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**Title:**

Speech at the Geelong Labor Day Dinner: Labor Strategies for the seventies

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SPEECH AT THE GEELONG LABOR DAY DINNER BY THE PREMIER OF  
SOUTH AUSTRALIA, HON. D.A. DUNSTAN, Q.C., M.P.

12/3/71.

SUBJECT: LABOR STRATEGIES FOR THE SEVENTIES.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR INVITATION THIS EVENING.

AL GRASSBY HAD WANTED TO COME BUT THE MURRAY BY-ELECTION INTERVENED AND I UNDERSTAND HE'S UP THERE NOW WITH GOUGH WHITLAM, CAMPAIGNING AGAINST THE COALITION THAT THIS WEEK FELL DOWN ITS OWN CREDIBILITY GAP.

AND OF COURSE AS A GOVERNMENT IT WON'T LAST. IT CAN'T LAST.

THERE'S NOW SO MUCH BACK-STABBING IN LIBERAL CANBERRA THAT YOU CAN SAY: THERE TRULY IS A SPINELESS GOVERNMENT. IT'S BEEN FILLETED.

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BUT I SUPPOSE THERE'LL BE A BRAVE SHOW FOR A FEW MONTHS. WE CAN EXPECT TO SEE THE LIBERAL PARTY MEMBERS, WHEN THEY MEET, CONGRATULATING THEMSELVES ON HAVING SURVIVED, GRIPPING EACH OTHER WARMLY BY THE THROAT.

AND SO, IN VIEW OF THE WEEK'S EVENTS I THINK IT'S APPROPRIATE TO SPEAK TONIGHT ABOUT WHAT IS AT THE MOMENT IN AUSTRALIA A MASSIVE SWING TO LABOR. IT HASN'T HAPPENED JUST THIS WEEK. IT'S BEEN BUILDING UP FOR SOME TIME. YOU COULD SEE IT CLEARLY IN THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN, WESTERN AUSTRALIAN AND NEW SOUTH WALES ELECTIONS. YOU GET IT FROM THE PRESS AND THE MEDIA GENERALLY - AGAIN AND AGAIN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS SEEN IN NEGATIVE TERMS, THE LABOR PARTY IN POSITIVE. EVEN IN ISSUES WHERE FEDERAL POLITICAL LINES CAN'T BE DRAWN CLEARLY, THERE'S A GENERAL EXPRESSION OF UNEASE, DISQUIET, AND DISILLUSIONMENT WITH NATIONAL LEADERSHIP. AND THE REASON IS QUITE EVIDENT.

THE COUNTRY IS NOT GETTING NATIONAL LEADERSHIP FROM THE LIBERALS. THE ONLY PARTY THAT CAN PROVIDE IT IS LABOR. AND WE WILL, IN 1972. BUT I DON'T BELIEVE THE DISARRAY OF THE LIBERAL PARTIES SHOULD ALLOW THE LABOR MOVEMENT TO BE COMPLACENT. IN MANY WAYS THE COLLAPSE OF THE LIBERAL PARTY HAS BEEN DUE TO ITS STRUCTURAL INABILITY TO COPE WITH AN AUSTRALIA WHICH IS CHANGING SOCIALLY AND ECONOMICALLY IN SPECTACULAR AND IRREVERSIBLE WAYS. IT HASN'T ONLY BEEN PERSONALITIES - IT'S BEEN THE LIBERAL PARTY'S CHRONIC LACK OF VISION. THE LABOR MOVEMENT, BY CONTRAST, HAS ALWAYS BEEN IDENTIFIED WITH SOCIAL REFORM, BUT ITS FUTURE WILL BE DETERMINED BY EXACTLY HOW EFFECTIVELY IT CAN COPE WITH ENTIRELY NEW ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATIONS. THAT WILL ALSO REQUIRE VISION. THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT WON'T AND CAN'T COPE WITH WHAT'S AHEAD. WE CAN.

THERE ARE, I BELIEVE, TWO BASIC FACTORS RADICALLY INFLUENCING POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN AUSTRALIA AT THE MOMENT: THE AGE OF THE AUSTRALIAN ELECTORATE, AND THE PACE AND NATURE OF TECHNOLOGICAL AND INDUSTRIAL CHANGE.

THE FACT IS THAT THE AUSTRALIAN ELECTORATE IS BECOMING YOUNGER. FOR INSTANCE, BY THE MIDDLE OF THIS YEAR IT'S ESTIMATED THAT FOR EACH 1,000 VOTERS, 215 WILL BE AGED BETWEEN 21 AND 29. AND IF 18, 19 AND 20 YEAR OLDS WERE GIVEN THE VOTE NOW, AUSTRALIA-WIDE, (AS I EXPECT THEY WILL BE IN THE NEAR FUTURE), THEN FOR EACH 1,000, 295 WOULD BE AGED BELOW 30. AND IN TEN YEARS THE FIGURE WILL BE 298.

