

Chapter 13

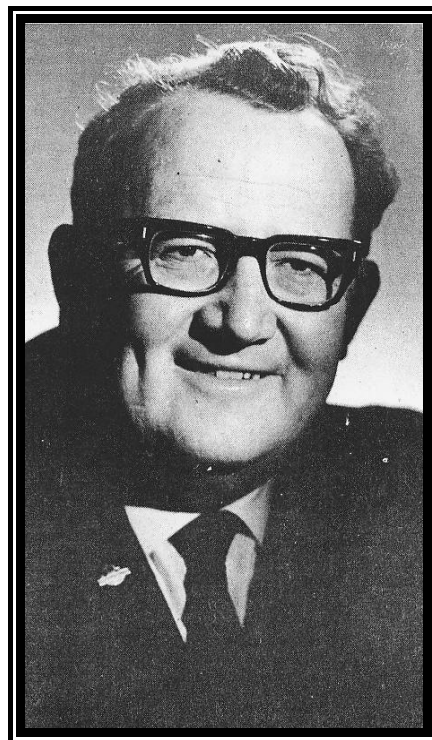
JOSEPH ALBERT WALDING

Member of Parliament for

Palmerston North

1967-1975

1978-1981



Introduction

Palmerston North as a city grew steadily in the 1960s.

P13-1 The Northwest and Southeast corner of The Square, December 1966, a decade before the present Palmerston North City Council building was erected.



Massey Agricultural College had become by this time a full-scale comprehensive University. The dreams of the early supporters of a “Dairy school” in the area had been exceeded.

Parallel to the University development was the vigorous development of science research institutes, such as the Dairy Research Institute, DSIR, Grasslands and other science centres.

The manufacturing base of the city expanded, strengthening the agricultural service centre component for cattle and sheep farms, and agrarian production. By now the population of Palmerston North was 47,000.

By 1966 when the General Election drew near a number of signs pointed to a period of economic downturn, change and conflict. The returns from agricultural commodities dropped. Indeed, a little later, the bottom fell out of the wool market. Division in the community was growing about New Zealand’s involvement in the Vietnam War.

The 1966 General Election

In the General Election, three candidates offered their services to the Palmerston North electorate. W.H. Brown was the sitting member for the National government. J. A. Walding stood for the Labour Party, whilst G. Thew was the candidate for the Social Credit Political League.

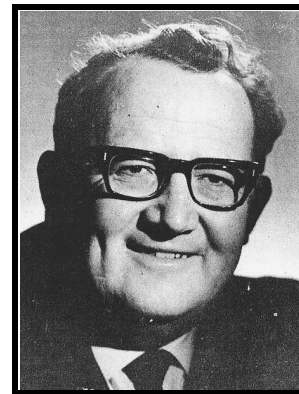
For Bill Brown it was his fourth general election. After failing to win the seat in 1957, he succeeded in 1960 and retained his seat in 1963. Bill Brown was part of a “steady as you go” conservative government, which showed from

time to time, liberal tendencies. The relative prosperity from 1960 to 1966 provided stability for Brown.

G. Thew for the Social Credit Political League represented a radical and a different approach to government finance. Since the first appearance of Social Credit on the hustings in Palmerston North in 1954, when they captured 5.8 percent of the votes counted, their share of the vote fluctuated from 5.8 percent to 6.3 percent in 1957, 7.4 percent in 1960 and back to 5.7 percent in 1963.

Joe Walding was a new Labour Party candidate. He was 40 years of age and a successful businessperson. He was known as an affable friendly person.

P13-2 :
Joe Walding MP



On the New Zealand scene, Keith Holyoake as Prime Minister had proved himself a consummate consensus man for the National party.



P13-3 : Prime Minister
Keith Holyoake

Source: Weekly News, Dec 1969

In 1966, Keith Holyoake was confronted by a new Labour leader – Norman Kirk.



P13-4 :
Norman Kirk

Norman Kirk had been elected to Parliament in 1957 as a member for Lyttleton. He proved himself an extremely hard-working Member of Parliament who impressed friends and opponents alike.

Norman Kirk was a fifth generation New Zealander of Cornish and Scottish stock. He was born in Waimate but was raised in Christchurch. The depression deprived his skilled tradesman father of work, something Norman Kirk never forgot. He himself started work at 12, but as a child at school, he read voraciously. He read anything he could lay his hands on. Thus, he was largely self-taught and he developed the distrust of the self-taught for the educated intellectual.

His parents were staunch members of the Salvation Army and for a time Norman Kirk followed on. In later life, though not a churchgoer himself, he maintained close connections with church leaders. He shared their views on moral questions. But it was his compassion for people in need and grief that stood out as an inheritance from his parents. It is said that he inherited his stubbornness, determination, and enormous capacity for work from his mother.

Norman Kirk's work career was varied. He first worked cleaning house roofs and gutters for a painting firm. He also worked on the Railways as a fireman. Eventually he secured work as a stationary engine driver in a dairy factory. After a period, he returned to the South Island and by now was an expert do-it-yourself person. He built his own home from scratch in Kaiapoi. By 27 years of age, he had steady work. He was married with three children and had his own plot of land.

Two observers wrote that Norman Kirk was a man of sharp contrasts and paradoxes. (Eagle and James 1975). These contrasts were reflected in his subsequent career. He worked hard in the Labour Party branches. He became Mayor of Kaiapoi. Eventually in 1965, he was selected by his colleagues to become the Leader of the Opposition and Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

In 1966 in Palmerston North Joe Walding made his first effort to win a parliamentary seat. At the same time, the Parliamentary Leader of his party Norman Kirk made his first effort to secure the Prime Ministerial post.

Holyoake as Prime Minister demonstrated greater political skill than Kirk. He was able to gauge the electorate mood well and chose an approach that offended the fewest people. He also stressed the team approach in government.

By contrast, Kirk failed to connect, in 1966, with the electorate. *P13-5* displays a dour determined politician. Critics said he had “the mien of a jewelled cherub and an out-of-training wrestler” (*Southland Times*).

P13-5 : 1966 Election - Labour Party advertising



In the local campaign, Brown argued that the country was doing well and that the National Party had the confidence of the nation. Walding argued that not everything in the garden was lovely and trouble lay ahead. In a significant political difference, he argued that the New Zealand troops should be brought home from Vietnam.

P13-6 : 1966 Election result

The result was a close one Mr Brown secured a majority of 269 votes. The final night figures were:

Brown W.H.	7865	46%
Walding J.A.	7606	44.5%
Thew G.	1620	9.5%

On the election night, Brown was ahead only by six votes continuing the Palmerston North tradition of close political contest. On the NZBC TV election report, special commentators were surprised that Joe Walding “the pie maker” had come so close, betraying their lack of knowledge of his popularity.

After the final results were declared the press reported Mr Walding as saying “like General Macarthur, I shall return”.

The 1966 general election established Joe Walding as a serious contender and strengthened his stature as a possible parliamentarian of the future. On the local electorate level, Walding had revitalised the Labour Party’s campaign approach and matched the long-standing effective National Party organisation in Palmerston North.

Joe Walding - The Person

Joe Walding was born in Christchurch in June 1926 and educated there.

Work career

Joe joined the Merchant Navy at the age of 15 years in July 1941. He served in the New Zealand Merchant Navy but eventually was a member of the British Merchant Navy, particularly in the Atlantic Ocean. In the latter part of the war, he saw service plying between England, France and Belgium.

