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HOBSON AND WALLACE

TWO CASE STUDIES OF RURAL ELECTIONERING IN 1972

W.R.A. CAMPBELL

A thesis submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand

September 1975
I gratefully acknowledge the help given to me by the following candidates in the 1972 election in the Hobson and Wallace electorates: Messrs David Greig, Richard Hendry, Colin Horsfall, Ian Lamont, Alister McDonald, Howard Manning, Logan Sloane M.P., The Hon. Brian Talboys M.P. and Frank Williams. They and their wives, extended their time and hospitality to me and I appreciated it very much. Cups of tea provided excellent fuel for interviews that ranged, geographically, from Cable Bay in the North to Otatara, near Invercargill, in the south.

I would also like to thank Messrs Vernon Cracknell of Kerikeri, Matt Davis of Kawakawa, J.C. Menare of Motatau, J.A. Lee of Auckland, N. McNeill and Don Martin both of Kerikeri, E. Maxted of Opahi, Y.F. & J. Coston of Pukemiro and the late H.K. Waititi of Motatau for help given on aspects of this thesis.

I would like to thank Professor Chapman and Professor Flynn for welcoming me under their Departmental roofs, so to speak, while I was working on the thesis. In particular, I would like to thank my thesis supervisors, Dr E.P. Aimer of Auckland University and Dr G.A. Wood of Otago University, for the time that they have been prepared to spend reading and discussing this thesis - time often taken from their own weekend and vacation leisure hours.

Most of all, I would like to thank my parents for the steady encouragement that they have given me, especially while I was a full time student at University.
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</table>
1. INTRODUCTION

The 1972 election marked a considerable swing from National to Labour in urban and small city seats. Several factors have been given credit for this: The "It's time ..." slogan and the feeling that it reflected, that National had been in for long enough; the environmental issues and the failure of politicians to react to the feelings that large numbers of people were coming to share about Lake Manapouri's preservation; the ability of new opposing candidates against people who had served a considerable time in Parliament in some instances, the vocal activities of large and small pressure groups ranging from Federated Farmers and the Federation of Labour to the Post Primary Teachers Association, the New Zealand Educational Institute and on to the smaller - and more vocal groups - such as C.A.R.E., H.A.R.T., C.A.R.P. and C.H.M.S.

The writer lived near the Wallace electorate in 1972 and was able to observe the candidates who campaigned there. A subsequent transfer, shortly after the election to the Hobson electorate gave an opportunity to meet candidates who had stood for election in the Hobson electorate and some interesting similarities - and differences began to emerge between the 'electioneering techniques' and 'issues' of Wallace and Hobson.

The two electorates are, of course, at geographical extremes in New Zealand. Wallace with some 6,000 square miles is the biggest of the European electorates while Hobson is the second biggest and they would both be considered 'rural
electorates' under the criteria set down by Professor Chapman but the difference in climate, landform, land use and social development are often quite considerable and this may be related to variations in political allegiance as well as candidate success.

The changes that came with the 1972 election seemed to make a considerable impact in some electorates, but they appeared to make little impact in rural areas, or else they made an impact that was not translated into electoral change. To see to what extent that this is true of the Wallace and the Hobson electorates and why, I will:

Firstly, examine the background issues in these two electorates and the pressure groups associated with them;

Secondly, I will look at the candidates: their backgrounds and motivations for entering politics, or becoming candidates in the 1972 election campaign;

Thirdly, to examine the issues that were reported in the media - press, radio and television during the election campaign that related to the two electorates;

Fourthly, to look at the candidates electioneering styles: the strengths and methods of each candidate's political party, the party's financial situation and methods of campaigning and how these assisted the candidate;

---

1. R.M. Chapman Marginals '72 p. 1. 'A rural constituency is taken as being a seat with more than a fifth of its population voting outside towns large and small.'
Fifthly, prepare an assessment of issues and pressure groups given by the candidates during their interviews and in answer to a questionnaire; in conclusion, an attempt will be made to assess the success of the candidates in coming to terms with the issues and with their electorate, the Labour candidates will be measured against a model provided of Frank Langstone and his rural Waimarino electorate and to see how successful the pressure groups were in bringing forward their issues; a brief study will be made of the issues, the candidates and their party organisations, to see what has happened since November 1972.

These case studies of rural electioneering are based on interviews with nine of the ten candidates who stood for election. Each interview ran for a minimum of two and a half hours and included an identification of local issues, and issues generally in the electorate, the candidate's background, party organisation, finance, campaign style and his identification of pressure groups through answers to a questionnaire.

In the Wallace electorate, it was possible for the writer to attend personally, one combined meeting where Messrs Lamont, McDonald and Williams spoke at Winton and one other political meeting when Mr Lamont spoke at Te Anau.

3. Mrs I.C. Lumsden, New Democrat candidate for Wallace declined to be interviewed.
5. 13 November 1972.
In the Hobson electorate, this was not possible and I discussed political meetings with several people who attended some of the combined meetings and some of the individual candidate's meetings. In general, these accounts of meetings have been used as background only unless they verified, or contradicted an important point made by one of the candidates.

A careful study was made of the media in the electorates. A summary was prepared of all political reports - meetings and press statements from within the electorate from the daily paper *The Southland Times* covering the Wallace electorate supplemented where necessary by the *Mataura Ensign* which covered the eastern part of the Wallace electorate, and the largest daily newspaper circulating within the Hobson electorate that was likely to give the best coverage of local issues. The *Northern Advocate* was chosen, supplemented where necessary from the other three dailies circulating in parts of the electorate - *The Northland Times*, the *Northern Age*, the *New Zealand Herald* and the bi-weekly *Northern News*. The attitudes, activities and inactivities of some of these papers, hinted at, or sometimes mentioned rather bitterly, by the candidates, would make a fascinating study in themselves, especially when seen through the eyes of the candidates. Other media counted for little as far as the candidates were concerned. Only two of the nine candidates from the two electorates who were interviewed appeared on T.V. All candidates were given radio time for a 5 minute speech and on election night, but only one candidate mentioned this in discussion about meetings and communication.
Introduction:

With the removal of the country quota in 1945, rural electorates increased sharply in size. Wallace expanded to 6,000 square miles while the then Bay of Islands seat expanded to the South-west to take in Hobson county and Dargaville borough. It is significant moreover, with rural population drift to the towns that neither have grown significantly smaller in area although there have been boundary changes over the years, especially in Wallace where the growth and lack of growth in Invercargill and the surrounding rural electorates respectively have forced boundary changes.

This has been further accentuated in Wallace by a population drift from the small towns - Riverton, Otautau, Winton, Lumsden, Balfour and Riversdale to Invercargill. Migration out of the electorate is also apparent in Hobson: Kaitaia can seldom offer employment for more than a quarter of the school leavers from Kaitaia College. On the other hand tourism and land development are helping to build up the Te Anau-Manapouri districts in Wallace and the Bay of Islands and the East Coast of Northland in the Hobson electorate. Rivalry for the tourist and development cake is quite intense between some of the small communities in both electorates and this can be a political asset to challenging candidates and a political liability to defending candidates.
Wallace:

The Wallace electorate, in 1972, extended from Mataura in the east to Milford Sound in the west; from Kingston and the southwestern side of Lake Wakatipu in the north to the South coast and the Makarewa river in the south. Boundary changes have preserved the strongly rural character of the electorate with a recent transfer of six rural voting booths from Awarua electorate providing a combined majority of 243 National voters. On the other side of the coin, Mataura, one of the most strongly industrialised small towns in New Zealand, was brought entirely into Wallace by the 1971 boundary changes.

As well as Mataura with its three thousand residents, Winton, Otautau and Riverton all have populations of a thousand or more while Te Anau and Tuatapere are growing fairly quickly. Winton and Otautau are primarily servicing towns, extending to engineering and sawmilling, with quite a sizable number of retired farmers in each town. Riverton is the largest town, but has only grown slowly and as a 'holiday' town rather than a 'tourist' town. The rapid expansion of the Riverton fishing fleet was an irritant locally, because of a lack of moorings and the lack of a 'follow on' fish processing plant in the town.

Mataura's industrial base, first developed by river-power for electricity and easy transport, and helped by the comprehensive railway network which extended throughout Southland by the 1880's, \(^1\) comprises an extensive freezing works (but it only works a six months killing season), a

---

1. Appendix I. Map of the railway system in the Wallace electorate.
paper mill which was facing acute sales problems with certain lines which resulted in an enforced 'staff holiday' in August, 1972 - with the likelihood of further 'holidays', a molacrate factory, a milk treatment factory and a concrete block factory add further variety to the Mataura industrial scene and provide jobs for a considerable number of people in the eastern side of the electorate and for town dwellers just north and south of the electorate boundaries in Gore and Wyndham.

The Tuatapere-Orawia and Nightcaps-Ohai areas show some of the risks as well as some of the promise of industrial development within the electorate. Plans for a chip mill to process logs locally have foundered on the low flows in the Waiau river after diversion of water for the Manapouri power scheme while the Orawia cement works was unable to overcome technical problems or to establish sufficiently large markets in Southland and closed only a few years after it was established in the 1950's. Timber milling continues on a sound basis at Tuatapere with logs being trucked out from the Rowallan forest a few miles to the west of the town.

In addition, coal production in the Ohai-Nightcaps area declined due to, falling demand, the fire in the Wairaki mine shaft and some equipment shortages. Population fell and some of the cheapest property sales in Southland, at Ohai, attracted little buyer interest in 1971 and 1972. On the brighter side, extensive lignite deposits in the Mataura valley have been proved and have hardly been touched and there are indications of mineral wealth in Fiordland, albeit difficult of access and of unknown extent.
In the countryside, the local economy was rather more soundly established. The Southland plains were showing the results of 116 years of bush clearance and swamp drainage, to an extent where it was difficult to believe that the bush and swamps had existed were it not for names like Wyross Bush and Cummies' Bush. The land has proved suitable for dairying and sheep, with a swing to the latter accentuating the decline in rural population. Grain and oats flourished on the Northern plains of Southland and development was aided by a railway system that, by the 1880's, must have ranked as one of the best in the colony with lines from Invercargill to Kingston, branches east and west from Lumsden to Gore and Mossburn, a branch along the south coast from Makarewa that eventually reached Tuatapere and Owamia with an important branch from this line at Thornbury that reached to the coal-fields at Nightcaps.

The issues of the Wallace electorate in the past have been 'issues of prosperity' or 'porkbarrel politics'. Railways to the goldfields - the Winton and Kingston railway in the 1860's were followed by developmental railways, some of which were never built, but many of which were constructed. More wealth and a better road system over easy terrain have led to railway and school closures and slow growth for the small service towns as residents shopped in Gore or Invercargill. The amalgamation and closure of the smaller primary schools has been partly offset by the opening of further District High Schools, at Lumsden in 1958 and Manapouri in the 1960's while other District High Schools have been expanded into a Form Three to Seven High School at Winton
and more recently a Form One to Seven High School at Riverton which was under construction at the time of the election. One or two other High Schools are to be built in the immediate future at Te Anau and Lumsden with the prospect of others at Otatara and Tuatapere.

Attempts at industrial development in Wallace read like a saga of failure – Gold reef mining at Preservation Inlet – reefs failed about 1910; Shale oil extraction at Orepuki – company failed in the early 1900's; Large scale timber milling at Port Craig – between Tuatapere and Preservation Inlet on the South Coast using the revolutionary ledgerwood milling process which involved mechanical milling and an ingenious loading system out to ships in the open roadstead – a victim of the depression in 1929 – as well as the later difficulties that the Cawina cement works found insurmountable and the severe problems that the Chai-Nightcaps coalfields and the Mataura paper mill were facing in 1972. Yet there is no historical evidence of these issues becoming important election issues in Wallace. Promoters and workers in the earlier industrial enterprises packed their bags and departed. From a workforce of several hundred men at Port Craig in the 1920's – the Port would have expanded to an early day Kawerau had it survived – only the caretaker remained in 1931. Votes recorded at the Port Craig booth declined from 69 in 1925 to 10 in 1928 – the latter being a 9 - 1 majority against Adam Hamilton the sitting member! There was no booth at Port Craig after 1928. The Cawina booth rose from its usual proportion of better than 3 - 1 votes for National (1954 67 - 18) to 52 - 74 in 1957, but by
1960 it was back to 35 - 76. Voters opposed to the lack of industrial development and jobs had to take their search for jobs - and their votes - outside the electorate.

Hobson:

In the Hobson electorate, electioneering has been fraught with dangers and protest groups have become part of the way of life. Perhaps we can count Hone Heke as the first environmentalist. The people who protested against the milling of the remaining Kauris in the Waipoua forest in the early 1940's, in war-time, and against the influence of the Minister of Public works, the Hon. Robert Semple and his all devouring mechanical army are deserving of commendation. They may have contributed towards the Bay of Islands seat changing hands from Labour to National in the 1943 election with the defeat of C.W. Boswell by Mr Smith. In the booths nearest to the Waipoua forest in the 1938 election C.W. Boswell led by one vote over H.F. Guy, National, (19 - 18) at Wekaweka. At the Waimamuku booth a few miles further away Guy led 61 - 36. In 1943 Wekaweka recorded a 24 - 3 lead for Smith while the Waimamuku lead for National had widened to 58 - 7. Over the whole electorate Boswell had lost about a quarter of his votes and his losses were much greater in the south west corner of the electorate. Voters who disapproved stayed, unlike Wallace electors in Port Craig, to record their disenchantment.

The difference in voting patterns compared with Wallace on this one issue is reflected in both the composition and occupational patterns of the electorate. Hobson electorate, since 1945 has comprised Mangonui, Whangaparoa, Hokianga,
Bay of Islands and Hobson counties with some variation in
booths on the east coast as Marsden contracted into the
Whangarei electorate – an area of drowned valleys, steep
ridges, luxuriant second growth, subtropical style three
day rainfall. Mr J.C. Henare, a candidate for Northern
Maori at several elections up to 1969, and son of a former
Northern Maori MP., Mr Tau Henare, considers that the climate
and the marginal farming that follows is responsible for the
electoral instability arising from farmers turning to new
parties and new policies for the Hobson electorate.\(^2\)

The electorate easily comes within the definition of rural\(^3\) for the largest towns, Dargaville, Kaikohe, Kaitaia,
Kawakawa, Moerewa, Kaeo, Kerikeri, Mangonui, Okaihau, Opua,
Paibia, Rawene, Russell, Te Kao, contributed only 8497 votes
out of 15,836.

Development came both early and late to the Hobson
electorate area. Old Russell (Kororareka) well established
by 1840, became the first capital of the colony after the
signing of the Treaty of Waitangi over the other side of the
Bay, and ship building with Bay of Islands timber became the
major local industry.

When the capital moved from Russell to Auckland, the
bulk of the Maori and European population moved south in a
population drain that has continued to this day, only being
slightly abated by the expansion of Whangarei to an industrial
centre with a population of 33,000 in 1972.

---

2. Conversation with Mr J.C. Henare, Motatau, January 1975.
The first railway in the North Island was constructed from the Kawakawa mine to Taumarere in 1867, where the coal could be loaded into barges for shipment to Auckland. The railway was extended south to Whangarei by 1911 and opened to Auckland by 1925, in the best traditions of political foot-dragging and in marked contrast to early railway development in Wallace.

The railway was extended east from Kawakawa to the port of Opua in the 1890's and then 'mothballed' for twenty-five years until the end of World War One because of a lack of traffic. Before the First World War, construction began on the grandiosely titled 'Kawakawa-Hokianga' railway, but like most good things intended for the Hokianga, it never quite got there. The railway reached Kaikohe by 1914, Okaihau by 1921 and a tunnel, bridging and formation work were extended as far as Mangamuka bridge over very unstable country before the section beyond Okaihau was abandoned about 1930 with the onset of the depression.

A moderately heavy tonnage has been handled on the lines, although fewer ships berthing at Opua have meant less shipping traffic. Passenger traffic was carried by provincial expresses and Auckland - Opua 'holiday expresses' until 1956 when an Auckland - Okaihau railcar service commenced with Fiat railcars. The railcar service was valuable, especially to the more isolated, poorly roaded, country districts although some services were thinly patronised. Following a government decision not to spend further money for mechanical renewals

4. Plaque opposite Kawakawa railway station, Kawakawa.
for the railcars, the Northland railcar service was replaced, in 1967, by N.Z.R. Road services buses and what the then Minister of Railways, Mr Gordon called 'passenger carriages attached to fast goods trains' which in 1972 took more than four hours to cover the sixty-four miles between Opua and Whangarei.

One respect, the Hokianga section of the electorate has been ahead of the rest of the country, with the establishment of a special medical area under the championship of Dr G.M. Smith in 1946. Dr Smith's belief was, that the health of rural residents the great majority being Maori, could be better cared for by the establishment of clinics staffed by health nurses who would carry out preliminary diagnosis and refer cases to him or to the Hokianga hospital at Rawene, as necessary. Unfortunately, the scheme never reached its full complement of doctors or nurses, Dr Smith resigning after several acrimonious clashes with the Health Department.

Both electorates have shown a steady drop in voters at rural booths in Hobson, this has been matched by a rise in voters at the town booths and apart from the 1945 adjustment which brought in Hobson county and the steady elimination of small country booths there have been no significant changes in boundaries except on the east coast, e.g. Moromaku. The votes at Ahipara hill declined from 1931 - 43, 1935 - 35, 1938 - 27. By 1946, the booth had been eliminated.

Two interesting studies in booth transition can be followed. Firstly, in the inland Bay of Islands area, west

of the main road, north of the southern county boundary and
east of the Kaikohe-Titoki-Whangarei road some changes occur
in booth totals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Pokere</th>
<th>Maromaku</th>
<th>Motatau</th>
<th>Pokapu</th>
<th>Punakitera</th>
<th>Tautoro</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>closed</td>
<td>closed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Away*</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Away*</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Away*</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>closed</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>94</td>
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<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* booth in Marsden electorate

The total vote in this almost completely rural area of
dairy and cattle farming on largely Maori and Maori leasehold
land is almost 45% down from 1931 to 1972. This may reflect
farm amalgamations, a decrease of labour in dairying, or a
transfer to the Maori roll by people eligible to be on either
roll.

The vanishing rural-dweller in Hobson has frequently
gone to the towns and booth figures for the main towns reflect
this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Kaikohe</th>
<th>Kaitaia</th>
<th>Kawakawa</th>
<th>Kerikeri</th>
<th>Dargaville</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>113</td>
<td></td>
<td>1304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>227</td>
<td></td>
<td>1743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>565</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>h22</td>
<td>348</td>
<td></td>
<td>2052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>710</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>2618</td>
<td></td>
<td>2233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>715</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>1318</td>
<td>3843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>816</td>
<td>1063</td>
<td>h45</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>1263</td>
<td>4014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>766</td>
<td>992</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>1090</td>
<td>3556</td>
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<td>810</td>
<td>1102</td>
<td>h13</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>4068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>943</td>
<td>1219</td>
<td>h07</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>1363</td>
<td>4514</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Kerikeri and Kaitaia have had more than one booth at some
elections - a total has been taken for all booths.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Kaikohe</th>
<th>Kaitaia</th>
<th>Kawakawa</th>
<th>Kerikeri</th>
<th>Dargaville</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>944</td>
<td>1275</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>1358</td>
<td>4026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>996</td>
<td>1365</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>1404</td>
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<tr>
<td>1966</td>
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<td>1431</td>
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<td>655</td>
<td>1451</td>
<td>5050</td>
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<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>1337*</td>
<td>1513</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>768</td>
<td>1609</td>
<td>5742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>1135</td>
<td>2071</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>6547</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The Kaikohe show, held on election day attracted large numbers to a special booth.

Switches from the Maori to the European roll and vice-versa, by those qualified to do so, cannot be established from booth figures as both rolls show declines in the rural booths and unrelated increases in the urban and small town booths. The evidence of two party workers, both of Maori descent suggested that there had been a switch over, firstly when Labour won the Bay of Islands seat in 1938⁹ and secondly, a former Northern Maori candidate instanced cases of people whom he knew had enrolled on the Northern Maori roll to vote for him after being on the Hobson roll.¹⁰ In neither case was any documentary evidence made available, or names mentioned. It should be noted that Labour won in 1938 by a small margin after a third candidate withdrew shortly before the election. It should also be noted that Mr Henare polled a high vote when he first stood against Mr Matt Rata for Northern Maori in 1960. The evidence suggests that these 'switchovers' are personal to the candidate and may come from the very close contacts between Maori and European in small districts in the Hobson electorate. The 1963 decline in the European vote at Motatau - Mr Henare's home booth in his Northern Maori

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electorate may have helped swell the vote for National in Northern Maori.