THERE ARE A COUPLE OF INTERESTING ASPECTS TO THESE FIGURES. THE FIRST IS THAT WHILE THE RATE OF INCREASE IN THE YOUNG VOTE VARIES FROM YEAR TO YEAR AND DECADE TO DECADE, IT IS QUITE POSSIBLE THAT OVER A THIRD OF THE VOTING POPULATION WILL BE UNDER THIRTY IN ABOUT TWENTY YEARS. BUT MORE IMPORTANT NOW IS THE FACT THAT THE FIRST BIG CHANGE IN VOTING PATTERNS HAS ALREADY OCCURRED.

IT HAS HAPPENED IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS. IN 1966 (WHICH WAS A MEMORABLE YEAR) 80.4% OF ABLE VOTERS WERE 30 OR OVER. BY MID-WAY THROUGH THIS YEAR, USING THE SAME AGE QUALIFICATIONS AS APPLIED THEN, 76.6% WOULD BE OVER 30. AND WITH THE FORTHCOMING CHANGE IN VOTING AGE, THE FIGURE WILL FALL TO 70.5%. JUST UNDER 30% OF THE VOTE WILL BE UNDER 30.

IT IS INEVITABLE, THEN, THAT THE YOUNGER VOTER IS SHORTLY TO HAVE A CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE ON POLICY IN AUSTRALIA. PARLIAMENTARY POLITICAL PARTIES, THE LABOR MOVEMENT AS A WHOLE, COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS, THE LAW COURTS, INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE, ARE ALL NOW BEING AFFECTED BY THIS CHANGE. BUT THE ESSENTIAL QUESTION AT THE MOMENT IS HOW WILL - OR DOES - THIS YOUNG VOTING GROUP REACT TO THE CENTRAL POLITICAL ISSUES OF THE DAY.

SO FAR WE'VE ONLY HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO SEE THE 18 YEAR OLD LOWERED VOTING AGE OPERATE IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA. IN THE RECENT STATE ELECTION THERE, OF THE NEW VOTERS INTERVIEWED IN A POST-POLL SURVEY, MORE THAN 61.1% SAID THEY VOTED LABOR, 29% SAID THEY VOTED LIBERAL COUNTRY PARTY, AND 5% SAID THEY VOTED DLP. THE ISSUES THEY VOTED ON WERE PRICE CONTROL, COST OF LIVING, DEFENCE, VIETNAM AND CONSCRIPTION, LAND PRICES AND HOUSING, FREE ENTERPRISE POLICIES, AND EDUCATION.

BUT I THINK IT'S IMPORTANT TO ASSUME THAT ALTHOUGH THE NEW VOTE IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA WAS STRONGLY LABOR, IT WAS NOT NECESSARILY A COMMITTED LABOR VOTE. RATHER, I THINK THAT THE LABOR PARTY'S OPPOSITION TO CONTINUED INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM, AND THE WAY IT REPRESENTED AT LEAST SOME MEASURE OF CHANGE FOR WESTERN AUSTRALIA DETERMINED THE SUPPORT. IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA, I BELIEVE, FROM GENERAL REPORTS AND THE MOOD OF THE STATE, THAT THE LABOR GOVERNMENT THERE IS PRETTY POPULAR WITH YOUNG VOTERS.

AND THIS IS BECAUSE ON THE ONE HAND WE HAVE NOT PROJECTED THE GREY, SELF-RIGHTEOUS, AND WOWERISH FATHERLY IMAGE THAT AUSTRALIANS EVERYWHERE ARE I BELIEVE TIRED OF, AND ON THE OTHER WE'VE MADE DISTINCT MOVES TOWARDS THE KINDS OF POLICIES THE YOUNGER VOTER WANTS: MODERN IDEAS IN HOUSING AND TRANSPORT, CONSERVATION, INDUSTRIAL DESIGN, TOURIST FACILITIES, CONSUMER PROTECTION, LAW REFORM AND SO ON.

BUT EVEN SO, NO LABOR PARTY, WHETHER IN OPPOSITION OR IN GOVERNMENT, SHOULD BE COMPLACENT ABOUT THE YOUNGER VOTE. HAVE A LOOK AT WHAT HAPPENED DURING THE SENATE ELECTION, AND IN OTHER ELECTIONS, YOUNG VOTERS DRIFTED OFF TO FRINGE PARTIES LIKE THE AUSTRALIA PARTY, OR THE D.O.G.S., OR TO A VARIETY OF INDEPENDENTS. AND THE REASON FOR THIS WAS THAT THEY FELT THAT THE ISSUES AS STATED BETWEEN THE TWO MAJOR PARTIES DID NOT BEAR ANY SORT OF RELEVANCE TO THE THINGS

WHICH THEY CONSIDERED IMPORTANT, THE ACTUAL LIVES THEY WERE LIVING, OR THE MANIFEST PROBLEMS AROUND THEM.

