

Mr David Templeman; Mr Mark McGowan; Dr Mike Nahan; Ms Mia Davies; Mrs Michelle Roberts; Mr Reece Whitby; Ms Sabine Winton; Mr Vincent Catania; Ms Jessica Shaw; Mr Terry Healy; Mr David Michael

HON ROBERT (BOB) JAMES LEE HAWKE, AC — TRIBUTE

Standing Orders Suspension — Motion

On motion without notice by **Mr D.A. Templeman (Leader of the House)**, resolved with an absolute majority —

That so much of the standing orders be suspended as is necessary to enable the Premier, the Leader of the Opposition, the Leader of the Nationals WA and other members to make statements to mark the passing of former Prime Minister Hon Bob Hawke.

Statement by Premier

MR M. McGOWAN (Rockingham — Premier) [2.02 pm]: Today, in this Parliament, we mark the passing of a truly great Australian and Prime Minister, Robert J. Hawke, more lovingly known as “Hawkie”, or just Bob. He passed away last month at the age of 89 years. In our pantheon of modern Prime Ministers, many are respected and many are revered, but only a rare breed are loved. Bob Hawke was truly loved by Australians and Bob loved Australians right back.

He was born in Bordertown, South Australia in 1929, but he was raised in Western Australia. His family moved to Western Australia in 1939 when he was 10 years of age, following the death of his older brother, Neil. He once told me that his family wanted to leave South Australia and the bad memories following his brother’s death, and they came to Western Australia where his uncle was a member of Parliament.

His father, Clem, was a minister in the church and was encouraged to take a transfer to Western Australia following the death of his son Neil to meningitis. Clem’s new parish was West Leederville, down the road from this Parliament. The family would call 101 Tate Street, West Leederville their home. Bob Hawke attended West Leederville Primary School before winning a scholarship to Perth Modern School in 1942. Despite his later academic reputation, Bob did not excel at school straightaway. He studied hard for his scholarship exam, but he found more enjoyment in games and other pursuits. For a while he was a sickly child until his mother changed his diet, and then he grew a strong head of hair and very strong constitution that kept him in good stead for 89 years.

In 1944, he developed academically, found his love of sport and studied oration. He went on to graduate from Perth Modern School with a good result in 1946, and he enrolled in law at the University of Western Australia. From here the Bob Hawke story began to unfold in WA. He was coming back to Leederville from the UWA library, through Kings Park, on his motorbike when he suffered a near-fatal accident. He met Hazel in Western Australia, through his church group, and they struck up their long courtship. They subsequently married in 1956 in Trinity Uniting Church on St Georges Terrace. It was at UWA that he became involved in politics for the first time through the Labor Club, the ALP Club or in student politics and where he became guild president.

UWA was also where he learnt to drink. His subsequent biography by Blanche d’Alpuget indicated that he had not drunk at all until this point in his life and that he actually came from several generations of teetotallers. It is reported that in those early days he was absolutely terrible at drinking. He had no resistance to alcohol, and quite possibly could have even been allergic to it. He would have two beers and be violently ill. But like most things in Bob’s life, he was convinced he was gifted and had a self-belief that he could achieve, and he subsequently learned how to drink very well. He downed his first drink in 1949 and by 1954 he had set the world record for drinking a yard of beer in just 11 seconds. I am informed that the record today stands at five seconds. The record was set after his time at UWA, when he attended the University of Oxford as a Rhodes scholar. It was here that he stumbled onto the path that would take him to the nation’s highest office.

When searching for a topic for his thesis, he discovered in the library, all the way on the other side of the world, a complete set of commonwealth arbitration reports, a complete set of Australian *Hansard* and a complete set of newspapers from the time of the great strike in Australia in the 1890s. He decided that he would study the arbitration system and how Australian wages were determined. It was this thesis that set him on his path eastward, initially to the Australian National University and then to the organised labour movement and his iconic position as the head of the Australian Council of Trade Unions. It was in the ACTU that Bob Hawke established his national profile and his enduring persona: the brash, young lawyer arguing in the commission to raise the living standards of Australians; the academic going pint for pint with officials on the shop floor at the John Curtin Hotel; the cheeky and charming man on Australian television screens at night; the union official who knew when to be a reasonable peacemaker and when to lead everyone into conflict. This position led Hawke into Parliament, and then very quickly thereafter to the prime ministership.

Although his time had been with the organised labour movement, Bob had long had ties to the Labor Party itself. His Uncle Bert was a frequent dinner guest at Tate Street, Leederville, where he grew up. Bert, of course, was Albert Hawke, a state Labor minister at the time and future Premier of Western Australia. When he returned from Oxford, Bob talked to Albert about entering Parliament one day. Bob once told me that when he was about 10 or 11 years of age, he was with his Uncle Albert when he met John Curtin on Beaufort Street in Northbridge. In 1979, Albert asked Bob Hawke, who was very nervous about federal politics, “Is another Hawke going to squib it?”

Extract from *Hansard*

[ASSEMBLY — Tuesday, 11 June 2019]

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Mr David Templeman; Mr Mark McGowan; Dr Mike Nahan; Ms Mia Davies; Mrs Michelle Roberts; Mr Reece Whitby; Ms Sabine Winton; Mr Vincent Catania; Ms Jessica Shaw; Mr Terry Healy; Mr David Michael

Albert declined a chance at federal politics after deciding not to run for the federal seat of Fremantle in 1945 after John Curtin died. It was a strange moment in Australian political history, given that the eventual member for Fremantle was Kim Beazley Sr. But Bob found the determination and threw his hat in the ring for the seat of Wills in Victoria in the 1980 federal election. A few short years later in one of the most dramatic events in Australian political history, he rolled Bill Hayden for the leadership of the Australian Labor Party nationally and went on to defeat Malcolm Fraser at the 1983 federal election.

