strong government is paternalistic in the extreme, and can bear no criticism that calls it into question because it can survive only at the hands of a silent unquestioning majority.

The relationship is being damaged also by Governments of all colours and politicians of all parties who set up phoney instrumentalities with feigned concern for public participation and consultation in decision making.

Arnstein has drawn up a model of citizen participation as a ladder with the rungs in ascending order designated as manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power, and citizen control. The first five rungs of the ladder extend from manipulation, which is described as "almost a purely public relations exercise on the part of the power holder"

where people are placed on rubber-stamp advisory committees or boards for the purpose of gaining their support, to placation, where "a couple of poor people are placed on a board or decision-making body where they will inevitably be out-voted by the traditional power elite who hold the majority of seats."

Political and other community leaders often complain about public apathy. The main reason for widespread public apathy is that the majority of people have given up believing that anything they can do will make any difference.

The true partnership in decision making between Parliament and the people cannot be limited to the ballot box alone. Participation through the ballot box needs to be supplemented in such a way that participation by the ordinary citizen will be extended to all structures—Government, industry, schools, and so on.

As an example of the lack of opportunity for this kind of participation, I will quote from an article by Professor Tannock, Professor of Education at the Western Australian University. He said—

... One disappointing feature of education in Western Australia is the lack of community involvement in determining school policy, and the lack of genuine decentralisation of the planning and decision making process. It seems quite anomalous to me that non-Government schools, in all areas of the State, can function successfully with school boards, parents and professionals running their own budgets, determining policy and giving their children a satisfactory education, when such freedom and involvement are not available in Government schools. There seems no logical reason why school communities in the public sector should not exercise many of the same powers and responsibilities ...

It is only when participation by the ordinary citizen is extended into all structures that people will be enabled to reach their full potential. Only in this way can the powerlessness that individuals feel to effect any positive change for the better be overcome. Only in this way can the increasing depersonalisation of society be overcome so that all people, without exception, may play an active and responsible part in community programmes.

I also bring with me concern for urgent attention to be given to what has been called "the need to know" of hundreds of thousands of people in Western Australia. I quote from an article by

Tom Jenkins in *The West Australian* of the 30th July, where he says many of our people "feel cut off in suburbia. They don't understand what is going on, or know who to ask. They often do not understand information put before them."

The writer was commenting on the report of a major survey carried out in several local government areas south of the river by the School of Social Inquiry at Murdoch University. The recommendations arising from the report for the provision of opportunities for access to information should be studied by all levels of government. For example, to continue quoting from the article—

Education in "information skills" (how to find out what you need to know) may be as important in the technological jungle as conventional education.

Local, State and national Governments should all pay close attention to "the sense of isolation and loneliness rife in contemporary society."

True freedom of information is wanted. The report says that proposals by a Federal Government inter-departmental committee for freedom-of-information laws "suggest nothing which would substantially alter the present situation."

The places people go to seek information, e.g. council offices, are too cold and formal. They frighten people away.

As well as greater warmth and humanity, information sources need an improvement in quality. They should have longer opening hours or better staff, for example. The WA Community Welfare Department is singled out as doing "virtually nothing beyond its office setting to disseminate information about its services."

Members will know what I mean if they have ever tried to seek assistance for persons or families in crisis situations during weekends or after office hours. More often than not the places that may help with the problem are, to quote again from the article, "either closed, too far away, cost money or are cloaked in formal and bureaucratic fog".

The report offers suggestions about a new model community information system. The model extends from local resource persons through to mobile services, district branches in shopping centres, and finally some kind of central facility. It is suggested that the State Government Information Centre could be remodelled and expanded to

become "more than a front counter for Government departments". This is in spite of the fact that the centre is already receiving a wide range of requests for information.

The report points to the same conclusion which impressed itself on me after eight years in community work in an outer suburban area. It relates to the community's thirst for information and the provision of community information services. The report says, as quoted in the newspaper article to which I have referred—

As a society well aware of its need to plan for its citizens, Australia must consciously plan for its information resources to maximise benefits for ALL its citizens and recognise that a pressing need will exist for the next 20 years.

The third area of concern which I bring with me into Parliament is the yearning people have that some fresh form of moral integrity might take hold of their parliamentary representatives.

The year 1977 is not only the year in which the first preacher was elected to the Parliament of Western Australia; it is also the year in which a preacher was inaugurated as the President of the United States of America. No matter what members may think of Jimmy Carter's policies or his actions so far, it is hard to deny that his succession to the presidency symbolises a clean break with a tainted past and a new hope for a future marked by a closer approximation to justice for all the citizens of his nation.