THIS WAS NOT ONLY TRUE OF THE UNDER 30 VOTER - IT WAS A DISILLUSIONMENT THAT WENT UP INTO OTHER AGE GROUPS. AND THAT TOO IS UNDERSTANDABLE. THE PERSON BORN IN 1931 IS NOW 40. THE PERSON BORN IN 1953 IS NOW 18. ALTHOUGH ONE'S PROBABLY MORE EXPERIENCED, THERE'S NOT TOO MUCH DIFFERENCE. IF YOU WERE BORN IN 1931, YOU WOULD HAVE BEEN IN YOUR EARLY TWENTIES WHEN ROCK-AND-ROLL, SPUTNIKS, THE COLD WAR, AND RADIOACTIVE FALLOUT, AND THE POPULATION PROBLEM WERE ISSUES - IF YOU WERE BORN IN 1953 YOU KNOW ABOUT THE BEATLES, THE MOON ROCKETS, THE INDO-CHINA WAR, POLLUTION AND THE POPULATION PROBLEM.

SO FOR WANT OF A BETTER DIVIDING LINE, BETWEEN THE TWO MAIN POLITICAL GENERATIONS ONE MAY AS WELL USE THE SECOND WORLD WAR - AND THOSE GENERATIONS WHO HAVE GROWN UP SINCE THEN. EVEN THOUGH THE VOTER BORN IN 1931 MAY HAVE SOME FAIRLY TRAUMATIC CHILDHOOD MEMORIES OF THE DEPRESSION AND THE WAR YEARS, BY AND LARGE MUCH OF HIS ADULT THINKING HAS BEEN DETERMINED BY WHAT HAPPENED AFTER THOSE EVENTS. AND SO IT IS FOR ALL THOSE PEOPLE HIS JUNIOR.

SO IF WE SEE A DRIFT TO TRADITIONAL PARTY SUPPORT GOING TO FRINGE PARTIES AND INDIVIDUALS, WE CAN ONLY ASSUME THAT DESPITE TRADITIONAL MASS POLITICAL ALLEGIANCES, A SIGNIFICANT GROUP OF THE VOTING POPULATION IS DISSATISFIED.

BUT WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO EMPLOYMENT SINCE THE WAR? THAT, TOO, HAS REAL MEANING FOR THE POLITICAL PARTIES, AND TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN PARTICULAR.

THE AUSTRALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT, AS WE ALL KNOW, HAS RADICAL TRADITIONS REACHING BACK TO THE GREAT STRIKES OF THE 1890'S. AND SINCE THEN THE MOVEMENT HAS HAD, WHETHER IN OR OUT OF DIRECT POLITICAL OFFICE, A FUNDAMENTAL .....

EFFECT ON AUSTRALIA'S POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE.

BUT ALTHOUGH ITS INFLUENCE IS STILL STRONG, IN THAT TIME THE PATTERN OF MASS EMPLOYMENT HAS CHANGED. FOR INSTANCE, FROM WHEN THE FIRST MODERATELY ACCURATE FIGURES ARE AVAILABLE, FOR 1921, UNTIL 1947, THERE WAS RELATIVELY NO CHANGE IN THE MAKE-UP OF THE URBAN WORKFORCE. FROM 1947 TO 1961, HOWEVER, THE WHITE COLLAR WORKERS GREW THREE TIMES AS FAST AS OTHER SECTIONS OF THE WORKFORCE. BY 1961, 36% OF THE WORKFORCE WAS WHITE COLLAR, WHILE THE BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS REMAINED MORE OR LESS STATIC AT 51.6, AND THIS TREND HAS CONTINUED. BY MAY 1970 APPROXIMATELY 42% OF THE WORKFORCE WAS WHITE COLLAR, WHILE ONLY SOME 49% WAS IN BLUE COLLAR EMPLOYMENT, AND 9% IN FARMING. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS SHOULD NOT BE LOST ON THE LABOR MOVEMENT OR ON THE A.L.P. THE MOVEMENT AND THE A.L.P. MUST NOW TAKE AND PROJECT SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND RADICAL REFORM POLICIES INTO WHITE COLLAR VOTING AREAS.

