

MEN AND WOMEN OF AUSTRALIA :

THE DECISION WE WILL MAKE FOR OUR COUNTRY ON 2 DECEMBER IS A CHOICE BETWEEN THE PAST AND THE FUTURE, BETWEEN THE HABITS AND FEARS OF THE PAST, AND THE DEMANDS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF THE FUTURE. THERE ARE MOMENTS IN HISTORY WHEN THE WHOLE FATE AND FUTURE OF NATIONS CAN BE DECIDED BY A SINGLE DECISION. FOR AUSTRALIA, THIS IS SUCH A TIME. IT'S TIME FOR A NEW TEAM, A NEW PROGRAM, A NEW DRIVE FOR EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITIES. IT'S TIME TO CREATE NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR AUSTRALIANS, TIME FOR A NEW VISION OF WHAT WE CAN ACHIEVE IN THIS GENERATION FOR OUR NATION AND THE REGION IN WHICH WE LIVE.

IT'S TIME FOR A NEW GOVERNMENT - A LABOR GOVERNMENT.

2.

MY FELLOW CITIZENS -

I PUT THESE QUESTIONS TO YOU :

DO YOU BELIEVE THAT AUSTRALIA CAN AFFORD ANOTHER THREE YEARS LIKE THE LAST TWENTY MONTHS?

ARE YOU PREPARED TO MAINTAIN AT THE HEAD OF YOUR AFFAIRS A COALITION WHICH HAS LURCHED INTO CRISIS AFTER CRISIS, EMBARRASSMENT PILED ON EMBARRASSMENT WEEK AFTER WEEK?

WILL YOU ACCEPT ANOTHER THREE YEARS OF WAITING FOR NEXT WEEK'S CRISIS, NEXT WEEK'S BLUNDER?

WILL YOU AGAIN ENTRUST THE NATION'S ECONOMY TO THE MEN WHO DELIBERATELY, BUT NEEDLESSLY, CREATED AUSTRALIA'S WORST UNEMPLOYMENT FOR TEN YEARS?

OR TO THE SAME MEN WHO HAVE PRESIDED OVER THE WORST INFLATION FOR TWENTY YEARS?

3.

CAN YOU TRUST THE LAST-MINUTE PROMISES
OF MEN WHO STOOD AGAINST THESE VERY SAME
PROPOSALS FOR TWENTY-THREE YEARS?

WOULD YOU TRUST YOUR INTERNATIONAL
AFFAIRS AGAIN TO THE MEN WHO GAVE YOU VIETNAM?

WILL YOU TRUST YOUR DEFENCES TO THE
MEN WHO HAVEN'T EVEN YET GIVEN YOU THE F-111?

WE HAVE A NEW CHANCE FOR OUR NATION.
WE CAN RECREATE THIS NATION. WE HAVE A NEW
CHANCE FOR OUR REGION. WE CAN HELP RECREATE
THIS REGION.

THE WAR OF INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM IS
ENDING. THE GREAT POWERS ARE RETHINKING AND
REMOULDING THEIR RELATIONSHIPS AND THEIR
OBLIGATIONS. AUSTRALIA CANNOT STAND STILL AT
SUCH A TIME. WE CANNOT AFFORD TO LIMP ALONG
WITH MEN WHOSE ATTITUDES ARE ROOTED IN THE
SLOGANS OF THE 1950S - THE SLOGANS OF FEAR AND
HATE.

IF WE MADE SUCH A MISTAKE, WE WOULD MAKE AUSTRALIA A BACKWATER IN OUR REGION AND A BACK NUMBER IN HISTORY.

THE AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY - VINDICATED AS WE HAVE BEEN ON ALL THE GREAT ISSUES OF THE PAST - STANDS READY TO TAKE AUSTRALIA FORWARD TO HER RIGHTFUL, PROUD, SECURE AND INDEPENDENT PLACE IN THE FUTURE OF OUR REGION.

AND WE ARE DETERMINED THAT THE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE SHALL BE RESTORED TO THEIR RIGHTFUL PLACE IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY - AS PARTICIPANTS AND PARTNERS IN GOVERNMENT, AS THE OWNERS AND KEEPERS OF THE NATIONAL ESTATE AND THE NATION'S RESOURCES, AS FAIR AND EQUAL SHARERS IN THE WEALTH AND OPPORTUNITIES THAT THIS NATION SHOULD OFFER IN ABUNDANCE TO ALL ITS PEOPLE. WE WILL PUT AUSTRALIANS BACK INTO THE BUSINESS OF RUNNING AUSTRALIA AND OWNING AUSTRALIA. WE WILL REVIVE IN THIS NATION THE SPIRIT OF NATIONAL CO-OPERATION AND NATIONAL SELF-RESPECT, MUTUAL RESPECT BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE.

OUR PROGRAM HAS THREE GREAT AIMS :

- TO PROMOTE EQUALITY
- TO INVOLVE THE PEOPLE OF AUSTRALIA IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES OF OUR LAND
- AND TO LIBERATE THE TALENTS AND UPLIFT THE HORIZONS OF THE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE.