Bob did not pass up his chances and he did not waste his time in office. His achievements in government shaped modern Australia and fundamentally changed the nation. On the economic front, Bob and his Treasurer, Paul Keating, floated the dollar, which gave Australia a natural shock absorber for a small economy ready to engage with the world; allowed for monetary policy to target inflation and employment; introduced competition into the banking sector; liberalised trade; and overhauled the tax system, including the introduction of dividend imputation and a capital gains tax. It should be noted that these reforms were not made for reform's sake; rather, they were designed to benefit all Australians. It is a lesson that we should remember—when reforms are argued for in the memory of Hawke and Keating, we should ask: what benefit do the working men and women of Australia get from them? The clearest example of this is in the accords, a signature feature of the Hawke and Keating era. Broad agreements and consensus between organised labour and business based on the unions' wage restraint allowed for growth without the commensurate rise in inflation and this allowed the economy to break free from the high inflation and high unemployment that bedevilled this country. In return, the government acted on social issues, recognising that there was more to people's living standards than their pay cheque. This included the introduction of Medicare, an increase in welfare for low-income families, the elimination of poverty traps in the welfare system, targeted tax cuts for low and middle-income workers and the introduction of broad-based superannuation for everyone. These reforms could only be achieved through negotiation, consensus and a desire to act in the national interest.

With an eight-year prime ministership as active and reformist as Bob's, it is hard to summarise his achievements succinctly. I imagine that other speakers will have ones they wish to cover. Bob and his talented cabinet delivered much for Australians, whether it was preserving the Franklin Dam, saving Kakadu National Park or taking international action to preserve the Antarctic. They also introduced the Australia Acts, cutting the final legal ties with Great Britain, and on the world stage Bob represented Australia with distinction in the United States, Asia and Europe. As remarkable as his record is, it does not explain the regard in which he is held by Australians. As is often noted, Australians appreciate reformers, and often politicians, only after they have left office. Some will find his appeal in his larrikinism, the America's Cup yacht race celebration, the drinking, his less than perfect reputation or his encyclopaedic knowledge of the form guide. Bob Hawke was not perfect, but neither are Australians. I think they liked what they saw in him because he achieved despite his flaws. But there was more than just that. Despite the iconic persona, he was never a caricature. There was a sharp intellect behind his common appeal and he was not afraid to use it. He loved that he was popular with the public, but it did not stop him from doing the right thing. He never shied away from fighting racism. He fought apartheid both as president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions and as Prime Minister, when he took international action. He fought racially discriminatory immigration policies that were floated by some politicians of the time. He wasted no time confronting it head on, lashing it in Parliament. Despite loving a fight, it was consensus and agreement that led to his success. He had a knack for knowing when to involve himself in disputes to find a solution and he used the trust he had with the parties to help them see the common benefit in finding resolution and a solution. I think Australians will always appreciate a problem solver and, ultimately, Bob Hawke was the greatest problem solver this nation has ever had.

It was a strange thing to meet one of my heroes. Bob was Prime Minister when I was in high school and university and in the early years of my first career. I had read his biography and a number of books about him. It was a surreal experience to meet the person I had for years seen on TV. I had read about his life. All Australians were familiar with him. I drove Bob and Blanche around Rockingham in 1998. I took them to some shopping centres where Bob was literally treated like a rock star. I crossed paths with him a number of times over the years, and over the last eight or so years that I was Leader of the Opposition and Premier, I saw him many times. I was especially chuffed when he came to town in the final week of the lead-up to the state election. Despite being old and having a walking stick, he attended a campaign rally at Perth Town Hall. He was clearly in decline but he put in a huge amount of effort to travel across the country and participate in that event. Bob was meant to say kind words about me during his presentation at that event, but he ended up saying that he thought my daughter, Amelia, would one day become a Premier or the Prime Minister of Australia. I missed out on his accolades, but my daughter received his blessing and endorsement!

Bob was a great Australian and someone whom I have always admired and looked up to. He was a good source of advice, and I sought his advice quite often. He was unfailing in his desire to win and in his loyalty to not only the country but also the Labor Party. He understood that the Labor Party had given him everything and he wanted to give something back in return. I always appreciated his sense of loyalty to his party and his country.

Extract from Hansard

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Bob held Western Australia in the highest regard. He told me that he regarded himself a Western Australian. As I said, he was born and spent his initial years in South Australia, but it was not necessarily a happy time because of the death of his brother. He said that when his parents moved here, it was with an innate sense of sadness but also relief. His mother in particular was close to his older brother, who passed away. He was happy to come here because he loved his Uncle Bert. He sought his advice regularly and, as we know, Bert was Premier of Western Australia for six years. The other day, with the Minister for Education and Training and the member for Perth, I was pleased to announce that the new school in Subiaco will be named after Bob Hawke, who grew up just around the corner. He would have walked past that piece of real estate hundreds, if not thousands, of times. It is a fitting acknowledgement of a great Western Australian.

Like many others, I will miss him. He was a formative figure in my life. He was a great Australian and Western Australian and he played a significant role as one of our greatest ever Australians.

Statement by Leader of the Opposition

DR M.D. NAHAN (Riverton — Leader of the Opposition) [2.17 pm]: I support the Premier's motion. On behalf of the Parliamentary Liberal Party and the Liberal Party of Western Australia, I offer my condolences to Bob Hawke's family, his friends and, of course, the Labor Party. As the Premier indicated, Bob Hawke was Prime Minister from March 1983 to December 1991. He was, I would argue, Australia's most successful Labor Prime Minister.

Western Australia has a special connection with Bob Hawke. Although he was born in South Australia, he was educated in Western Australia, attending Perth Modern School and the University of Western Australia. Perth Modern has produced many successful graduates who have done our state and nation proud, and Bob Hawke was one of them. I hope there will be many more, and I am proud that the Western Australian Liberal opposition worked closely with the local community and alumni of Perth Modern to protect that great institution, of which Bob Hawke was part. Bob will now be associated with the school nearby, Bob Hawke College. It is a fitting tribute to one of the most famous Rhodes Scholars, but let us not forget the involvement of Perth Modern in his success.