OF COURSE, WHEN YOU HAVE A CHANGED EMPLOYMENT SITUATION LIKE THIS, YOU'RE BOUND TO GET REAL ANOMALIES. TAKE SHOP ASSISTANTS, FOR INSTANCE, OR TYPISTS AND CLERKS - THEY ARE ALL IN THE WHITE COLLAR CATEGORY, AND YET THEIR ACTUAL WORKING CONDITIONS AND RATES OF PAY ARE IN MANY CASES FAR LOWER THAN THOSE WHICH EXIST IN MANY MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES. THE CURIOUS THING IS THAT MANY OF THESE PEOPLE ARE THE LEAST READY OF ALL TO JOIN UNIONS OR TO FIGHT FOR BETTER CONDITIONS, AND INSTEAD THEY GRAVITATE TOWARDS THE MANAGERS THEY SEE AROUND THEM, AND IDENTIFY WITH THEM, IRRESPECTIVE OF THE FACT THAT THERE ARE ENORMOUS DIFFERENCES IN WAGES, CONDITIONS AND FUTURE ECONOMIC PROSPECTS.

NOW FOR THIS CHANGED AND CHANGING POST-WAR GENERATION OF VOTERS, THE MAJOR ISSUES BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES HAVE BEEN PRESENTED IN TERMS THAT THEY NO LONGER FIND MEANINGFUL. THE TRADITION HAS BEEN STILL ONE IN WHICH THE OLD CATCH-CRIES OF "SOCIALISM" OR

"FREE ENTERPRISE", AND "STATE OWNERSHIP" OR "RUGGED INDIVIDUALISM" ARE PRESENTED. WE'VE HAD LABOR MEN SUGGESTING THAT ALL ECONOMIC ACTION INVOLVING PROFIT IS IMMORAL, AND WE'VE HAD THE LIBERALS SUGGESTING THAT ANY SORT OF STATE SUPPORT GIVEN TO ANY ENTERPRISE OR UNDERTAKING IS IMMORAL. AND THE RESULT FOR MANY VOTERS HAS BEEN DISILLUSIONMENT. BY AND LARGE, THE LABOR PARTY HAS MADE FEWER MISTAKES IN THIS REGARD THAN THE LIBERALS, WHO HAVE NEVER BEEN ABLE TO DEVELOP AN EFFECTIVE, POLITICALLY EDUCATED BASE. IN FACT, AT THE LEVEL OF IDEOLOGY, THE LIBERALS ARE QUITE SERIOUSLY POLITICALLY UNEDUCATED. THEIR ONLY REFERENCE POINT IS THAT THE ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF THE WEALTHY SHOULD BE SUPPORTED - BUT EVEN THAT IS NOT AN IDEOLOGY, BUT RATHER IT GROWS DIRECTLY OUT OF THE FACT THAT THAT'S THE AREA THE CAMPAIGN FUNDS COME FROM. WITH THE LABOR MOVEMENT, WE'VE HAD GROUPS WHICH HAVE DONE BETTER AT KEEPING UP WITH MODERN POLITICAL THINKING. BUT IN THE MAIN, WE, TOO, HAVE SUFFERED FROM A SURFEIT OF MYTH. AND RIGHT NOW WE ARE NOT, I BELIEVE, SUFFICIENTLY AND PUBLICLY RETHINKING THE

ASSUMPTIONS WHICH WERE MADE BY PROGRESSIVES IN THE LAST CENTURY. SIGNIFICANT SECTIONS OF THE MOVEMENT STILL TEND TO ASSUME THAT ALL ECONOMIC ILLS CAN BE CURED WITHIN OUR OWN SHORES, AND THAT THE WAY TO DO THIS IS BY CHANGING THE OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY FROM INDIVIDUALS TO THE STATE. IN SOME OF OUR ATTITUDES AND POLICIES WE STILL SOUND LIKE ROBERT OWEN WHO IN 1833 ARGUED THAT WITH PEOPLE OF SOCIALIST GOODWILL RUNNING THE PLACE, NOT ONLY WOULD THE PROFIT MOTIVE BE DISPLACED BY CO-OPERATION, THE VICES OF INDIVIDUALISM BY THE VIRTUES OF MUTUALITY, BUT ALL EXISTING SOCIAL ARRANGEMENTS WOULD GIVE WAY TO THE FEDERATIONS OF MIXED AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL VILLAGES ... AND HIS MANIFESTO WENT ON:



"WE...ABANDON ALL THE ARRANGEMENTS TO WHICH (SECTIONAL) INTERESTS HAVE GIVEN BIRTH SUCH AS LARGE CITIES, TOWNS, VILLAGES AND UNIVERSITIES... COURTS OF LAW AND ALL THE PARAPHENALIA AND FOLLY OF LAW CANNOT BE FOUND IN A RATIONAL STATE OF SOCIETY."

OWEN PROBABLY SANG THE HYMN OF THE SOCIETY OF RATIONAL RELIGIOUS HYMNS, PUBLISHED IN 1839, WHICH GOES:

"COMMUNITY DOTH ALL POSSESS,  
THAT CAN TO MAN BE GIVEN.  
COMMUNITY IS HAPPINESS,  
COMMUNITY IS HEAVEN."