These wartime experiences were to have a formative influence on his political attitudes in 1978 (*Tribune* 19 November 1978) Joe stated “I saw poverty and degradation in many countries. I formed my political outlook for life from that”.

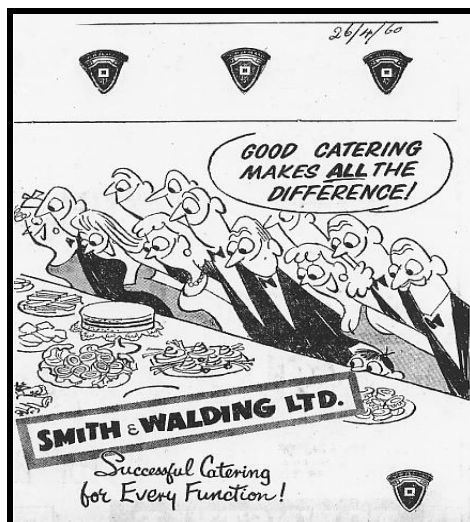
Rehabilitation carpenter

On his return to New Zealand in 1946, Joe trained in a rehabilitation scheme as a carpenter, working on housing in the Wellington area. After his marriage and with the family he came to Palmerston North.

Smith and Walding

Joe's mother Mrs Walding senior, was a partner in the catering firm Smith and Walding in Palmerston North. Joe joined the firm and with his brother, Charlie further developed the catering business. The business flourished and became very successful with major contracts around the central districts, supplying large tearooms, and entertainment facilities.

P13-7: Effective use of advertising to promote the Smith and Walding business.



Prepared Foods Co Ltd

In 1957 Joe Walding made another business move of substantial importance. He established Prepared Foods Co Ltd. It was a canning and gourmet food processing company aimed at overseas markets. This export business proved to be an effective and profitable endeavour. The canning process added value to New Zealand fish and food products. Joe Walding kept control of the firm until his election to Parliament.

Joe Walding's business interests equipped him well for his entry into New Zealand national politics and gave him an edge in his political drive to ensure that New Zealand earned overseas and established its own independent status in the world.

Family

In 1950, Joe married Eileen Paul of Feilding. They were to have six daughters; Christine, Mary, Shona, Jemma, Therese and Tracy.

Church

Joe Walding maintained a lifelong commitment to the Roman Catholic community. It had an influence on his political attitudes. He also maintained a strong conservative position on the moral issues of the day such as abortion.

Yet there was a refreshing openness to meeting people across social and political divisions that marked Joe Walding out in community life.

The New Zealand Labour Party

Joe Walding joined the Labour Party in 1944 when he was a seaman and remained a member throughout his life. He became active in the Palmerston North Labour Party Electorate Committee in the 1950s and 1960s.

Adult education

As a young adult, Joe Walding commenced studies at night class in accountancy and commercial law. He was an avid learner. He picked up things quickly.

He joined the WEA becoming the Secretary for the local branch.

*P13-8 : WEA Debating Team,
winner of "The Times Cup"*



Source: Manawatu Daily Times, May 1956

Jaycee

One major environment, which provided Joe Walding with major opportunities to develop and learn new skills and acquire new knowledge was in Jaycees. Walding, was 29 when he joined the Palmerston North chapter of Jaycees in 1955.

Jaycee had its origin in the United States and in the United Kingdom. There Chambers of Commerce gave birth to Junior Chambers of Commerce, which flourished and later became independent and known as Jaycee.

In New Zealand, a similar pattern prevailed. The Auckland Chamber of Commerce (Franklin 1956) founded a Junior Chamber in 1930, with a well-drafted constitution, by-laws and ideals. Its course was clearly marked out for it in the words of its motto Fellowship, Action, Service and Education. It also had a Creed. In Palmerston North Jaycee was founded in 1939 and by the late 1950s it had 200 members and its own meeting hall.

The combination of personal development through the acquisition of new knowledge and skills and commitment to community service worked well. Members receive training in public speaking, debating, running meetings, the role of the chairperson, planning and management of projects.

Joe Walding became involved in Jaycee in 1955 and after serving on the Board was subsequently Vice President, and in 1959 President. In 1960 he was made the Regional Governor.

P13-9: Joe Walding presenting a cheque to the President of the Manawatu Society of Arts, 1959.



P13-10 : describes the far-reaching community services offered by Jaycees

SERVICE TO THE COMMUNITY

Thousands Of Pounds Raised For City Charities: Jaycees Put Ideas Into Action

It is very easy for any person or organisation in the city to criticise something, or to suggest some improvement. It is much more difficult, however, to follow up such criticisms and ideas with the action or planning necessary to carry them out.

This following-up comes naturally to Jaycees; part of their training is in service to the community. They are trained to look for ways to improve the city generally or to help particular groups, especially charities, in whatever way they can.

Jaycee is an important body in the community and as such has representatives on many service

organisations. The organisation is represented on the Community Chest, Association for Handicapped Children, the Civic Christian Festivals Committee, the British Epilepsy Society, the Prisoners' Aid Society, the Society of Friends of the Aged, the Chamber of Commerce, the Pensioners' and Old Folks' Society, the Beautifying Society.

It has been said that projects are the life-blood of Jaycees and it is through these that the organisation is most well-known. Several of these have become an institution in the city — the annual spring clean the city campaign, the lime drive, market day, and the supplying of firewood to the old folk of the district, are all projects introduced to the city by Jaycees and now being conducted throughout New Zealand by other chapters.

Thousands of Pounds Raised

Over its 21 years of community service Jaycees has raised thousands of pounds for charitable organisations in the city. Last year members raised over £2000 for the Art Gallery, in 1951 £2500 for the War Memorial, and in 1953 it presented a mobile respirator to the Palmerston North Hospital Board.

Jaycees has assisted organisations physically by such projects as the clearing of the lagoon, hosting of out-of-town schoolchildren, enrolling blood donors, assisting with meals on wheels and Community Chest appeals.

Jaycee in New Zealand was the organiser of the Heritage movement and lately of the Birthright movement, its civilian counterpart. In Palmerston North Jaycees started the kindergarten movement and assisted in the foundation of the League for the Hard of Hearing and the Community Chest scheme. Road safety and anti-drowning campaigns have always appealed to Jaycees and many projects have been run through the years with these themes. In 1958 the organisation conducted a junior car rodeo and in 1957 a junior cycle trial in the Square. Welcome-to-the-city signs are another Jaycee institution and last year Pal-

merston North joined the ranks of most of the others town and cities in New Zealand with such signs. Jaycees also "fathers" two children in the Save the Child campaign, costs from this scheme being met from fines charged at tea meetings by the Jaycees "sheriff".

Not All Money-raising

Not all the projects organised by Jaycees are purely of the money-raising kind, although these are often necessary. Many projects require man-power only — clearing sections, for instance, collecting and delivering firewood to old folk, or taking a turn in the hospital's "meals on wheels" service.

A typical money-making project for the community in general was the recent Art Gallery appeal. Jaycees knew that a large sum had to be raised quickly. A committee was set up and within a very short period over £2000 was raised by the selling of foundation certificates.