WE WANT TO GIVE A NEW LIFE AND A NEW MEANING IN THIS NEW NATION TO THE TOUCHSTONE OF MODERN DEMOCRACY - TO LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

WE PROPOSE A NEW CHARTER FOR THE CHILDREN OF AUSTRALIA. THE REAL ANSWER TO THE MODERN MALAISE OF JUVENILE CRIME, DRUGS AND VANDALISM IS NOT REPRESSION AND MORALISING. THE ANSWER IS TO INVOLVE THE CREATIVE ENERGIES OF OUR CHILDREN AND OUR YOUTH IN A CREATIVE, CONCERNED COMMUNITY

~~WE WILL MAKE PRE SCHOOL EDUCATION
AVAILABLE TO EVERY AUSTRALIAN CHILD. WE DO
THIS NOT JUST BECAUSE WE BELIEVE THAT ALL
AUSTRALIAN CHILDREN SHOULD HAVE THE
OPPORTUNITIES NOW AVAILABLE ONLY TO CHILDREN
IN CANBERRA, BUT BECAUSE PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION
IS THE MOST IMPORTANT SINGLE WEAPON IN PROMOTING
EQUALITY AND IN OVERCOMING SOCIAL, ECONOMIC
AND LANGUAGE INEQUALITIES.~~

UNDER A LABOR GOVERNMENT, COMMONWEALTH
SPENDING ON SCHOOLS AND TEACHER TRAINING WILL
BE THE FASTEST EXPANDING SECTOR OF BUDGET
EXPENDITURE.

THIS MUST BE DONE, NOT JUST BECAUSE THE
BASIC RESOURCE OF THIS NATION IS THE SKILLS OF
ITS PEOPLE, BUT BECAUSE EDUCATION IS THE KEY TO
EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.

SURE - WE CAN HAVE EDUCATION ON THE
CHEAP..... BUT OUR CHILDREN WILL BE PAYING FOR
IT FOR THE REST OF THEIR LIVES.

WE WILL ABOLISH FEES AT UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES OF ADVANCED EDUCATION. ~~WE BELIEVE THAT A STUDENT'S MERIT RATHER THAN A PARENT'S WEALTH SHOULD DECIDE WHO SHOULD BENEFIT FROM THE COMMUNITY'S VAST FINANCIAL COMMITMENT TO TERTIARY EDUCATION.~~

~~AND~~ IT'S TIME TO STRIKE A BLOW FOR THE IDEAL THAT EDUCATION SHOULD BE FREE. UNDER THE LIBERALS THIS BASIC PRINCIPLE HAS BEEN MASSIVELY ERODED. WE WILL RE-ASSERT THAT PRINCIPLE AT THE COMMANDING HEIGHTS OF EDUCATION, AT THE LEVEL OF THE UNIVERSITY ITSELF.

WE INTEND TO RAISE THE BASIC PENSION RATE TO 25% OF AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS. AUSTRALIA DID THAT IN THE LATE '40S. DOES ANYONE SAY WE CANNOT AFFORD IT NOW? WE WILL DO IT BY RAISING IMMEDIATELY, AND THEN EVERY SPRING AND EVERY AUTUMN, ALL PENSIONS \$1.50. I REPEAT MY 1969 PLEDGE - TO ABOLISH THE MEANS TEST AND ESTABLISH NATIONAL SUPERANNUATION BY 1975.

WE WILL INVOLVE THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT
IN A MASSIVE EFFORT TO REBUILD OUR EXISTING
CITIES AND TO BUILD NEW ONES. A DEEP AND
DIRECT NATIONAL INVOLVEMENT IN AUSTRALIA'S
CITIES WILL BE THE GREAT THRUST OF OUR
GOVERNMENT. ~~IT'S NOT JUST BECAUSE 85% OF OUR
PEOPLE LIVE IN CITIES AND TOWNS, BUT BECAUSE
IN MODERN AUSTRALIA SOCIAL INEQUALITY IS
FIXED UPON FAMILIES BY THE PLACE IN WHICH THEY
ARE FORCED TO LIVE EVEN MORE THAN BY WHAT
THEY ARE ABLE TO EARN.~~

WE WILL MAKE A MASSIVE ATTACK ON THE
PROBLEM OF LAND AND HOUSING COSTS. THE LAND
IS THE BASIC PROPERTY OF THE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE.
IT IS THE PEOPLE'S LAND, AND WE WILL FIGHT FOR
THE RIGHT OF ALL AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE TO HAVE
ACCESS TO IT AT FAIR PRICES.

WE WILL GIVE LOCAL GOVERNMENT FULL ACCESS TO THE LOAN COUNCIL AND GRANTS COMMISSION - NOT ONLY BECAUSE THE BURDENS BORNE BY TAXPAYERS AS RATE-PAYERS MUST BE REDUCED, BUT BECAUSE THE INEQUALITIES BETWEEN REGIONS MUST BE ATTACKED BY THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT ACTING WITH AND THROUGH LOCAL GOVERNMENT. RATES ARE AUSTRALIA'S FASTEST GROWING FORM OF TAXATION. ONLY THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT HAS THE RESOURCES TO RETARD THE GROWTH OF THIS BURDEN ON AUSTRALIAN HOME-OWNERS.