BUT TO DEAL SPECIFICALLY WITH THE MODERN VERSION OF THIS: IN THE FIRST PLACE, THE CONTROL OF THE INSTRUMENTS OF TITLE AND OF THE PROCESSES NECESSARY TO MODERN INDUSTRY IS NO LONGER HELD IN ANY ONE COUNTRY - NOT EVEN THE U.S.A. AND SO A POLICY OF COMPLETE STATE OWNERSHIP WITHIN ONE COUNTRY WHICH PROPOSES TO MAKE USE OF MODERN TECHNOLOGIES IS IMPOSSIBLE.

FOR INSTANCE IF AN AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT NATIONALIZED, SAY, THE AUTOMOBILE AND THE ELECTRONICS INDUSTRIES, WHAT WOULD WE HAVE? WELL, WE'D HAVE FIRST OF ALL A BUDGET PROBLEM, BECAUSE IN OUR KIND OF SOCIETY YOU DON'T JUST TAKE OVER OWNERSHIP OF SOMETHING WITHOUT PAYING A BILL OR HAVING A REVOLUTION. THE BILL FOR THOSE TWO INDUSTRIES WOULD BE VERY HIGH, IN FACT IT WOULD BE IN THOUSANDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS. AND WHAT WOULD WE BE LEFT WITH? WELL, WE WOULD HAVE TWO LARGE INDUSTRIES IN AUSTRALIAN TERMS, BUT TWO VERY SMALL ONES IN WORLD TERMS, AND WE WOULD IMMEDIATELY FIND THAT WE WERE CUT OFF FROM THE MAJOR AREAS OF RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT THAT THOSE INDUSTRIES NEED TO SURVIVE. FURTHER, WE WOULD ALSO BE CUT OFF FROM THE MASSIVE CAPITAL NEEDED FOR SUCH RESEARCH, AND FROM THE RELATED NEW TECHNOLOGICAL AREAS THAT CONTINUE TO FEED NEW IDEAS INTO THE AUTOMOBILE AND ELECTRONICS INDUSTRIES OF THE U.S., JAPAN, AND EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE.

THE FACT IS THAT THE DEVELOPED WORLD IS NO LONGER MADE UP OF UNRELATED NATIONAL ECONOMIC OR TECHNOCRATIC UNITS. EACH IS DEPENDENT ON THE OTHER FOR MATERIALS, CAPITAL AND KNOWHOW, AND DOMINATING THE SCENE ARE AMERICA, JAPAN, SWEDEN AND GREAT BRITAIN IN THAT ORDER.

IN FACT IN 1969, THE BRILLIANT FRENCH SOCIALIST JACQUES SERVAN-SCHREIBER, IN CONSIDERING HIS OWN COUNTRY'S SITUATION IN RELATION TO AMERICAN CAPITAL INVESTMENT AND AMERICAN BUSINESS OPERATIONS, PREDICTED THAT UNLESS MAJOR CHANGES OCCURRED, FRANCE WOULD BE PASSED BY WITH THE ADVENT OF THE POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY. HE GAVE IT 30 YEARS. AND AUSTRALIA HAS ONLY ABOUT 30 YEARS TO DEAL WITH A SIMILAR SITUATION. WITHIN 30 YEARS WE COULD FIND OURSELVES FOREVER OUT IN THE INDUSTRIAL COLD UNLESS QUITE DYNAMIC PLANNING IS UNDERTAKEN, AND THE BEST DEVELOPMENT, INVENTIVE, ADMINISTRATIVE, PLANNING AND FINANCIAL BRAINS IN OUR COMMUNITY ARE HARNESSSED TO PRODUCE OR USE THE NEW TECHNOLOGIES

MANKIND (AND ESPECIALLY AMERICAN MAN) NOW HAS IN HIS CONTROL.

AND WHAT IS THE POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY GOING TO BE? ACCORDING TO TWO AMERICAN COMMENTATORS, BELL AND KAHN, IT WILL BE A SOCIETY IN WHICH, IN CERTAIN INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES, LIFE IN THE YEAR 2000 WILL BE AS DIFFERENT FROM WHAT IT IS TODAY, AS OUR INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES TODAY ARE FROM EGYPT OR NIGERIA.

THE POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY WILL BE ONE IN WHICH PER CAPITA INCOME WILL EXCEED \$4,000 PER YEAR.