For a decade up to 1935, the Bay of Islands seat was held by Captain Rushworth, a Country party member who leaned towards Douglas Social Credit theory sharing the concern of the Northland farmers at the wildly fluctuating dairy prices of the 1920's.

Captain Rushworth did not stand in 1938 and the guaranteed Price for Dairy products as well as a two way fight with a Nationalist H.F. Guy after the withdrawal of a third candidate shortly before the election helped C.W. Boswell to inherit part of the radical mantle.\(^{11}\) Labour's gain in 1938 came despite a large number of full page advertisements placed by that National party.\(^{12}\)

National's S.W. Smith captured the Hobson seat in 1943, at a time when many of Labour's erstwhile supporters had despaired of the likelihood of the use of government credit on a large scale for financing capital works - a basic Social Credit tenet that had appeared to be shared by, at least some Labour M.P.'s in 1938.\(^{13}\)

When Social Credit formed its Political League in 1954, the 'Discussion Groups' of the 1920's and 1930's were still in existence\(^{14}\) and Mr C.W. Elvidge, Social Credit candidate, was

\(^{11}\) Even in 1974, Mr Howard Manning, the Social Credit candidate for Hobson in 1972, was sure that some of the Hokianga branches had members whose associations went straight back to the 'Rushworthite' discussion groups on Social Credit theory of the 1920's and 1930's.

\(^{12}\) Northern Advocate. September 1938.

\(^{13}\) Lee, J.A. Simple on a Soapbox p. 53.

\(^{14}\) Conversation with Howard Manning, April 1974.
able to build up branches as he stood for Parliament in 1954 and 1957, aided by the wild fluctuations in the dairy prices during the late 1950's.

The question of succession of the sitting member, that had helped C.W. Boswell in 1938, arose again in 1960 when S.W. Smith retired. A tussle between W.H. Fortune, a former Minister of Police and I.J. Berghan, a Kaitaia member of the Bay of Islands Harbour Board was compounded by local issues, and the preferential voting system used in the National Party's method of candidate selection allowed a less contentious candidate, Mr Logan Sloane, a Waikite farmer, to be chosen. Possible evidence in favour of any 'switchover' of votes from Hobson to Northern Maori in 1960 comes from Logan Sloane's comment, "that had J.C. Henare (son of a former Northern Maori M.P. Tau Henare) been a member of the National coalition party nominated he would have carried the votes from the central division of the electorate and gained nomination."15

The shuffling in the National party ranks arose from a Northland local issue - Port facilities. It seemed unlikely that both Whangarei and Opua ports could be considered overseas shipping ports and both Boards were prepared for battle. The Bay of Islands Harbour Board had sought a cool store for butter at the port and had been disregarded by the then Labour Government which had subsequently granted permission to the Whangarei Board to finance and build its own cool store - an act not calculated to advance the fortunes of the Labour candidate in Hobson - Mr Webber.

Nor were National likely to gain marks. Logan Sloane was a member of the Northern Wairoa dairy company which supported the claims of Whangarei port and he had been chosen in preference to a member of the Bay of Islands Board. Vernon Cracknell, as the first chairman of the re-constituted Bay of Islands Harbour Board was 'the only candidate to be completely on the side of the angels in this dispute'.

The dairy price and local issues irritation with Labour and to some extent with National over candidate selection, Social Credit gained second place to National in the 1960 election results in Hobson, going on to gain a small election night majority in 1963 and a small absolute lead in 1966 when Vernon Cracknell became the first Social Credit M.P. in New Zealand. 'We set out to get a reputation for responsibility.' There was a tremendous load involved, he found - meeting people, being a solitary M.P. 'Committee work was satisfying.'

In the Hobson electorate, Vernon Cracknell found some contentious local issues. 'Roads were the burning question - it was necessary to protect the seal that was already done. There was an awful lot of illfeeling over the railcars.' (When the service was withdrawn in 1967.) He felt that the Hospital Board amalgamation was accepted fairly quietly, but when the 1969 election came, the promises of the two big parties, particularly Labour's offer of State aid to private schools and the activity of National candidate Logan Sloane in 'thrashing out all the National vote' relegated Social Credit to second place behind National in 1969.

18. Vernon Cracknell, Ibid.
The Ministers of the National Party who whistle-stopped at weekly intervals through Hobson in 1966 - when the seat was lost, were kept away in 1969, to the satisfaction of Logan Sloane, who was left to run his own campaign, at his request, with only one or two outside speakers. 19

In Hobson, protest had evolved through regional and parochial issues with a feeling of neglect being the one electorate-wide common denominator, but in Wallace the situation was rather different. The political succession continued in an unbroken Reform-National Party line. Brian Talboys actually increasing the total National vote when he was elected as M.P. in 1957 in succession to Mr (later Sir) Thomas MacDonald, and his total vote increased until 1963 and then declined 20 as the total voting numbers continued to rise, with the exception of 1959 when the total vote fell - a curious variation which seems to have some relationship with a low Labour vote and a quiet Labour campaign - a similar characteristic may have appeared in 1960, when Mrs Harris from Wellington campaigned for Labour. The total vote and the jumps and falls of opponents seems to have made little difference to the sitting National member in Wallace with his slowly declining total vote. The reasons for this may include a lack of electoral fence mending - the number of branches of the National Party in Wallace has declined from the thirty recorded by Chapman Jackson and Mitchell 21 to a point where a joint branch meeting held in Winton at intervals seems to cover most local political activity. 22

19. Interview with Logan Sloane, April, 1974, Dargaville.
20. See separate table, Appendix 4.
A time bomb which started to tick loudly in Wallace, albeit without any apparent advantage to any political party until after 1969\textsuperscript{23} may well have come from the evolution of the Manapouri protest which had been rumbling since 1956 when the then National Government originally proposed raising the level of Lake Manapouri to equal that of Lake Te Anau and constructing an underground power station linking West Arm and Doubtful Sound.

Later, Comalco (or Conzinc as it then was) an international company mining bauxite in Australia agreed to build a smelter at Bluff to smelt Queensland alumina, provided that it was supplied with bulk power at a low charge and the Labour Government agreed to this in 1960.

The initial opposition came from boat and crib owners around Lake Manapouri and they were later joined by conservationists who objected to the destruction of the lake shores and of the rare flora on lake islets. A petition with 26,000 signatures was initiated by the Royal Forest and Bird Society petitioning Parliament that the lake levels be preserved; that the National Parks Act be strengthened to prevent commercial exploitation; and that no agreement be entered into with Comalco to set up a Smelter.\textsuperscript{24} The petition was referred to the Lands Committee which had no recommendation to make and in October 1960, the Labour Government assented to the Manapouri-Te Anau Development Bill, which validated the earlier agreement between the Government and the company.

\textsuperscript{23} Wallace elections table. Ibid.

\textsuperscript{24} Royal Forest and Bird Magazine, February 1961.
A number of continuing questions arose during the construction of the Manapouri power station - solely owned by the Government after 1964 - and a Manapouri officials committee was set up to deal with the inter-departmental problems arising from the scheme. The development of the Manapouri project was receiving a good deal of publicity, both favourable and critical. There was criticism of the devastation caused by the construction of the transmission line road from Lake Monowai to the South Arm by way of Borland Saddle, to allow the placement, wiring and servicing of the transmission line pylons. Trampers criticised the 'forbidden zone' along the South Arm road which was closed to all private parties - this was probably justified on technical grounds. There was admiration for the planning and construction of the underground power station by visitors to the site.

Most of the comment was critical and the main barrage was reserved for the 'shoreline treatment' question. The Forestry Department and the Ministry of Works produced widely varying cost estimates for clearance of bush from the shoreline that would be immersed by lake rises, while a trial clearance in South Arm of Lake Manapouri when debris was dumped in the lake convinced some conservationists that effective clearance of the lakeshores was impossible.

The New Zealand Scenery Protection Society and the Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society petitioned the National Government in 1963 to require the Ministry of Works to make public all the facts about the power scheme and to show cause

why it should not prefer an alternative scheme, by which the waters of the lake would remain within levels which would neither destroy trees around the shoreline, nor render the shore unsightly. 26 The protest was already coming from national bodies rather than just residents and trampers in the Wallace electorate. 'The Society did not oppose using the lake waters to generate electricity for industrial purposes, because it appreciated the need to take all reasonable steps to lessen the drain on overseas funds and to augment primary income.' 27

The 1971 commissioning date for the Smelter drew closer and still no decision on lake levels had been announced by the Government. Some parallels appear with the situation in Tasmania up to September 1967 when the Government and the hydro-electric commission planned roads and hydro-electric development in the Lake Pedder region in the remote 'South West' of Tasmania. 28 Where the New Zealand Government was reluctant to announce any details of the proposed flooding of Lake Manapouri, the Tasmanian Government was reluctant to announce anything at all about Lake Pedder. The Chief Commissioner of the Tasmanian Hydro-electricity Commission stated in 1961 'the possibility of power development in this area in the foreseeable future is remote' and the Premier said in 1965 'there will be some modification of the Lake Pedder National Park'. 29

27. R.C. Nelson, Ibid.
A roar of public anger followed the announcement of the Hydro developments in Tasmania's 'South West' and a select committee condemned the Hydro-electric commission for failure to investigate alternatives and poor public relations.\textsuperscript{30}

The Scenery Preservation board had been sidetracked and proved powerless and conservationists had been easily divided by the Tasmania H.E.C. The New Zealand Government seemed to be nursing a parallel hope that the lack of information that it provided on Manapouri in late 1968 and 1969 would provide it with an easier ride to similar results. Disillusionment must have quickly followed the announcement that the lake would be raised made at a public meeting in Invercargill, in November 1969 by the Hon. J.R. Hanan, Minister of Justice and M.P. for Invercargill.

A 'Southland Save Manapouri' committee sprang up, planning a nationwide campaign and the presentation of another petition to Parliament. The scale of protest widened when a group of Wellington businessmen donated $10,000 to the 'Save Manapouri' campaign, a national Save Manapouri committee was formed by the Editor of the N.Z. Weekly News and an informal working group on Manapouri began telegraphing a number of bodies throughout the country including the Native Conservation Council, the Federation of Mountain Clubs and the Queen Elizabeth Arts Council - all these events occurring within a week or two in January 1970. On 28 January, four days after a public meeting had been held in Wellington to protest against the raising of the lake and a number of prominent people had been co-opted to the Save Manapouri committee, the Government announced that it

\textsuperscript{30} Davis B.W. \textit{Waterpower and Wilderness}, p. 28.
would set up a Commission of Enquiry. The Commission of Enquiry seemed a parallel tactic to the Tasmanian select committee, designed to weep salt tears, or to justify the governments actions.

The Marlborough by-election following the death of Government Minister Tom Shand, swung the seat to Labour and it seemed that Save Manapouri advocates could claim a share of the credit. R.J. McLean of Southland, the National chairman of Save Manapouri had campaigned in Marlborough and had gained some coverage in the local paper. Good Labour organisation, some disillusionment with the Government over rising prices and selection problems with the National candidate all helped contribute to the eventual result. But the Tasmania precedent at Lake Pedder was an uncomfortable precedent for any Government Ministers who observed it and a beacon for Opposition and 'Save Manapouri' campaigners who could sense voter interest in the issue of conservation.

A higher officials committee of Departmental heads was hastily set up in February 1970 to consider Departmental reports in Manapouri and a Cabinet committee on Lake Manapouri which included the Ministers of Works, Finance, Lands, Agriculture and Tourism to study and report to Cabinet on the proposal to raise Lake Manapouri; fast work indeed for a Government that liked to refer contentious matters to committees and keep them there for a long time – e.g. Accident Compensation Bill – but the arguing over Manapouri continued.

In Hobson, as the 1972 election approached, National had to be on its mettle – it could not be certain of holding the lead gained over Social Credit in 1960 and local issues could be the attacking point that they had been since 1960. The dairyfarmers situation, which had been the other barometer to the electorate since the 1920's looked 'Fair'.

Wallace, had been a 'blue ribbon' seat since the seat was first formed and the impact of the 'Save Manapouri' campaign was likely to be seen in other seats as well, if the Marlborough by-election of 1970 was any guide, yet Lake Manapouri was in Wallace.

The protest about the proposed raising of Lake Manapouri and Te Anau was now far greater than the local crib owners, boat owners and trampers who first opposed the raising of the lake in 1956 with the activity of the Royal Forest and Bird Society and nationwide petitions. By the same token, most of the protest activity was outside the Wallace electorate. The Southland Save Manapouri group was based in Invercargill, other conservationist groups, including the national Save Manapouri campaign were based in Wellington and the first electoral casualty where conservationists claimed to have had a hand, the election of a Labour M.P. to a former National seat in the Marlborough by-election. Like S.E. Finer's 'Lobby'.33 Pressure groups like the 'Lobby' must be where the public bodies concerned are: In 1970, this clearly meant

33. Finer, S.E. Anonymous Empire p. 2. 'The sum of organisations in so far as they are occupied at any point of time in trying to influence the policy of public bodies in their own chosen direction; though unlike political parties never themselves prepared to undertake the direct government of the country.'
Invercargill, Wellington and in February of that year, Marlborough. However, the total vote of the National M.P. in Wallace, the Hon. Brian Talboys, had fallen between 1966 and 1969\(^1\) although his percentage of the total valid votes recorded had increased from 53.75\% to 56.57\%.\(^2\) Despite the activities of a New Country Party in Wallace, the total vote declined with Social Credit and Labour showing sharp declines. The question remained. What issues were likely to make the people who had gone to non-voting return to the polling booths?

\(^1\) Wallace elections table. Appendix 4.
3. THE CHALLENGERS AND THE CHALLENGED

Eight people were willing to challenge the two sitting M.P.'s in Wallace and Hobson. What was the background of these people? What did they offer the rural political scene? What did they seek from it?

The Labour Party in Southland, which operated under a Multiple Labour Representation Committee covering the electorates of Awarua, Invercargill and Wallace, was the only challenging political organisation that appeared to have any choice of candidates — a sign of political life. Mr Ian Lamont and Mr Peter Wilson were nominated and the former was chosen to contest the election. Described by his campaign brochure as an independant (sic) thinker with a keen mind ... brought up on Robbie Burns, bits of Bible and verbal battles, Ian Lamont met the minimum residential requirements for Southland having married a Southland girl, Diane Hoskin, and thus compensating for not actually having been born in Southland. He was experienced in a range of work — as a shearer, as a freezing worker — a farmer — a teacher, with a Diploma in Agriculture and an almost completed B.A. degree. He had travelled widely for three years overseas, but his brochure didn't mention that he had gained his travelling scholarship as a result of his academic studies at Lincoln College.

Ian Lamont was in his mid-thirties in 1972, quiet and introspective at first meeting, but let his interest be aroused, or his sense of justice be called on and Burns and

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1. It is not clear how much choice was available between various Social Credit candidates, from discussions with the Hobson and Wallace candidates.
2. Second appendix.
the Bible could be drawn on readily for a verbal battle.
He had joined the Labour Party because he admired its Vietnam
Commitment in 1966, a case of principles before politics that
in his view cost Labour the election of that year. 3

His motives for standing for Wallace in 1972 were a
desire to give Wallace electors a clear choice between Labour
and National - and probably between conservative and radical
viewpoints - something that he felt they had lacked for years,
of what he considered low key Labour campaigns, and to con-
front them with some of the solutions that could be offered
for the electorate.

Ian Lamont sometimes spoke from his overseas experience,
as, for example, when he told a small, but highly sceptical
audience, in a draughty supper room, on a cold evening, at
Te Anau, that coal fired steam engines should be re-introduced
to lessen New Zealand's dependence on imported fuels - a full
twelve months before the fuel crisis was triggered off by
Middle Eastern politics.

The New Democrat Party, which broke away from the Social
Credit Party during 1972, selected Mrs I.C. Lumsden as their
candidate for Wallace. A Dunedin school teacher, described
as a 'young seventyone' by veteran journalist F.W.G. Miller 4
she was born in Australia where she trained as a teacher and
became associated with Douglas Social Credit. She had emi-
grated to New Zealand twentyfour years previously and now
lived with her husband and family in Dunedin and taught as a
relieving teacher at St Edmund's Primary school.

Apart from her personal 'biography' written by F.W.C. Miller and New Democrat policy statements, no reports were published of her meetings in the electorate and she declined to appear at one of the two joint meetings in the electorate due to family commitments. It seems possible that Mrs Lumsden's nomination may have resulted from the determination of the New Democrat party to put up a 'full slate' of eighty-seven candidates at the election rather than to convert the Wallace electorate. 5

Mr Alister McDonald was the candidate for Liberal Reform in the Wallace electorate. A Dipton farmer, married, with a young family, Alister McDonald entered the election campaign as a follow-on to his Vice-chairmanship of the 'Southland Save Manapouri' campaign, seeing his choice as 'either standing as a candidate, or to vote National, or to vote Labour, or to shut up and say nothing and see the results for the rest of my life'. 6

The Southland Times biography on Alister McDonald 7 began with a description on how to reach his farm (presumably the reporter had had difficulties) and after turning right at the Caroline railway station and left at the sign marked 'Gavenwood' the reader's interest was captured by a picture of a family group on the McDonald farm. Alister McDonald was present, as he said 8 'not only in spirit but also in body in the Wallace electorate'. His background and upbringing

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5. The New Democrats managed only eightysix candidates, their Marlborough candidate failing to lodge nomination papers in time.


8. Southland Times Ibid.
was authentically that of a Southlander: educated at the Southland Technical College and apprenticed to Melhops Engineering in Invercargill, he later worked as a Wapiti shooter.

Reflecting the concerns of many Southland farmers, Alister McDonald was trying to double the capacity of the two farms he worked, to try and beat rising costs.

Contact had been established between Alister McDonald and the Country Party when Cliff Emery spoke at Lumsden in 1969 and it seemed to Alister McDonald that the 'Save Manapouri' campaign and free enterprise values all fitted into the Liberal Reform policy. However the 'Save Manapouri' campaigners had their doubts and there was apparently some feeling within the movement that Alister McDonald should resign for becoming 'political'. Alister McDonald pointed out with some satisfaction that the 'Save Manapouri' campaigners in their approaches to the Prime Minister and the Leader of the opposition had subsequently, before the 1972 election, become much more political than he had.

At the one meeting where the writer observed him, Alister McDonald revealed himself as a determined and able speaker and discussed a broad spectrum of Liberal Reform policy. He said at this meeting that his motivation for 'Manapouri' action arose from frequent visits to the lake and from holding shooting blocks on its shores.

9. Alister McDonald Ibid.
The 'long stayer' of election campaigns, Mr Frank Williams, the Social Credit candidate, has been battling against the sitting member for the Wallace seat since 1963. He joined the party in 1962, moving over from a Labour background after being convinced that Social Credit held the answer to his concern about the cost of living.  

Social Credit rose to gain 19.68% of the votes cast in Wallace in 1966, but followed the pattern of countrywide decline, gaining only 15.10% in 1969.

The strong 'pioneering element' in his personal biography made good reading in the Southland Times. Frank Williams broke in a rough backblock farm with Marginal Lands Board assistance after Rehab. had refused to help him buy it when he returned from the Second World War. This area, in the west of the electorate from Port Craig and Port Preservation, west from Tuatapere through to the fiords, the Monowai and Manapouri power projects, is perhaps the last frontier of New Zealand. Frank Williams' story of land clearance on his farm with the occasional aid of welfare lads was part of an authentic New Zealand tradition of the 'do it yourself' settler pioneering new land.

The term 'rural sitting member' suggests that the incumbent holds a blue ribbon seat. This is untrue for the far north, where, in the words of Vernon Cracknell 'Logan Sloane had to thrash out the National party vote' to regain the seat.

13. The Rehabilitation Department set up to help returned servicemen re-establish themselves in civilian life.
in 1969 and it was becoming a little less true in Wallace where a declining total National vote coincided with unease over the development of Manapouri's hydro-electric power.

Mr Brian Talboys, fits little, if any, of the National Party 'local boy made good' rural member stereotype. Born in Wanganui, in 1921, he worked with Dalgety's and trained with the A.T.C. in Canada during World War II until he was injured and faced with two and a half years hospitalisation. He attended the University of Manitoba in Canada and graduated B.A. in Agriculture from the then Victoria University College of Wellington in 1950. He worked as a journalist and later farmed near Winton. Mrs Talboys is a daughter of a former Mayor of Invercargill A.L. Adamson. Selected for Wallace in succession to Sir Thomas MacDonald, in 1957, Ministerial rank came quickly to Brian Talboys with the re-election to office of the National Government in 1960.