The tendencies of the technological era are in a definite direction; they tend to aggravate the injustices from which people have perennially suffered and to unite the whole of humanity in a system of economic interdependence. They make us more conscious of the relations of human communities with each other, than of the relations of individuals within their communities. They obsess us with the brutal aspects of the collective behaviour of people. Furthermore, they cumulate the evil consequences of these brutalities so rapidly that we feel under a tremendous urgency to solve our social problem before it is too late. As a generation we are therefore bound to feel harassed as well as disillusioned.

In such a situation all the highest ideals and tenderest emotions which people have felt throughout the ages when they became fully conscious of their heritage and possible destiny as human beings together will seem from our present perspective to be something of a luxury. They will be under a moral disadvantage because they appear as a luxury.

We live in a time when personal moral idealism is easily accused of being hypocrisy and frequently deserves to be. It is a time when honesty—certainly political honesty—is usually possible only when it verges on cynicism. Although this is tragic, we are at least rid of some of our illusions. It is becoming more difficult to buy the satisfactions of the individual life at the expense of social injustice.

It is less easy to build our individual ladders to heaven and to leave the total human enterprise unredeemed of its excesses and its corruptions. But the kind of parliamentary representatives, the kind of Government that we all yearn for, will need to have substituted a new dream for the abandoned ones. This new vision, this new dream, will be based on the conviction that the collective life of mankind can achieve perfect justice, because justice cannot be approximated unless it is motivated by the passionate pursuit of its perfect realisation. Only such a fanaticism for justice will do battle with malignant power and "spiritual wickedness in high places".

Along with all other members who have come into this Parliament inspired by this particular fanaticism, I recognise that ultimately it must be brought under the control of reason and I can hope only that reason will not prevail over our pursuit of the perfect realisation of justice until justice for all has been approximated in this State.

MR TUBBY (Greenough) [8.21 p.m.]: I would like to join with previous speakers in congratulating you, Sir, on your appointment to the position of Speaker of the Legislative Assembly. I am sure you will carry out the duties of that very high office in a most dignified manner. I have known you for quite some time, and I would like to mention, as a matter of interest to members in this House, that you, Mr Speaker, were born in my home town, the small country town of Morawa. So you had a very good beginning.

Mr Harman: A lot of good people come from Morawa.

Mr TUBBY: I would like also to congratulate the member for Cottesloe who very ably moved the Address-in-Reply. His speech contained some very interesting matter, and I congratulate him sincerely for the way in which he presented it. I know that he will make a very great contribution during his time in this Parliament.

I wish to refer to one matter mentioned in the Governor's Speech and that is the passing of some members of Parliament over the last 12 months. In particular I would like to mention

a colleague of mine who was also a very great friend—the Hon. Jack Heitman. Jack Heitman was a man of great experience. He came to Morawa as a lad back in 1927. He left Tammin to venture into another area because he had to pay an account of £36 for an operation. His mother was a widow and the family was battling along on the farm it was occupying, so Jack decided to branch out on his own to pay this sum owing. It took him 12 months to do so, and his life after this period was very interesting.

Jack Heitman was one of the most successful farmers in the northern agricultural area. He was a great family man, and he catered very well for his employees. He was always very highly regarded as an employer, and members are aware that farm workers in those days were employed on a different basis from that applying now. I believe if the same attitudes applied today the workers would achieve a great deal more satisfaction and pride in their work.

It was Jack Heitman's practice to reward his employees with very substantial bonuses, and many successful farmers in the northern agricultural areas today owe their success to the marvellous experience and benefits they obtained from working for him.

During his 14 years as the member for Upper West Province, Jack Heitman gained the highest respect of his constituents, from north to south and from east to west. He was held in high regard by people from all walks of life and I know many people who did not support his politics wholeheartedly did support him as a member of Parliament because they realised his wide experience and the fact that he had earned the success he achieved. It was extremely unfortunate that, with his untimely death, he was unable to enjoy the fruits of retirement to which he was looking forward.

Mr Deputy Speaker, I would like to take the opportunity during this debate to draw attention to my electorate. Quite often I heard Sir David Brand, the former member for Greenough, refer to the Greenough electorate and its enormous possibilities for diversification. The area produces sweet oats, barley, wheat, lupins, fat lambs, export wethers, cattle, and pigs. In the field of mining we produce ilmenite, monazite, rutile, and zircon, and of course, there is a talc mine at Three Springs. Also in the electorate there are deposits of gold, lead, copper, and iron. I am sorry the member for Collie is not present in the Chamber, as I would like to inform him that we have substantial reserves of coal; although