Bob Hawke married a Western Australian in Hazel Masterson. Hazel Hawke played an integral part at the peak of Bob's career. In acknowledging the fine career and contribution Bob made to our great nation, we should also pay tribute to Hazel, who was with him through the highs and lows of his political career. People could relate to Hazel as much as they could relate to Bob. They were a strong partnership when he was Prime Minister and Hazel Hawke no doubt deserved credit for some of Bob's success. Bob Hawke had a political career that not many could replicate, but many on both sides of politics would be envious of. He had to serve as Leader of the Opposition for only one month before he became Prime Minister, and he achieved that feat after only two years in Parliament. I doubt there will ever be a politician again who has to serve only one month as opposition leader before becoming Prime Minister. Although his predecessor, Bill Hayden, another great Labor leader, said a drover's dog could have won the 1983 election, Bob Hawke was far from a drover's dog. He connected with Australians, and that connection saw him achieve his record as Labor's most successful Prime Minister. He could relate to anyone and speak to people, not at people. He was a man who could scull a beer and shed a tear. He shed tears when talking about his family and significant political issues. That resonated with Australians. They saw they could connect to him, but they also respected the way he represented Australia on the world stage. The anecdotes of Bob Hawke over the years confirm that. He would converse with world leaders the same as he conversed with everyday Australians.

Politics is an antagonistic and divisive vocation, but Bob Hawke did not play the politics of division to achieve his goals. He wanted to be on a unity ticket at all times. He saw that the way to success was through consensus and not through division. His campaign for the prime ministership the first time was based on a platform of uniting Australia. The slogan was "Bringing Australia Together". Shortly after this election, Bob Hawke convened the National Economic Summit, which included participation from all political parties, unions and employer organisations. It was a demonstration of the pragmatic politician that Bob Hawke was. He aimed to foster a national consensus on economic policy. Unlike Labor leaders before him, Bob Hawke's connection with the business sector helped draw the community together to deliver important economic reforms. He was simply the most reforming Labor leader in our history and we are enjoying the benefits of those reforms to this day.

Having said that, I do not believe that the current labour movement would have delivered the reforms that Bob Hawke and Paul Keating delivered. He was, it must be said, fortunate to have a federal opposition at the time that was not oppositionist and supported those reforms. But full credit to Bob Hawke. He did what was right economically. He had the courage of his convictions to encourage his union and Labor friends to support this policy trajectory. Other significant reforms of the Hawke era included the establishment of Medicare and environmental protections, improving Australia's standing on the international stage and, of course, his significant involvement in ending apartheid in South Africa. Bob Hawke is rightly one of Labor's heroes for his record of reforms during his prime ministership.

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He will be forever remembered in Western Australia, including through the naming of Bob Hawke College. I acknowledge the significant contribution he has made to our nation. I offer my condolences to his wife, Blanche, his children Susan, Stephen and Rosslyn, his family and many friends, and to the labour movement.

Statement by Leader of the Nationals WA

MS M.J. DAVIES (Central Wheatbelt — Leader of the Nationals WA) [2.23 pm]: I rise on behalf of the National Party of Western Australia to make a contribution and support this condolence motion for Hon Bob Hawke, AC. Australia's twenty-third Prime Minister, he was elected leader of the Labor Party in 1983 and in office from 1983 to 1991. He was undoubtedly one of Australia's most well regarded Prime Ministers. He was a charismatic man of the people who resonated with people from all walks of life and all political persuasions.

After growing up and attending school in Perth, Hawke won the opportunity to study abroad as a Rhodes Scholar. He based his thesis while studying, as we have heard, on the Australian industrial relations and arbitration system. He returned to Perth after his studies, and went on to spend the 1960s as a high-profile trade union figure. He was elected president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions in 1969. He took on the challenge to get a fair go for workers. He delivered pay increases, took a stand on political and social issues and worked in balance for consensus on industrial disputes. He knew how to use the media to build a strong personal profile and to prosecute a campaign to his advantage. He used this to stand out against the conservative government of the time. Eventually foraying into politics in the early 1980s, Hawke was appointed shadow Minister for Industrial Relations. In 1983, he led the defeat of the Fraser government and went on to lead his party to be re-elected three more times, making him the most electorally successful Labor leader in history.

He will be remembered for his legacy in introducing several landmark reforms in the economic, environmental and health sectors. Under the Hawke government, as previously mentioned, Medicare and Landcare were created. The Prices and Incomes Accord was brokered. The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation group was established. The Australian dollar was floated. The financial sector was deregulated and the family assistance scheme and initiated superannuation pension schemes were introduced. Considerable progress was made in directing assistance to disadvantaged Australians over the whole range of welfare benefits, including increases in low-income family support, wages, spending on childcare, public housing and subsidised home care services. The higher education contribution scheme—HECS—was also introduced, assisting many to access a university education.

He is often referred to as the environmental Prime Minister of Australia. He worked with the Australian Conservation Foundation and the National Farmers' Federation to set up Landcare. The Bob Hawke Landcare Award is an annual award presented in recognition of the role that he played in elevating Landcare from a grassroots community initiative to a national movement with strong government support. Landcare grew into a national program in July 1989 when the Australian government, with bipartisan support, announced that 1990 would be the Year of Landcare and the 1990s would be the Decade of Landcare. In his speech to launch the Decade of Landcare, Bob Hawke spoke about the importance of cooperation to care for the land —

When the earth is spoiled, humanity and all living things are diminished. We have taken too much from the earth and given back too little. It's time to say enough is enough. Today's announcements won't solve everything.