The press 'biography' stresses his local achievements as Minister of Agriculture from 1963, including the setting up of an Animal Research Unit at Woodlands and the grasslands research station at Waimumu, both within the Wallace electorate, as well as the operation of the Quarantine station on Soames Island. His 'biography' concludes with an apology from Brian Talboys that 'his duties have meant that he has had to spend a great deal of time away from his electorate, but he has gained real satisfaction from what he can do for his electorate'.


It is interesting that Brian Talboys felt the need to apologise for absences from his electorate on Ministerial business, considering that he had inherited what Austin Mitchell, in describing Wallace, termed a 'rural advantage'.

In the Wallace electorate, sprawling over 5,600 square miles (the electorate size of 1960) it would have taken a candidate six nights a week for five weeks even to visit all the branches from the electorate headquarters. As a consequence the sitting member in a rural electorate tended to have a slight advantage over his urban counterparts in that it was more difficult for a rival to make himself known.

Brian Talboys, in person, presents an almost startling contrast to the powerful Parliamentary debater, prepared to lock horns, or make hay, with the Labour Party, as the occasion may require. Reserved and diffident, almost to the point of shyness, he is reluctant to speak about his home territory. He is not particularly interested in the radical issues of 'Vietnam' or 'youth', but he becomes enthusiastic when Education is mentioned. Notwithstanding his notorious 'Gallery' appearance of 1971, it is possible to see why the Teachers' organisations were so sorry to see him leave the Education portfolio in 1972 apart from the fact that they had received the salary increases which he had decried in the T.V. interview! His keen incisive questioning of the writers' interests in education showed him in another role, as a questioner and initiator, rather than an answerer of questions. A marked contrast to the beginning of the discussion.

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18. A.V. Mitchell. Ibid.
Hobson:

In the Hobson electorate, a seat famed for its independent members, some independent challengers were attracted to contest the seat.

Independent of party affiliation, Mr David Greig, a twenty-seven year old orchard manager and former fire brigadesman, stood as a candidate 'to test the air'. He defined his background as 'National - Radical'. In his press 'biography' he described himself as 'an independent candidate for an independent electorate ... a real representative of this electorate.'

David Greig had intended to stand for parliament at some time, 1972 became the time, because of what he saw as the 'lack of real alternatives to the main parties'. Presumably he considered Social Credit to be one of the main parties. His decision to stand was made prior to the establishment of the Values Party - he decided to stand in August 1972.

'The depressions and problems of the people in the Hokianga' forced the 32 year old Rev. Richard Hendry into political action as a Labour Party candidate. 'The problems could only be remedied by political action.' His involvement began, in early 1972, with what Vernon Cracknell had described as the 'burning issue' - roads, when he prepared a petition, with members of his South Hokianga Methodist circuit, on the poor condition of the local State Highway 12

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22. Interview (20) Ibid.
which runs through the Hokianga from Kaikohe to Dargaville through the Waipoua forest. As well as being involved in Rawene and Hokianga community groups, Lions, Ambulance driving, Budget advisory service and the Historical Society, Richard Hendry, joined and became President of the Hokianga branch of the Labour Party and in 1972 he became chairman of the Hobson Labour Representation Committee.

The candidate believes that his neat dressing and his Ford Capri may have enhanced his 'image', but his liberal views on such 'closed' topics as homosexuality and his ability, as a Minister, to enter any situation and talk with people, has helped his transition to politics. He is grateful for the support that his congregation in the Hokianga have given him. 24

Richard Hendry's campaign brochure stressed local issues 25 He believed that the Government's lack of interest in Hobson would result in further depression and the break up of the family unit as young people continue to leave for the city and isolated communities struggle to maintain what little they have. He would ensure that roading was given top priority in Hobson '... state highways 10 and 12 would be immediately constructed, a number of roads would be classified as tourist roads and state highway 1 would be continued to North Cape.'

The New Democrat Party selected Mr Colin Horsfall, a 34 year old fitter and turner of Kawakawa, as their candidate, when they sought the most suitable person to stand in each electorate. He expected that he might play a key role if the

24. Interview. Ibid.
Social Credit and National votes had been close. In any event, he conceded, there was little reason for the Social Credit party in Hobson to like him. His beliefs that Social Credit was drifting to the left had led him to support John O'Brien the Leader of the New Democrats.26

A tall, thoughtful person, 47 years old at the time of the 1972 campaign, Mr Howard Manning, lived at the Motels that he has, together with his wife, owned and managed at Cable Bay, Mangonui. The beautiful seaward view from the motels over Doubtless Bay to the remote Karikari peninsula in the far distance arouses curiosity to the motives of a person living in such a setting to enter the hurly-burly of politics.

But Howard Manning's politics start from home, or more aptly, from the view from his lounge, with added emphasis from a book on his coffee table 'Seashore in the Seventies'27 for he is the Social Credit spokesman for marine affairs.

Howard Manning led a movement to stall off fishing box developments in the Whangarei harbour early in 1972. He believes that industrial development and tourism can live with conservation in the north, provided that there are no drastic increases in the numbers of tourists.

He was deeply involved in the movement towards healing the rift within the Social Credit party after the departure of the New Democrats in 1972 and he was working on Social Credit policy until three and a half weeks before the election. Howard Manning regretted that their former leader, Vernon

27. Seashore in the Seventies, Morton et al.
Cracknell had not re-joined the party and he hoped that active support would be forthcoming at some stage, although this did not materialise for the 1972 election. 28

Mr Logan Sloane, M.P. for Hobson, seemed a more 'campaign hardened' politician than Brian Talboys when his electoral adversities were taken into account. His campaign brochure displayed a grizzled and gnarled photograph of himself which he proudly likened to John A. Lee. The strong local issues and the experience of campaigning in a very marginal electorate in 1963, 1966 and 1969, have given this gregarious open person a deep political awareness.

Born in Dargaville of a Catholic father and a Presbyterian mother, he early felt the conflict between authority and freedom - 'If we went to church with Mum because it was easier, we felt that we were deserting dear old Dad.' 29 He began work as a reporter, on the then North Auckland Times in Dargaville after leaving school. Later he went bridge-building. After World War Two when he saw service overseas, he began farming at Waihau, near Dargaville, with the assistance of Rehab.

As an M.P. he has devoted himself to the local interests of Hobson. He sees this as essential for political survival in the north. By this yardstick he has made progress - he took the case for construction of a T.H.C. Hotel at Waitangi 'to the right person' and as a result, the Waitangi hotel rose

from fifth to first in the T.H.C.'s priorities and was constructed in 1963. A large increase has also been recorded in Government investment in the North.

He is a personal friend of, and supports Mr Muldoon—he voted for him when Mr Holyoake retired and he expected that Mr Muldoon would soon become the leader of the National Party for he was unhappy with the lack of authority and decisiveness shown by Mr Marshall in caucus. He was sufficiently sure that change was coming to predict the month of July 1974 as the time when Mr Muldoon would assume the leadership of the National Party.

The evening of the interview, at his home in Dargaville, was a rather emotion charged time for Logan Sloane for he had announced his retirement as M.P. a few hours earlier to an electorate committee meeting in Whangarei.

Reflecting on the reasons for his resignation, which would take effect from the end of the current three year term, he said that he was concerned with the slipping standards of electoral behaviour. He had been appalled at successive joint meetings during the 1972 campaign when one candidate made one statement on State Aid to a group of nuns in Kaitaia, and another statement to a meeting sponsored by the New Zealand Educational Institute in Dargaville. In a press release which he issued during the campaign he threatened to denounce such tactics and he is appalled at the prospect of standing again against candidates willing to follow such techniques.

He was also upset at the behaviour of some of the election audiences 'they gave me hell'. He was particularly

upset by a young woman teacher who shouted 'balls' after some comment he made at a meeting in Kawakawa. He is generally unenthusiastic about joint meetings.

In one of his press releases, he condemned bad behaviour by bikies. He couldn't remember anything coming up in his campaign about this, but there had been an incident at his home some months before the election, when word had apparently gone around some of the rougher element in Dargaville that 'Logan Sloane's having a party'. He had had some first hand experience in seeing how hard it was to eject unwanted guests.

Logan Sloane has a fatherly attitude towards radicals, he instances the young man, once resident in his electorate, who used to hold views directly opposed to his present radicalism and whom 'he always speaks to' when they meet.

Some of the candidates appeared to have entered for election because of their views on particular issues: Alister McDonald on 'Manapouri'; Ian Lamont on 'regional development' to stop the population drift from Wallace; Richard Hendry was deeply concerned with 'roading' and the 'lack of opportunity' in Hobson. Howard Manning was campaigning to prevent 'beautyspots ... and inshore fishing grounds from being destroyed by unrestricted commercialism'. Other candidates lacked this intensity of motivation, Frank Williams seemed largely concerned with keeping the Social Credit flag flying in a time of strife. David Greig was something of a paradox - an independent in an extremely independent seat.

but as he said, he was there to 'test the water' and he may well have acted similarly in any other electorate in which he lived in 1972.

Colin Horsfall, was determined to fly the flag for the New Democrats, the atmosphere in the electorate encouraged political activity in contrast to the rather quieter Wallace electorate.

Logan Sloane, a political battler, was there, to retain Hobson as his electorate for the National Party and prepared to give battle to all comers while Brian Talboys, holder of blue ribbon Wallace, had never faced serious opposition of the sort known to Hobson, and was facing the issue of 'Manapouri' whose waters were to spread well beyond the Wallace electorate.
4. THE ISSUES AS WEAPONS: WALLACE AND HOBSON

Issues in these two rural seats were raised and replied to, according to almost all the candidates, in the newspapers of their electorates. Only David Greig considered the use of the Radio to be significant, when asked, and only two candidates, Howard Manning and Brian Talboys appeared on T.V. during the election campaign and neither rated that as significant in bringing up issues, although Manning did stress conversation in the north when he appeared on T.V. - he felt that his lack of training - he had had no training with videotape machines before appearing - may have been a handicap.

Public meetings and house to house campaigning, were other situations where issues could be aired and they will be dealt with separately.

Issues will be discussed under two headings

(a) electorate related issues, that is, issues which have their genesis, or a particular local impact on either or both the two rural electorates before November 1972; and

(b) issues, similar to the above, which rose during November 1972.

Issues could be defined as matters raised by the candidates, or raised by other people, and appreciated by the candidates as being matters likely to influence political allegiances within the electorate.

An attempt will be made to see how successful the candidates were in making use of issues that arose, by an examination of issues reported in the daily and bi-weekly newspapers in the electorates: The Southland Times (Invercargill),
The Mataura Ensign (Gore), The Northern Advocate (Whangarei, with a substantial circulation in Hobson), The Northland Times (Dargaville), The Northland Age (Kaitaia) and the Northern News (Kaikohe) bi-weekly.

Wallace

By 1972, the question concerning the raising of the Lake levels of Lakes Te Anau and Manapouri had become the biggest environmental issue throughout the country, thanks to the third petition on the Lake levels initiated by the 'Save Manapouri' campaign which had gained 230,000 signatures before it was presented to Parliament in 1970.

In April 1972, a Select Committee of Parliament proposed to build the bottom section of a broad based dam that could raise the lake level of Manapouri by up to 27 feet, should this be found necessary after a study had been made under power generating conditions over a number of years.

A study conducted by Otago University staff and students in 1971 recommended a control level for Lake Te Anau of 665 feet above sea level with an operating level ranging down to 649 feet which would avoid destroying forests along sixty-six miles of Te Anau's shoreline - some mudflats would be produced near Te Anau township and the outlet of Lake Te Anau would need to be lowered.

Te Anau residents far from being appeased promptly joined the protesters when a new Te Anau group 'Save Our Lakes' was formed. Brian Talboys, with the courage of his convictions, said that the lake should be raised to honour the Government's commitments to Comalco.

1. Staff and Students of the Botany Dept. Otago University May 12-18 1971.
In August, 1972, the, then Leader of the Opposition, Mr Norman Kirk, visited the lakes, at a time when power generation had taken the water down to a low level.

The sharp industrial problem that developed at Mataura in August 1972 when insufficient orders came in to keep machines producing carbon coated paper operating resulted in an enforced 'holiday' for works staff from their annual leave. The Labour candidate, Ian Lamont, was invited out to talk to the Union at the Paper Mills, the issue was ignored by three of the other candidates. The Social Credit candidate, Frank Williams, subsequently noted that 'Labour had beaten us at the Paper Mill situation over in Mataura'. The Labour spokesman for Industries and Commerce promised to help prevent orders that would normally be filled by Mataura paper being drawn away to imported paper. Brian Talboys, who was Minister of Industries and Commerce, and responsible for the workings of the Free Trade Agreement with Australia that had helped bring the Mataura mill to a standstill, did not publicly reply, after attending a meeting at Mataura, other than making a general defence of the Free Trade Agreement. 2, 3, 4

Another issue, rated highly by the Labour candidate, Ian Lamont, was the Wairaki mine closure following a fire in 1974. Mine workers feared that complete closure of the Ohai mines could come if, for any reason, production was halted at

2. Frank Williams, Interview, Winton, April 1972.
4. Labour gained 181 votes from the two Mataura booths over its 1969 totals, while National rose by 134 and Social Credit’s total fell by 75 votes to 89.
the other mine, and orders lost. Continuing representations were made during 1972 to the Mines Department with press publicity.

The Nature Conservation Council recommended in 1972 that milling proposals for the Longwood, Rowallen and Dean State forests in Western Southland should go ahead in the meantime on a 'beech management' basis together with the planned 'area of conversion to exotics'.

At a public meeting at Tuatapere, following the report, at which Ian Lamont was an observer — no other candidates, or prospective candidates were present, the first reaction of the local people was a concern that unsawn logs should not leave the district. There were hopes for a Chip Mill at Tuatapere.

In Hobson, the period before the election campaign, gave a sharp perception to the New Democrat candidate, Colin Horsfall, of one potential local issue which did not become an election issue in 1972, but flared into life some months after the election. In 1971, (he cannot place the date precisely) he attended a meeting on 'Local Hospitals policy' at Okaibau and he recalls Howard Manning and Richard Hendry as well as Logan Sloane, being present to hear a policy of 'the development of geriatric centres in the North' being spelt out. On later reflection he was 'surprised that none of the other candidates raised the issue'.

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Proposals by a private company for fish farming in the Whangaroa harbour attracted a considerable amount of local protest. The matter was taken up by the Social Credit candidate, Howard Manning, to such effect, through publicity and public meetings that the mussel farming company withdrew their plans.\(^7\)

During 1972, Richard Hendry and members of the South Hokianga Methodist church raised an issue on local roads that has already been mentioned.\(^8\)

In the Wallace electorate, the first issue to be raised in the electioneering period in November, was the matter of the Manapouri lake levels.

On 1 November, the night of the National Party's official opening of the Southland campaign for the Invercargill, Awarua and Wallace seats, a separate meeting was held to discuss the views of all political parties on the raising of Lakes Manapouri and Te Anau. The meeting, held in the Invercargill Wool Exchange, attracted a capacity crowd who gave a tumultuous reception to the pledge given by the Labour Party spokesman for the environment, Mr Joe Salding that the natural levels of Lakes Manapouri and Te Anau would be maintained. The National Party spokesman, Mr McIntyre, Minister for the Environment was unable to go beyond his party's present policy of raising the lake levels if required. Public opinion was re-inforced by a film shot in 8 mm colour by Alister McDonald showing the recent effects of lowering the lake during a period of record drawoff.

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7. *Northern Advocate*, 1 November 1972
8. Richard Hendry, Ch. 2.
An indication of the amount of damage that the Manapouri issue was likely to cause in electorates outside the Wallace electorate was given when Dr R. L. Butterfield a member of the Campaign committee of Mr John Chewings, the National M.P. for Invercargill an Invercargill City Councillor and member of Mr Chewings, National Campaign Committee for the Invercargill seat, stood up after Mr McIntyre's announcement of 'no change' in National's policies and announced, to cheers, that he intended to vote Labour and invited other conservationists at the meeting to do likewise.

Brian Talboys speaking at Waianawa said that

'The capacity of the Labour party and its candidates to ignore facts - what had been done and what was being done - was beyond belief. Mr Lamont on a visit to Lakes Manapouri and Te Anau a month ago had said that the Labour party policy of stabilising the lake level within normal fluctuations was more acceptable to residents than the present National Party policy'... but he went on to say 'it is incredible that a money minded government had decided to build a broad based dam at Mararoa. Brian Talboys wanted to know whether it was a fact that in the Parliamentary Select Committee, that Labour members put forward a proposal for a broad based dam and would Mr Lamont also state whether any Labour member opposed the recommendation of the Select Committee when it was debated in the house. Mr Lamont was also invited by Mr Talboys to state what the normal levels were.'

9. From a personal observation and reports in the Southland Times, 2 November 1972. Eagles et al. The Making of the New Zealand Prime Minister, 1972, suggest that an urgent phone call followed from John Chewings to Prime Minister, John Marshall pleading without avail for a change in National's policy on the lakes to protect his Invercargill seat.

10. Political ties had also been forsaken in Tasmania over the raising of Lake Pedder in the South West National Park when the Attorney General resigned from the Tasmanian Government. This did not appear to assist the already fractured Conservationist groups and the Electricity Commission was able to raise the lake level. B.W. Davis Waterpower and Wilderness: Political and Administrative aspects of the Lake Pedder dispute.

11. Southland Times, Monday, 6 November.
At a meeting on Monday, November 6 Brian Talboys accused Labour of 'hiding in the bushes' 'Why doesn't he say it was an unanimous decision'. He said that he was prepared to stand up and say he voted in favour of the broad based dam. 12

At a meeting at Te Anau, on Monday 6 November, Brian Talboys said, 'I have not come to debate the lake issue but only to talk about it.' Questions in elections a few years ago had always been: 'Are you doing enough to attract that industry', but since then the pendulum had swing towards the problems of conservation involved. The National Party could not be blamed for this. The Labour Party was riding an emotional wave and hoping that it would carry them ashore.

Mr Talboys continued, 'The purpose of the Lake Manapouri and Te Anau liaison committee is to receive reports on all aspects of the scheme.' He could give no assurances, in response to a question whether the terms of reference could include the proposed dredging of the Upper Waiau 'until experience had been accumulated from the reports of the committee'. When the meeting chairman, Mr A. L. Price, said that such reports may come too late to prevent a start on dredging and that once dredging of the Upper Waiau began and the river was deepened it might be too late to reverse any damage. Mr Talboys promised to convey that feeling to the Prime Minister and Mr Gandar the Minister of Electricity, and he stressed that the scheme was good for New Zealand. 'What we must do all the way through is to maintain a balance between the needs of industry without destroying the environment.'

A headline in the Southland Times on the same day\textsuperscript{13} 'Picnic turned into terror' revealed that a family group in several cars had been threatened and attacked by a group of youths on motorbikes. Thornbury is at the southern end of the Wallace electorate but no immediate response was made by any of the candidates. It became a cause celebre for letters to the paper and eventually attracted comment from the candidates.

The Chairman of the 'Save our Lakes' campaign, Dr J.H. Moore, of Te Anau, replied that day\textsuperscript{14} to a statement made by Brian Talboys on the radio public affairs programme 'Checkpoint' on 2 November when Mr Talboys, referring to the conservationists battle over the lakes said 'Nothing will satisfy some of these people unless we scrap the whole scheme and leave the lakes as they are'. Dr Moore replied that he had never heard a soul oppose the utilisation of these lakes for power - as long as this is done so that they can also be used as a National Park for the recreation of the nation.

The Labour candidate, Mr Ian Lamont challenged Mr Talboys to 'Go out and meet the people of the electorate instead of attacking opponents via the news media'.\textsuperscript{15} Speaking to a public meeting at Tuatapere, Ian Lamont said that Labour would investigate timber and forestry development in the area and he hoped that the railway to Tuatapere could be retained. He emphasised Labour's education policy and said that rural development would help rural schools.

\textsuperscript{13} Southland Times, Tuesday, 7 November 1972.
\textsuperscript{14} Southland Times, Tuesday, 7 November.
\textsuperscript{15} Southland Times, 8 November 1972.
A news item from the Hobson electorate was printed by the Southland Times on Wednesday, 8 November when the Secretary of the White Cliff's timber company which was milling Kauri at Warawara forest said they 'were just as aware of conservation as anyone else', commenting on Professor W. R. McGregor's earlier statement that the Kauris in the area were threatened by destruction and a public meeting would be held, in Auckland, on Tuesday, 14 November. This seemed to be the only instance of an issue from Hobson gaining newspaper publicity in Wallace.