IT WILL BE A SOCIETY IN WHICH:-

1. "INDUSTRIAL REVENUE WILL BE 50 TIMES HIGHER THAN IN THE PRE-INDUSTRIAL PERIOD:
2. MOST ECONOMIC ACTIVITY WILL HAVE SHIFTED FROM THE PRIMARY (AGRICULTURE) AND SECONDARY (INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION) AREAS TO THE THIRD AND FOURTH AREAS (SERVICE INDUSTRIES, RESEARCH INSTITUTES, NON-PROFIT ORGANISATIONS):

3. PRIVATE ENTERPRISE WILL NO LONGER BE THE MAJOR SOURCE OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT.
4. THE FREE MARKET WILL TAKE SECOND PLACE TO THE PUBLIC SECTOR AND TO SOCIAL SERVICES:
5. MOST INDUSTRIES WILL BE RUN BY CYBERNETICS:
6. THE MAJOR IMPETUS FOR PROGRESS WILL COME FROM EDUCATION AND THE TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS IT UTILIZES:
7. TIME AND SPACE WILL NO LONGER BE A PROBLEM IN COMMUNICATIONS:
8. THE GAP BETWEEN HIGH AND LOW SALARIES IN THE POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY WILL BE CONSIDERABLY SMALLER THAN TODAY."

THE NATIONALISATION OF AUSTRALIAN INDUSTRY WOULD NOT HELP US AT ALL IN SUCH DYNAMIC CIRCUMSTANCES. AND SO WE FIND TECHNOLOGY FORCING CHANGE UPON US, AND UPON THE ENTERPRISES THAT ARE INVOLVED. WE NO LONGER HAVE CAPITALISTS AS SUCH - THE CAPITAL IS SPREAD

FURTHER THAN A BOSS IN A TOP HAT. WHAT WE HAVE IS THE DIVORCE IN PRIVATE INDUSTRY OF OWNERSHIP AND FUNCTION. THE PEOPLE WHO RUN INDUSTRY ARE NOT NOW FOR THE MOST PART THE PEOPLE WHO OWN IT. THIS IS HAVING A POLITICAL EFFECT OF REAL SIGNIFICANCE. AS JAMES BURNHAM WROTE IN "THE MANAGERIAL REVOLUTION"

"....IT IS ... THE MANAGING GROUP WHICH IS BECOMING THE RULING CLASS IN SOCIETY.....THE MANAGERS ARE CERTAINLY CONCERNED DIRECTLY IN PRODUCTION. INDEED THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN INDUSTRY PLACES THEM IN THE KEY POSITIONS OF PRODUCTION."

THE RESULT IS THAT THERE IS LITTLE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE IN SOCIAL FUNCTION BETWEEN A SHAREHOLDER OF A PUBLIC COMPANY, A PURCHASER OF SHARES THROUGH UNIT TRUSTS AND A PRIVATE CITIZEN INVESTING IN PUBLIC BONDS FOR SEMI-GOVERNMENTAL ENTERPRISES AND

UNDERTAKINGS.

NOW DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE MAKE-UP OF THE VOTING POPULATION IS CHANGING, THE OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES ARE CHANGING, THE TECHNOLOGY OF INDUSTRY IS CHANGING, AND THE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY IS CHANGING, WE STILL HAVE PRESENTED TO US ARGUMENTS FOR EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM OF THE OLD KIND.

BUT AS I'VE SAID, YOU CANT TAKE OVER ENTERPRISE WITHOUT COMPENSATION FOR INVESTMENT IN SOME OTHER FORM, OR GIVING THEM BONDS ON THE GOVERNMENT WHICH PAYS FOR INTEREST ON THEIR INVESTMENT IN THE UNDERTAKING. AND IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES YOU WOULD HAVE SIMPLY A SERIES OF PEOPLE TO WHOM THE COMMUNITY WOULD PAY EFFECTIVE RENT FOR INVESTMENT. IN CONSEQUENCE, THE SETTING UP OF A STATE-OWNED ENTERPRISE IN SUBSTITUTION FOR ONE IN WHICH THERE ARE PRIVATE SHAREHOLDERS RATHER THAN PUBLIC BONDHOLDERS DOES NOT NECESSARILY ACHIEVE A BENEFICIAL SOCIAL RESULT.

NATIONALISATION OR TRANSFER OF OWNERSHIP SHOULD STILL BE KEPT IN THE ARMORY OF ANY MODERN PLANNER FOR USE IN CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES, BUT THAT MUST BE JUSTIFIED BY A RESULT WHICH ENSURES MORE EFFECTIVE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND MANAGERIAL CONTROL OF THAT SECTION OF THE ECONOMY SO AS MORE ADEQUATELY TO MEET THE SOCIAL NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE.

ANOTHER RESULT OF OUR FAILURE TO RETHINK IS THAT BOTH SIDES OF THE SOCIALISM-FREE ENTERPRISE ARGUMENT HAVE FOR SO LONG BEEN ARGUING THE CASE THAT PEOPLE OVER 30 STILL TEND TO TALK (WHEN THEY ARE INTERESTED IN POLITICS) IN THESE TERMS. BUT THEY ARE CLICHES - THE VERY CLICHES THAT HAVE PREVENTED THIS NATION FROM INTRODUCING THE PLANNED MIXED ECONOMY WHICH WOULD GUARANTEE A REALLY AUTHENTIC EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR EVERYONE.