WE WILL EXERT OUR POWERS AGAINST PRICES. WE WILL ESTABLISH A PRICES JUSTIFICATION TRIBUNAL NOT ONLY BECAUSE INFLATION WILL BE THE MAJOR ECONOMIC PROBLEM FACING AUSTRALIA OVER THE NEXT THREE YEARS BUT BECAUSE INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION AND GOOD-WILL IS BEING UNDERMINED BY THE CONVICTION AMONG EMPLOYEES THAT THE PRICE OF LABOUR ALONE IS SUBJECT TO REGULATION AND RESTRAINT.

UNDER LABOR, THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT - ITSELF THE LARGEST CUSTOMER - WILL MOVE DIRECTLY AND SOLIDLY INTO THE FIELD OF CONSUMER PROTECTION.

WE WILL CHANGE THE EMPHASIS IN IMMIGRATION FROM GOVERNMENT RECRUITING TO FAMILY REUNION AND TO RETAINING THE MIGRANTS ALREADY HERE. THE IMPORTANT THING IS TO STOP THE DRIFT AWAY FROM AUSTRALIA. WE BELIEVE THAT THE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE RATHER THAN GOVERNMENTS SHOULD HAVE THE REAL SAY IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION.

WE WILL ISSUE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT BONDS THROUGH AN EXPANDED AUSTRALIAN INDUSTRY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION. - NOT JUST BECAUSE WE ARE DETERMINED TO REVERSE THE TREND TOWARDS FOREIGN CONTROL OF AUSTRALIAN RESOURCES, BUT BECAUSE WE WANT ORDINARY AUSTRALIANS TO PLAY THEIR PART IN BUYING AUSTRALIA BACK.

WE WILL ABOLISH CONSCRIPTION FORTHWITH. IT MUST BE DONE NOT JUST BECAUSE A VOLUNTEER ARMY MEANS A BETTER ARMY, BUT BECAUSE IT'S INTOLERABLE THAT A FREE NATION AT PEACE AND UNDER NO THREAT SHOULD CULL BY LOTTERY THE BEST OF ITS YOUTH TO PROVIDE DEFENCE ON THE CHEAP.

WE WILL LEGISLATE TO GIVE ABORIGINES LAND RIGHTS - NOT JUST BECAUSE THEIR CASE IS BEYOND ARGUMENT, BUT BECAUSE ALL OF US AS AUSTRALIANS ARE DIMINISHED WHILE THE ABORIGINES ARE DENIED THEIR RIGHTFUL PLACE IN THIS NATION.

ALL OF US AS AUSTRALIANS HAVE TO INSIST THAT WE CAN DO SO MUCH BETTER AS A NATION. WE OUGHT TO BE ANGRY, WITH A DEEP DETERMINED ANGER, THAT A COUNTRY AS RICH AND SKILLED AS OURS SHOULD BE PRODUCING SO MUCH INEQUALITY, SO MUCH POVERTY, SO MUCH THAT IS SHODDY AND SUB-STANDARD. WE OUGHT TO BE ANGRY, ON OUR OWN BEHALF BUT EVEN MORE ON OUR CHILDREN'S BEHALF, AT THE MINDLESS DESTRUCTION OF OUR NATIONAL AND HISTORICAL HERITAGE.

WE OUGHT TO BE ANGRY, WITH AN UNRELENTING ANGER, THAT OUR ABORIGINES HAVE THE WORLD'S HIGHEST INFANT MORTALITY RATE. WE OUGHT TO BE ANGRY AT THE WAY OUR SO-CALLED LEADERS HAVE KEPT US IN THE DARK - PARLIAMENT ITSELF AS MUCH AS THE PEOPLE - TO HIDE THEIR OWN INCAPACITY, ~~AND IGNORANCE.~~

AN AUSTRALIAN LABOR GOVERNMENT WILL WANT THE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE TO KNOW THE FACTS, TO KNOW THE NEEDS, TO KNOW THE CHOICES BEFORE THEM. WE WANT THEM ALWAYS TO HELP US AS A GOVERNMENT TO MAKE THE DECISIONS AND TO MAKE THE RIGHT DECISIONS. AUSTRALIA HAS SUFFERED HEAVILY FROM THE DEMEANING IDEA THAT THE GOVERNMENT ALWAYS KNOWS BEST, WITH THE UNSPOKEN ASSUMPTION ALWAYS IN THE BACKGROUND THAT ONLY THE GOVERNMENT KNOWS OR SHOULD KNOW ANYTHING. VIETNAM WAS ONLY THE MOST TRAGIC RESULT OF THAT BELIEF; THE IDEA THAT THE GOVERNMENT MUST ALWAYS KNOW BEST PERMITTED THE LIBERALS TO LIE THEIR WAY INTO THAT WAR. THEY COULD NEVER HAVE GOT AWAY WITH IT OTHERWISE.