I was a schoolchild in these years. I remember the Landcare movement well. It is still thought of very highly right throughout regional Western Australia in particular, and certainly touched the lives of many in generation X and beyond. It certainly forms the basis of many of those Landcare initiatives that came post his contribution to this very important initiative. He went on to say this, which I find fitting words —

... the right mix of political commitment and community support we can ensure that our country is simply the best in the world. This is our country, our future.

He was a giant of Australian politics. He kept a strong domestic agenda going while engaging with the world, seemingly effortlessly, as previous speakers have mentioned. I have enormous admiration for someone who clearly served his party with enormous loyalty but maintained and managed to display that passion he had for the Australian people. When a number of tributes were flowing immediately after his death, the quote that stayed with me when he was asked how he would like to be remembered was —

As a bloke who loved his country, still does. And loves Australians and who wasn't essentially changed by high office.

I think everyone who serves in the capacity that we do in this place and has the privilege to do would aspire to that. He did it on a national and international stage and touched the lives of many, many people. May he rest in peace.

Statement by Leader of the House

MR D.A. TEMPLEMAN (Mandurah — Leader of the House) [2.29 pm]: I want to reflect on a story personal to a constituent in Mandurah, Bruce Armstrong. I have known Bruce for nearly three decades. Bruce Armstrong

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lived in Alfred Street, Leederville, which no longer exists because it later made way for the freeway. Bruce and his brother and sister were young children in the 1950s living at this address in Alfred Street, being looked after and raised by their mum, who was a single mum. It was during the time that Bob Hawke was at university and courting Hazel. Both Bob and Hazel struck up a friendship with Bruce's mum and adored her kids. Earlier this year, Bruce called me and asked me whether I would pass on the best address to write to Bob, because Bruce wanted to let Bob know and thank him for what he and Hazel did for his family.

He recounted, in his letter to Bob, how Hazel and Bob would frequently look after him, his sister and his brother to give his mum a break because his mum was working hard as a single mum to try to make ends meet for their family. Bob and Hazel would often come to Mrs Armstrong's home to babysit—to look after, play with and read to them. Bruce's family were particularly appreciative. In his letter to Bob Hawke, Bruce Armstrong outlined how much he and his family appreciated Bob's and Hazel's compassion and their care for him as a little boy and for his family. In his letter, he told Bob Hawke how proud he was to have watched him and Hazel Hawke rise to the top in public life. Bruce Armstrong highlighted in his letter that he, as a little fella, had turned out pretty well. Bruce became a successful businessman in Mandurah and in retirement still contributes to my community today.

I am really pleased that Bob did get the letter before he passed away. This is only one story, but in my view it is a very real and powerful story of how a man who would become Prime Minister of a nation and his first wife, Hazel, made a difference to one family in Perth, Western Australia. Bob and Hazel Hawke's compassion and support for those who were vulnerable or needed a hand was on show all those years ago and endured throughout their lives. Bruce Armstrong and his family remain eternally grateful to Bob and Hazel Hawke. May Bob Hawke rest in peace.

Statement by Minister for Police

MRS M.H. ROBERTS (Midland — Minister for Police) [2.31 pm]: It is my honour to rise and say a few words in tribute to the late Bob Hawke. Those of us who knew Bob Hawke have known true greatness. Political leaders come and go. It is a normal experience of public life to rise, spend time at the top and then fall, whether by choice or by compulsion, but what matters most is what we leave behind. Bob Hawke knew this. He once said —

“The essence of power is the knowledge that what you do is going to have an effect, not just an immediate but perhaps a lifelong effect on the happiness and wellbeing of ... people and so I think the essence of power is to be conscious of what it can mean for others.”

A hallmark of his leadership was his desire to bring people together. He was a leader who sought to unite the community to concentrate on those things that united us because he saw that we could forge a new national confidence and a stronger sense of being Australians together. It was no accident that the policy that he developed that broke the back of inflation, which had troubled the Australian economy for more than a decade, and, together with Paul Keating, laid the foundations for a prices and wages system was known as the Accord. The Accord was negotiated and constantly renegotiated between government, industry and the unions. It re-founded and restructured the national economy.

Bob Hawke could not abide any form of racial or gender prejudice. It is a matter of record that his work in the Commonwealth of Nations to intensify sanctions against the South African regime hastened the end of apartheid. It is a matter of record that he opened the doors of asylum to Chinese students after the atrocity of Tiananmen Square. I was very privileged to be in the Great Hall of Parliament House when he made that speech. I was there with my then young baby, Elizabeth, at that moment when he cried genuine tears for what had occurred in China. It was certainly a very touching moment for me, having been in Tiananmen Square a year or two before that and having met with students in Beijing. It was certainly my privilege, too, and the reason I was in Canberra at that time, to serve on the national executive of the Australian Labor Party during the time of Prime Minister Bob Hawke.

It is a matter of record that Bob Hawke's government passed the Sex Discrimination Act and went on to pass further legislation to ensure equal rights for women in the workplace. It is a matter of record that the Hawke government sought to empower Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples by establishing the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, a roof body with its own budget and resources to enable Aboriginal and Islander peoples to address their problems in their way. All these actions are amongst the things we can read about Bob Hawke in the obituaries, articles, reminiscences and memorials that have abounded since his death, although those of us who knew him know more. We knew that one of the reasons that he resonated with the Australian people was because he was without pretence or artifice. His faults were many and more often than not were on glorious public view. He once said —

“Do you know why I have credibility? Because I don't exude morality.”

We knew that there was neither false modesty nor unmerited pride; he was always accessible until the very end of his life—the Premier has commented on that—and he was always there for Labor. I witnessed him launch very many Labor campaigns. It was pretty remarkable for someone who resided on the east coast to be so accessible in Perth and in Western Australia. In particular, I recall him launching the 2005 Swan Hills campaign for

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Jaye Radisich. He had never met her before, but he came and spent a full day with us. He launched the campaign and, as has been commented on, he was treated like a rock star. After he had launched the campaign at a winery in the valley, he said, “I’ve got a spare couple of hours, would you like me to go to a shopping centre or do you want to grab a bite for lunch?” He came to Midland Gate and again people flocked towards him.