One of the best known annual projects is the "spring clean the city" campaign. Thousands of householders in the city welcome the opportunity of ridding themselves of junk accumulated over the year.

There is a social side to project work, too. For last year's Festival of the Arts, Jaycees were asked to organise the Festival Ball. This was one of the social highlights of the year — an outstanding success which will be repeated in August this year.

Naturally such an active organisation requires finance over and above the subscription paid by members. The main source of income is from the yearly lime drive which has the dual effect of providing Palmerston North gardeners with reasonably priced fertiliser and at the same time netting Jaycees a tidy profit.

Over the past twenty one years there have been hundreds of Jaycee projects, big and small. Over the next twenty one years there will be hundreds more.

The presidential roll of Jaycees since its inception is:—1939, P. B. Davidson; 1940, A. J. Beattie; 1944, F. G. M. Parkinson; 1945, C. E. Taylor; 1946, A. J. McKechnie; 1947, H. F. Tattersfield and E. V. Morgan; 1948, J. H. Cheek; 1949, J. H. Sherwin; 1950, J. W. Lamerston; 1951, R. S. Lockwood; 1952, J. Baker and P. Frude; 1953, Frude and L. Dixon; 1954, G. R. Keay; 1955, W. S. Alcock; 1956, M. C. Sexton; 1957, A. R. McGuire; 1958, R. W. Williams; 1959, J. A. Walding; 1960, B. O'Brien.



Another Jaycee who has done well for himself in community affairs is Mr J. A. Walding, who last year became a member of the Palmerston North City Council. Mr Walding joined Jaycees in 1955. He has been a board member, a vice-president, and was last year's president. This year he is a Regional Governor. The last Jaycees to hold this honoured position was Mr W. S. Alcock. The chambers which now have the benefit of Mr Walding's guidance are Taihape, Wanganui, Feilding, Marton, Foxton, Woodville, Pahiatua, and, of course, Palmerston North.

Source: Manawatu Evening Standard, April 26, 1960

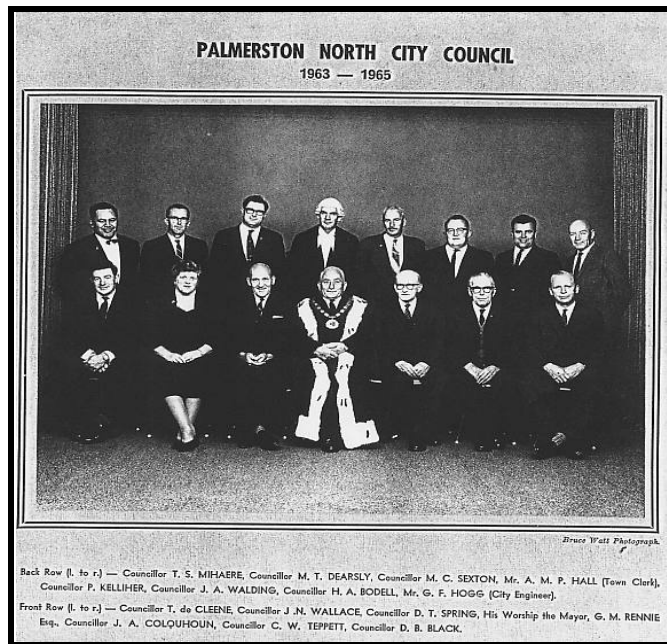
Looking back, the experience Joe Walding gained as a member of Jaycee and as an office bearer was of major significance for his subsequent political and public life.

*P13-11: Former Presidents of Jaycee
[1961]*



Joe Walding and the Palmerston North City Council

Joe Walding was elected to the City Council on 1 December 1959 for a three-year term. He was re-elected in October 1962 and for a third term on 26 October 1965. He did not seek re-election in 1968.



P13-12 :
1962-1965 City Council

By his own estimate, his major contributions as a city councillor were as follows: First, ensuring the city of a fluoridated water supply; Second, obtaining more facilities for the Lido; Third, securing the biggest increase in pensioner housing in one year up to that time.

The fluoridation issue was of major importance and in some years prior to the City Council's adoption of fluoridated water supply the Jaycee organisation had campaigned in favour of the issue, and led delegations to City Council meetings. Clearly, Joe Walding carried the knowledge of a strong sector group in favour of a public health move in support of preventive dental care.

Rotary club

Following his conclusion of his membership of Jaycees at the age of 40 Walding accepted nomination as a member of the Palmerston North Rotary Club and remained in that organisation until he was elected to Parliament.

P13-13 :
Joe and Bill cartoon



Source: Men about Town J.S. Monro (1970)

The 1967 by-election

In October 1967, W.H. Brown, the sitting National Government member died unexpectedly whilst attending a National Roads Board meeting in the South Island. This precipitated a by-election, which was held early in December 1967.

The social and economic circumstances had changed significantly from those prevailing at the time of the general election in 1966. Trends evident then were much more marked a year later.

Five features suggested substantial challenges lay ahead:

1. The fast growth in the economy experienced since 1960 was over. Only a small number of people understood this. For some years, the Monetary and Economic Council of the time, chaired by Professor Frank Holmes, warned repeatedly that the macro economic settings and micro economic structures were out of balance. Professor of History WH Oliver reflected on the considerable difficulties that New Zealand's dependence on agriculture and commodity production would face, should lower prices arrive, whilst the population was growing. There were signs of balance of payments difficulties. The deficit threatened to increase.
2. There was a beginning of recognition that New Zealand's trade relations needed to refocus from Europe to Asia. The intervention in Vietnam by the United States was backed by the New Zealand National Government. Opposition to that step had political consequences. The Labour Party opposed New Zealand's participation. Views throughout the country were significantly divided.

P14-14 : Anti-Vietnam War Protest



Source: Weekly News, August 1967

3. The younger generation of 1967, sons and daughters of World War II veterans, sought freedoms from restrictions that their parents had accepted.
4. Pressure groups, a continuing feature of New Zealand political life, became more organised than ever. New special interest groups emerged to complicate the scene.
5. Professor Paul Spoonley in his volume *Politics of Nostalgia* argued that there had been formational changes in New Zealand society after 1945. While some groups prospered, other groups felt economically and politically threatened by the changes occurring. In particular, the small owner operated businesses in rural and urban New Zealand had had a lot of political significance. This group had always been significant supporters of the National Party. Their ideas of social order and morality came under challenge in the mid-60s. The group gradually became increasingly critical of elite and corporate power, and moved their votes.

At the same time a new section of the population represented by important Public Service groups in health, education, welfare and science, was strengthened. Parallel to this group were groups associated with the advertising industry, in TV and radio, which also expanded, under the patronage of the state and modern capital.

The 1967 candidates

Five candidates were nominated. They were Cruden for National, Goldingham for Progress, O'Brien for Social Credit, Walding for Labour and Wedderspoon for Democratic Labour.

The political tide had begun to change and there was a widespread belief that the Labour Party would do well. The National party had secured a new young lawyer Gordon Cruden who brought vigour to their campaign. John O'Brien officeholder in the Social Credit Political League nationally, also promised much. P.J. Wedderspoon stood to oppose the Labour Party's proposal to withdraw from the Vietnam War, and from what he alleged were its Red policies.

The campaign was vigorous.

In the event Joe Walding won with a final majority of 592 votes. P13-16 and P13-17 provide the information from the *Evening Standard* of 4 December 1967.