~~OVER THE WHOLE RANGE OF POLICY AT HOME AND
ABROAD THIS CORRUPTING NOTION OF A GOVERNMENT
MONOPOLY OF KNOWLEDGE AND WISDOM HAS LED TO
BAD DECISIONS AND BAD GOVERNMENT.~~ THE AUSTRALIAN
LABOR PARTY WILL BUILD INTO THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE AFFAIRS OF THIS NATION MACHINERY THAT
WILL PREVENT ANY GOVERNMENT, LABOR OR LIBERAL,
FROM EVER AGAIN CLOAKING YOUR AFFAIRS UNDER
EXCESSIVE AND NEEDLESS SECRECY. LABOR WILL
TRUST THE PEOPLE.

WE SHALL GIVE PRIORITY IN PUBLIC
CO-OPERATION TO SETTING UP ECONOMIC PLANNING
MACHINERY WITH INDUSTRY AND EMPLOYEES'
REPRESENTATIVES TO RESTORE AND MAINTAIN STRONG
ECONOMIC GROWTH.

IN THE YEAR PAST, AUSTRALIA HAD ITS
LOWEST GROWTH SINCE THE DEPRESSION.

THE POPULATION FELL FOR THE FIRST TIME
SINCE 1916.

THE PERCENTAGE OF AUSTRALIAN
HOME-OWNERS FELL FOR THE FIRST TIME ON RECORD.

THIS YEAR, 100,000 SCHOOL-LEAVERS WILL
EITHER BE UNABLE TO FIND JOBS OR BE FORCED INTO
JOBS WELL BELOW THEIR SKILLS AND EXPECTATIONS.

LABOR'S FIRST PRIORITY WILL BE TO RESTORE
GENUINE FULL EMPLOYMENT - WITH NO HEDGING
ABOUT WHAT FULL EMPLOYMENT MEANS, NO JUGGLING
WITH THE FIGURES.

TO ACHIEVE IT, WE NEED THE CO-OPERATION
OF ALL SECTIONS OF INDUSTRY. AND THE CO-OPERATION
WE NEED DEPENDS ON CONVINCING ALL SECTIONS OF
THE COMMUNITY THAT RESPONSIBILITIES, BURDENS
AND OPPORTUNITIES ARE BEING FAIRLY SHARED.

AT THIS VERY MOMENT BEFORE THE
ARBITRATION COMMISSION, THE LIBERALS ARE
DEMANDING A WAGE FREEZE.

THEY NEVER WORRY ABOUT PRICES.

LABOR WILL PROTECT THE AUSTRALIAN CONSUMERS. WE WILL ESTABLISH A PRICES JUSTIFICATION TRIBUNAL. WE WILL ESTABLISH A PARLIAMENTARY STANDING COMMITTEE TO REVIEW PRICES IN KEY SECTORS. WE WILL STRENGTHEN THE LAWS AGAINST RESTRICTIVE TRADE PRACTICES. WE WILL USE THE COMMONWEALTH'S POWER AS AUSTRALIA'S LARGEST CONSUMER AND MOST POWERFUL CUSTOMER TO PREVENT UNJUSTIFIED PRICE RISES. WE WILL SET UP A NATIONAL CONSUMER STANDARDS LABORATORY TO CONDUCT ITS OWN TESTING OF FOODS AND OTHER GOODS OF IMPORTANCE TO COMMUNITY WELFARE AND WELL-BEING. THESE REPORTS WILL BE PUBLISHED.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE PEOPLE ARE ENTITLED TO KNOW. WE BELIEVE THE PEOPLE WILL RESPOND TO NATIONAL NEEDS ONCE THEY KNOW THOSE NEEDS. AND IT'S IN EDUCATION - THE NEEDS OF OUR SCHOOLS - THAT WE'LL GIVE PRIME EXPRESSION TO THAT PROPOSITION AND THAT BELIEF.

THE LABOR PARTY IS DETERMINED THAT EVERY CHILD WHO EMBARKS ON SECONDARY EDUCATION IN 1973 SHALL, IRRESPECTIVE OF SCHOOL OR LOCATION, HAVE AS GOOD AN OPPORTUNITY AS ANY OTHER CHILD OF COMPLETING HIS SECONDARY EDUCATION AND CONTINUING HIS EDUCATION FURTHER. THE LABOR PARTY BELIEVES THAT THE COMMONWEALTH SHOULD GIVE MOST ASSISTANCE TO THOSE SCHOOLS WHOSE PUPILS NEED MOST ASSISTANCE.

AND WE WILL MAKE A START RIGHT AWAY.

WE'LL ESTABLISH A SCHOOLS COMMISSION; BUT I'LL PREPARE FOR THE SCHOOLS COMMISSION IN THE SAME WAY SIR ROBERT MENZIES PREPARED FOR THE UNIVERSITIES COMMISSION, WHICH HAS REVOLUTIONISED UNIVERSITY OPPORTUNITIES IN AUSTRALIA.

I SHALL WRITE BEFORE CHRISTMAS TO A SMALL GROUP OF LEADING EDUCATIONISTS, INCLUDING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE AND CATHOLIC SYSTEMS.