He was a true believer to the end, freely offering support and advice. He certainly had a genuine star power, not just here in Western Australia but across the country. I began by saying that those of us who have known him have known true greatness. It is a measure of his greatness that he leaves a legacy that has shaped our nation and made it a just, kinder, gentler and fairer place. Those of us who carry that legacy, the heirs of the labour movement, will go on inspired by that bright shining light and strive to defend and build on those achievements for a better future.

Statement by Member for Baldvis

MR R.R. WHITBY (Baldvis — Parliamentary Secretary) [2.37 pm]: Western Australia can lay claim to two of our nation’s greatest Prime Ministers. One of them is John Curtin and the other is Bob Hawke. Both were born in other states but came to Western Australia—a state that helped to mould and forge them. Bob Hawke grew up in Tate Street, Leederville. His future wife Hazel grew up in Coogee Street, Mt Hawthorn, a very short distance away. I know this because I bought my first home in Coogee Street—not “Coog-ee” Street as Sydneysiders would say—and one day I bumped into Hazel and her sister walking along the street.

Bob Hawke was probably our most Australian Prime Minister of all time. He was a Rhodes Scholar who spoke with a definite Aussie Strine. When he studied at Oxford, the joke amongst the Brits was “What’s a bison? It’s what Bob and Hazel wash their hands in.” He was a flawed larrikin and an inspiring leader, a smart bloke who could mix it with anyone and a tough bloke who could cry. He was someone at ease in the boardroom and on the shop floor. He united us.

I will finish up by simply quoting what I wrote on Facebook an hour or so after I heard about his passing —

VALE BOB HAWKE

At the end of a long week in Parliament tonight, we heard the news that Bob Hawke had died at 89. As a kid with a nerdy interest in politics, I grew up always aware of Bob Hawke. First as a union leader, then as our Prime Minister. The greatest I think since the war.

He reached across division to bring Australians together. He was inclusive. Probably taken for granted now, but his government transformed the country, opening up a protected moribund economy and laying the foundation for decades of growth.

But his greatest gift was realising the potential of our national character. Mateship. And working together.

Sadly, Australian public life seems less mature and decent now. Our society is more divided and backed into corners. We need a dose of Bob today.

I hope his legacy can be an inspiration for all of us to reach across division and bring Australia together.

Vale, Bob. A bloody good innings.

Statement by Member for Wanneroo

MS S.E. WINTON (Wanneroo) [2.40 pm]: I rise to make a contribution to the condolence motion relating to the passing of Hon Bob Hawke. Many of us have a special memory of and remember where we were when a significant event happened. For some it might be when the Berlin Wall came down or the 9/11 attacks, or perhaps for some members when man landed on the moon. I will always remember where I was the day we won the America’s Cup in 1983 and Bob Hawke uttered those famous words, “Any boss who sacks anyone for not turning up today is a bum.” I remember that moment vividly. I was 18 and I had just started uni. Bob Hawke was the Prime Minister during those most formative times during my path into adulthood and he was still the Prime Minister when I was fully independent as a young adult embarking on my career teaching in Fitzroy Crossing.

I have tried to describe his influence on me and our country to my three daughters. Although they will appreciate his impact through my eyes and history’s pages, I am nostalgic and sad at the prospect that they will never experience growing up and having their own political hero to help inspire them and shape their path into adulthood and independence the way Bob Hawke did for me. History will record well the truly courageous and transformational changes made under his leadership, from the floating of the Australian dollar to opening the Australian economy to global competition, striking industrial relations agreements with unions and giving us Medicare and superannuation. Under Bob Hawke’s prime ministership, we saw sex discrimination in the workplace outlawed. Under Bob Hawke’s leadership, we saw commonwealth power over World Heritage sites, the saving of Tasmania’s Franklin River from damming, the banning of uranium mining in Arnhem Land and the protection of Kakadu National Park. Bob Hawke gave us our own national anthem and formalised our love for the green and gold as our national colours.

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Bob Hawke means many different things to many different people. I had the strong urge to ask some of my friends for their reflections. Fred Williams said —

When I think of Bob Hawke I think of a person who used his exceptional skills for the benefit of all Australians, the most memorable being the introduction of Medicare to allow us all to be able to afford medical treatment.

David Leith said —

Bob not only believed in himself, he believed in the Australian people ... He showed us we should also believe in ourselves—that by talking and acting together, we could meet the challenges in life. This was the essence of his character and his leadership.

Bob Russell Brown said —

Bob was ‘a man of the people’, whose aim was to make life better for all Australians, not just those with power and influence.

Christine Spence said —

He was a warm genuine human being. He cared for his constituents. He was a decent bloke.

Pam Collins said —

He was a loveable larrikin who stood up for his country, fellow Australians and what he believed in.

Eddie Macri said —

Bob was available to everyone no matter how full their wallet, where they came from what colour their skin was or what their belief system was. He was truly committed to listening to what you had to say and engaged in conversation. A true Statesman and a man of the people.

I have been re-reading the wonderful book *Wednesdays with Bob* since his passing. In it, he was asked, “What are the basic qualities a Prime Minister must have and what qualities do you feel you have?” Bob said —

“You must be able to relate to people. One of the paradoxes of politicians is they represent people, but so many of them are frightened of people. I’ve been amazed when I’ve gone around with all of my colleagues and just seen how basically uncomfortable they are. I’ve always loved the Australian people. I feel at ease with them and, maybe naturally, they’ve reciprocated. I think that’s probably the number one requirement.