P13-15 : By-Election Onslaught

MANAWATU

EVENING STANDARD

EMBER 30, 1967. PRICE 4c. 30/11/1967 25 CENTS A WEEK DELIVERED. PUBLISHED DAILY.

CITY EDITION

3.



A group of Labour M.P.s planning before leaving the Labour Party headquarters today to canvass the electorate. In the group are Messrs Connolly (Harcourt), Douglas (Harcourt), Coleman (Petone), King (Waitemata), Hara (Northern Mairi), Fairbrother (Mt. Roskill), Christie (Napier), Macdonald (Dunedin Central), Roder (Hawke's Bay), Poley (Wairarapa), and Fraser (St. Helens). —Standard photograph—16326

By-Election Onslaught Reaches Peak

“Evening Standard” reporter.

The voters in Palmerston North are expected to come out in their hundreds tonight to support the five candidates at the final election rallies. Both Mr Holyoake and Mr Kirk will draw large crowds, and the Social Credit candidate, Mr J. B. O'Brien, will be making his last appeal to voters at Awapuni. The Democratic Labour candidate, Mr P. J. Welderspoon, and the Progress Party will also hold their final meetings tonight.

Meanwhile this morning the National Party moved its headquarters to the more spacious premises as it prepared for its final onslaught on the voters. Both the Labour headquarters in Ferguson Street and the Social Credit headquarters in Main Street reported that their staffs were working under heavy pressure.

The Labour Party has 25 members of Parliament working in the city today, canvassing from door to door and holding factory meetings. Tonight a party spokesman said, Labour will hold about 80 street meetings between 8.30 and 7 o'clock.

ACCUSATIONS

Last night the National candidate, Mr G. N. Cruden, speaking at an election rally, challenged Mr Kirk to disclose which part of the address he gave tonight has been prepared by Mr Kirk himself and which part has been dictated to him by Mr Shiraz and the Federation of Labour.

CANDIDATES “ON AIR” TONIGHT

All five candidates in the Palmerston North by-election will appear on radio and television this evening.

The National television programme will be broadcast by RTNZ at 6.57 p.m. The chairman is Mr Christopher Pottinger, a Wellington lawyer, and the questioners are Mr Ian Chase, television news announcer and public relations officer, and Dr A. C. Webster, adult education officer of Palmerston North.

Station 2ZA will broadcast a programme featuring the candidates at 8.30 this evening. The chairman is Mr Pat McDonald, of Wellington, with questioners Mr Brian Burgess, lecturer in psychology, at Wellington Teachers' College, and Mr John Owen, of the History Department, Massey University, Palmerston North.

Source: Manawatu Evening Standard 30/11/1967

P13-16 :
Mr Walding Leads by 699 votes

Mr Walding Leads By 699 Votes

SOCIAL CREDIT GAINS AT EXPENSE OF OTHERS

"Evening Standard" reporters

Mr J. A. Walding (Labour) is almost certain to be Palmerston North's Member of Parliament for the balance of the present term, even though there are an estimated 1700 special votes still to be counted.

On Saturday night Mr Walding had 699 votes more than the National contender (Mr G. N. Cruden).

The totals for each candidate were: Mr Cruden (National) 5813; Mr J. Q. Goldingham (Progress) 39; Mr J. B. O'Brien (Social Credit) 2382; Mr Walding (Labour) 6312; Mr P. J. Wedderpoon (Democratic Labour) 58.

The final result should be known in about 12 or 13 days. On election night, 1982 special votes had been collected, and the returning officer for the electorate (Mr O. T. Graham) estimates that when special voting closes in ten days the total should be nearer 1700.

In the past, the National candidate has gained more from the special votes than the Labour candidate. In 1969, Mr W. H. Brown increased his election night majority of eight to 259. In 1966, Mr Walding gained about one-third of the special votes. If he gets the same proportion again, he will still have a majority of about 400.

The average majority since and including the 1943 by-election has been 324.

Including the estimated 1700 special votes, it appears that more than 80 percent of the 19776 on the roll voted. At last year's General Election, 89.38 percent voted. There were 728 more names on the roll for the by-election.

Even though there was a smaller poll on Saturday compared with the 1968 total, Social Credit's vote increased from 5000 to 2382.

However, the totals for the two main parties were down on the 1968 election night totals. National got 1134 fewer votes, and Labour 437.

GUARDED

The mood in the Labour Party Clubhouse as the polls closed at 7 p.m. was one of guarded optimism.

But spirits began to rise right from the announcement of the first voting figures, showing a lead for Labour.

There were about 70 or 80 members and officials present, standing talking in groups, smiling quickly as progress reports came in, breaking out in a form of talk again as soon as the report was given.

The final result, which was at 8.04 p.m., was listened to in dead silence until the announcer read: "Walding, Labour, six thousand..." and on end of the figure was roared in cheers. There followed a burst of reports: "Walding for Labour, 6000," and cheering again broke out.

Then the cry became: "Walding's lead!" Mr Walding then made a

RESULTS	
Cruden (National)	5813
Goldingham	39
O'Brien	2382
Walding (Labour)	6312
Wedderpoon (Democratic Labour)	58
Majority for Walding	400
1968: Brown (National)	1985
1966: Walding (Labour)	1820
1966: majority for Brown	259

General Election the National Party in Palmerston North would be the best organized in the country.

He was naturally very disappointed but had no regrets. The chairman of the campaign committee, Mr M. C. Benson, said that it was too much to hope that the final votes would swing the result, and the only thing to do was to congratulate Mr Walding and hope that he represented Palmerston North as well as the late Mr W. H. Brown did.

Mr Cruden said he felt worried to congratulate Mr Walding, who was a worthy opponent. He also appreciated the way the other candidates had conducted the campaign, which had been fought at a high level of courtesy. Traditional in Palmerston North elections.

He thanked all the party supporters who had worked so hard and magnificently. They would all under the political arena again.

The Democratic president of the National Party (Mr E. D. Blair) said that under the country's present conditions the result was set and to be achieved at.

Earlier when the results began to come in supporters stood in little groups talking in low tones or listening to the radio. Cruden took a small room, Mr Cruden and his wife watched Mr Benson and the Member for Manawatu, Mr L. W. Gardiner, report the results as they

He was also surprised that National's total had been so high.

Mr O'Brien said that during the campaign the two major parties had spent too much time on issues like Vietnam instead of concentrating on domestic issues, such as what he termed "the erosion of the standard of living".

VISITOR

Shortly after 8 o'clock the Democratic Labour candidate, Mr P. J. Wedderpoon, arrived at the National headquarters and watched the proceedings. He was very pleased with the result of his poll. It was only the start of his political career. He would be back again.

By emphasizing the split in the Labour Party over the Vietnam issue as part of his campaign, Mr Wedderpoon added, the difference between the Labour and National votes had been cut down.

"But Labour has won, but I shall settle on to give the people the self-respecting politics they so largely desire and which they are not getting," Mr Wedderpoon added.

The candidate for the New Zealand Progress Party (Mr J. Q. Goldingham) said from his home that he would like to congratulate Mr Walding, and also Mr Cruden.

"I personally am disappointed at the result, but I didn't expect the campaign. I feel the Progress Party is a genuine attempt to offer New Zealand an alternative to the other parties."