I SHALL WRITE IN PRECISELY THE SAME TERMS AS SIR ROBERT, REQUESTING FOR ALL SCHOOLS, AS HE DID FOR UNIVERSITIES, RECOMMENDATIONS UPON "THEIR FINANCIAL NEEDS AND APPROPRIATE MEANS OF PROVIDING FOR THESE NEEDS". THEIR REPORT WILL BE PROMPTLY PUBLISHED. IN THIS WAY THE GOVERNMENT AND NON-GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS WILL BE ABLE TO MAKE THEIR LONG-TERM PLANS RIGHT FROM THE VERY EARLIEST STAGES OF A LABOR GOVERNMENT.

INEQUALITY IS RIVETTED ON CHILDREN FOR LIFE EVEN BEFORE SCHOOL. WE PROPOSE A SIX-YEAR PROGRAM TO GIVE EVERY AUSTRALIAN CHILD AT LEAST A YEAR AT PRE-SCHOOL. TO ADMINISTER THIS PROGRAM OF NATIONAL ENRICHMENT AND NATIONAL EQUALITY WE WILL SET UP A PRE-SCHOOL COMMISSION. THE PRE-SCHOOL COMMISSION WILL ALSO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR DEVELOPING PROPER CHILD-CARE FACILITIES.

SO LONG AS PUBLIC CHILD CARE REMAINS INADEQUATE,
WE WILL ALLOW FEES UP TO \$5 A WEEK PAID AT
APPROVED PRIVATE CENTRES TO BE TAX DEDUCTIONS.

WE WANT TO WIDEN WOMEN'S CHOICE AND
CHILDREN'S OPPORTUNITIES - AND THE WIDENING OF
CHOICE AND OPPORTUNITIES IS ALSO THE BASIS OF
OUR HEALTH PROGRAM.

OUR UNIVERSAL HEALTH INSURANCE SCHEME
WILL GIVE PATIENTS AND DOCTORS ALIKE A WIDER
FREEDOM OF CHOICE - AND A FREEDOM FROM
NEEDLESS WORRY - THAT THEY JUST CAN'T GET
UNDER THE LIBERALS' RAMSHACKLE SCHEME.

X
OUR PLAN FOR A SINGLE HEALTH INSURANCE
FUND HAS BEEN CAREFULLY COSTED TO ENSURE THAT
FOUR OUT OF FIVE AUSTRALIAN FAMILIES WILL PAY
LESS THAN THEY DO UNDER PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS,
AND 350,000 AUSTRALIAN FAMILIES WILL PAY NOTHING.

I NOTE THAT THE LATEST COMPLAINT FROM THE AUSTRALIAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION IS THAT WE HAVE REVISED THE DETAILS THREE TIMES IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS. AT LEAST THAT'S TWO TIMES FEWER THAN DOCTORS HAVE RAISED THEIR FEES.

BUT INSURANCE IS ONLY A PART OF OUR HEALTH PROPOSALS. EVEN MORE IMPORTANT IS OUR DETERMINATION TO MAKE THE HEALTH OF THE COMMUNITY TRULY A COMMUNITY AFFAIR.

WE WILL ESTABLISH AN AUSTRALIAN HOSPITALS COMMISSION TO ENSURE THAT HOSPITALS ARE PROVIDED WHERE THE PEOPLE NEED THEM - WHERE THEY LIVE, WHERE THEY HAVE TO LIVE.

AND HOSPITALS ARE A PRIME EXAMPLE OF THE IMBALANCE BETWEEN COMMUNITY SERVICES AND COMMUNITY NEEDS AND THE IMBALANCE IN THE WAY THESE SERVICES ARE PAID FOR BY THE COMMUNITY. IT'S A GREAT AND GROWING IMBALANCE BECAUSE OF THE FAILURE OF THE LIBERALS TO INVOLVE THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN THE CITIES AND TOWNS OF OUR NATION.

TODAY A CITIZEN'S REAL STANDARD OF LIVING, THE HEALTH OF HIMSELF AND HIS FAMILY, HIS CHILDREN'S OPPORTUNITIES FOR EDUCATION AND SELF-IMPROVEMENT, HIS ACCESS TO EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES, HIS ABILITY TO ENJOY THE NATION'S RESOURCES FOR RECREATION AND CULTURE, HIS ABILITY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DECISIONS AND ACTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY ARE DETERMINED NOT SO MUCH BY HIS INCOME AS BY WHERE HE LIVES. THIS IS WHY WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT MUST INVOLVE ITSELF DIRECTLY IN CITIES. PRACTICALLY EVERY MAJOR NATIONAL PROBLEM RELATES TO CITIES. A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT WHICH CUTS ITSELF OFF FROM RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE NATION'S CITIES IS CUTTING ITSELF OFF FROM THE NATION'S REAL LIFE. A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS NOTHING TO SAY ABOUT CITIES HAS NOTHING RELEVANT OR ENDURING TO SAY ABOUT THE NATION OR THE NATION'S FUTURE. LABOR IS NOT A CITY-BASED PARTY. IT IS A PEOPLE-BASED PARTY, AND THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF OUR PEOPLE LIVE IN CITIES AND TOWNS ACROSS OUR NATION.

THIS IS A NATION OF HOME-OWNERS. YET THE UNBELIEVABLE FACT IS THAT UNDER MR McMAHON HOME-OWNERSHIP HAS DECLINED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN OUR HISTORY.