Mr Ron Barclay, M.P. for New Plymouth, speaking in support of Ian Lamont at Riverton on 7 November said that Labour members of the select committee were mistaken in their views while Ian Lamont's views were being proved right. Mr Barclay said that there had been no division in the house, but only National members spoke in favour of the broad based dam at the Mararoa while Labour members spoke against.

At the same meeting Mr Lamont suggested that an independent coal fired power station should be investigated for Ohai using the local low sulphur coal.

A Manapouri and Te Anau preservation committee meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr J.R. Marshall, at Invercargill on 10 November elicited the following headline from the Southland Times 'Party won't be threatened by its own supporters'. The Prime Minister said that they could deal with this issue 'only on its merits'. It could be six years before any decision was made to raise the lake and 'there was

a strong possibility that the powers of the proposed liaison committee could be widened to consider proposals other than the proposed H.E. development.'

On the same day it was reported that the Queensland Premier - from whose state the alumina was coming from, and Comalco heads had visited the lakes. 18

In an editorial on 13 November the Editor of the Southland Times declared: 'The heat over the lakes has dissipated' and quoted Mr Marshall's statement of two days earlier in support. The Southland Times seemed to be editorially ill at ease in environmental matters concerning Lake Manapouri and anxious to return to its traditional conservative stance.

Mr Lamont repeated the Labour theme at a meeting at Lumsden, on 12 November when he said again that Labour would not raise Manapouri. Events began to move quickly on the Manapouri issue with several candidates making statements.

The National member for Invercargill Mr John Chewings, said that the role of Mr Watt, former Minister of Works in the Labour Government should not be forgotten in the 'Saga' of Manapouri, but he agreed that it was sensible to make the dam sufficiently strong for expansion. 19

After a conference of conservationists over the previous weekend, Mr R.J. McLean, Chairman of the National 'Save Manapouri' committee announced 20 that the heat was not being taken out of the Manapouri issue and that their committee were considering the prospect of a full North Island campaign tour being undertaken.

Mr. Hugh Watt, in a statement published in the Southland Times \(^{21}\) said that he had indeed moved a recommendation that a broad based dam be built for the Mararoa dam. After a discussion with engineers, he had wanted a solid foundation for any dam that might be built.

Alister McDonald, at an election meeting was critical that the work that farmers were putting into their properties was being cancelled out by rising costs. \(^{22}\) Surprisingly, his major topic, at this point in the controversy had moved away from the Manapouri situation.

In the same issue sharp criticism of Mr. Watt’s activities came from Mr. Chowings and a claim that ‘New Zealand had been sold out to foreign interests on Manapouri’ was made by Mr. Bruce Beetham, leader of the Social Credit party speaking at Invercargill on 15 November. \(^{23}\)

At a combined candidates meeting, held at Winton, on 14 November, Alister McDonald said that a vote for National now would support the raising of the lakes and lead people to ask in twenty years time exactly what you were doing when the lakes were raised.

On Friday, 17 November, the Southland Times reported that the Conservationist groups were to work together - The Save Manapouri campaign, the Te Anau and Manapouri ‘Save our Lakes’ Action Committee, the Friends of the Clutha, Hands off Wanaka Lake (H.O.W.L.) and the Alberttown Rate-payers Association all had fears of a Departmental dominance and felt that they lacked the separate abilities to stand alone.

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On Sunday, 19 November, a series of arranged questions, was put to candidates at a combined meeting arranged at Otautau by local churches. Candidates were questioned about their plans to combat violence, a topic much in the news after several family groups had been intimidated by a group of lads on motorbikes in the Thornbury picnic area within the electorate which had been reported at length, with considerable correspondence in the newspaper but no previous comment from candidates. Ian Lamont and Alister McDonald felt that full restitution should be extracted from anyone convicted of a crime involving violence while Brian Talboys felt that the present laws sufficed. Frank Williams and Mrs Lumsden were not present at the meeting.

Foreign ownership of companies within New Zealand, an issue with possibly some oblique reference to the controversial establishment and operation of the tourist resort Takaro Lodge by American Stockton Rush on former Crown land brought a fairly close expression of views from the candidates: Alister McDonald said that Liberal Reform policy was to allow New Zealanders a 50% shareholding in overseas companies operating in this country. Ian Lamont said that a Labour Government would 'scrutinise carefully' foreign shareholdings in New Zealand, whereas Brian Talboys was prepared to allow overseas shareholdings that brought substantial expertise.

Concerning the matter of unemployment benefits for freezing workers Alister McDonald favoured stopping the


25. Labour Department records indicated that more than 800 Southlanders were out of work at the beginning of November - a substantial number being workers from local freezing works which operated a December-June season.
benefit for single people, while Brian Talboys felt that the unemployed should receive the benefit if entitled to it and Ian Lamont favoured a 'means test'.

Ian Lamont favoured 'low bulk' industries in Southland and suggested the greater use of Bluff and warmly supported the idea of subsidised regional development. Alister McDonald explained the Liberal Reform party plank which advocated the cutting of both subsidies and direct government, so that Southland people could develop their own province.

The most pressing need of the moment, was seen by Brian Talboys as overcoming Trade Union and Employer prejudice against New Zealand made goods, while 'combating inflation' was the joint 'top issue' of the other two candidates.

The most telling shots, in the newspaper 'Campaign' came not from the candidates but from the Combined conservationists groups who took a full page in both the Southland Times and the Otago papers, two days before the election and displayed the Labour policy on conservation as applied to the southern lakes including Wanaka, Te Anau and Manapouri and the Clutha river where hydro-electric develop-

26. Although Ian Lamont had been told by Norman Kirk, when the latter was in Invercargill in September 1972, to take the biggest issue in the electorate, get an independent body to back it, and put it fairly and squarely before the public as close to the election as possible - Discussion with Ian Lamont, May 1973.

ment was also proposed. On the other half of the full page, the National Party policy was displayed - people were invited to vote for the policy they felt was the best.

While a great deal of heat was generated over the Manapouri issue, the issue of the 800 unemployed may have caused more changes in voting habits. The Labour turnout increased in the Mataura booths referred to previously, and in booths along the south coast of Wallace between Wallace-town and Riverton. The south coast townships and Riverton had many freezing workers - people highly vulnerable to unemployment with Southland's freezing works killing stock for export only during a six month season.

HOBSON:

In Hobson, the November campaigning period opened with a N.Z.P.A. report that the Prime Minister had been asked for assurances on the South Island lakes and that a liaison committee was to be set up with power to direct the Government.

A joint meeting of Hobson candidates, at Dargaville, on 2 November, sponsored by the N.Z.E.I. produced a report where Howard Manning, the Social Credit candidate, stated that he was opposed to the unethical practice of recruiting

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29. This was incorrect.
30. New Zealand Educational Institute - the primary teachers' association.
teachers from overseas for New Zealand Schools. Logan Sloane commented that Education had come before roads — any other campaign meeting in Hobson would have shown a different result. Richard Hendry, the Labour candidate, wanted an end to pennypinching and an improvement made to country schools and teacher housing.

A 'headlong flight into a red tape state' was predicted by Colin Horsfall in a statement to the Northern Advocate. He was concerned at the economic and social decay, and felt that New Zealand should get back to the family unit instead of making a God of the dollar. 'The present system encourages people to grab what they can in the short term, with little consideration for pollution or the environment'.

'Roading rumours being spread in the Kokianga were ridiculous', Logan Sloane told an audience of twenty-four at Opononi, quoting the Rev. Hendry 'Labour's first priority would be the upgrading of the road between Oue and Kaihu to sealed standard.'

Mr Sloane told his audience that the number one District Roads Council had designated State Highway ten as first priority and as soon as the link up north of Kaeo is made then S.R. 12 will take priority. He regretted the slowness. 'It breaks my heart every time I see that huge stockpile of metal near Paparoa being used only for patching.' He still thought that Hobson had not been treated generously '

... we would have had to convince the wealthier counti-

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32. Northern Advocate, Saturday, 4 November 1972.
... the roading legislation must be amended'.

The M.P. told his audience, that the 10,000 acres of afforestation that had been approved for the area was 'the Hokianga's golden chance'. He was pleased to say also that 70% of the marginal lands finance that the Government had allocated in the last year had gone to Northland.

Howard Manning attacked Sloane's record in the house as 'pitiful'. He pointed out that Vernon Cracknell spoke 445 times with 66 questions between 1966 and 1969 when he was M.P. while Logan Sloane has spoken 90 times and asked 69 questions in the three years to 1972.

Logan Sloane, reported under the headline 'sinister developments in protest groups' told a Te Kopuru audience that he was concerned at the activities of small self appointed groups. He felt that the communist element was not so strong as it might have been four or five years ago. He instanced some of the activities that disturbed him - people sitting during God Save the Queen - Lady Holyoake being spat on in the Auckland Town Hall.

Mr Sloane also told his Te Kopuru audience that 'panel discussion circuses' were frowned on by the National Party hierarchy who did not favour new candidates being put up against, and trapped by, the Freeers' of the Labour Party.

The following day, a conservation issue came to the fore under the heading 'Kauri millers well aware of conservation'. Professor McGregor, of Auckland University stated

34. Northern Advocate, Monday, 6 November 1972.
35. Northern Advocate, Tuesday, 7 November 1972.
that 'broad swathes of destruction had been cut through the Warawara kauri forest' and he held fears for Waipoua forest. A Mr Kellet, Secretary of White Cliffs Northland Ltd. stated, in the same article, that trees cut had to be marked by the Forest Service staff and that the company was doing two hundred acres of re-afforestation each year.

Mr Muldoon spoke at Kerikeri on 6 November\textsuperscript{36} and was reported as saying that 'The sky was the limit if Labour was elected' and 'He might be oldfashioned but enthusiasm seemed, to him, the best way to keep community sporting and cultural activities going'. He also rejected suggestions of F.O.L. domination of the National party.

Logan Sloane was reported\textsuperscript{37} as having planned 26 meetings, plus visits to schools, and an intention of meeting 'the man in the street'. He shares the views expressed by Labour M.P.'s on the high Parliamentary workload.

A young teacher at Kawakawa told Mr Sloane that he was 'naive to think that politics could be kept out of sport'. The newspaper report was titled 'Teachers grill Sloane on Springbok tour'\textsuperscript{38} with other members of the audience also contributing specific questions on the teacher-pupil ratio at Kawakawa primary school and the proposed closure of the Secondary Department of Motatau.

\textsuperscript{36} Northern Advocate, Tuesday 7 November 1972.
\textsuperscript{37} Northern Advocate, 8 November 1972.
\textsuperscript{38} Northern Advocate, 8 November 1972.
District High School. Mr Sloane felt that 'these children would be better off at a larger school where facilities were better.'

Mr Bruce Beetham, Leader of the Social Credit Party, speaking at Keikohe, on Thursday 15 November challenged Labour leader Norman Kirk to support Social Credit candidates in Hobson, Rodney, Piako and Egmont seats, by withdrawal of Labour candidates from these seats.

'Hobson is the rag end of New Zealand' declared the heading above Richard Hendry's, Moerewa election speech. He was sick and tired of travelling on metal roads, seeing deplorable housing and unemployment. 'The greatest immorality today, was not in sex, but in lack of jobs, Rev. Hendry declared. He had tried to help with a 'budgeting clinic', but there was widespread depression amongst families who were hopelessly in debt. Husbands should be paid enough, so that married women need work only from choice, said Mr Hendry.

The re-establishment of the Northland railcar service should be on a basis of need rather than profitability.

In the Northern Advocate of the following day, Bruce Beetham was reported as having visited Ngawha springs and meeting Col. S.J.E. Closey, the Farmers Union personality who introduced Douglas Social Credit into Northland and supported Captain Rushworth.

39. Ibid.
40. Northern Advocate, Friday, 16 November 1972.
The same paper carried a report from a Social Credit Campaign meeting at Kerikeri where Howard Manning deplored the degree of foreign investment in New Zealand 'New Zealanders are becoming workers for foreign investors'. He said that the ratepayers paid for the roads to the Opua car ferry, yet a foreign company reaped the profit from the ferry. He felt that the Government should own the Opua ferry.

'Felling of Kauri's worse than Manapouri' ran the heading of the report of Richard Hendry's meeting at Opononi. Mr Hendry said that he had visited the Warawara forest after reading Professor McGregor's earlier remarks and he described what he saw 'heaps of dead and dying trees in all directions. What was once a proud and unique stand of trees has been partially destroyed - systematically, thoroughly and quite legally. And that's the worst part.'

'Professor McGregor has said that 'White Cliffs Northland Ltd. will have felled the forest completely by the time its contract ends in four and a half years.'

The Forest Service has, and is, keeping close watch on the felling and I quote the Principal ranger in Auckland Mr Peddler: 'We are sales conscious as well as conservation conscious'. The ranger also said that they hope to have part of the forest set aside. 'And in the meantime the slaughter continues.'

The people at Pararenga, to whom Mr Hendry spoke, would rather have it left as it is, they see it as a possible tourist attraction benefiting a community that still awaits a power supply.

Howard Manning was reported\(^{43}\) as saying that the Labour runner up was wasting time. He told his Kaikohe audience that an Independent voice was needed.

He told his audience at Kaikohe that the conservation of coastal fishing was important to the Social Credit Party. 'To go out and catch a fish was part of our natural heritage and the fish around our shores are a vital asset to Northerners'. There was evidence that the spawning and nursery stocks were being effected inshore, for instance, the Ninety Mile Beach Surfcasting contest had 380 competitors in 1964 who caught 3460 lb of Snapper, in 1969, 1200 caught 1300 lb and in 1972 4800 people competing caught only 91 lb of Snapper.

Howard Manning speaking again, at Moerewa\(^{44}\) said that the National Party were only 1400 votes ahead of the Social Credit Party in Hobson\(^{45}\) when he was asked what right Social Credit had to disenfranchise voters by asking the Labour candidate to stand down.

Logan Sloane, speaking at Kaikohe\(^{46}\) criticised Richard Hendry for his 'blatant and extravagant promises and misleading and depressing statements'. The promises that Mr Hendry had made on State Highway 12, Kaitaia's technical institute, the Broadwood school hostel, the Ngataki bulk power project, had been made without any investigation and Mr Sloane said that there had been progress in Hobson, even if it had not been as fast as he would have liked.

\(^{43}\) *Northern Advocate*, Friday, 17 November 1972.

\(^{44}\) *Northern Advocate*, Thursday 23 November 1972.

\(^{45}\) 1969 figures.

\(^{46}\) *Northern Advocate*, Friday, November 24, 1972.
In answer to a questioner about objectors to military service, Mr Sloane replied that he might be a bit of a square, but he still believed that this country of ours is worth defending. He believed that it was essential that we instil into the young a desire to serve it.

At his final meeting at Dargaville, on Thursday, 23 November Richard Hendry urged Social Credit to withdraw as action for Northland was only possible through Labour. 'Hobson was not the place for political experiments, but the place for action, because it was the most needy area in New Zealand.'

It appeared to Mr Rata and Mr Hendry that only 100 acres of Warawara forest was to be kept and they believed that felling should stop. He had gained an assurance from Mr Hugh Watt, Deputy leader of the Labour Party, that the party would stop the milling of the forest.

There was no doubt from the New Zealand Press Association report of 1 November that the 'Save Manapouri' campaign had become a national issue. In comparison the Hobson issues appear as grapeshot to the heavy artillery that was being discharged on the 'Manapouri' issue.

47. Northern Advocate, Friday 24 November 1972.
5. ELECTIONEERING STYLES IN HOBSON AND WALLACE

The electioneering spectrum, with candidates ranging from the stereotypal 'single handed candidate' to the equally stereotypal 'machine candidate' showed a fair range in styles. Eagles and James¹ suggest that a number of candidates came into this mould in electorates throughout the country. Some candidates in both electorates appeared to have little or no backing from their organisation.

WALLACE:

In Wallace, the Labour candidate, Mr Ian Lamont, wrote to his campaign supporters in September 1972²

We may be late in the race but I would like to see a full frontal attack on the Wallace seat just to see if it is as 'true blue' as we have been led to believe. Also by a strong campaign in Wallace we hope to strengthen the hand of the party in Awarua and Invercargill and perhaps to tie Mr Talboys to his electorate as election day draws near.

My wife and I took full advantage of Mr Kirk's (and Mr Waiding's) visit to Te Anau and were there for the two days of his visit. We had quite a considerable time with him on our own and discussed many topics and he did a great deal for me in introducing me round and putting my name forward when possible.

Unfortunately although I had two lengthy interviews with the representative of the Southland Times, my views or even the fact that I was there were completely ignored by the paper. I hope that this was an oversight and is not indicative of future policy.

For the record, however, I am an ardent supporter of conservationists views; I marched in the protest in Invercargill last November and am a member (foundation) of the Ecology Action group in Invercargill.

² Wallace electorate newsheet.
I am at present involved in the establishing of small branches or nucleus groups in each of the main centres ... Winton, Te Anau, Riverton, Tuatapere, Ohai, Nightcaps, Lumsden and Mataura and also Otatau. The plan is to have, in each centre, a group of six (no more) supporters who will be prepared to assist during the campaign with

1. Seeing people are on the rolls
2. Distribution of campaign material
3. Supervision of candidate's visits
4. Election day activities.

At the time of writing this plan is tentative, but I have two weeks more holiday in which to consolidate on contacts already made, which from the enthusiasm already encountered should bring good results. The next newsletter will give the results.

The supplementary rolls will be open shortly and copies will be sent out to branches. Canvassing households in the smaller centres would probably be possible by post, or by using the telephone book, but those mentioned above would necessarily require house to house canvass. Any one of them could be covered in a two hour Saturday morning cover by volunteers (who have already offered their services) linking up with resident teams with a prepared canvass plan.

Between now and November I will be looking for all opportunities offering to meet and speak to people in the electorate ... schools, church groups, Women's Division, anywhere where people are gathered together. Understandably due to the size of the electorate careful planning is involved in this, necessitating as much prior notice as possible and a heavy intense timetable if full use is to be made of time where longer distances are involved.

Please talk around and sound out various groups and (even) if nothing definite is arranged, drop me a line with some names and addresses with some relevant issues involved in the particular area and I will follow the lead up myself. In fact I would welcome receiving any bits and pieces of news from around the electorate, no matter how trivial they may seem, if you think they could be of help.

Also I would like any feedback you can supply if you happen to be at any meeting etc., which I have attended. I am well aware of my limitations for the job in hand and if you have any constructive criticism on technique or suggestions please scribble them down and post them to me.

The final three weeks: I have been donated the use of a caravan (by a firm (?) National supporter) at a nominal figure, and over the last three weeks
will be moving around the electorate. The tentative plan is to move around the wider circle and move into the central area for the last week e.g.

1st week: Riverton, Tuatapere, Ohai, Nightcaps, Manapouri, Te Anau.
2nd week: Lumsden, Athol, Balfour Riversdale, Waikaia, Waikake.
3rd week: Mataura Hedgehope, Otauau, Drummond, Winton.

The plan is to send a personalised letter to all households along the way explaining that during the day the caravan will be at given points at stated half hour intervals. Flexibility will have to be part of the scheme such as at Mataura and Te Anau and suggestions as to whether hall meetings or house meetings in the various centres would be preferable will be welcome. Also hints as to what should go in the all important letter, what should be written on the outside of the caravan and what material should be on the inside, will also be welcome.

The main aim is to carry the fight into the rural areas and because I am probably happier and more interested in talking to farmers than to anyone else, I would like to formulate a file of names and addresses of School teachers, party supporters, headmasters, etc. at various points. I do not want the caravan journey to become a dejection of rejection.

Ian Lamont

Finance:

Finance did not appear to be a problem hindering the Labour campaigning style in Wallace in 1972 thanks to the fundraising raffles organised by members of the Southland multiple L.R.C. although some difficulties were encountered with the accounting system employed.

Planning meetings for Labour’s campaign in Wallace were held within the L.R.C. to arrange the preparation of brochures, detail arrangements for joint opening meetings and arrange advertising.

Further meetings were held with people from the Wallace electorate who attended L.R.C. meetings to discuss tactics and methods of campaigning, including door to door work and the use of the caravan for campaigning, as well as one large campaign meeting in Winton early in October with 40 people.

Informal meetings with family and friends worked out itinerary details and planned letters to every elector.