The author asked, “Other requirements?” Bob said —

You need to have a capacity for hard work. The hours are horrendous. They’ve got to be. You’ve got to be a good listener. People think of politicians as talkers, but a good politician is a good listener. A fair degree of intelligence helps.

At this stage of my life, having the honour and privilege of being in this place, it is only through his passing that I realise and appreciate how much he influences me still, my colleagues in this chamber, Australians and Australian life. His passing was not unexpected. He had what some would describe as a good innings, reaching 89 years, yet his passing has affected me deeply. I will always remember where I was when I heard the sad news of Bob Hawke’s passing.

Vale, Bob Hawke.

Statement by Member for North West Central

MR V.A. CATANIA (North West Central) [2.44 pm]: I suppose on this side of politics, not many people have had an interaction with Bob Hawke. I want to recount a couple of my interactions, especially following on from the member for Midland, who spoke about the Swan Hills campaign back in 2005. One of my jobs back in 2005 was to greet Bob Hawke in the car park and bring him in. I was pretty nervous.

Mrs M.H. Roberts: I think your brother was the driver, wasn’t he?

Mr V.A. CATANIA: I think my brother was the driver. I had to look out for this former Prime Minister. As he got out of the car, all we could see were these white locks. He walked out. As I went to shake his hand, a couple of ladies approached Bob Hawke. He said, “Excuse me, son”, gave them a peck on the cheek, put one hand on the other and said, “Sorry about this, son, but I’ve still got it, haven’t I?” That was one of my fond memories of that campaign. As he went to launch Jaye Radisich’s campaign, I think he mentioned Jaye once and then spoke about Bob Hawke for the next 40 minutes and what he had achieved. That was the type of person he was.

Another very memorable piece of memorabilia has sat on my grandfather’s cupboard—now my father’s cupboard—from when he was playing cricket and Bob Hawke got that famous black eye after he missed the ball. There is this great photo of my father and grandfather arm in arm, with Bob Hawke in the middle, with his black eye. He is one

Mr David Templeman; Mr Mark McGowan; Dr Mike Nahan; Ms Mia Davies; Mrs Michelle Roberts; Mr Reece Whitby; Ms Sabine Winton; Mr Vincent Catania; Ms Jessica Shaw; Mr Terry Healy; Mr David Michael

of those people who shaped my father's political career. My grandfather, who was an Italian migrant, and many other migrants really did worship Bob Hawke. The icon in Australia at that time was someone like Bob Hawke, who brought a lot of ethnicity to the Labor Party because they wanted to be iconic like Bob Hawke. I know that he shaped a lot of people's lives. Hopefully politicians in this house and future leaders can take a little leaf out of Bob Hawke's book, no matter what political persuasion they are, because being Australian is a bloody good thing and that is something that Bob Hawke really personified in politics. My condolences to his family.

Statement by Member for Swan Hills

MS J.J. SHAW (Swan Hills) [2.47 pm]: I rise to very briefly remember Bob Hawke, a truly great Australian, and express my gratitude for the progressive visionary policies that his government implemented. Others today have mentioned his many great achievements in office, including the wages accord, the modernisation of our economy, and stopping the Tasmanian Gordon-below-Franklin Dam project, which, as a young university student, I remember reading about and being inspired by. It gave me a sense of the true influence that people can have through participation in politics and the great social good that can be delivered through the union movement, particularly through the Labor movement.

As someone with family in South Africa, Bob Hawke's support for international pressure on that country to overturn its apartheid regime was again inspirational. Hawke also expanded Medicare, which has protected my family in times of great sickness, improved social security benefits, outlawed sex discrimination in the workforce, established the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission and reformed education training and the university system—again, all things that have delivered my family so much.

Others have noted his warmth, his sense of humour and his authenticity. But there is one thing in particular that I am especially grateful to Bob Hawke for. In 1987, the Hawke government commissioned the FitzGerald report, which recommended a 10-year rolling significant increase to the migration intake. Following this report, the Hawke government announced that for the first time Australia's migration policy would be based on the economic potential of settlers and not their ethnicity; Hawke's migration program would focus on the skills and occupations required to build the nation. This policy gave my family the opportunity to come to this great country. In late 1988, my family joined a record 145 000 others and we moved to this great nation. In the following years, my entire extended family came to Australia under the skilled migration program. In the UK, my dad was a bricklayer. We lived in public housing in a very socioeconomically disadvantaged part of the UK. Nobody in my family had ever finished school before, but we came to Australia and we have all gone on to live successful, happy, healthy lives, which were way beyond any expectations that we could have had if we had remained in the United Kingdom. In his inaugural speech, Bob Hawke outlined his vision for Australia and it is worth quoting it. He said —

... the crying need is to create cohesion, a sense of common purpose leavened by a constructive compassion for that growing body of our fellow Australians who are underprivileged, whose existence is characterised by a relative poverty not only of the material things of this life, but also perhaps more importantly, by their inability to see for themselves and their children any brighter horizon where they can hope to break free from their demeaning circumstances of poverty.

The Hawke government's decision to expand the skilled migration program gave my family and many thousands of others a wonderful and life-changing opportunity. All that we have and all that we are is down to the opportunity that we were given back in 1988. Bob Hawke's policies gave my family the ability to break out of poverty and gave us a brighter horizon. For that, I am eternally grateful.

The final point I want to make is, again, based on comments that Mr Hawke made in his inaugural speech. Again, I will quote from his first speech to Parliament —

In our time we are witness to the insidious forces of the extremes of the Left and of the Right which, by various tactics, would persuade the underprivileged and the oppressed of the haven and solace awaiting in whatever branch of totalitarianism they may be espousing.

We delude ourselves if we believe we are immune from the corrosive impact of such forces in this country. In particular we delude ourselves if we believe that the frustration, the despair, the hopelessness, the increasing cynicism of the unemployed and others in a condition of poverty do not provide receptive ground for the seductive nonsense of such extremists.