HOME-OWNERSHIP IS DECLINING BECAUSE OF SPIRALLING LAND COSTS, BECAUSE OF HOUSING COSTS, BECAUSE OF INTEREST RATES, BECAUSE OF THE BURDEN OF RATES.

THESE CAN BE REDUCED, AND THEY CAN ONLY BE REDUCED IF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT - WITH ITS OVERWHELMING SHARE OF THE NATION'S FINANCIAL RESOURCES - INVOLVES ITSELF DIRECTLY. WE WILL.

A LABOR GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TWO OVER-RIDING OBJECTIVES : TO GIVE AUSTRALIAN FAMILIES ACCESS TO LAND AND HOUSING AT FAIR PRICES, AND TO PRESERVE AND ENHANCE THE QUALITY OF THE NATIONAL ESTATE - THE ENVIRONMENT.

WE WILL SET UP A COMMONWEALTH-STATE LAND DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION IN EACH STATE TO BUY SUBSTANTIAL TRACTS OF LAND IN NEW AREAS BEING OPENED UP FOR HOUSING AND TO LEASE OR SELL AT COST FULLY SERVICED HOUSING BLOCKS, AS IN CANBERRA UNTIL TWO YEARS AGO. AND UNTIL THE LIBERALS DESTROYED THAT SYSTEM, CANBERRA WAS THE ONLY CAPITAL WITH STABLE LAND PRICES.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE MOST EFFECTIVE AND EQUITABLE COURSE IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL THOSE WHO HAVE SUFFERED FROM EVER RISING INTEREST RATES IS TO INTRODUCE A GRADUATED FORM OF TAX DEDUCTIONS. LABOR WILL DELIBERATELY PLAN TO REDUCE INTEREST RATES WHEREVER PRACTICABLE. MEANTIME, WE PROPOSE THAT A LIMITED TAX DEDUCTIBILITY BE AVAILABLE FOR INTEREST PAYMENTS. THIS TAX CONCESSION WILL BE CONCENTRATED AMONGST THE GROUPS WHICH BEAR THE GREATEST BURDEN.

ALL TAXPAYERS WHOSE ACTUAL INCOME IS \$4,000 OR BELOW WILL BE ENTITLED TO DEDUCT 100% OF THEIR INTEREST RATE PAYMENTS. THE PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL INTEREST PAYMENTS WHICH IS DEDUCTIBLE WILL BE REDUCED BY 1% FOR EVERY \$100 OF INCOME IN EXCESS OF \$4,000.

AFTER LAND AND HOUSING, THERE IS A THIRD BASIC ELEMENT OF THE CITY - ITS TRANSPORT. AUSTRALIA MUST OVERCOME THE TYRANNY OF THE MOTOR CAR, OR FACE THE DESTRUCTION OF ITS MAJOR CITIES AS DECENT CENTRES OF OUR CULTURE, OUR COMMUNITY, OUR CIVILISATION. THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT MUST NOW ACCEPT A SHARE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PUBLIC TRANSPORT SYSTEMS OF AUSTRALIAN CITIES.

WE ARE DETERMINED TO MAKE LOCAL GOVERNMENT A GENUINE PARTNER IN THE FEDERAL SYSTEM. UNTIL THAT IS DONE, THERE'S NO HOPE OF GETTING AUSTRALIAN CITIES AND TOWNS PROPERLY SEWERED, NO CHANCE OF GETTING THE DEBTS OF SEMI AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT DOWN, NO HOPE OF GETTING RATES DOWN.

AND UNTIL IT'S DONE, THERE'S NO CHANCE FOR ANY REAL DECENTRALISATION - REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT - NEW CITIES AROUND AUSTRALIA.

THE CITIES AND THE COUNTRYSIDE DEPEND ON EACH OTHER. OUR PROBLEMS ARE THE SAME - THEY ARE PROBLEMS FOR ALL AUSTRALIANS.

AND ONE OF THOSE PROBLEMS WE ALL SHARE IN COMMON IS THE DEVELOPMENT AND OWNERSHIP OF OUR OWN RESOURCES. UNLESS AUSTRALIANS RE-ASSERT A GREATER MEASURE OF CONTROL OVER THEIR OWN INDUSTRIES AND RESOURCES, THEY WILL FIND OPPORTUNITIES WITHIN THEIR OWN COUNTRY CLOSED TO THEM.

AUSTRALIA'S MOST PROFITABLE, IMPORTANT AND FAST GROWING INDUSTRIES ARE ALREADY IN FOREIGN HANDS. THE COMPANIES WHICH CONTROL THEM ARE, MORE AND MORE, MULTI-NATIONAL CORPORATIONS - CORPORATIONS WHOSE RESOURCES ARE AS LARGE AS THOSE OF MANY NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS AND LARGER THAN ANY OF OUR OWN STATE GOVERNMENTS.

YET WE HAVE HAD THIS YEAR THE SPECTACLE OF AN AUSTRALIAN PARTY LEADER - THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA HIMSELF - CALLING UPON THESE FOREIGN CORPORATIONS TO USE THEIR IMMENSE MUSCLE-POWER TO RESIST THE CLAIMS OF THEIR OWN AUSTRALIAN EMPLOYEES.