The Labour candidate prepared many of his own press statements and the following extract from one sums up his philosophy and campaigning style:

Campaigning by Caravan

'You could say that I am the improbable attempting the impossible', said Mr Ian Lamont, Labour party candidate on the eve of his departure on a three week caravan tour of the Wallace electorate.

'If you are fortunate enough to be chosen for an electorate with the finest scenery in New Zealand you may well take full advantage of it even although the odds are stacked against you, politically that is ...

Most of all I want to meet people. Although I am a shy sort of guy at heart, being a candidate helps to break the ice. I want to learn about peoples' opinions and problems. For instance, where I start this afternoon at Gummies Bush, it sounds as though there could be a fluoridation problem there. No, but seriously there is a great deal of insecurity and uncertainty especially in the townships and the farming community will feel the backlash of recession in those towns ... in servicing, education, medical services and social needs', said Mr Lamont. 'They are grand little towns providing a good life style ... good for the people and good for the nation.'

What do I hope to achieve? Well, the satisfaction of waging a good campaign regardless of the outcome and trying to provide people with maximum opportunity for making their choice. Democracy just isn't a word. I think it must be an active on going process. 'Stable democracy' is a contradiction in terms', said Mr Lamont.

'Apart from this I hope to continue to be a voice for Wallace in the future in some capacity. I also think I could be a better teacher for the experience and I suspect the tour may provide some material for a book', said Mr Lamont. 'I could call it: 'The Music has started ... may I have this Wallace please?''

Ian Lamont's polling day activities were wide ranging. Polling day dawned bright and sunny in Southland (and throughout the whole country). He voted at the Otatara School booth near his home in the Awarua electorate on the outskirts of Invercargill and then set off on a tour of the Wallace electorate.

He called first, to the home of his Waianawa agent - all quiet - and a clouding sky; rain would be a bad sign for Labour.

A visit to the Otatara show followed - unrecognised - apart from two Southland College pupils who extended their best wishes. An Otatara Labour supporter was absent from his home - it had proved impossible to build up a base in Otatara in the limited campaigning time available. A restaurant meal - steak with terrible coffee followed.

On the road again over the hill through Kurrivale to Orawa and down by one of the closed railways to Tutanapere where the local people had departed for a 'leadership training course' at Borland Lodge leaving two fourth form boys to monitor calls and relay them to another friend of the candidate's who had come out from Invercargill to run people to the polling both - but was able to spend most of the day at a local beach.
A visit to Riverton earlier in the morning, found the local representative mowing his lawn and assuring that all was under control for he had persuaded a local Minister to collect the sick votes from Riverton hospital. The candidate continued in a mood of dejection.

A visit to the Ohai hotel brought recognition with discussion and congratulations from people who had already voted for the candidate. Things were looking up. With the co-operation of the hotel barman, the hotel P.A. system and the candidate's manager, a carload of voters were conveyed a mile to the polling both at the Ohai school where the arrival of several carloads of farmers brought unjustified pessimism. A visit to the Ohai representative, found that far from ringing up people on the phone, he was waiting for people to ring him and meanwhile he was making dry flies for his next fishing trip. The substantial number of dry flies scattered around suggested that there hadn't been many requests for transport.

A visit to Labour's Winton base conveyed a slightly brighter picture, people were being conveyed to the polls and the phone rang with a request for transport while the candidate was drinking a cup of tea. People were talking of a supposed swing to Labour that they had noticed over the past few days and a phone report from Luasden suggested that the Labour representative there was flat out running people to the polls.

6. Labour carried the Ohai booth by a substantial majority of 210, a drop of one vote on the 1969 majority, while the Labour total dropped 27 and the booth total 63, reflecting the declining coal production and population of Ohai.
The Mataura area showed evidence of sound local organisation - all widows and people thought likely to need transport to the polling booth had been rung the previous evening - no mean feat in a town of several thousand people. Follow up work with several cars during the day seemed likely to reap a deserved reward which it did. Mataura was one of the few areas where house to house work had been attempted to get people on the roll - the increased vote for National suggests that enrolment work was well done. Voter enrolment had also been carried out by the Labour party in Winton and Te Anau and in Lumsden, all of which gained Labour booth majorities and in Riverton where National held the booth.

Ian Lamont drove back to Invercargill after a 230 mile, 8 hour trip. The weather had stayed fine and the brilliant setting sun ensured that late voters would be encouraged to the polls.

The Liberal Reform party selected Alister McDonald as their candidate following an earlier introduction to Cliff Emery, the Party Leader. The candidate's concern over Manapouri dictated his campaign style - he screened a colour film showing the ravages artificial lowering of the lake level was having on Manapouri's shores at most of his meetings.

Finance

The Liberal Reform party were not able to help with campaign finance but were able to help with organisation. A Lumsden 'Committee of 8' were part of a tradition going
back via Constitutional Society membership files—a list of contacts was provided from Head Office, to the days of Adam Hamilton, according to Alister McDonald. 7

7. Backing for this view is given by the support given in Wallace, to Liberal, Country Party and Liberal Reform candidates since 1963 when the Constitutional Society became publicly less confident of being able to gain its objectives, including a second chamber and a written Constitution through the National Party—at the same time a flexible protest vote can be seen. The Otautau and Tuatapere booths gave a well above average vote to the Liberal candidate in 1963, 47 votes from a booth total of 618 and 42 votes from a booth total of 577 respectively. In 1969, Dipton surged forward to give the Country party candidate 25% of the vote at that booth (50 votes from 213 total) while Otautau and Tuatapere booths declined by a third and a half of their support to the Country party candidate compared to his Liberal predecessor in 1963. In Balfour, in 1969, the C.P. candidate attracted well above average support 36 of 392 votes cast at the booth—an 80% jump on the support given to the Liberal candidate in 1963. The South Hillend and Waimumu booths also showed substantial jumps over 1963 results for the Liberal candidate to give above average support for the Country party 11 of 116 and 15 of 427 votes respectively.

In 1972, Alister McDonald increased the 1969 poll and attracted above average support in Balfour: 48 of 378 votes cast; Dipton 63 out of 256 votes cast (this was his home district booth); Lumsden 33 out of 322; Mossburn 37 out of 215, Otama 10 out of 95; and Otapiri 21 out of 105. All these areas were within reach of his meetings held at Winton, Dipton, Lumsden and Balfour.

His poll sank very low with Tuatapere 5 out of 431; and Otautau 23 out of 710 in areas where he was unable to canvass or hold meetings.

These results suggest that while there may be a core of ultra conservative voters in the Wallace electorate who have departed from the National fold during or after 1963, they can not be relied on for an automatic endorsement for a conservative candidate. 8

Mr Emery provided the only outside help, but the candidate knew what he was letting himself in for and he was happy that there were lots of other people standing for the same principles.

Some £400 - £500 was provided locally for campaign finance, with some £60 - £80 being contributed from the Wallace campaign to the National Committee which was unable to provide any finance for Wallace.

Serious difficulties arose for the candidate in running his farm concurrently with the campaign, especially during October and November when contractors were coming in to carry out work. He would have liked to have been able to speak at more meetings but lacked sufficient free nights and the time to go far from his home district.

Letters to the Editor of the Southland Times on Manapouri, free enterprise economics and inflation had helped make his views known widely in the electorate.

The campaign style of a Minister of the Crown can be both an asset and a liability: an asset in that his newsworthiness is high wherever he goes - he is able to make definite statements of the Government's plans relating to his portfolio, or his district; a liability, in that he may be required to speak on Government policy throughout the country while opponents make hay at home in his electorate.

Brian Talboys has drawn in his electorate to meet him, a change from Austin Mitchell's comment that it would take 'six nights a week for five weeks'\(^9\) to visit all the branches

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now the branches come to Mahomet — with an emphasis during the 1972 campaign on combined functions often held in Winton. A natural follow-on, perhaps, to the better roads and greater number of cars in the electorate and a shifting of allegiances from local to district level by party members. People were prepared to travel further for shopping, business — and for political activities.

The dozen or more meetings held by Mr Talboys during the campaign period were well reported. In one area of difficulty — at Te Anau — a lunchtime meeting was held where Mr Talboys stuck to his personal conviction that the lakes should be raised. At an earlier lunchtime meeting held in Mataura some months before the election, Mr Talboys resisted demands that he vary the free trade agreement with Australia to prohibit imported coated paper used in copying machines from undercutting the market normally supplied by an idle Mataura machine — two illustrations of a rare form of political courage.

Mr Talboys was also prepared to wage battle with his opponents, particularly, Mr Lamont who was accused of advocating a 'cargo cult' with his demands that regional industrial development be located in Southland.

The difficulties that had reputedly faced the National canvasser in Southland — Mr Talboys admitted that donations had declined to the campaign fund in 1972, did not appear to affect the party organisation.

No pamphlets were issued during the campaign. Both pamphlets and advertisements have traditionally been few in number — with nothing between 1957 and 1969.

In the interview with Mr Talboys\textsuperscript{11} there were some indications that his electoral equilibrium may have been slightly disturbed. Looking back, he described Manapouri as a 'real killer' - the Labour party gained political advantage but have yet to be put to the test on the matter of power supply to Comalco.

A report headlined 'Change in public opinion' saw Mr Talboys in some difficulty\textsuperscript{12} speaking at a public meeting at Te Anau:

I have not come here to debate the lake issue but only to talk about it. Questions in the electorate up to a few years ago have always been: 'Are you doing enough to attract that industry?' but since then public opinion has swung towards the problems of conservation involved.

The National Party could not be blamed for this. The Labour Party was riding an emotional wave and hoping that it would carry them ashore.

The purpose of the Lakes Manapouri and Te Anau liaison committee is to receive reports on all aspects of the scheme.

A question from Mr Excell (Te Anau County Town Chairman) The terms of reference should include the proposed dredging of the upper Waiau river.

Mr Talboys: No assurance can be given of that until experience has been accumulated from the reports received by the committee.

Mr I.L. Price (the chairman of the meeting) Such reports may come too late to prevent dredging and once the river is deepened it will be too late to reverse any damage.

Mr Talboys: I will convey this to the Prime Minister and Mr Gander.

We felt 'tremendous emotional pressures' over Regional development. 'People wanted it and saw regional development in terms of government action.'

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{12} Southland Times, Tuesday, 7 November 1972.
The basic protest in Wallace was seen as being that of the farmers at a meeting in 1971 when seventy farmers had protested over rising prices and falling returns. Memberships and subscriptions had, Brian Talboys considered, been affected by the failure of the National Government to grapple with the problem.

Mr Frank Williams, the Social Credit candidate for Wallace, ran a quiet campaign in 1972. He felt that he was phasing out of politics and it was time, in his opinion for a younger man to have a go.

No outside speakers were brought into his campaign in Wallace and he attended only two public meetings at Tuatapere and Te Anau. Mr Williams was also one of the speakers at the Winton combined meeting and he arranged to talk at the Tuatapere District High School after he had heard that one of the teachers was talking about 'the funny money' policy.

Mr Williams felt that the Social Credit spokeswoman on the Environment, Mrs Heather Woodhall, could have done a better job as far as Hanapouri was concerned.

In previous campaigns, Frank Williams had aimed to give people something to come and fight for - with appeals to direct interests 'Balfour housewives come and hear ...' together with door knocking. In 1966, he recalled, his support had been such in Tuatapere, that the local band had turned out in his honour during the campaign.

Each candidate had a distinct campaigning style: Aliister McDonald was able to speak with authority on

Marapouri from his close association with the lake and the protest movement. His film showing the effect of low lake levels the previous August had considerable impact on audiences - but he lacked time for a full campaign throughout the electorate.

Ian Lamont set out to make himself known to all the voters in Wallace and his caravan campaign helped considerably - both in publicity value with photographs and reports in the *Southland Times*\(^4\) and with his actual appearance in remote areas of the electorate. His fears that the 'Caravan campaign' would become a 'dejection of rejection' did not eventuate. During the first week while he campaigned along the South coast\(^5\) there were sometimes two or three people waiting at a stopping place. Details of stopping places had been sent out to electors in each area a few days before hand.

His evening meetings attracted reasonable numbers throughout the campaign. 'I got more along than Brian Talboys in Te Anau\(^6\) but fewer people came along to his caravan campaign during the day in the second and third weeks of the campaign. Ian Lamont felt that the numbers who had been attracted to come along and talk along the South coast of the electorate could well have been connected with people who had been associated with the various illfated industries that had been attempted there.\(^7\)

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\(^{14}\) *Southland Times*, 5 November 1972.
\(^{15}\) Appendices 6 and 7.
\(^{16}\) Ian Lamont. Interview, Otatara, May 1973.
\(^{17}\) Ian Lamont. Ibid.
Mr Frank Williams appeared to set a very quiet campaign style in contrast to Mr Brian Talboys who appeared to be extremely busy between speaking engagements throughout New Zealand, his Ministerial duties and the calls of his local electorate. Mr Talboys gave no indication that he gave more speeches in his electorate than he intended to, although he did appear to schedule advertise more meetings in the Southland Times on 14 November, those may have been part of the overall campaign. The impression from the Newspapers that he was under attack fairly constantly during the campaign was probably part of the campaign style of the other candidates and the 'Save Manapouri' campaigners, in which case he may take comfort from a comment by Dr Brian Edwards and as it proved he was in fact ahead of his opposing candidates.

When you are under attack you are ahead; when you are the attacker you are behind.

Only Ian Lamont and Alistair McDonald amongst the Wallace candidates produced a campaign 'householder' which was mailed to all electors and both appeared to aim at almost totally different aspects of politics. The Labour pamphlet - which appeared to waste about 25% of its space - told voters a good deal about the man, but very little about policy or issues while the Liberal Reform pamphlet conveyed a good deal about party policies, it said only a little about the candidates and less about issues on the local election scene.

HOBSON:

Mr David Greig, 27 year old Independent candidate for Hobson campaigned for three months with the active support of his wife and a friend. He found it difficult to get recognition - he noted that he hadn't been invited to any of the combined meetings. He had announced in a press release to the Northern News \(^{19}\) that he would not hold meetings but would rely on posters and radio time. Organisers of meetings apparently took him at his word. In fact he held one meeting at the citrus factory at Kerikeri.

David Greig and his wife provided most of the finance for the campaign from their own means and he and a friend plastered posters around lamp posts throughout the Hobson electorate.

David Greig was concerned with the downgrading of public facilities - especially hospitals and railways in the North. He declined to fill in the poll on issues as he felt that he hadn't really been confronted by any of the pressure groups.

Whether he was serious or not was the biggest hurdle that he had to face - David Greig felt that he had been linked with Tony Simpson who had gained wide publicity on T.V. as a non-candidate. \(^{20}\)

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20. *Gallery*, October 1972. Tony Simpson had stood as an Independent Surrealist candidate proclaiming himself to be a 'non-candidate for non-election' in the Karori electorate. He was shown on T.V. addressing a non-audience at a non-meeting at Athletic Park. Simpson stressed that he wasn't campaigning for office and that he didn't want people to vote for him. He won - no-one did vote for him!
The Labour candidate in Hobson developed his own distinctive style. Newspaper headlines announced that 'he learned to live on $2,300 a year and to drive in dust clouds'.\textsuperscript{21} The Rev. Richard Hendry's direct and forthright manner tempted newspapers to interesting headlines—a sub heading announced that political campaigning was better than having cups of tea with little old ladies—this apparently attracted quite a lot of amused comment from the so called 'little old ladies' of the area.

Planning meetings were held with the Hobson Labour Representation Committee and a sub-committee of six to eight experienced people was set up to work as a campaign committee. The candidate cannot remember the precise number of meetings but said that they met fairly frequently and local campaigns were well carried out. He felt that there was a lack of overall 'start to finish' planning and rather too much travelling for him in the last week when he moved around each of the main towns instead of concentrating on a single area for a week.

A 'householder' pamphlet\textsuperscript{22} and an agricultural pamphlet were produced and sent to all householders and to all farmers respectively.

A little 'door to door' work was carried out. Richard Hendry claimed to have visited every shop, office and factory in the electorate—usually being accompanied and

\textsuperscript{21} Northern Advocate 13 November 1972.

\textsuperscript{22} Appendix 8.
introduced by a local Labour supporter. 'Door to door' canvassing of each household was generally considered impracticable, because of the size of the electorate and the point of the year in which campaigning started. It could, in his opinion, have been profitably carried out during 'enrolment' although with techniques quite different to the standard New Zealand practices for the Maraes and rural areas could have brought immense results to any party able to campaign hard.

In Kaitaia, during brief spells inbetween engagements, house to house canvassing was carried out with good results.

In his speeches, Richard Hendry tried to discuss area matters and issues basic to Labour's programme - concern for the family and the need to provide education and work. He illustrated his talks with parables and stories and often moved as he talked, also in the Maori style. He often involved people by inviting questions, and tried to get people laughing - rather than 'campaigning' with all the connotations of that expression.

Richard Hendry found it useful to have several strings to his bow and not to talk politics all the time. He spoke to a service club in Kaikohe about photography and techniques in T.V. production.

If elected, he proposed to operate an 'elector' system whereby each of the four areas - Kaitaia, Bay of Islands, Kaikohe and the Hokianga and Dargaville would have a person 'to consult with him'. He would have talked to local councils before he made any appointments.

National issues, he believed, never looked like superceding local issues, the possibility of 'trick'
questions on a Manifesto which, he felt, lacked background depth, did not eventuate. Apart from panel questions, no attempt was made by questioners to relate national issues to the local electorate. The candidate was not in favour of balloting for military service, nor was he in favour of abortion, when these were raised as panel questions — but no serious campaign discussion developed on either.

Campaign strain became apparent during the last weeks of the campaign when statements and press releases diminished and on one occasion Richard Hendry bound for a meeting in Kawakawa from Kerikeri asked a companion 'Where am I going? What am I saying?'

Financially, the Labour candidate was well treated when the L.R.C. offered to match his stipend — but most church stipends are bare living wages. An offer to pay for car mileage was partly taken up, but the candidate felt that the 8,000 miles covered in the last eight weeks of campaigning would have bankrupted their organisation and he and his wife felt that this was their chance to make a contribution.

Contact was good with the Labour leaders — Mr Watt was approached for assurances which were forthcoming on the upgrading of State Highway 12.

The Labour party in Hobson appears to have faced considerable financial problems in 1972. A letter from the Chairman of the Campaign Committee was sent to all branches

setting out targets for fund raising indicates a lack of money and a determination to improve finances rapidly.

It seems from discussions with Mr. McNeill and Mr. Martin, Chairman of the L.R.C. in 1973-4, that time was spent on considering finances during the months before the election that could have more profitably been spent on other matters - if financial support had been more readily forthcoming.

On election day, a feeling of emptiness descended on the Labour candidate, despite a feeling shared with members of his campaign committee that Labour might 'just get in' in Hobson.

Considering the turmoil surrounding the birth of the New Democrat party, Mr. Colin Horsfall's Hobson organisation got off to a healthy start with a core group of 6 - 8 people supporting the candidate and a total of 16 party members throughout the electorate. 25

No outside speakers were provided by the New Democrat organisation during the campaign, but several issues of the party newspaper New Democrat were distributed to households during the campaign. No contributions were required of the Hobson people for the national New Democrat campaign until several months after the election. Local costs amounted to $1,400, plus four weeks unpaid leave for the candidate prior to the election.

Colin Horsfall campaigned for three months. He organised the distribution of newspapers on a 'house to house' basis and his supporters undertook some 'door knocking'. He found considerable difficulty gaining access to combined meetings and the Federated Farmers branch who organised a combined meeting at Maromaku a few miles south of Kawakawa stated that 'three candidates were attending the meeting and that is enough'.

As well as hospitals - which were both a local and a national issue, in Colin Horsfall's view, Poor housing, immigration and the adoption of the 'one force' Canadian unified defence policy was well received. A system of modified proportional representation was important to New Democrat members and adherents.

No householders or posters were provided as part of campaign publicity, the party newspaper was expected to cover this function and a few spare copies were 'banged up on lamp posts' to serve as posters. Newspaper publicity was supplied to all four newspapers in the electorate. The Northern News (Kaikohe) gave good coverage including a background article; The Northern Age (Kaitaia) was considered by the candidate to be antagonistic while the Northland Times (Dargaville) published letters and the Northern Advocate (Whangarei) was considered to be 'pretty fair' and published a good background article.

The candidate found his style hampered by questions on the financial policy of the New Democrat party and the

most frequent question concerned the party's split from 
Social Credit. Colin Horsfall's reasons were: a rejection 
of Social's swing to the left and the matter of the 
'Christchurch funds' within the Social Credit party.