He went on to talk about the characteristics required by a dynamic free society, and the reward that needs to be had for the productive exercise of skill, initiative, imagination and effort. He talked about equality and the need for those who have benefited from our society to remember that they have an obligation to contribute to the betterment of those vulnerable people in our society and the responsibility we have to not perpetuate and peddle extremist views. These are telling words and we must take heed of them. It is sad how they now echo across the decades. In Bob's memory, it is incumbent upon us to continue to address inequality and intolerance, wherever it arises. Thank you, again.

Vale, Bob Hawke.

Mr David Templeman; Mr Mark McGowan; Dr Mike Nahan; Ms Mia Davies; Mrs Michelle Roberts; Mr Reece Whitby; Ms Sabine Winton; Mr Vincent Catania; Ms Jessica Shaw; Mr Terry Healy; Mr David Michael

Statement by Member for Southern River

MR T.J. HEALY (Southern River) [2.52 pm]: I also rise to send my condolences to his family and acknowledge the great Bob Hawke. He was a great Australian, a great Western Australian and, I agree, one of our greatest leaders and Prime Ministers. He was a former Perth Modern student, head of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, and a great progressive. He was a true Labor man, and I thank him for all he did for the families in Southern River and all our communities. The higher education contribution scheme and Medicare are only two of the small achievements that benefited me and show how government can allow all to participate and grow as people. I would like to quote from Bob Hawke's first speech in the federal Parliament in 1980. He said —

I have become increasingly conscious that in such a democracy ultimately it is only in and through the parliament that decisions can be made which will fashion for all our people the opportunities to release their talents in work and in leisure—the opportunities to be well-rounded, constructive human beings, the opportunities for happiness for themselves and in relation to others, which seems to me what government should be about.

Many people have met the wonderful Bob Hawke. I am very honoured to have met him and will proudly pass my signed copy of his memoirs on to my children. He was always an epic personality. He was a charming communicator and an intellectual giant, even more so when he was having a beer. Of course, as many people in this chamber know, there was nothing like Bob Hawke in a shopping centre. He campaigned relentlessly for the Labor cause before he was Prime Minister, while he was Prime Minister, and for two and a half decades after leaving office.

I would like to share a story. I was at a barbecue with Bob one evening. He had had quite a few drinks by this stage, but he was floating between multiple conversations with about 20 people. All of a sudden he said, “All right, we did that in 1985”, “Keating was Treasurer then”, “that was with the union” and “Briony, that dog just pissed on your foot!” He was maintaining three in-depth conversations and had noticed a dog that had peed on someone's foot! This man brought us all together. We strive to keep alight his true flame of what Labor can and should do for generations to come.

Finally, my greatest memory of Bob was at a 2007 campaign event at a local creche room at a Forrestfield sports centre for the Hasluck campaign. It was a packed room, with hundreds of supporters of Sharryn Jackson, the former federal member for my area, standing shoulder to shoulder and singing *Solidarity Forever*. In a true spirit of bipartisanship, as Bob brought us all together, those in this chamber who may not know those words will find them on a red sheet of paper under their chairs.

When the union's inspiration through the workers blood shall run

There can be no power greater —

The SPEAKER: Member, I do not like the sound of that. Can you just get on with your speech, please? Only one person is allowed to sing in the chamber.

Mr T.J. HEALY: I will simply say, solidarity forever! Comrades, thank you.

Statement by Member for Balcatta

MR D.R. MICHAEL (Balcatta) [2.56 pm]: I was three years old when Bob Hawke became Prime Minister and I had not finished primary school when he left that role. Tuart Hill Primary School had a two-metre by two-metre painting by a famous Western Australian artist, D'hange Yammanee, which was painted for the bicentenary and covered the gamut of Australian life. It still hangs in the school. It included a painted Polaroid of Bob and Hazel. I remember seeing that as an eight-year-old in 1988 and hearing Bob on the news. Because of the great Prime Minister he was and his achievements, even though I was in primary school and did not know too much about what the government was or what it was doing, I think that painting had some bearing on me being interested in politics and may have led me here.

A lot has been said about some of those achievements. They included rebuilding the Australian economy after the former Fraser government, when we had stagflation, which is high inflation and employment at the same time. It was not only for the short run—the 1980s—but also the long run. Until this current government and what it is about to do, we have had nearly 30 years of uninterrupted growth. He floated the dollar, which was a very controversial measure, and one on which he and Keating went against the public service. That proved to be highly successful. His government held a microeconomic summit, which led to microeconomic reforms such as tariff reduction, trade liberalisation—which freed up export markets—financial deregulation, income tax reduction, and modernisation of the corporations law.

We heard today from the Premier about the Accord, which brought business, the government, trade unions and workers together. As well as improving productivity, it also improved working conditions and safety. In Australia we still suffered from cultural cringe. He brought in the Australia Act 1986, which removed nearly all vestiges of the United Kingdom's involvement in Australian politics. That piece of legislation will always be part of

Extract from Hansard

[ASSEMBLY — Tuesday, 11 June 2019]

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Mr David Templeman; Mr Mark McGowan; Dr Mike Nahan; Ms Mia Davies; Mrs Michelle Roberts; Mr Reece Whitby; Ms Sabine Winton; Mr Vincent Catania; Ms Jessica Shaw; Mr Terry Healy; Mr David Michael

Australia's march towards a future great Australian republic. His government adopted green and gold as our sporting colours and changed the national anthem, thank goodness, from *God Save the Queen*. It introduced Medicare, its response to HIV and AIDS was seen as largely successful, and it released Australia's first ever mental health policy. As we heard, it saved the Franklin River, protected the Daintree Rainforest and Kakadu National Park, and brought in wildlife protection legislation. There was a large increase in the proportion of children who finished secondary education. It doubled childcare places and increased funding for public housing and the old age pension. It took steps towards reconciliation with Aboriginal Australians. It enacted the Sex Discrimination Act 1984, which put gender discrimination outside the law. He formed the Australian Sports Commission to rationalise federal assistance to sport. Internationally, he improved our relations with Asia, the United States and Europe. As we heard, he was instrumental in breaking apartheid in South Africa. He supported Chinese students after the Tiananmen Square protests, and as Prime Minister he was a friend of Israel. His commitment to multicultural Australia will echo for a very, very long time.