THEREFORE I SUGGEST IT IS NECESSARY FOR US TO ASK OURSELVES CONTINUALLY JUST WHAT WE MEAN WHEN WE DESCRIBE OURSELVES AS THE LABOR MOVEMENT OR AS A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

WE ARE, I BELIEVE, FUNDAMENTALLY A REFORM PARTY AND MOVEMENT. WE REPRESENT PEOPLE AND NOT INTERESTS. WE'VE ALWAYS HAD A RADICAL TRADITION IN WHICH WE'VE STOOD FIRM AND UNITED ON MATTERS OF PRINCIPLE. IT HAS ALWAYS SEEMED TO US BEST THAT PENSIONERS EAT AT THE EXPENSE OF THOSE IN THE COMMUNITY WHO CAN AFFORD TO PAY THE BILL. AND BY AND LARGE, IN HUMAN, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN THE ONES TO THINK WITH OUR HEADS, RATHER THAN OUR BOWELS.

SO IN RELATION TO THE COMING DECADE THEN, WHAT ARE WE TO DO? WE MUST START AGAIN WHAT TWENTY YEARS OF MISRULE FROM THE LIBERALS - AND BAD STRATEGY ON OUR SIDE - HAVE SMASHED - THAT IS, THE TOTAL INTEGRATED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PLANNING THAT BEN CHIFLEY INTRODUCED.       ...       ...       ...       ...

THIS IS NOT ONLY NECESSARY TO PROVIDE FOR AUTHENTIC EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY, BUT ALSO NECESSARY SIMPLY TO SURVIVE IN A WORLD WHICH COULD FORCE US, AND THE WHOLE OF SOUTH EAST ASIA WITH US, TO BE ONE GIGANTIC SUPERMARKET FOR THE POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES.

IN ADDITION, AND IN FORCING THESE POLICIES THROUGH, WE SHOULD NOT BE AFRAID OF TREADING ON A FEW GOUTY TOES. THE GREAT CORPORATIONS DON'T REALLY CARE WHERE OR HOW THEY PUT THEIR MONEY, JUST SO LONG AS IT GETS A GOOD RETURN. WITH LIMITATIONS ON THEIR CHOICES - WITH NATIONAL OR REGIONAL STRATEGIC ECONOMIC PLANNING - THERE WOULD BE ACTUAL CONTROLS. AND THEY WOULD BE CONTROLS THAT PROTECTED THE VIABILITY OF THE REGION, THE PROJECT, THE ENVIRONMENT, AND THE PEOPLE WHO WORKED ON THE PROJECT.

I SUPPOSE THAT THERE WOULD BE A FEW MINOR OVERSEAS INVESTORS WHO WOULD BE A LITTLE DISQUIETENED BY AN AUSTRALIA THAT SUDDENLY STARTED TO LOOK AFTER ITSELF AND ITS OWN INTERESTS. BUT THEY WOULDN'T BE MANY. AND WHEN CO-OPERATION OR PRIVATE INITIATIVE IS LACKING, THEN THE ANSWER IS GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION. THIS HAS HAPPENED ALREADY IN ITALY WHERE JOINT GOVERNMENT-PRIVATE CORPORATIONS LIKE IRI AND ENI HAVE BROUGHT IN NEW SKILLS AND TECHNOLOGICAL AND INDUSTRIAL POWER TO FIRST THE NORTH, AND NOW THE SOUTH, DESPITE AN UNSTABLE LEGISLATIVE POLITICAL SITUATION, AND THIS HAS MEANT THAT ITALY HAS ACHIEVED THE HIGHEST RATE OF GROWTH OF ANY COMMON MARKET COUNTRY.

FOR INSTANCE, BETWEEN 1958 AND 1968, PRIVATE CONSUMPTION ROSE BY 61% FOR THE COMMON MARKET, BUT 69.1% FOR ITALY. INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION GAINS WERE 81% FOR THE COMMON MARKET, AND 133% FOR ITALY. AND SO THE STORY GOES ON. BETWEEN THIS YEAR AND 1980, THE ITALIANS PLAN TO DOUBLE NATIONAL INCOME. (INCIDENTALLY, IN PRAISING THIS KIND OF GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION, I DON'T WANT TO SUGGEST THAT I'D HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH THE ITALIAN TRADE UNION SYSTEM, WHICH IS ABOUT AS SIMPLE AND UNCOMPLICATED AS A POT OF STALE SPAGHETTI).