The Social Credit 'campaign style' in Hobson sprang 
away from a good financial base with 35 raffles, donations 
(£1,500) and levies exceeded the amount required for local 
use and the minimum required by the Dominion office. Mr 
Howard Manning was in good contact with the seven electorate 
sub-branches and membership of the Social Credit Party had 
been increasing since mid-1972.

Nevertheless, Howard Manning said that he found it 
difficult to communicate with some of the older branches 
which had been in existence since the days of Captain Rush-
worth in the 1920's and 1930's. The candidate ruefully 
admitted that he didn't really understand the A ≠ B theorem.
No strict rules were enforced about the number of delegates 
entitled to attend electorate meetings - people were 
encouraged to come and contribute to these monthly meetings.

Howard Manning considered agriculture to be an impor-
tant issue - especially the Labour party policy which he 
believed amounted to outright socialisation - and he had 
cuttings to prove that! The National party policy of 
encouraging amalgamation of farms had been directly respon-
sible for the declining population figures in the counties 
of the Hobson electorate over the previous census period. 27

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27. Hokitika's population decreased by 488; Hobson's by 398; 
Hawangaroa by 129; Bay of Islands increased by 447 and 
Mangonui by 79. In effect a general decline for the 
increases were below the levels of natural increase. 
Figures supplied by Mr Manning and verified.
The candidate was concerned with the provision of local body finance, based on new valuations and the creation of credit. He also felt that freezing works should be N.Z. owned - although he admitted that this was not an issue in the North where the Auckland Farmers Freezing Company (AFFCO) works at Moerewa had enjoyed good Labour - client relationships over many years.

Howard Manning felt that he was able to make land - and Labour's anti-ownership plank from the 1972 Conference - an issue, together with his concern for the environment shown in the Whangaroa fishing and Warawara forestry matters.

Only 3½ weeks were left for Howard Manning to engage in active campaigning after the restructuring of the League had been completed and in that time he averaged almost three meetings day, mostly hall meetings because, he said, 'People like to see you', plus one radio speech and fifteen minutes on T.V. and managed to be at home at the end of each week! Planning was carried out with the aid of a small electorate sub-committee which met regularly.

The candidate 'kept his fingers on' Social Credit press releases in the electorate. (It was noticeable that press releases were few and diminished towards election day.)

Howard Manning's policy was to 'treat journalists as people'. He noted that he was on first name terms with most of the journalists on Northern papers. He has no complaints about the Northland Times, the Northern Age or the Northern News.

The New Zealand Herald and the Northern Advocate, he considered, were critical but remained fairly positive in their criticisms and press reporters attended all his
meetings.

A householder was issued to all homes during the campaign.

With only fifteen minutes training on the Social Credit party's videotape machine - 'There was no time for any further training and I had to watch mannerisms carefully' - Howard Manning made a speech on T.V. for Social Credit, dealing mostly with his responsibility for the marine affairs.

A swing to Labour was apparent during the last ten days of the campaign to the candidate and he considers that this prompted National party adherents who were supporting him, to 'return home'. Several people told him after the election that they hadn't voted for him for fear of a Labour victory.

A quiet election day at home at Cable Bay and the shock of losing 1,000 votes. Despite this Howard Manning feels that he will be better prepared for any future campaign in Wallace in that he will be better known, better able to operate, and will be able to achieve better public relations.

Mr Logan Sloane:

Branch structure was considered to be strong. The electorate was divided into central, north and south zones with 30 to 40 branches. A large number of branches met monthly while others met at three monthly intervals. Logan

28. Interview, Mr Logan Sloane, M.P. Dargaville, April 1974.
Sloane attended branch meetings frequently although he couldn't hope to attend them all. He claimed that his electorate branches have more sub-committees than any other rural electorate and were accordingly well prepared for the election campaign.

The M.P. was cautious when asked about finance for the election. After agreeing that they were well off, he said 'you don't want to catch us out, do you?' Finally he agreed that they would have had about $1,500.00 in the kitty.

The prohibition issued by the Auckland division of the National Party against joint meetings with other candidates - because they didn't want new candidates to be eaten by Mr Tizard - was ignored by Logan Sloane who felt that he was candidate for Hobson rather than Auckland.

Nevertheless, there were some tough combined meetings, notably the meeting sponsored by the Federated Farmers at Maromaku, 'but any man who is a member of Parliament must know more of the answers'. He felt that he didn't have any decisive wins in the discussions but that he managed to win 60/40 everytime.

Logan Sloane was deeply concerned about the abuse he received from a Kawakawa audience - not a combined meeting particularly from young schoolteachers.

He felt that the credibility of some of the other candidates was severely tested at joint meetings; in particular Rev. Hendry 'it was time that Hendry went back to Confession' after telling a group at Kaitaia that there should be State Aid and announcing later to a joint meeting sponsored by the New Zealand Educational Institute, at Dargaville, that 'State Aid is out'.
A National 'householder' was distributed to all homes in the electorate. Logan Sloane noted with glee that they had produced a 'John A. Lee' image for his photograph bringing through the rugged honesty of the dustjacket illustration from *Simple on a Soapbox*. This was seen as a refreshing change from run of the mill photography.

Logan Sloane did not chase press releases. He believed that the Northern Age and at least some of the other papers were favourable to him editorially. He had no complaints about his coverage by the media, although Labour had more photographs published with press releases and Social Credit went ahead with Howard Manning's appearance on T.V.

The National electorate organisation did not use the card system or the 'blue dot' system for checking voters. In small town areas a house to house canvass was carried out. A central room was set up in each town with phones for transport and enquiries. Transport was provided in Kaikohe, Paihia and Kerikeri and Logan Sloane felt that there was room for improvement in this direction. He appreciated the personal vote from the Dargaville area which he estimated at three to four hundred votes.

Despite, or perhaps because, of Logan Sloane's recipe for being M.P. for Hobson - 'to be the best M.P.


30. The blue dot system. Supporters had their names marked in the electoral roll for quick follow up if they hadn't voted when scrutineers reported the references for people who had cast their votes.
for Hobson one has to be the most parochial M.P. in the
country', Logan Sloane was concerned at the failure of
party policy making before the election in 1972.

'You could only say what you had done, you couldn't
say what you were going to do. We should have had something
on Regional development - Marshall had tried to develop an
idea but it hadn't gone far enough. We should have been
able to meet the Manapouri issue.'

The M.P. was in favour of pre-school programmes being
developed and he considered that they should have 2, 3 or 4
percent' of the Education Budget.

Logan Sloane saw most local issues in pragmatic terms -
of solutions to present matters, for example, who would pay
for the re-construction of Kaitaia's airport and the con-
struction of an airport in the Kerikeri district.

With an attitude unusual to most election candidates,
Logan Sloane was pleased that he had only had Mr Muldoon as
an outside speaker. He blamed his defeat in 1966 by Social
Credit, in part, on the procession of party 'big guns' that
toured through Hobson without reference to him.

The campaign styles in Hobson appears to kick up
almost as much dust as the roads. Richard Hendry campaigned
very actively, his flair for photography and identification
of issues through photos which he sent to newspapers with
press releases. One photograph, of the Warawara kauri
forest milling operation was included in his campaign brochure.

32. Logan Sloane. Ibid.
33. Appendix 8.
The long campaign period with considerable travelling in September and October as well as November appeared to impose a strain, but every issue was identified and aired. Other candidates were able to give the impression that the Labour candidate was promising the earth. The quick contacts that Richard Hendry was able to make with Labour Party leaders over the Stone Store at Kerikeri, the Warawara forest and the State Highway 12 road improvements, seemed so quickly accomplished that they may have even lost something in publicity value. The lack of press releases from Labour in the last week when the National party released a broadside on Labour's promises two days before the elections, was possibly due to a failure to delegate work by the candidate as well as tiredness.

Howard Manning appeared to meet a large number of people in his very short campaign. His experience as a campaign speaker probably improved from the rough and tumble of joint meetings as well as from the experience of making a speech on T.V. which put him ahead of all the other Hobson candidates.

Logan Sloane also appeared to be under strain during the campaign; one observer of a meeting in Dargaville was upset at signs that some liquor had been consumed, apparently by National supporters before the meeting - this type of support would be unlikely to help the candidate.

Dargaville seemed to be something of a meeting spot for supporters strengthened by alcohol, for the Labour

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34. Richard Hendry said 'When Howard Manning stopped, lost for a word, I would hold up his bulky file of notes.' Interview with Richard Hendry, Tokoroa, April 1974.
candidate reported having a supporting speaker in Dargaville, who had been drinking to the extent that he was not able to give very much support - perhaps the visitor needed it!

Logan Sloane had experience and knowledge of the electorate and he was able to turn a blind eye on his opposition - even when they were on the same stage. Residents in the Rototau area whose school was faced with the closure of its Secondary Department took a petition to prevent opposing the closure of part of their school to a combined candidates election meeting. Mr Sloane received the petition and assured the petitioners that he would present it to the correct authorities even if he was not returned in the election. At that the petitioners took out further copies of the petition which they handed to the other candidates present at the meeting.35

Logan Sloane was able to gain by the weaknesses of his untried opposition to cast doubt on the range of promises offered, particularly by Labour, and to use the press effectively. There seems little doubt that all candidates were exhausted by the travelling conditions in Hobson and the heavy schedule of meetings.

Campaign 'householders' were prepared on behalf of Richard Hendry, Howard Banning and Logan Sloane. The Labour 'householder' was clear and attractively printed in red and black. It gave a great deal of the candidate's personal

background and showed how Labour's policy would fit in with the needs of the Hobson electorate. It also managed to include a voting instruction form on the back.

The Social Credit 'householder' said nothing about Social Credit policy - the candidate pointed out that a large number of information sheets had been prepared covering these matters - It concentrated on what Howard Manning would do if elected M.P. for Hobson, with a section on 'the women behind the man' greater than that given by any other brochure.

The National 'householder' has an air of grim determination. Logan Sloane is photographed on the front in a way, he thought, reminiscent of John A. Lee on the dustcover of Simple on a Soapbox. We are told inside that he 'doesn't often make the headlines,' but he overcomes that with some interesting photographs, with the Muldoons and on a visit to Britain. The reader is also told fairly directly what Loren Sloane has achieved by way of educational facilities and State Advances Corporation lending in Northland, with some credit being taken for Northland's rugby team. We are told what Jack Marshall has to say about Logan and also what Logan Sloane has to say about Jack ... and the Marshall-Muldoon leadership.

In a final word to the people of Hobson Logan Sloane says:

37. Appendix 8 Logan Sloane's election 'householder'.
I'm a true Northlander. I know the people whom I've represented for nine years, I know your problems and your ambitions. I'd like to keep working to help you solve those problems, fulfil those ambitions.

And on voting day, an increased proportion of the electors were persuaded to vote National.
6. A SURVEY OF EACH CANDIDATE'S PUBLIC
ASSESSMENT OF ISSUES, PRIVATE ASSESSMENT
AND HIS RATING ON PRESSURE GROUP ACTIVITY

Each candidate's comments on issues - received during
the interviews on Electioneering style are collated with
their public statements published or broadcast on issues are
followed by their assessment of pressure group activity.

IAN LAMONT

Issues mentioned by the candidate during the interview as
being important:
- Manapouri
- Regional development. The industrial situation - Wairaki
  mine; Mataura paper mill; the Riverton fishing industry.
- Concern over de-population
- Concern over beech milling

Issues mentioned by the candidate to Press/radio/TV during
the campaign:
- No broad based dam below Manapouri
- Need for National candidate to 'go out and meet the people'
- Need to develop timber and forestry
- Need to retain Tuatapere railway
- Desirability of coal fired power stations using Ohai coal
- Full restitution for violence
- Foreign ownership of companies

Issues agreed to by other candidates (including those outside
the electorate)
- No broad based dam below Manapouri (Mr R. Barclay)
- Mines - but found miners difficult to deal with (Mr Talboys)
- Full restitution for violence (Mr McDonald)
- A coal fired power station (Mr Beetham)

**Issues opposed by other candidates:**
- Raising of the Lakes (Mr Talboys)
- Industrial development (Mr Talboys)

**Candidate's assessment by other candidates:**
- Went beyond manifesto (Mr Talboys)
- Didn't regard him as a strong candidate (Mr McDonald)
- Beat us on several local issues (Mr Williams)

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**MRS LUMSDEN** - No issues and no assessment.

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**ALISTER MCDONALD**

**Issues mentioned by the candidate during the interview as being important:**
- Manapouri
- Free enterprise
- Economic study

**Issues mentioned by the candidate to press/radio/tv during the campaign:**
- Farmers work being cancelled out by costs
- Full restitution for violence
- Restrictions on foreign ownership of companies
- Unemployment benefit not for single people

**Issues agreed to by the other candidates:**
- Full restitution for violence (Mr Lamont)
- Combating inflation (Mr Williams)

**Issues opposed by the other candidates:**
-
Candidate's assessment by other candidates:
- Wished him well (Mr Talboys)
- A one issue candidate (Mr Lamont)

BRIAN TALBOYS

Issues mentioned by the candidate during the interview as being important:
- Rising prices and farmer protest
- Mataura mill
- Manapouri
- Regional Development
- Preservation of the family unit
- Protest from outside the electorate

Issues mentioned by the candidate to Press/Radio/TV during the campaign:
- Manapouri
- Attitude of the Labour Party towards the High dam
- Reaction to Conservationists
- Violence - present laws sufficed
- Unemployment benefit should be provided where entitled
- Overcoming Trade Union/Employer prejudice against New Zealand made goods.

Issues agreed to by other candidates:
- Rising prices and farmer protest (Mr McDonald)

Issues opposed by the other candidates:
- Manapouri (Messrs Lamont, McDonald, Williams)
- Attitude of the Labour Party towards the high dam (Mr Lamont)
- Conservationists (Messrs Lamont, McDonald, Williams)
- Violence (Messrs Lamont, McDonald)
- Unemployment benefit (Mr McDonald)
Candidate Assessment by other candidates:
- Confident enough to wish me well (Mr McDonald)
- Political fences need mending (Mr Lamont)

FRANK WILLIAMS
Issues mentioned by the candidate during the interview as being important:
- Manapouri
- The Paper mill (Mataura)
- The building up of Tuatapere

Issues mentioned by the candidate to Press/Radio/TV during the campaign:
- Combatting inflation
- Manapouri

Issues agreed to by other candidates:
- Combatting inflation (Mr McDonald)
- Manapouri (Messrs Lamont, McDonald)

Candidate's assessment by other candidates
- 'I put a notice on his Social Credit noticesboard in Tuatapere during the November campaign and it stayed there until after the election' (Mr Lamont)

HOBSON ELECTORATE
DAVID GREIG
Issues mentioned by the candidate during the interview as being important:
- His credibility as a candidate
- Rundown of hospital, transport facilities in the North
- The family unit
Issues mentioned by the candidate to Press/Radio/TV during the campaign:

- Need for improved hospital facilities

Issues agreed to by other candidates:

- Hospital facilities (Colin Horsfall)
- His credibility as a candidate (Howard Manning, Richard Hendry)
- Transport facilities (Richard Hendry)
- Concern for the family (Richard Hendry)

Issues opposed by other candidates:

-

Candidate's assessment by other candidates:

- Doubt on credibility (Howard Manning, Richard Hendry)

RICHARD HENDRY:

Issues mentioned by the candidate during the interview as being important:

- Petition on the state of State Highway 12.
- Concern for the family
- Need to provide education and work in the area
- Upgrading of rural schooling needed
- Warawara kauri milling

Issues mentioned by the candidate to Press/Radio/TV during the campaign:

- Roads
- Housing
- Unemployment
- Kaitaia airport runway
- Railcar services
- Kauri milling at Warawara
- Education

Issues agreed to by other candidates (including those outside the electorate):
- Warawara kauri forest (Howard Manning, Mr Hugh Watt)
- Upgrading of State highway 12 (Mr Hugh Watt)
- Concern for the family (David Greig, Colin Horsfall)
- Housing (David Greig)

Issues opposed by other candidates:
- Reading priorities (Logan Sloane)
- Ngataki bulk power supply (Logan Sloane)
- Educational development (Logan Sloane, Howard Manning)
- Withdrawal of Social Credit candidate (Howard Manning)

Candidate's assessment by other candidates:
- Not straightforward with election meetings (Logan Sloane)

COLUM HORSFALL

Issues mentioned by the candidate during the interview as being important:
- Local hospitals policy
- Poor housing
- Immigration
- One force defence policy
- Proportional representation

Issues mentioned by the candidate to Press/Radio/TV during the campaign:
- Economic and social decay. Need to return to family unit.

Candidate's assessment by other candidates:
- Didn't regard him as a strong candidate (Richard Hendry)
HOWARD MANNING

Issues mentioned by the candidate during the interview as being important:
- Conservation - in Whangaroa harbour - and generally
- Free enterprise economics
- Inflation
- Land

Issues mentioned by the candidate to Press/Radio/TV during the campaign:
- Warawara Kauri preservation
- Foreign investment levels deplored
- Labour invited to stand down Hobson candidate
- Education

Issues in common with other candidates:
- Warawara kauri forest (Richard Hendry)
- Education

Issues opposed by other candidates:
- Labour invited to stand down Hobson candidate (Richard Hendry)

Candidate's assessment by other candidates:
- Tended to get stuck in debates (Richard Hendry)

LOGAN SLOANE

Issues mentioned by the candidate during the interview as being important:
- Kaitaia's airport development
- Financing of Kerikeri airport
- Regional development
- Manapouri issue
- Preschool educational development
Issues reported from the candidate during the campaign via Press/Radio/TV:

- Warawara kauri milling
- Roads
- Sinister developments in protest groups
- Politics and sport
- School closures
- Te Kopuru hospital patients shift
- Educational development

Issues in common with other candidates:

- Educational development (Richard Hendry, Howard Manning)
- Te Kopuru hospital patients (Richard Hendry)

Issues where opposed by other candidates:

- Warawara kauri milling (Richard Hendry, Howard Manning)
- Roads priorities (Richard Hendry)
- Regional development (Richard Hendry)
- Politics and sport (Richard Hendry)

Three candidates Ian Lamont, Richard Hendry and Logan Sloane all raised a total of 12 issues in their interviews and in the media reports of their campaign meetings. For the first two, the number of issues raised seems consistent with their campaigning style and motives for entering politics: 'To give Wallace electors a real choice' (Ian Lamont) and in Richard Hendry's case 'The depression and problems of the people in the Hokianga'. The numbers of issues raised by Logan Sloane appears to stem directly from his belief 'To be the best M.P. for Hobson, one has to be the most parochial
M.P. in the country'. ¹

It is noteworthy that almost all the candidates mentioned issues that were directly concerned with their own electorates.

In Wallace

Ian Lamont mentioned no issues that did not have direct local application to Wallace. Alister McDonald's issue of 'free enterprise' did not appear to be under direct siege in Wallace. Brian Talboys' choice of the prejudice against New Zealand made goods by employers and trade unionists as a response to a question on the most important issue facing the country asked at the Gisborne combined churches meeting was related to his portfolio (Industries and Commerce and Overseas Trade) and typified his divergence from electorate politics. Yet despite his commitments outside the electorate with Ministerial duties and the nationwide campaign ² he still rated 12 issues as significant in both the interview and the campaign.

Alister McDonald and Frank Williams raised seven issues and five issues respectively and indication of rather different campaign styles and acknowledgement of the likely fate of smaller political parties in New Zealand in the last 25 years — except in Hobson.

In Hobson

The pattern of challenge by the Labour candidate and response by the National sitting member seen in the news—

¹. Ibid. Logan Sloane.
². He recalled speaking in at least six other centres during the campaign. Letter from Brian Talboys, November 1974.
paper reports from Wallace was aborted by a strong conservationist stand on Whangaroa fishing by Howard Manning who later requested that Labour withdraw its candidate - Labour's 'you too' response that Social Credit should withdraw, made on the eve of polling, suggested that the punch had hit home.

The most powerful responses from Logan Sloane attacking Richard Hendry's promises all came in the last few days - when Richard Hendry complained of the mileage that he had to cover and he was also faced with the difficulty of replying to a statement made less than 36 hours before polling day. The same technique was tried by a pressure group in Wallace.

The total of eight issues mentioned by Howard Manning or attributed to him in newspaper reports is rather low considering Social Credit's past achievements and activities in Hobson. An explanation may be found in the limited campaign style forced, by circumstances, on Howard Manning.

The five issues raised by or attributed to, David Greig demonstrated an awareness of the needs of the electorate - but his own 'credibility' issue and the lack of public contact reduced his endeavours.