He felt a "silent protest" was made by the 4908 voters who stayed at home.

Source: Manawatu Evening Standard 4/12/1967

P13-17:
New Member's Message

New Member's Message

MR WALDING TO REMAIN ON CITY COUNCIL

"Evening Standard" reporter

MES
4/12/1967

Mr J. A. Walding, almost certain to be Member of Parliament for Palmerston North, will serve all sections of the community. In a statement today he said: "Palmerston North has been well served by the late Mr W. H. Brown, by Mr W. B. Tennent and by Mr P. O. Skoglund, and I hope to carry on this tradition to the best of my ability."

"SOCRED GAINS TO BLAME"

The Social Credit vote in the Palmerston North by-election on Saturday gained at the expense of the Government, according to the Prime Minister (Mr Holyoake). He added: "But a closer analysis of voting would be needed to determine this."

In conceding victory to Labour, the Prime Minister said that Labour's percentage of the total vote compared with the General Election was about one half of one percent down. National's percentage was about 61 percent down and Social Credit was about 61 percent up.

"The 1700 special votes still to come would on normal trends improve the Government's figures," said Mr Holyoake.

SWEPT AWAY

"I am here to represent all electors of Palmerston North, irrespective of political affiliations, and will be making myself available to constituents at frequent intervals."

"I wish to thank the electors and supporters for the trust they have reposed in me, particularly the chairman of the campaign committee, Mr G. A. Brown".

Congratulatory telegrams spilled over Mr Walding's desk this morning, and he said his telephone was going constantly yesterday, with messages from all over New Zealand.

Mr Walding said he would not at present resign from the Palmerston North City Council. He would continue at least until the end of the present term, when he said he might reconsider.

There are several precedents for his retaining his seat on the council. The Member for Manawatu (Mr L. W. Gandar), has retained his seat on the Manawatu Catchment Board, and the Pohangina County Council.

And the Member for Hobson (Mr V. F. Cracknell) has retained his seat on the Northland Harbour Board, and during the Palmerston North by-election campaign was overseas on a study tour for the board on containerisation of cargoes.

Mr M. C. Sexton, chairman of the National Party in Palmerston North, said today he

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regarded the result as disappointing. "But when it is noted that our election night majority in 1965 was a reduction of 545 votes on the 1963 figure under General Election conditions, and the reduction on this occasion is only 707 votes, then I believe our organisation can be proud to have held the reduction to this figure in the face of massively adverse economic conditions."

The Labour Party must be very disappointed in the result, as it can give them no confidence that they will be able to hold the seat in 1969, and for them to have thrown such a large effort into this campaign for such a meagre gain, will undoubtedly make the winning of the seat a



Mr and Mrs J. A. Walding, seen after the result of the by-election was announced on Saturday evening.

Source: *Manawatu Evening Standard* 4/12/1967

Joe Walding's First Years in Parliament 1968-1969

In Parliament Joe Walding, with his background in business, brought new energy to the Labour opposition.

He laid out ways to stimulate export earnings. The seven points he wanted to emphasise were:

- 1) making efficient government advisers available to support industry;
- 2) assisting young people to enter business;
- 3) enabling industry to buy as cheaply as possible by removing the middleman;
- 4) government supported export/import houses;
- 5) a government warehouse facility for New Zealand manufacturers in overseas markets;

- 6) investment in wholesale and retail outlets overseas;
- 7) Expanding overseas trade posts with short-term appointments from private companies.

It was a farsighted speech and many of his proposals have continued to carry weight over the years since they were made.

In his Budget speech of the same year he pleaded with the government to stop harping on about the past, especially the 1958 Black Budget.

P13-18 : First part of Walding's maiden speech

	Address in Reply—Want of Confidence	9 July	Address in Reply—Want of Confidence 285
<p>In addressing this House for the first time I am deeply conscious of the unfortunate circumstances that caused the by-election. I consider myself fortunate to have been able to call the late Mr Bill Brown my personal friend. Mr Brown was held in deep affection by all sections of my electorate. He served his country and served Palmerston North well, and if at the end of my parliamentary career I am held in any way near the same esteem I shall be well satisfied. I am also conscious of the fact that Palmerston North has been well served by its past members of Parliament. The late Joe Hodgins, Ormond Wilson, the Hon. Blair Tennant, the Hon. Phil Skoglund—all made contributions to the development of my electorate and helped to make it the fine place it is today. Mr Skoglund in particular, as Minister of Education, played a prominent role in the establishment and development of Massey University.</p> <p>The development of this university has not only been of advantage to Palmerston North, but it has been in New Zealand's interests too, because dollar for dollar any investment in education or research facilities in Palmerston North gives the New Zealand taxpayer better value than expenditure anywhere else in this land. We have ample land for development and building is cheap in Palmerston North. Some see the main responsibility of the university as a training medium to make people more efficient in their jobs; as I see it the university has a wider and greater responsibility—to assist our students to develop to the fullest their capacity to question the status quo and to seek through learning the attainment of a better society. Man cannot live on butter alone. With the rapid development of the university and the other research facilities in our city we welcome the influx of professors, lecturers, scientists, technicians, and students who come to Palmerston North. Their presence in our city makes it a richer place in the fullest sense of the word. Palmerston North is a town</p>	<p>fortunate also to have the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, the Dairy Research Institute, and the new veterinary college, and we all know the vital contribution these institutions make towards the prosperity of our country.</p> <p>I do not underestimate the value of the city's industries either. They will continue to provide the bulk of employment opportunities for 1,000 school leavers each year. Palmerston North can be well proud of the contribution the city's industries make towards the economy, and it will be one of my tasks to ensure that they have opportunity to make an even greater contribution. As I see it, it is my duty to point out to this House when and why it is in the country's interests to provide and develop facilities in Palmerston North, and I make no apology for doing this. Turning now to wider issues, I express my acceptance of the concept of the welfare state with its inherent principle that everyone in the nation will be able to enjoy a reasonable standard of life, but I am concerned today to see this whole structure crumbling. Superannuitants have seen their savings watered down by inflation, and people who have been paying tax all through their working lives in the belief that when they retired they would receive back from the State a pension that would enable them to lead lives of reasonable comfort, instead find that what they receive today does not ensure that they can spend the rest of their lives in reasonable comfort.</p> <p>I know that for a welfare state to be generous it must be prosperous; I know, too, that to be prosperous you must be efficient. The more prosperous a country is the more generous it can be to its senior citizens, and the better able it is to accept its responsibilities to the arts, to education, and to the world's underprivileged. We are not as prosperous as we should be in this country; other countries have made tremendous progress—countries like Israel, surrounded by enemies, once barren land with few natural resources, a nation that has been able to treble its population in the last 15 years and yet increase its standard of</p>	<p>pride or national purpose, and by ensuring that everyone in the nation has an opportunity to contribute towards national objectives. I believe we can do this as well. Take another country, Denmark, a country with many problems similar to our own. Here we have a country not one-sixth of our size, with nearly double the population, but which has achieved remarkable prosperity growth largely because it has been able to diversify and substantially increase its exports of manufactured goods. Yet Denmark has to import all its copper and rubber, all its iron, rolled metals, timber and wool; it has no deposits of coal, minerals or oil; there is no hydro-electric power and most of its imports and exports travel by sea transport.</p> <p>In 1933 71 percent of Denmark's exports were agricultural products; in 1963 only 35 percent. In 1938 exports of canned meat and milk were worth \$2 million to Denmark; today the value of exports of these same products is over \$100 million. If this meat and milk had been exported as raw materials they would have earned less than half the value they earned as processed goods. If a country like Israel can make such progress, if Denmark can achieve such a rapid expansion in its secondary industries with far fewer natural advantages than we enjoy in New Zealand, then I say there is no reason why we cannot do the same and expand our exports of manufactured goods. Denmark and Israel have made tremendous progress by recognising that people are their greatest assets, and by providing them with an environment that enables them to express and develop their talents to the nation's advantage. The greatest asset we have in this country is our people, not grass, and if we are to prosper then all our people must be given the opportunity of meeting this challenge. If our standard of living is dependent upon increased export receipts—and it is—then we must provide an environment that gives more of our people an opportunity to participate in the export drive.</p>	