AND HERE WE GET TO THE ROOT OF THE MATTER - THE COMMON GROUND SHARED BY ALL AUSTRALIANS, ALL AUSTRALIAN EMPLOYEES - SALARIED, PROFESSIONAL, WHITE-COLLAR, INDUSTRIAL. THE NEXT TIME YOU HEAR THE LIBERALS ATTACKING THE PRINCIPLE OF INDUSTRIAL NEGOTIATION, YOU WILL UNDERSTAND THAT THEY ARE ATTACKING ALL EMPLOYEES - AND WHITE-COLLAR WORKERS DEPEND MOST OF ALL ON NEGOTIATED AGREEMENTS.

THE JULY PETROL STRIKE WAS THE FIRST TEST OF THESE ANTI-AUSTRALIAN DOCTRINES. WHEN AN AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT COLLABORATED WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF SOME OF THE LARGEST FOREIGN CARTELS IN THE WORLD TO PROLONG A STRIKE IN THE HOPE OF PROVOKING DISRUPTION FOR THE POLITICAL ADVANTAGE OF THE LIBERALS, AND THE ECONOMIC ADVANTAGE OF THE OIL CARTEL, THE CONSPIRACY WAS THWARTED NOT LEAST BECAUSE AN AUSTRALIAN COMPANY WOULD NOT GO ALONG.

[A LABOR GOVERNMENT WILL GIVE A LEAD TO MAXIMISING AUSTRALIAN OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF ~~THIS GREAT~~ INDUSTRY BY ENSURING THAT WHERE PRICE, AVAILABILITY AND ACCESSIBILITY ARE AS GOOD, THE COMMONWEALTH WILL MAKE ITS PURCHASES FROM AUSTRALIAN-OWNED AND CONTROLLED COMPANIES. LABOR WILL BUY AUSTRALIAN. AND WE WILL MAKE IT AUSTRALIAN.

WE CAN MAKE A BETTER AUSTRALIA, AND WE CAN HELP MAKE A BETTER NEIGHBOURHOOD - AND WE CAN BE BETTER NEIGHBOURS. WE NOW ENTER A NEW AND MORE HOPEFUL ERA IN OUR REGION. LET US NOT FOUL IT UP THIS TIME. AUSTRALIA HAS BEEN GIVEN A SECOND CHANCE. ~~THE SETTLEMENT AGREED~~

~~UPON BY WASHINGTON AND HANOI IS THE SETTLEMENT EASILY OBTAINABLE IN 1954. THE SETTLEMENT NOW IN REACH - THE SETTLEMENT THAT 30,000 AUSTRALIAN TROOPS WERE SENT TO PREVENT, THE SETTLEMENT WHICH MR McMAHON DESCRIBED IN NOVEMBER 1967 AS TREACHERY - WAS OBTAINABLE ON A DOZEN OCCASIONS SINCE 1954. BEHIND IT ALL, BEHIND THOSE 18 YEARS OF BOMBING, BUTCHERING AND GLOBAL BLUNDERING WAS THE DULLES POLICY OF CONTAINING CHINA.~~

UNTIL BARELY A YEAR AGO, TO OPPOSE THIS POLICY, EVEN TO QUESTION IT, WAS BEING DESCRIBED BY MR McMAHON - AND EVEN SOME OTHER PEOPLE - AS TREASON. WHERE ARE THE CRITICS NOW?

5 to go

29.

WE NOW HAVE A NEW OPPORTUNITY FOR SENSIBLE RELATIONS WITH CHINA, THE OPPORTUNITY FOR A SETTLEMENT OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM, THE OPPORTUNITY TO INSTITUTE AN ERA OF PEACE AND PROGRESS IN OUR REGION. ~~THE TIME IS SHORT.~~ NOTHING WORTHWHILE CAN BE DONE UNLESS AUSTRALIA HAS A GOVERNMENT THAT IS WILLING TO BREAK OUT FROM AND BEYOND ITS OWN PATH, ITS OWN INHIBITIONS, ITS OWN FAILURES. ABOVE ALL, IT IS A TIME FOR A GOVERNMENT WHICH WILL BASE ITS FOREIGN POLICY ON AUSTRALIA'S TRUE NATIONAL INTERESTS AND ON AUSTRALIA'S TRUE INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS, NOT ON THE SHIFTS AND DECEPTIONS OF DOMESTIC POLITICAL NEED.

MY FELLOW AUSTRALIANS -

WILL YOU BELIEVE WITH ME THAT AUSTRALIA CAN BE CHANGED, SHOULD BE CHANGED, MUST BE CHANGED, IF WE ARE TO HAVE FOR OURSELVES AND OUR CHILDREN A BETTER AUSTRALIA, WITH A BETTER GRIP ON THE REALITIES OF LIVING IN THE MODERN WORLD, AND IN OUR REGION AS IT REALLY IS?