All candidates interviewed were asked to name the various approaches or contacts that they might have had from any of twenty well known (in 1972) pressure groups. They were also encouraged to add the name of any other pressure group who had approached them.

3. Richard Hendry. Ibid.
This questionnaire has some built in disadvantages in that candidates were approached some seventeen or eighteen months after the election - some allowance should be made for loss of memory, inaccuracy, etc.

Hobson:

David Greig declined to fill in the questionnaire, because of lack of involvement.

Richard Hendry had ten official approaches from various groups, including the group who sought the preservation of the 'Stone Store' by the river at Kerikeri. At their request he made 'parliamentary approaches' - presumably to members of the Labour Party.

The Warawara kauri forest protest originated with a Press statement by Professor McGregor of Auckland University and Richard Hendry notes on his questionnaire 'No group per se, but general concern' - a rapid response followed with a visit by Richard Hendry and statements of concern from Richard Hendry and Howard Manning and a statement of explanation from Logan Sloane. A promise that a Labour Government would cease milling came from Mr Hugh Watt, Deputy Leader of the party after approaches from Richard Hendry and Mr Matt Rata, sitting member and candidate for the Northern Maori seat.

Colin Morsfall had four official approaches, three unofficial approaches and seven audience questions that concerned the subject matter of various pressure group activities.

5. David Greig, Ibid.

Howard Manning had seven official approaches from various groups and seven unofficial approaches and he did not list audience questions.

Logan Sloane recorded 26 'official' approaches, 11 'unofficial' approaches and nine questions from audiences concerning various pressure groups. It is notable that N.Z.E.I. (New Zealand Educational Institute) approached every candidate who responded to this questionnaire while the Pre-schools Association approached three of the four respondents. Yet only two of the candidates had any official approaches from the organisation to halt military service (O.R.M.S.) which had publicly announced that it planned to contact every candidate standing for election to parliament to seek their support for the abolition of selective military service.

Wallace:

Ian Lamont had five 'official' approaches from the N.Z.E.I. and four conservationist groups. 'Unofficial' approaches came from members of three of the Conservationist groups, the Post Primary Teachers Association and the Citizens Association for Racial Equality and audience questions covered generally the same field. Ian Lamont is the only candidate to indicate that the party manifesto didn't help — on Conservation questions — he was the candidate closest to the Manapouri firing line as Labour's position was altered to oppose building the broad based dam at Wairau between Mr Kirk's visit to Lakes Manapouri and Te Anau in August 1972 and Ian Lamont's stand in the election campaign

and Mr Ron Barclay's admission that the Labour Party was wrong, Mr Lamont was right.

Mrs Lumsden did not fill in a questionnaire.

Alistair McDonald's 'official' approaches came from the Save Manapouri group, and the Royal Forest and Bird protection society with audience questions concerning these topics, and Federated Farmers, retailers, State aid to private schools and Corso.

Approaches made from pressure groups were discussed with Brian Talboys during the interview and the questionnaire, which wasn't on hand at the time, was filled in later by the writer. Of the six 'official' approaches received only two came from Conservationist groups, Federated Farmers, New Zealand Educational Institute and the Miners and Paper Mill Workers Unions - made approaches, the latter two were very much electorate matters. Approaches made from Manufacturers and retailers were more portfolio than electorate matters in the apparent absence of great issues affecting these people in Wallace.

Frank Williams did not record any 'official' or 'unofficial' approaches - the only instance where a candidate did not record receiving submissions from the New Zealand Educational Institute, but his audience questions included questions on Parent Teacher Associations, State Aid, Conservation and protest groups. The paucity of questions may reflect a quiet campaign style in 1972.

Statements of concern over the activities of protest groups that were made during the campaign by both Brian Talboys and Logan Sloane do not seem to be borne out by the questionnaire. Only the N.Z.E.I. was able to approach almost
all candidates but one. C.H.M.S. (Organisation to Halt Military Service) did not carry out its promise, or threat, to contact all candidates standing in the election. Significantly, too, only Logan Sloane, of all the candidates responding to the survey received 'official approaches' from C.A.R.E., H.A.R.T. and W.A.R.D.

Success of the Pressure Groups:

The New Zealand Educational Institute appeared to have achieved considerable success in both electorates. As well as organising a joint meeting in Dargaville young teachers apparently went from meeting to meeting - but judging by the effect that they had on Logan Sloane at Kawakawa, they ran the risk of their influence becoming rather negative. There is little doubt that they were working to a carefully thought out plan to get teachers to ask about classroom conditions for pupils.

Logan Sloane stressed his services to education on the back of his leaflet, while Richard Hendry pledged upgrading of rural schools. He also made some promises for action regarding a five day hostel at Broadwood Area School and the retention of District High Schools that may have caused some concern when he wasn't in a position to implement them.

8. The issues of N.Z. Education for April, May and June 1972 discuss election issues in primary education in some detail. All it needed was people to implement the strategy. Country service ensures that there are a large number of young people teaching in rural areas.
Howard Manning stressed Social Credit's commitment to improve education. Personally, he wished to see more full high schools in place of District High's.

In Wallace, the pressure group tactic didn't seem to be so highly organised - leaflets came from teachers organisations, particularly the N.Z.E.I. and questions were asked at meetings, but there were frequently questions about upgrading rather than staving off school closures. The Southland Education Board was planning the conversion of nearly all of the remaining District High Schools in the Wallace electorate and parents and teachers were interested to know when this would come about. At Mataura, the Labour candidate was asked about the possibility of a Form I - VII School for the town. There was apparently a reluctance to contribute children to a new Intermediate that had just opened a few miles away in Gore.

The Conservationist pressure groups appeared to be largely preaching to the converted in both electorates. In Hobson, Richard Hendry and Howard Manning had both raised environmental questions - Warawara kauri milling, Whangaroa fisheries, the Stone store. It is interesting that in none of these cases were 'organised' conservation groups raising the issues, although the Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society lent weight on the kauri milling question after it was raised by a University Professor in Auckland with professional interest. Howard Manning was a prime mover in the protest against inshore fishing at Whangaroa. Only the Stone Store group seemed to be a 'local interest' group of concerned citizens which needed to 'approach' a parliamentary candidate.
In other instances the candidates went thundering in - and the pressure groups were successful.

In Wallace the Labour, Liberal Reform and Social Credit candidates were all opposed to raising the lakes or interfering unduly with the lake levels. Ian Lamont announced himself to be a foundation member of Ecology Action (Southland) while Alister McDonald was a Vice President of the Southland Save Manapouri campaign.

When Alister McDonald announced his candidacy in September 1972, the Southland Save Manapouri group had been reluctant to enter the political arena and disapproval was expressed of his candidature. Approaches were also made to the national chairman of the Save Manapouri campaign, Mr R.J. McLean by the leaders of two of the smaller political parties asking him to accept nomination - he declined in both cases.

As Labour party policy altered towards preservation of the lakes at their existing natural levels - an intense dialogue developed asking the political parties, and principally the Labour party, exactly what their stand was on several issues, including the deepening of the Upper Waiau, the construction of a narrow based dam on the outlet below Lake Manapouri at Mararoa and the natural upper and lower limits within which the lake would be operated. As questions were relayed to the Labour party, either from the 'Save our Lakes' group in Te Anau, or from the 'Southland Save Manapouri' committee in Invercargill and answers came, sometimes after

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discussion within the party, from the spokesman for the Environment, Mr Joe Walding.\textsuperscript{10}

In the first instance, Mr Ian Lamont, the Wallace Labour candidate hotly opposed the construction of a broad-based dam at Maraeroa and after a phone call to Mr Walding, Mr Ron Barclay, Mr Lamont's supporting speaker at Riverton said that\textsuperscript{11}

Labour members of the select committee (considering the siting of the broad-based dam) were mistaken, while the views of Mr Ian Lamont, candidate for Wallace are being proved right.

There had been no division in the house ... (over the select committee report) but only National members spoke in favour while some Labour members spoke against.

Two days before the election, the 'Save Manapouri', 'Save our Lakes', 'Hands off Wanaka Lake', Albert Town Ratepayers Association and 'Friends of the Clutha' groups displayed full-page spreads of the National and Labour policies on Conservation placed side by side and invited the public to vote for the one they thought the best.\textsuperscript{12}

Of the other protest groups only O.H.M.S. proclaimed an intention to contact all candidates to seek their support for the abolition of selective military service - they did not contact any candidate in the Wallace electorate, but contacted Howard Manning and Logan Sloane.

C.A.R.E. (Citizens Association for Racial Equality) contacted Logan Sloane only, their stated intention to contact

\textsuperscript{10} Ian Lamont, Interview, Otatara May 1973.

\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Southland Times}, 9 November 1972.

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Southland Times}, 23 November 1972.
all candidates in the southern area of the South Island apparently did not come to pass.

It seems to have been a strange season for pressure groups in both electorates, either the candidates were deeply involved, especially the challenging candidates, or else they didn't want to know anything about the group.
7. CONCLUSION: AN EXAMINATION OF THE IMPACT OF THE CHANGES THAT CAME WITH THE 1972 ELECTION IN WALLACE AND HOBNOR

Firstly, the background issues were roads and rural neglect in Hobson and the Lake Manapouri controversy in Wallace. No pressure groups appeared to be associated with the Hobson issues while the 'Save Manapouri' campaign was developing considerable activity between 1969 and 1972.

Secondly, the candidates: their background and motivations for entering the campaigns, and in particular the motivations of the challengers: Several of the candidates came from farming backgrounds, David Greig, Ian Lamont, Alister McDonald, Howard Manning, Logan Sloane, Brian Talboys and Frank Williams - although most had been involved in other occupations as well. Colin Horsfall was a fitter and turner and Mrs Lumsden a teacher.

Most of the candidates were standing for their particular parties because of a deep identification with the ideas their party believed in, although Richard Hendry was motivated by his deep concern over roading and rural poverty in Hobson. David Greig appeared to make a calm decision that 1972 would be a good year in which to test the water, but he also, was concerned for the issues of health care that faced people in Hobson.

Logan Sloane was determined to retain the seat that he had won back from Social Credit in 1969 while Brian Talboys realised that his parties philosophy of development was being challenged in Wallace.

Thirdly, to examine the issues that came up in the
media campaign in the two electorates. In Wallace the Manapouri question dominated the scene, but matters of unemployment, industrial revival - at the Mataura papermill and on the Ohai coalfields and industrial development were important while in Hobson reading, rural development, education with conservation of the Warawara kauri forest attracting headlines but probably not rating as a bread and butter issue.

The issues that could be given an answer by the Labour party were answered with remarkable speed, particularly on conservation matters while the National party was able to move only at a speed that seemed entirely inappropriate to the chairman at Brian Talboys Te Anau meeting.

Fourthly, to look at the candidates' electioneering styles, the strengths and methods of each candidate's political party, the party's financial situation and how the candidate was assisted: Richard Hendry, Ian Lamont, Alister McDonald and Howard Manning all shared a willingness to actively take issues up, Richard Hendry and Alister McDonald could be regarded almost as extensions of local pressure groups, but they were both able to develop quickly beyond the one interest group. Richard Hendry's photograph and quick travel helped him to publicise issues he saw around the electorate. David Greig, Colin Horsfall and Frank Williams showed some the disadvantages arising from a limited campaign.

The National party in Hobson and the Labour party in Southland (which assisted the Labour candidate in Wallace) appeared reasonably healthy financially but there were no
Labour branches in Wallace while the National party in Wallace appeared to have suffered a drop in donations and in branches. Social Credit appeared to be strong in finance and in branches in Hobson and extremely weak in both in Wallace. The New Democrats appeared to have quite an active, financially solvent, core group in Hobson as the Liberal Reform party did in Wallace. It is very likely, however, that the candidates for all small parties must make a very considerable financial sacrifice - a case of putting their money where their mouths are!

Neither of the sitting National candidates required extensive outside support. Logan Sloane didn't want anyone, other than Mr Muldoon who spoke at one evening meeting. On the other hand, all the other candidates, except for Frank Williams lacked campaigning experience and could have used more support. Richard Hendry and Ian Lamont the two Labour candidates had one supporting speaker each, the others had none.

Training for candidates and members of their campaign committees in organisation, publicity, press relations and finance, could usefully be considered by all the major parties, to help candidates and campaign workers spend more time - meeting electors, instead of overcoming organisational difficulties.

Fifthly, an assessment of issues and pressure groups, given by the candidates during their interviews and in answer to a questionnaire revealed that Richard Hendry, Ian Lamont, Logan Sloane and Brian Talboys all raised a total of twelve issues in their interviews and in their media campaigns.
Issues that appeared in both were counted twice, for sometimes different aspects were stressed. Almost all the issues were electorate oriented. Alister McDonald and Frank Williams raised seven issues and five issues respectively.

The success enjoyed by the candidates in coming to terms with the issues and with their electorate was mixed: Logan Sloane managed to come to terms with the issues and with Hobson electorate gaining 7,674 votes, or 48.46% of the valid votes cast, an increase of 0.95% on his valid votes gained in 1969. This puts him in a select category of National members who managed to 'resist' the swing towards Labour in 1972.

Brian Talboys gained 7,640 votes, or 52.21% of the valid votes cast, a drop of 6 votes and 4.36% of the valid vote from 1969. This reflected the difficulty he faced in coming to terms with the 'Manapouri' issue, in fact the result may be masked by the six booths which came into Wallacetown from Awamoa electorate in the 1972 boundary redistribution: Tussock creek, Otahutu, Waianawa, Wright's Bush, Ryal Bush and Wallacetown. Each booth was National except Wallacetown which went Labour by six votes giving an overall majority over the six booths of 245 for National — with this figure subtracted a loss in the remaining valid votes approaches 6% for National — above the average swing in 1972.

Howard Manning who came to terms well with the conservation issues in Hobson gained 4,587 votes for Social Credit, a decline of 1,654 votes or 10.60% since 1969 while Frank
Williams gained 1,382 votes in Wallace and 9.44% of the valid vote, down 658 votes a fall of 5.66% from 1969. Both candidates were well above Social Credit's 6.70% average of the valid vote throughout the country.

Allister McDonald who had come to grips with some of the main issues was held back by limited campaigning time from gaining votes from all parts of the electorate and had to be content with 796 votes - approximately 5.45% of the valid votes cast, while Colin Horsfall, David Greig and Mrs Lumsden went to the oblivion usually reserved for Independents and small party candidates, the former two gaining a combined 1.42% of the Hobson vote with 126 and 99 votes respectively, while Mrs Lumsden gained 80 votes in Wallace.

The two Labour candidates, Richard Hendry and Ian Lamont both increased their votes and the proportions gained of the total vote. The Hobson Labour vote of 3,350, or 21.15% of the valid vote cast, an increase of 1,360 votes, or 8.55% of the valid vote cast. In Wallace, the Labour candidate gained a total of 4,736 votes, or 32.37% of the valid vote cast an increase of 1,621 votes, or 9.32% on the 1969 figures.

Their readiness to take up issues was equalled by their bright campaigning styles. Richard Hendry's sporty Ford Capri and street meetings and Ian Lamont's 'Caravan campaign' that was also adopted by another Labour candidate in the Tasman electorate, the Hon. W. E. Rowling - now Prime Minister.

The booths won by Labour in Wallace appeared to be directly related to the amount of 'door to door' work checking
enrolments expended in that area. The close fight in Mataura with the massive increase in turnout suggested that both the Labour and the National party organisations were actively door-knocking in the area. The party organisations that both were able to build up, in embryo in Wallace, as well as the voting pattern suggest that there was a considerable body of support for these two men.

Possible parallels between the 'local issue' campaigns fought in Hobson and Wallace and the regional nationalism of Scotland and Wales may have a little validity with the slightly stronger identification that Northlanders and Southlanders have with their provinces - in each case wider than just the electorates and as Logan Sloane pointed out in his campaign 'householder' has a great deal to do with sport, especially in Northland in the Rugby seasons before the 1972 General Election. A Labour campaign aimed at regional issues elicited a stronger than average regional response from these electorates.

Of the qualities required by a Labour candidate standing for a rural seat - John A. Lee wrote of Frank Langstone, a Labour candidate for the rural Waimarino seat in 1922:

A true creator.

Waimarino with the struggle to beat second growth bush fell(ed) land and the fall in product prices in 1920 was ready for evangelism. Farmers were distressed. There were timber mills from end to end of the constituency. At Ongarue, at Raurimu, around Ohakune and Raetihi, Monanui and dozens of other places Frank formed some good committees. I campaigned in the area in 1923 or '24. Later,

1. Appendix 8.
after his defeat, when he returned in 1928
he did most of it with his voice and some really good workers.

But Frank, self educated, was well read, a thinker. After 1928 he became a leading exponent on guaran-
teed price, money reform. He was the sort of platform personality who attracted even opponents ...

But it can be seen that Mr Lee required certain character-
eristics from the electorate. Waimarino was 'ready for evangelism' on issues that were hurting voters' pockets.

Hobson, despite the quality of the candidates seeking election in place of the National sitting member, had seen the 'It's time ...' slogan in 1966 as Logan Sloane points out, and was not recognizing that signal in 1972.

Wallace, despite the issues being aired by Ian Lamont and Alister McDonald including most of all 'Manapouri' and despite Alister McDonald's claim of a 'truer than blue political descent from Adam' (Hamilton). Wallace electors reflected less than the countrywide swing from National and Social Credit to Labour. Manapouri might have been hitting their hearts but it wasn't hitting their pocketbooks - so no change.

To have achieved change in Hobson, from National to Social Credit, or to any other party, farm prices for dairy products, so volatile in the 1920's and 1930's and early 1960's with consequent political upheavals would have had to become suddenly depressed. Reasonable prices were offering for dairy products, and even for beef in 1972. A change had been tried in 1966 and pressure groups in 1972 had appeared, in the main, with the exception of the education pressure group, to have been satisfied by the
candidates for election. Hobson's choice had already been made and was being adhered to. Despite its gain in strength Labour only held two booths Moatowa and Motatau - and the latter probably held on an educational issue concerning the proposed closure of part of the School.

Ian Lamont's stated aim 'to find out if the Wallace seat is as true blue as it seems', suggests the conclusion that it is almost as true blue as it seems, although a bright caravan campaign, emphasis on local issues, and a right understanding of the 'Manapouri' issue helped win nine booths for Labour, Lumsden, Manapouri, Mataura, Council Chambers, School, Nightcaps, Ohaí, Te Anau, Waiaceton and Winton - six of them new since 1969.

Alister McDonald's results were disappointing, but perhaps to be expected, in spite of his position as Vice-Chairman of the Southland Save Manapouri committee. Where pressure groups, or the 'lobby' in Britain, go direct to Ministers and the civil servants and this may have affected his vote.

In contrast to the situation at Lake Pedder where administrative decisions with far reaching results were made without adequate political and public knowledge it was an interesting contrast to see the openness that developed in the 'Manapouri' situation gradually after 1969 as the protest campaign began in earnest. Feeling developed to a point where people closely associated with the 'Manapouri' protest or 'Environmental' issues went beyond


their 'lobby' roll and became 'prepared to undertake (stand for office) the direct government of the country'.

This close contact between politicians and protesters may have been exemplified in the clever use of the techniques that Mr Norman Kirk suggested to Ian Lamont - 'Take the biggest issues you've got, get an impartial body to take them up and let the opposition have it with wide publicity as late in the campaign as possible.'

WHERE HAVE ALL THE CANDIDATES GONE?

Hobson:

David Greig, the Independent candidate in 1972, has joined the Values party and has formed a party branch in Kerikeri. He is attempting to form other branches in Kaitaia and Whangarei. It is not yet known whether he will be a candidate for the 1975 elections.

Richard Hendry has moved from Rawene to Tokoroa where he is Minister of the Methodist church. He has been selected as Labour candidate for Tauranga in the 1975 election.

Colin Horsfall has had no contact with the New Democrat leader since early 1973. He has no political plans at the moment.

Howard Manning will again be the Social Credit candidate in Hobson in 1975. He has been campaigning since December 1972 and will now have the support of Mr Vernon

---

Cracknell of Kerikeri, the former Social Credit M.P. for Hobson who re-joined the party at the 1975 Conference. Logan Sloane has continued with his intention to retire from politics. He will not be a candidate in the 1975 elections.

Wallace:

Ian Lamont has been selected as the Labour candidate in Wallace in 1975.

Alistair McDonald has not indicated any intention of standing for Parliament in the forthcoming election.