Source: NZPD 1968

Local matters

Joe Walding's abounding interests in local matters, were reflected in his questions in Parliament, which ranged from the milk in school schemes, radio reception, non-commercial radio, TV advertising costs, salaries at the University, banking, accommodation, land and historic places, productivity and full employment, the tourist season, subsidies for water supply schemes.

P13-19 : Mr Walding hosting a visit by Mrs Whetu Tirikatene-Sullivan



The National Development Conference 1968

In 1968 in the face of the growing economic dilemmas, Government established a National Development Conference with a considerable number of sector councils represented e.g. Agricultural Council, Forestry Council. These councils were to contribute ideas and proposals to the National Development Conference. 600 people gathered in Wellington with 656 proposed recommendations to change the status quo. Walding chided the government for its late conversion to “indicative planning” (NZPD 1969, vol. 361 p.1514). He went on “Look at the conference itself. Some of its aspects are disturbing. What I find particularly disturbing is even if we reached the planned growth rate of 4.5 percent which is set out in the recommendations, and it does not look as though we are going to be anywhere near that in the first year, and if Japan advances as she’s doing at the present time and maintains the growth that she’s achieved in the past, the Japanese people by

the 1980s will have a higher standard of living than the people of this country. I say this is totally unacceptable. The final worth of the National Development Conference will be decided on what notice the government takes of its recommendations”.

During the rest of 1969 Walding continued to attack the government economic policies “the country is ill, but it has an illness inflicted by the government” (NZPD 1969, vol. 361 p.1543). Unfortunately for this line of argument, the economy was improving, recovery was taking place and prices were all up.

The 1969 election

The National party chose to fight the 1969 election on the success of its National Development Conference and the need during the coming decade for New Zealand to develop its productive industries. This plan was seriously disrupted by the issue of the Vietnam War. Emotions ran high on that matter and the Prime Minister’s meetings were badly disrupted. In Auckland his meeting was wrecked by chanting demonstrators, who invaded the platform, brawled with the police and mobbed the Prime Minister and his wife outside the hall. Muldoon revelled in the situation. He used the media effectively to attack Kirk.

In the last week of the election, a seamen’s strike put the Labour Party at a further disadvantage. The election was lost by the Labour Party and the Prime Minister won his fourth successive victory. His majority, however, had been eroded to six seats.

P13-20 :
Norman Kirk and
R.M. Barclay, MP for
New Plymouth
[right], and other
participants finishing
a 10 mile walk from
New Plymouth to
Waitara



Source: *Weekly News* 26 May 1969

The 1969 election in Palmerston North.

Both the National party and the Labour Party achieved a high standard of organisation for the election. Gordon Cruden although defeated in 1967 was now a high profile candidate. He was now City Councillor. He was an enthusiastic political campaigner. Joe Walding matched his opponent. It was a very close vote.

P13-21 : 1969 Election result

Walding J.A. (Lab)	8492	47%
Cruden G.N. (Nat)	8331	46.5%
Hunter L.W. (SC)	1229	6.8%

The Labour Party Renewal

Even though Mr Walding had retained his seat in 1969 by a narrow margin, nationally the Labour Party had lost four of the elections in a row since 1960. Paradoxically though, the Labour Party had, in fact, been in a process of renewal and reconstruction. Norman Kirk's leadership from 1965 on had moved the party to a centre position. The conservative Labour group who looked back to the 1930s were no longer influential. A new generation of members under 50 years of age emerged. They were a mixture of idealists and young intellectuals, some with middle-class inheritance, some with radical interests, and some concerned with strong positions on moral questions of the day.

Joe Walding himself belonged to that new generation. The people he gathered around him in 1966 and 1967 to form his campaign arrangements reflected the changes occurring within the party at large. There were representatives from the university community, some from the business community, many from the older members of the Labour Party and a very willing number of quite young people.

By 1972, the Labour Party had reached a new consensus. It was still guided by the humanitarian concern of the 1930s for the underprivileged. It was still conscious of its roots in the trade union struggles of long ago. It was thus willing to use the State to remedy social injustice or to protect the wage earner from the vicissitudes of private enterprise. Yet the concern now was raising the ceiling for everybody by offering incentives for initiative and industry.

Thus, from being the party of the working class it had broadened and was ready to make a determined bid for the white-collar and professional vote that was forming a growing proportion of the electorate.

Joe Walding in Parliament but still in opposition 1970-1972

In the years following the 1969 election, Joe Walding continued to raise the theme of his maiden speech in 1967 concerning economic initiatives.

He attacked the 1970 budget as “a distressing and baleful document” (NZPD 1970, vol. 366 p.1603).

He was aware and unhappy at the movement of New Zealanders to Australia. He jocularly suggested that a New Zealand Electorate be formed there and to be called Muldoonia.

In his speeches, Joe Walding returned repeatedly to the need for New Zealand manufacturing to add value, rather than depend on commodity products only. To maximise export returns was a constant theme as his speeches as proposals for a government-sponsored Export/Import Corporation reveal (NZPD 1971, p.1236).

Environmental issues

A new emphasis began to appear in his speeches at this time. He began to speak of the importance of the environment, “even if the introduction of amendments to the pollution legislation to keep clean the air we breathe and the water we drink, would hurt some of Labour’s most valuable supporters, that is no reason for not bringing in such legislation. Of course, it would cost money. There is no such thing today as free pure water and clean air. Money is required to keep them clean but that is the price we cannot afford not to pay. The cost of manufacturing should include the cost of eliminating the pollution involved in the manufacturing of these goods”. (NZPD 1970, vol. 365 p.322).

Local issues

Local issues were not overlooked in this period. The impact of the growth in student numbers in Palmerston North because of Massey University was important. Mr Walding was concerned that the doubling of the roll of students from 2,000 to 4,500 would have important effects on student housing. That matter required attention.

Pressure Groups

It was during this period that the Minister of Finance, the Hon. Robert Muldoon declared that New Zealand was a country “bedevilled by pressure groups”. His statement indicated that he was experiencing many cross pressures. Certainly traditional pressure groups such as exporters, manufacturers, farmers, importers, business groups, professions, Trade Unions and Employers Federation were unrelenting in their demands.

However, they were now joined by many specific and one-issue pressure groups such as Women’s Liberation and the Springbok Tour groups. Tertiary student groups had exercised much successful advocacy in the mid to late

sixties. In the 1970s, the students stepped up their pressure. New environmental pressure groups joined the traditional groups such as Forest and Bird Society in arguing for protection of the environment. The Lake Manapouri campaign is the best example of this kind of action.