SO ONE OF THE MAIN TASKS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND ITS PARLIAMENTARIANS IS TO WORK OUT, AND WORK, NATIONAL ECONOMIC AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES THAT DON'T SELL AUSTRALIA SHORT, DON'T SELL IT OUT, AND DON'T LEAVE IT IN THE TECHNOLOGICAL COLD.

IN ADDITION, WE HAVE TO SET ABOUT DEVELOPING A NATIONAL ENVIRONMENT POLICY, BEFORE THE COUNTRY, BARREN OF ITS NATURAL VEGETATION, CUT UP BY EROSION, AND CHOKED BY INDUSTRIAL WASTES, SINKS DOWN INTO A POLLUTED SEA LIKE A MOULDY DAMPER ON A GREASE TRAP. FURTHER, IN OUR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, AS A MOVEMENT WE HAVE TO ENSURE THAT OUR COUNTRY DOES NOT CONTINUE THE POLICY WHICH HAS LEFT US THE MOST DISTRUSTED NATION (AFTER THE U.S.) IN SOUTH EAST ASIA. IT IS NOT GOOD ENOUGH THAT AUSTRALIA'S MOST IMPORTANT POLITICAL FRIENDSHIPS IN ASIA SHOULD BE DETERMINED BY THE NUMBER OF GUNS AND SOLDIERS WE SEND. OUR TRADING, DEVELOPMENT, AND POLITICAL LINKS WITH ASIA SHOULD BE DETERMINED BY THE CLOSEST CO-OPERATION, FRIENDSHIP AND EQUALITY. THIS AGAIN IS AN AREA IN WHICH THERE IS GREAT DISILLUSIONMENT AMONG YOUNG VOTERS. THEY CAN SEE THE NECESSITY FOR EQUALITY - THEY'VE NO HANG-UPS ABOUT IT - THEY EXPECT US TO MAKE A CHANGE.

THE YOUNG VOTERS EXPECT US TO TAKE ACTION NOT ONLY IN MAJOR POLICY AREAS I'VE MENTIONED, AND IN THOSE ON WHICH THE MOVEMENT HAS ALWAYS BEEN STRONG, SUCH AS SOCIAL SERVICES, AND INDUSTRIAL LEGISLATION - BUT ALSO IN THE IMPORTANT AREAS OF LIBERTY, THE RIGHT TO READ OR SEE THEATRE, THE RIGHT TO INDIVIDUAL MORAL DECISIONS WITHOUT A GOVERNMENT OR A PARTY PERFORMING THE ROLE THAT IS RIGHTLY A CHURCH'S. THEY ASK FOR A GOVERNMENT, PARTY AND MOVEMENT THAT IS FULLY INVOLVED IN ALL ASPECTS OF MODERN LIFE. HAND IN HAND WITH THIS, AND TO ASSIST THE PROGRAMME, WE NEED THE FORCES OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT MOBILISED AT THE INVESTMENT LEVEL - NOT ONLY IN RETAIL AREAS, BUT IN FINANCE INSTITUTIONS, TRANSPORT AND RECREATION. BY THIS, THE UNION MOVEMENT COULD BECOME THE NATION'S GREATEST PRICE REGULATING FORCE.

BUT BECAUSE AS A MOVEMENT WE HAVE NOT FOR SOME TIME RETHOUGHT AND RESTATED IN SPECIFIC TERMS THE CURRENT ISSUES THAT PEOPLE ARE VITALLY INTERESTED IN , WE ARE RUNNING THE DANGER ALONG WITH ALL MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES OF GETTING OUT OF TOUCH WITH THE TOTAL COMMUNITY. AND SO THE YOUNGER VOTERS OFTEN SEE THE LABOR MOVEMENT AS A SET OF OLD AND MUMBLING CROCKS. THE FACT IS WE'RE SIMPLY NOT THAT - WE'RE PART OF A MOVEMENT OF BOTH DIVERSITY AND JOINT COMMITMENT, WHICH HAS PRODUCED HISTORICALLY AUTHENTIC RESULTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AND WHICH WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO IN AUSTRALIA.



AND SO NOW WE HAVE A GOVERNMENT IN CANBERRA WHOSE FACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS. IT'S A GOVERNMENT THAT CAN PROUDLY BOAST THAT NEVER BEFORE IN THE HISTORY OF THIS NATION HAVE SO FEW MEN, WORKING SO INTENTLY, AND SO LOUDLY, ACHIEVED SO MANY FASCINATING CRISES. APART FROM A FEW MINOR FEATURETTES THIS YEAR THE NEXT EVENT IS THE 1971 SHOW. IT'LL BE THE BEST OF ALL - BECAUSE IT'LL BE THE LAST SHOW IN WHICH BILLY THE KID, JOLLY JOHN AND A SUPPORTING CAST OF EXTRAS, FADE OFF THE SCENE.

THANK YOU.