Brian Talboys is now the Deputy Leader of the National Party and the Deputy Leader of the Opposition. He will be the National candidate for the Wallace seat once again in 1975.

Frank Williams has shifted from his farm at Tustapere to a new home at Winton. He has decided to retire from active politics.

NOW HAVE THE ELECTORATE ORGANISATIONS GONE?

Hobson:

In Hobson, the branches of all three parties continued to expand after 1972. Social Credit, Labour and National all claim new branches and the Labour party claim a considerable increase in membership. The Values party have established a branch at Kerikeri and others are in prospect.

Wallace:

National party and Social Credit party branches continue unchanged. The Labour party which had no branches in the
electorate in 1972 now has branches at Mataura, Te Anau and a large branch at Nightcaps.

Finally, it seems that the impact of change in the 1972 election was muffled in Wallace and Hobson. The issues of conservation, regional development - including industry, road building (in Hobson) and education came through strongly and were taken up by candidates and by the media.

The campaign inexperience of most of the challenging parties candidates - and the campaign experience of the sitting members - favoured the National party.

In Hobson, the sitting National member dealt with both issues and opposition and gained votes but in Wallace, the sitting member was unable to deal with the 'Manapouri' issue and lost a proportion of his vote. Labour gained through the issues and the energy of its candidates in both electorates and Social Credit in Hobson and Liberal Reform in Wallace were unlucky not to do likewise.
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# APPENDICES

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been Campbell.

Wind and clay about long since.

A true word.

Kermandie with its simple as hard
second growth bush and land and the fall in
produce prices in 1920, it was really for ever then
farmers distressed. There was John Williams
1920 end of Kermandie. Alexander
be Kermandie beyond Caburnie and part
renowned others where I went to meet
some good committee. I camped in the area
1923 for 24 days after he 1923 if this when he
went "he did not come of it with his rouse and
I really did nothing.

I plied, self-educated, was well and
looked a better. After 1925 he became a leader
who had never been unreasoned prise, money reform
years to the sale of tobacco. He ran for
at Kermandie even of Kermandie. After he came
as minister in 1935 when he became

A steam through Kermandie. It was a foundation
member of the Labor Party, and an original
man of humor, a knee-persuader. Always
above the average ability in writing on
pertinacity, although self-educated. The railroad
ELECTIONS IN WALLACE

KEY
N - NATIONAL
L - LABOUR
S.C. - SOCIAL CREDIT
LIB/C.P./L.R.
LIBERAL COUNTRY
AND LIBERAL REFORM
PARTIES.
ELECTIONS IN NORSOA

KEY

N. National
S.C. Social Credit
L. Labour
N.D. New Democrat
I Independent
R.D.C.
**CAMPAIGN TRAIL ITINERARY**

EACH time listed will commence a half hour step.
Departure will be on the half hour.

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<td>R.S.A. Hall, Riverton... 7.30 p.m.</td>
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<td>Pahia School Site .... 12 ncon</td>
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<td>Te Wae Wae Hall .. 3 p.m.</td>
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<td>Te Tua High. 99 a.m.</td>
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<td>Rowley Rd. Cnr. .... 4 p.m.</td>
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<td>Ante-Room .......... 7.30 - 9.30 p.m.</td>
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<td>Opio .............. 12 ncon</td>
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<td>Ohai .......... 1 p.m. - 4 p.m.</td>
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<td>Monowai Hydro Village .... 2.30 p.m.</td>
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<td>Gillespie Rd. Cnr. .... 4 p.m.</td>
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<td>Manapouri Hydro Village</td>
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<td>Hall .......... 7.30 p.m.</td>
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RICHARD HENDRY is outspoken in matters which affect people. He believes the present Government's lack of interest in Hobson will result in further depression and break-up of the family unit as young people continue to leave for the City and isolated communities struggle to retain what little they have.

RICHARD HENDRY will provide strong vigorous and honest representation. He will work to build Hobson into the area it should be.

IF YOU WANT BETTER ROADS, BETTER SCHOOLS & PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION, REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND REAL HELP FOR THE HANDICAPPED, THE ELDERLY AND THE RETIRED.

IF YOU WANT THE NORTH TO GO AHEAD—

VOTE HENDRY ON NOVEMBER 25

GREIG
HENDRY
HORSFALL
MANNING
SLOANE

FOR HENDRY and
Labour in Hobson
Richard Hendry is 32. His wife Ruth, is a school teacher and play centre supervisor. They have two children, Cushla 4 and Stephen 2.

Before entering the Methodist Ministry, Richard Hendry worked five years for the Department of Agriculture's Winchmore Irrigation Research Station as a laboratory technician analysing soil and herbage. Graduating from Trinity Theological College in 1965 he was minister at Waitara, North Taranaki. After completing his thesis he was ordained in 1968.

He is at present stationed at Rawene in the South Hokianga Methodist Circuit and has been there three years.

Richard Hendry believes in being involved in the community. Apart from his local church work and district committees, he is:

- Past member, Waitara Rotary Club;
- Member of the Rawene Town Committee;
- St. John Ambulance Driver;
- Immediate Past-President, Rawene Lions Club;
- President of the Hokianga Historical Society and its Rawene Branch;
- The Organiser of a Budget Advisory Service;
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- The Organiser of a Budget Advisory Service;
- President, Rawene Labour Party Branch and the Hobson Representation Committee.
IT'S TIME FOR
IAN LAMONT
IAN LAMONT
The man to put your needs into action.

IAN LAMONT
A MAN OF YOUTHFUL VITALITY AND HONESTY OF PURPOSE, WITH THE EXPERIENCE AND ABILITY TO PACK SOME WALLOP INTO WALLACE.

IAN LAMONT
An independent thinker with a keen mind. "My father was a Highlander—I was brought up on Robbie Burns, bits of Bible and verbal battles."

IAN LAMONT
A family man. He married a Southland girl, Diane Hoskin, and they have five children. "Perhaps we have to rethink our priorities for our children's generation."

IAN LAMONT
A man of wide work experience, both as an employee and employer. He has been a freezing worker, 300-a-day shearer, a farmer, and for the past five years has taught English, Social Studies and Agriculture at Southland College. "New Zealand has all the challenges it needs—we can do without those who set one section against another. Dissent is good, division is not."

IAN LAMONT is taking a real interest in the people and problems of Wallace.
POLITICAL REFORMS

Here we feel it is urgently necessary to provide effective constitutional safeguards against the abuse of power by all sections of government and we would do this by these means:

- Establish a Written Constitution, the provisions of which must effectively safeguard Responsible Individual Freedom, Freedom of Competitive Enterprise, Impartial Property Rights, Responsibility of Contract in all private and public undertakings.
- Re-establish an effective Upper House to defend the constitutional standards from abuse of power, from any source.
- Remove the dictatorial power of “Party Politics” from members of parliament by abandoning the “No Confidence Vote” and having Free Voting on all bills.
- Introduce Proportional Representation in Parliament with all groups polling more than 5% of votes being entitled to representation accordingly. So that new ideas and minority groups can make a useful contribution to leadership in N.Z.
- Allow Opposition members to have a Constructive Role in Parliament by permitting them to present a proportion of legislation annually.
- Preserve the sovereignty of electors between elections — by a sound petitions system, capable of effectively challenging dubious legislation or overbearing regulations.

The Liberal Reform Party urge your support for these Principles and Reforms, so that we can make democracy work effectively in N.Z. and bring to our country again the many benefits of Responsible Freedom. Please use this Form.

ABOUT THE LIBERAL REFORM PARTY

It was launched, by the N.Z. Free Enterprise Movement in 1939 to provide N.Z. voters again with a genuine free enterprise choice at elections. It is essential to remember Lincoln's quotations:—

"You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift.
You cannot strengthen the weak by weakness the strong.
You cannot help the wage earner by pulling down the wage payer.
You cannot help the poor by discouraging the rich.
You cannot build character and courage by any man's initiative and independence.
You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves.

And finally when it is all said and done it is essential to remember Lincoln's quotes:

What they could and should do for themselves.

Winston Record Print

N.Z. LIBERAL REFORM PARTY
WALLACE BRANCH
C/o G. D. KEOWN, Cattle Flat, No. 6 R.D., Gore.

Believing in an economic system of private ownership and free competitive enterprise, a social system of personal responsibility, and a political system of free elections and constitutionally limited Government.

I apply for membership, and/or
I make a donation of $.

N.B.
Sustaining Membership $20.00 ($10.00 for development and research).
Standard Membership $10.00 (Being standard requirements for General Membership).
Associate Membership $5.00 (For limited association and support).

Donations of any additional amounts will greatly assist the work of research and campaigning for the Aims and Objects.

Address

Please send donations to support our election campaigning. Our party is not supported by any powerful group. It relies exclusively on personal membership or donations. Party members have little time for canvassing. Thus we appeal for your support by mail to make the best possible free enterprise contribution to this election.

PLEASE USE THE FORM.
THE WOMAN
BEHIND THE MAN.

MRS. MANNING
Mrs. Manning is an equal partner with her husband Howard Manning in all of his business and community endeavours. She has in the past been capably active in many organisations in Kaitaia, and, for the last six years, she has managed their motel at Cable Bay. She is a Northlander by birth and has spent all of her time in the area. During the war, she was directed by the Manpower office to work in the Post Office. Mrs. Manning is a great granddaughter of the Rev. Joseph Matthews and Mr. William Gilbert Puckey, founders of the Kaitaia mission station in 1850, and a great granddaughter of the Rev. Richard Davis of Waimate.

Mrs. Manning, with her husband Howard, would also work for the betterment of the electorate.

For further information, please contact:
HOBSON ELECTORATE BRANCH,
R.D. 5, Kaitaia.

This is Your Man for Progress!

The progress of Hobson is something that affects us all. More progress means more progress for all — individuals as well as groups.

But Hobson has suffered “government by deferment” for too long. A vote for Howard Manning is a vote for progress in Hobson.

It is your vote that will make the difference in Hobson, and Howard Manning is your chance to make progress.

HOWARD MANNING
SOCIAL CREDIT CANDIDATE FOR HOBSON.

I PLEDGE:
I, as your Social Credit member of Parliament, will work hard and continuously for the establishment of a sound economic and social order for Hobson. The people of Hobson have been aware for some time that they are less fortunate than some other electorates. I believe this is because they have not been represented to the fullest possible extent. As a Social Credit member of Parliament, I would work towards obtaining the best possible deal for the Hobson electorate and to see that all persons in the electorate are treated fairly and justly.

The Social Credit party policy is based on the foundations of equal opportunity for all, truth, justice and honest endeavour.

PASSPORT FOR PROGRESS

SOCIAL CREDIT
HOBSON is on the move. The man who'll make sure it keeps moving is LOGAN SLOANE

Take a quiet look around. You'll see what Logan Sloane has helped achieve. Not by shouting. But with perseverance and energy.
Many of these achievements have meant most to the children of Hobson. Whangaroa College—now amongst the best in the Country, the upgrading of facilities at Northland College, Dargaville High School, Bay of Islands College, Kaiata College, District High Schools, Intermediate and Primary Schools, the encouragement of play centre and kindergarten projects.

Take a quiet look around. Every farmer knows the power held by Statutory Boards. In Logan's words, "I make it my business to know their business, that way I can press home my case for Northland farmers more strongly."

Take a quiet look around. You'll know where Logan Sloane has left his mark. But there's more to be done. A vote for Logan Sloane will get it done.

LOGAN SLOANE

a final word to the people of Hobson.
"I'm a true Northlander. I know the people whom I've represented for 9 years. I know your problems and your ambitions. I'd like to keep working to help you solve those problems, fulfil those ambitions."

LOGAN SLOANE

Your NATIONAL CANDIDATE and present Member of Parliament.
Logan Sloane doesn't often make the headlines. What he does make is an impact — where it counts most — on the decision-makers of this Country. When Logan talks, others take note. And when it comes to issues that affect you, the people of Hobson, he talks long and hard.

In the nine years he’s represented you in Parliament, Logan Sloane's dedication to your welfare has brought results.

Take a look at Government expenditure today:
Since Logan Sloane has been your voice in Parliament State Advances Corporation lending in Northland has risen from $500,000 (half a million) in 1960—$4,988,080 in 1972 — eight times greater. Other departments all record vast increases in spending in Northland in the same period — Marginal Lands development, Education Department, Forestry, Roads Board and Health Department. Also more and more investment by Dairy Companies and Freezing Works in Northland and a marked increase in Tourist investment.

Logan Sloane was a Member of the N.Z. Parliamentary Delegation that visited Britain in 1972. Here he discusses beef calves with the directors of the experimental farm at Newcastle University.
STOP FOR A MOMENT TO CONSIDER THE ELECTION CHOICES BEFORE YOU!

★ After the worst "Handout Budget" in N.Z. history we now know National is just another unreliable VOTE-BUYING socialist party. . . . That there is no difference between National and Labour. Power is their GGO, and they will both use any unscrupulous methods to win, irrespective of the damage these impose upon our nation. All New Zealanders will pay dearly next year for National's Election Bribes.

★ N.Z. Voters urgently need a more reliable choice at the elections. An opportunity again to support sound policies, based on proven principles.

★ N.Z. Voters are no longer trapped into choosing the lesser of two evils, only National or Labour, or wasting your protest vote on Social Credit. The N.Z. Liberal Reform Party provides a genuine free enterprise choice. A wide range of clear alternative policies to solve major N.Z. problems.

★ Escape from the unsavoury system of "Party Politics! Give your support only to those principles and policies you can respect and trust to solve N.Z. problems.

★ ALISTER McDONALD is a man of true free enterprise principles.

He says: ‘I believe in the principles of a free competitive enterprise system, with a social responsibility that is alive to the needs of its people. This system is incomparably superior to that of a socialist planned system which causes the plain man’s living standards to decline with his liberties.”

OBJECTS OF POLICIES
• To regain a N.Z. way of life based on Self-Relience . . . Self-Direction . . . Self-Discipline and Self-Respect.

• To ensure maximum free competitive enterprise in N.Z. . . . Freedom of Trade . . . To regain the purchasing power of earnings, savings and pensions . . . and a standard of Law and Order that prevents noisy disruptive groups destroying the safety and freedom of peaceful people in N.Z.

Alister is 39 years of age, married, has 3 children, and farms a sheep and beef breeding property of 1700 acres at Caroline.

CAMPAIGN OPENING DIPTON HALL
MONDAY, 6th NOV., 8 p.m.

To All Wallace Electors

ALISTER McDONALD
LIBERAL REFORM CANDIDATE FOR WALLACE
POLITICAL REFORMS

Here we feel it is urgently necessary to provide effective constitutional safeguards against the abuse of power by all sections of government and we would do this by these means...

- Establish a Written Constitution, the provisions of which must effectively safeguard Responsible Individual Freedom, Freedom of Competitive Enterprise, Impartial Property Rights, Responsibility of Contract in all private and public undertakings.
- Re-establish an effective Upper House to defend the constitutional standards from abuse of power, from any source.
- Remove the dictatorial power of “Party Politics” from members of parliament by abandoning the “No Confidence Vote” and having Free Voting on all bills.
- Introduce Proportional Representation in Parliament with all groups polling more than 5% of votes being entitled to representation accordingly. So that new ideas and minority groups can make a useful contribution to leadership in N.Z.
- Allow Opposition members to have a Constructive Role in Parliament by permitting them to present a proportion of legislation annually.
- Preserve the sovereignty of electors between elections—by a sound petitions system, capable of effectively challenging dubious legislation or overbearing regulations.

The Liberal Reform Party urge your support for these Principles and Reforms, so that we can make democracy work effectively in N.Z. and bring to our country again the many benefits of Responsible Freedom. Please use this Form.

ABOUT THE LIBERAL REFORM PARTY

It was launched, by the N.Z. Free Enterprise Movement in 1938 to provide N.Z. voters again with a genuine free enterprise choice at elections and so that people threatened by monopoly Trade Unions, monopoly business and monopoly politics could take in defence of their freedom again. Today the party has members in 40 electorates and candidates already confirmed in over 20 seats. The party’s policies have been produced from worldwide free enterprise studies and adopted at Annual Conferences in N.Z.

Liberal Reformers seek to bring together those responsible people in N.Z. who care enough about their country and their way of life to work for lasting improvements.

And finally when it is all said and done it is essential to remember Lincoln’s quotation:

“You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift.
You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong.
You cannot help the wage earner by pulling down the wage payer.
You cannot help the poor by discouraging industry.
You cannot build character and courage by taking away a man’s initiative and independance.
You cannot help men permanently by doing for them.
What they could and should do for themselves.”

N.Z. LIBERAL REFORM PARTY

WALLACE BRANCH

C/o G. D. KEEOWN, Cattle Flat, No. 6 R.D., Gore.

Formed to defend the responsible freedom and property rights of a New Zealanders.

BELIEVING IN an economic system of private ownership and free competitive enterprise, a social system of personal responsibility, and a political system of free elections and constitutionally limited Government,

I apply for

membership, and/or

I make a donation of $ N.B.

Sustaining Membership $20.00 ($10.00 for development and research).

Standard Membership $10.00 (Being standard requirements for General Membership).

Associate Membership $5.00 (For limited association and support).

Donations of any additional amounts will greatly assist the work of research and campaigning for the Aims and Objects.

(Signed)

Address

Please send donations to support our election campaigning. Our party is not supported by any powerful group. It relies exclusively on personal membership or donations. Party members have little time for canvassing. Thus we appeal for your support by mail to make the best possible free enterprise contribution to this election.

PLEASE USE THE FORM.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>OFFICIAL APPROACH</th>
<th>UNOFFICIAL APPROACH</th>
<th>QUESTIONS FROM AUDIENCE</th>
<th>IMPORTANT QUESTIONS</th>
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Tick the IMPORTANT QUESTIONS bracket if a question seemed very important to YOU. Put an X in the bracket if the Party Manifesto didn't help.

List the most important questions you were asked (briefly) on the reverse of this sheet.

Additional notes:
- T.C.S.H. - Stone house
- Important first: No Group pm, but good career.
- Local group re closing of nursing school.
Important Questions asked during the campaign.

- How do we stop drastic changes?
- How do we get people to understand the importance of climate change?
- How do we ensure sustainable practices?
- How do we address the impact of climate change on different sectors?
- How do we create awareness among the general public?

In the past efforts to remediate

The future of our environment is in our hands.
Before filling out the questionnaires, you were asked on the reverse of this sheet.

Box if reply required. clin’t help.

Tick the box for important answers if a question is more important to you.

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<th>Any other factors considered (name)</th>
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Label the factors considered in the following way:

- C. CL (view of conflict)
- C. CR (view of conflict)
- O. CT (view of conflict)
- O. CR (view of conflict)
- O. CT (view of conflict)
- O. CR (view of conflict)
- O. CT (view of conflict)
- O. CR (view of conflict)

Rate each factor from 1 to 10:

- 1. No change
- 2. Minor change
- 3. Major change
- 4. Very major change
- 5. Extreme change
- 6. Total change

Use any appropriate adjectives:

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Official Approach

Informal approach

All relevant facts (including handwriting, etc.)

Defendants' names

Defendant's telephone number

Officer's name

If you recorded

I record
QUESTIONNAIRE - Please tick appropriate box if YOU - received any official approach (or Literature) or any unofficial approaches.

- questions from audiences

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If any matter seemed particularly important to you, put a tick on the right of the audience box - if the party manifesto didn't help put a cross.

F.T.O.
If any of the approaches seem particularly important to you, put a tick on the box.

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**Note:** Please check approaches box if you record any OFFICIAL APPROVALS or have any comments or concerns regarding any of the listed groups.
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If any of the approaches seemed particularly important to you, put a tick on the right-hand side of the paper — if the manifesto didn't help, put a cross.

S P A R C E — I'm supported.

P.T.O.
QUESTIONNAIRE - Please tick appropriate box if YOU - received any official approach (or Literature)
- any unofficial approaches.
- questions from audiences

concerning any of the following groups

<table>
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<td>Other Conservationist Gps. (name)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overseas aid gns (e.g. Corso or Churches) (name)</td>
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<tr>
<td>C.A.R.T.</td>
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<td>C.A.R.E.</td>
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<td>H.A.R.T.</td>
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<td>W.A.R.I.</td>
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<tr>
<td>N.O.W. (or other womens gps) (name)</td>
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<tr>
<td>C.I.H.M.B.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Any other protest group</td>
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<tr>
<td>e.g. Bikios or Stone store</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

If any matter seemed particularly important to you, put a tick on the right of the audience box - if the party manifesto didn't help put a cross.

F.T.O.