There is no doubt that pressure groups formed a vital and integral part of the New Zealand political process. They shared with the political parties and with the public service the main role of providing the new ideas in the community.

However, the emergence of new dramatic forms of political action through demonstrations heralded a more volatile and emotional political landscape. The divided views on the Vietnam War within New Zealand produced demonstrations, and teach-ins, as well as counter-demonstrations. These demonstrations and counter-demonstrations became the model for many other causes.

The 1972 General Election

The economy seemed to be performing better as 1972 opened. Public confidence in the future grew. It was as though, after the stresses and strains from 1967 until 1970, the economy seemed more settled.

There were signs, though, of the emergence of new forms of political action, most obvious among women. In Palmerston North, the establishment of a local Women's Liberation Movement proved to be an important portent. In the Labour Party locally in Palmerston North, there had always been a Women's Branch. This strengthened.

Norman Kirk Leader of the Labour Party, despite having lost two elections in a row began to project himself forcibly and with a new image, which was appealing to the public.

The 1972 election campaign in Palmerston North

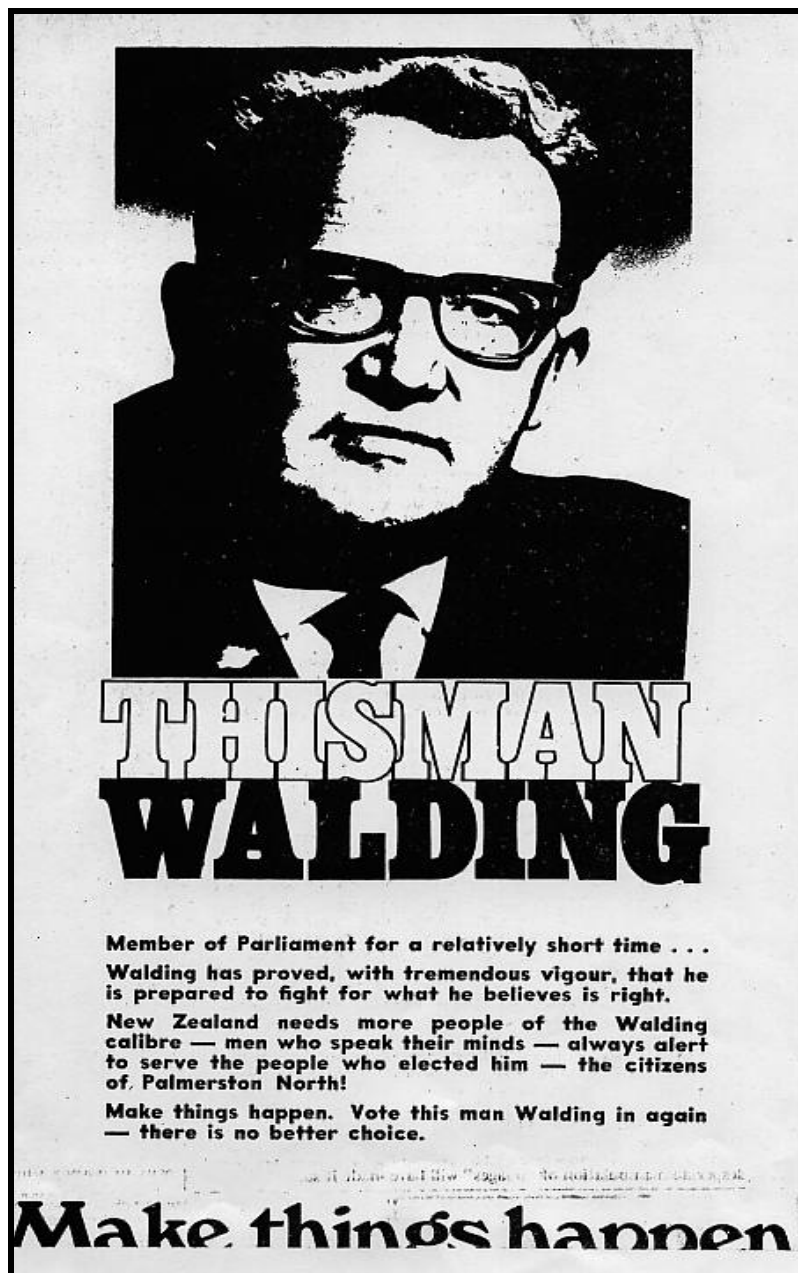
Joe Walding had gathered around himself a very strong team of people to serve on his 1972 campaign committee. Everything was planned meticulously. The National Party was now represented by P.W. Mitchell. Gordon Cruden, their previous candidate in 1967 and 1969, had been appointed a Judge in Hong Kong. B. Harper stood for Social Credit, Mrs L.A. Inglis for the New Democratic party whilst Mickey Mouse was also in the list. A new party the Values Party had recently been formed, on a New Zealand wide basis. Their candidate was David Woodhams.

A split in the Social Credit party had weakened their position with the formation of the new Democratic Party.

The Values party, with a strong environmental emphasis and other progressive measures looked set to appeal to young people looking for something fresh.

The contest between the two main political rivals Labour and National had a rather traditional look about it.

The National Party's advertisements stressed "Marshall - the man, strength where it counts". Locally the Labour Party countered with "This Man Walding - Make things happen".



*P13-22 : Company
Advertisement*

P13-23 : Labour Party poster on environmental issues which assumed considerable importance in the campaign



The 1972 general election result

The *Evening Standard* of 27 November 1972 carried the headline “Walding Romps Home” and added “Palmerston North, long one of the marginal seats, came down solidly for Labour on Saturday and swept Mr Walding to victory”.

P13-24 : 1972 Election Result

Walding J.A. (Lab)	8888	50.8%
Mitchell P.W. (Nat)	7122	40.7%
Harper B. K. (SC)	694	4.0%
Woodhams D.J. (V)	676	3.9%
Mickey Mouse (H)	76	0.4%
Inglis Mrs L.A. (ND)	32	0.2%
Majority	1766	

P13-25 :
Norman Kirk enjoys the
occasion



The Labour government in office December 1972

The Labour caucus elected the members it wished to nominate for the Cabinet. Mr Kirk, as Prime Minister, allocated the portfolios. Margaret Hayward, in her book *Diary of the Kirk Years* had this to say. “The only Minister who won’t have a department of his own is Joe Walding. Because of his experience as an exporter, he becomes Minister of Overseas Trade, a division of the Department of Trade and Industry. And, as Mr Kirk admires his commonsense approach and feels they would work well together, he has also made him Associate Minister of Foreign Affairs. The distinction between the protection of the environment and the development of New Zealand’s natural resources has become an issue, so Joe becomes the Minister for Environment and takes over the new portfolio of Sport and Recreation, both divisions of the Department of Internal Affairs”. (Hayward, M., 1974).

This move by the Prime Minister to have Joe Walding closely associated with him indicated real respect between these two men. The partnership worked well as will be seen from the record of Joe Walding’s work as a Cabinet Minister.