It's time

AND WILL YOU BELIEVE WITH ME THAT A NEW GOVERNMENT, A NEW PROGRAM, A NEW TEAM, IS DESPERATELY NEEDED TO PROVIDE THAT CHANGE? I BELIEVE IT IS, AND I BELIEVE THAT MOST AUSTRALIANS IN THEIR HEARTS KNOW THESE THINGS TO BE TRUE. WE JUST CANNOT KEEP GOING THE WAY WE HAVE THESE PAST TWENTY MONTHS. WE CANNOT AFFORD THE INSTABILITY OF A GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS HAD SIXTY MINISTERIAL CHANGES IN THE SIX YEARS SINCE SIR ROBERT MENZIES.

I'M NOT ABLE IN THIS HALF-HOUR TO GO THROUGH OUR WHOLE PROGRAM. I HOPE YOU'LL ~~BE ABLE TO READ TOMORROW~~ ^{IT} ~~IN MORE DETAIL,~~ _^ ~~BECAUSE WE DO BELIEVE IT OUR DUTY TO YOU TO SET DOWN IN GREAT DETAIL OUR PROGRAM.~~ WE DON'T ASK FOR A BLANK CHEQUE. WE WANT YOU TO KNOW OUR INTENTIONS FULLY.

~~WE ARE COMING INTO GOVERNMENT AFTER~~
~~23 YEARS OF OPPOSITION.~~ OUR PROGRAM IS
 AMBITIOUS. I ACKNOWLEDGE THAT. IT HAS TO BE
 SO; IT SHOULD BE SO, BECAUSE THE BACKLOG IS SO
 GREAT. AND WE CANNOT EXPECT TO CLEAR AWAY
 THAT BACKLOG IN THREE MONTHS OR EVEN THREE
 YEARS. NEVERTHELESS, THE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE
 ARE ENTITLED TO THE CLEAREST POSSIBLE ACCOUNT
 OF OUR INTENTIONS, OUR HOPES FOR OUR NATION.
~~AS I SAID BEFORE,~~ IT IS NOT LABOR BUT THE LIBERALS
 WHO ARE THE TRULY UNKNOWN FACTOR IN THIS
 ELECTION. [BEFORE THIS CAMPAIGN IS OUT, I SHALL
 HAVE COMPLETED TWENTY YEARS AS A MEMBER OF
 PARLIAMENT. THE BASIC FOUNDATIONS OF THIS
 SPEECH LIE IN MY VERY FIRST SPEECHES IN THE
 PARLIAMENT, BECAUSE I HAVE NEVER WAVERED FROM
 MY FUNDAMENTAL BELIEF THAT UNTIL THE NATIONAL
 GOVERNMENT BECAME INVOLVED IN GREAT MATTERS
 LIKE SCHOOLS AND CITIES, THIS NATION WOULD
 NEVER FULFIL ITS REAL CAPABILITIES.

FOR THIRTEEN YEARS I HAVE HAD THE HONOR TO FILL THE SECOND HIGHEST AND THEN THE HIGHEST PLACE MY PARTY CAN BESTOW. THROUGHOUT THAT TIME I HAVE STRIVEN TO MAKE THE POLICIES OF THE AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY, ITS MACHINERY, ITS MEMBERSHIP, MORE AND MORE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WHOLE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE AND MORE AND MORE RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS AND HOPES OF THE WHOLE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE. THIS AT LEAST I HAVE TRIED TO DO, AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO; AND, SUPPORTING ME, I HAVE THE BEST OF COLLEAGUES AND THE BEST OF FRIENDS.

WE OF THE LABOR PARTY HAVE USED THESE CRUCIAL LAST YEARS IN OPPOSITION TO PREPARE OURSELVES FOR THE GREAT BUSINESS OF MOVING OUR NATION AHEAD, TO UNITING OUR PEOPLE IN A COMMONWEALTH CO-OPERATIVE ENDEAVOUR AND TO MAKING THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM WORK ONCE MORE.

THE DETERMINATION OF A FEW AND THE DEDICATION OF THOUSANDS HAVE RECONSTRUCTED AND WELDED THE AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY INTO THE MOST REPRESENTATIVE POLITICAL PARTY AUSTRALIA HAS YET KNOWN. WE COME TO GOVERNMENT WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE; WE WILL CO-OPERATE WHOLEHEARTEDLY WITH ALL SECTIONS OF THIS NATION IN A NATIONAL ENDEAVOUR TO EXPAND AND EQUALISE OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE.

WE SHALL NEED THE HELP AND SEEK THE HELP OF THE BEST AUSTRALIANS. WE SHALL RELY, OF COURSE, ON AUSTRALIA'S GREAT PUBLIC SERVICE; BUT WE SHALL SEEK AND WELCOME ADVICE AND CO-OPERATION FROM BEYOND THE CONFINES OF CANBERRA.

BUT THE BEST TEAM, THE BEST POLICIES, THE BEST ADVISERS ARE NOT ENOUGH. I NEED YOUR HELP. I NEED THE HELP OF THE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE; AND, GIVEN THAT, I DO NOT FOR A MOMENT BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD SET LIMITS ON WHAT WE CAN ACHIEVE TOGETHER, FOR OUR COUNTRY, OUR PEOPLE, OUR FUTURE.