I had a look for material. Unfortunately, a lot of the newspaper articles from the time that Bob Hawke was Prime Minister have not been digitised on Trove in the National Library of Australia, so they are copyright, but I found an article from 1 July 1987 in *Vesnik*, a Macedonian newspaper in Perth. The first paragraph reads —

The P.M. Bob Hawke with his wife Hazel, together with local member for Stirling Ron Edwards and Pam visited the Macedonian community on Sunday 14th June. He was warmly greeted to a standing ovation by over 700 Macedonians who had come to meet him. This has been Bob Hawke's third visit but this was the first time as P.M. On addressing the people the P.M. stated that his government has a firm commitment to multiculturalism and that the Macedonian people together with other ethnic groups have made a great contribution to Australia both economically and culturally.

In the electorate of Balcatta we have lots of Italian, Croatian and Macedonian halls. Nearly all of those halls were funded by the Hawke government—many of them were opened by Bob Hawke himself.

As a member of the Labor Party, I had the privilege of meeting Bob on a couple of occasions and hearing him speak on a few more. The first time was in 2004, when he came out to campaign for the then member for Stirling, Jann McFarlane. That was when I had my first photograph taken with him, which I cherish to this day. Then in 2010, campaigning the seat of Swan for Tim Hammond, as one of the only people with a digital single-lens reflex camera, I was always called in to take photos during Bob's shopping centre walk-throughs.

I repeat what the member for Southern River said: the thing about Bob is that he would always listen to people. I say this because I think he actually meant it. He would always be in a photo, he would always put his arm round people for a photo, and he would always look like he cared—because I think he did. He always cared about the views of anyone who was interested to talk to him.

I remember that Bob appeared on *Sky News* for the federal election in 2010. Knowing that I keep an extensive archive of political polling and betting analysis—this is back when we could rely upon these things!—Bob's very good friend Senator Glen Sterle asked me to email Bob every day with an aggregated betting analysis. I would get up early in the morning before I went to work, go to a few betting sites, put something together in Excel and send it to Bob. He would then read out the odd thing on *Sky News* saying that the betting market in this seat or that seat has moved. I very much enjoyed emailing Bob those betting markets.

In 2007, we had a major crack at the seat of Stirling with the member for Willagee. As a campaign member, I am sorry for that performance! There was a particular day when we had a morning tea with Bob at the Ilinden Centre, which is a Macedonian club in Balcatta. Matt Price—another person we all miss dearly, and a good Docker—wrote an article in *The Australian*. I am not as good a writer as Matt Price; I think his words are better than I can recollect. I will read an excerpt —

YOU had to see it to believe it. On a bleak day in Perth, 500 people crammed into a suburban hall to be utterly mesmerised by an old master.

He went on and on. And on. And then on a bit more.

Bob Hawke barely paused to draw breath during a rousing, passionate speech that didn't so much persuade his friendly audience to vote Labor as harangue them into submission.

Although Hawke spoke for 50 minutes, not a soul moved. Perhaps they were too scared to duck off to the toilet or sneak over to the coffee urn. Hawke did an awful lot of shouting and growling and finger-pointing; at times he was downright ferocious.

As you'd imagine, it was a speech of modest understatement. The former ACTU boss thought the Government's demonisation of trade unions "the worst misrepresentation in the history of Australian politics".

The quadruple election-winning PM feels entirely comfortable buying into industrial relations issues because "I can talk about this with more authority than anyone in Australia".

Extract from *Hansard*

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His were “facts, not opinions”, especially when it came to demolishing the Coalition’s credentials on economic management and national security (“these myths, these lies”).

As to the 15-year-long boom, “they had nothing to do with it”, stormed Hawke. “Howard and Costello inherited changes we made that they didn’t have the guts to make.”

The 77-year-old firebrand also took a fair bit of credit for our lucrative relationship with China.

Like a mysterious force of nature, his speech ploughed ever forward, uprooting those in its path. “Let’s bloody well look at history,” he demanded, proceeding to look at Robert Menzies, Alexander Downer, the Vietnam War and the Iraq misadventure.

Hawke was in town to assist Labor’s Peter Tinley, hoping a 2 per cent swing can rob the Liberals of Stirling. Tinley is a heavy-set military veteran with extensive SAS experience whose CV boasts stints in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Yet standing beside Hawke in fifth gear with afterburners ablaze, Tinley appeared to shrink. There was room for just one star in this show, which travels to a swag of marginals across the land.

...

It took Hawke more than an hour to escape the huddle that formed when he agreed to touch the sick, cure the crippled and be photographed with mortals. Justin Timberlake could hardly have caused a bigger commotion had he turned up at the nearby high school. Hawke’s equally well preserved wife, Blanche D’Alpuget, was also mobbed.

“How does it feel to be feted like a rock star?” wondered a local TV reporter. “I’ve got used to it, boy,” snapped Hawke. “If it helps Labor, I can cope.”

He most certainly can.

If anyone would like to look at that article from *The Australian*, there is a photo that accompanies it. Just at the top of Bob Hawke’s hair is a very young David with a camera in tow—I look as though I am stuck in Bob’s hair!

With that, vale Bob Hawke.

The SPEAKER: I ask members to rise and support this motion by observing a minute’s silence.

Question passed; members and officers standing as a mark of respect.