Recognition of the People’s Republic of China

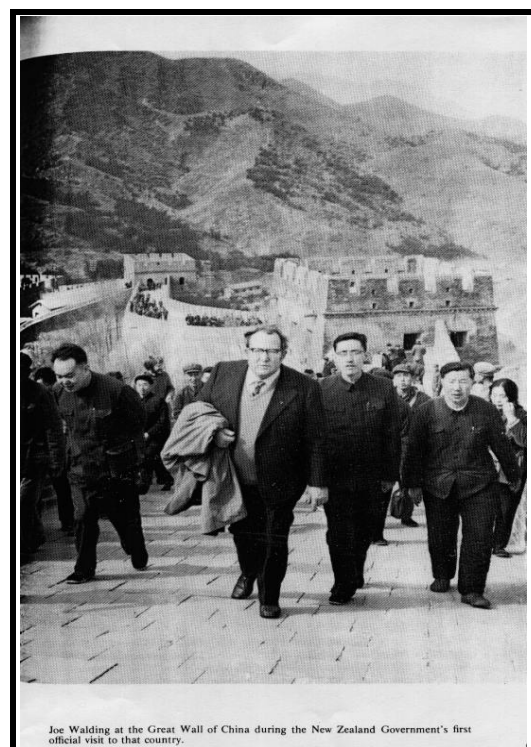
On 22 December, 3 weeks after the election, the new government became the 38th country in the world to recognise the People’s Republic of China. Norman Kirk as Prime Minister along with Joe Walding stressed the importance of

China in the world and made a feature of the importance of New Zealand having an independent foreign policy. It was decided soon after this that New Zealand would send a goodwill mission to Beijing. This mission would be headed by the Associate Minister Walding. This paved the way for the opening of embassies in Wellington and in Beijing.

Joe Walding was in Beijing in March 1973 on the goodwill mission. In October 1973, he led a large trade mission to China. During this mission, in a basic trade agreement with the Chinese government three areas of joint work were recognised 1) animal husbandry, 2) geothermal energy, 3) forestry.

John McKinnon has written about these events in the following way. “The decision to send a ministerial-led mission had been taken on the grounds that only at that level could New Zealand begin the process of hearing Chinese views and presenting New Zealand’s views to the Chinese leadership, and only in that context could all other contacts with China take place. The context within which China viewed this relationship could be inferred from the speech of welcome to Walding given by the Foreign Minister ... acknowledging the new independent foreign policy expounded by Kirk, Qiao described the Pacific as not living up to its name, as, under the manipulation of expansionist forces, it was an area of rivalry between the superpowers. He pledged to work with New Zealand to safeguard the independent sovereignty of all countries in the Pacific region ... China saw the establishment of a political relationship as a foundation on which all else was based. Commercial and cultural contracts were seen as an expression of, and a consequence of, that basic fact, not necessarily as things to be perceived for their own sake”. (McKinnon J. (1999) in Brown B. (ed), *NZ in World Affairs*).

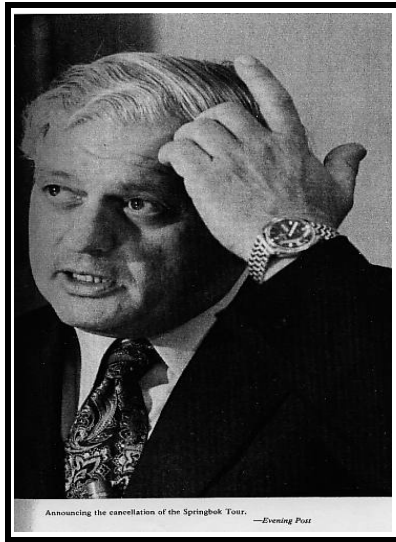
*P13-26 : Joe Walding
visiting the Great Wall.*



Joe Walding in his speech of reply said that the most important thing China and New Zealand had in common was a striving for human equality. Walding said that New Zealand's goals for peace and progress derived from the nature of its society, and from its interests as a country, which relied heavily on international trade.

Cancellation of Rugby Tour

In March 1973 the new Government cancelled the Springbok Tour.



*P13-27 : Mr Kirk
announcing the cancellation
of the Springbok Tour*

Source: *Evening Post*

Nuclear testing issues

The nuclear testing issue was not to be resolved easily between China and New Zealand. It remained in some degree of contention over the next 25 years, New Zealand regularly and vigorously protesting each time China tested nuclear weapons.

The question of nuclear testing had become a domestic political issue in the 1960s. The National Government had protested about French testing in the Pacific but the Labour Party Opposition charged that this was tokenistic and that government inactivity was unacceptable. This divergence of view increased over the years. In 1970 when the French government resumed testing, the Labour Party charged the government with negligence.

It was no surprise that when the Fourth Labour Government took office, it asserted a new drive with an independent point of view on international matters with which New Zealand was concerned.

Executive steps in nuclear Testing

From December 1972 to August 1973 a series of significant steps were taken by Kirk and Walding on the behalf of the New Zealand Government on nuclear testing matters. These included a personal lengthy letter from Kirk to the French Prime Minister, a visit to Paris to make representations by the Deputy Prime Minister Mr Hugh Watt, the sending of the frigates Otago and Canterbury into the nuclear testing area and high publicity from those observers, in the continuous provision of information to the world at large.

P13-28 : Joe Walding and others greeting Mr Kirk on his return from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in 1973



Return from Ottawa, greeted by (from left) Joe Walding, Bob Tizard, Warren Freer and Martyn Finlay. Photo: Ian Mackley, *Evening Post*.

Walding's other Portfolios

For a new Minister in a new government Walding displayed real energy in his first six months in office. In the first Address and Replies speech in Parliament in 1973 Walding ticked off the promises kept. These were the protection of Lake Manapouri, the recognition of the People's Republic of China, the withdrawal from Vietnam, and overseas trade opportunities. On trade matters he alluded to incessant "worrying about Europe which blurred our vision for opportunities in other parts of the world" (NZPD 1973, vol. 382 p.668).

On 22 March 1973, Walding introduced the New Zealand Export/Import Corporation Bill. The purpose of the corporation was "an organisation which would have initial responsibility of coordination and expansion of overseas trading opportunities. It was the first major plank of measures introduced by Walding in support of manufacturing developments". (NZPD 1973, vol. 382 p.139).

Walding was not idle in another portfolio that he held. He introduced on 14 March 1973 a Recreation and Sport Bill, which was to establish a new role within Internal Affairs Department and also establish a Council to strengthen community participation in sport and recreation.

In respect of his Environment portfolio, Joe Walding was able to double the staff and upgrade a number of features.

Foreign policy independence and the Nuclear Testing Issue

The active approach adopted by Norman Kirk as Prime Minister and Joe Walding as Associate Minister led to accusations from the Opposition that they were acting like “a bull in the china shop”. Walding replied, “If we look back over the previous government’s record we will find it acted like an old sleepy turtle that refused to open its eye to see what was going on in the world”. (NZPD 1973, vol. 382 p.669).

In June 1973, Walding had this to say in Parliament, “Opposition members talk about what they believe in, but when it comes to action it’s a different matter. It is 12 years since the French exploded their first nuclear devices, and in any of those 12 years, the National Government could have made a case to the International Court of Justice if it had wanted to do so, but obviously it did not. A National Government could have sent the Deputy Prime Minister to France as the Labour Government did, to try persuading the French to stop the tests. Again, it did not bother to take that action. Opposition members claim they are against nuclear tests, but when it comes to action they are found wanting.

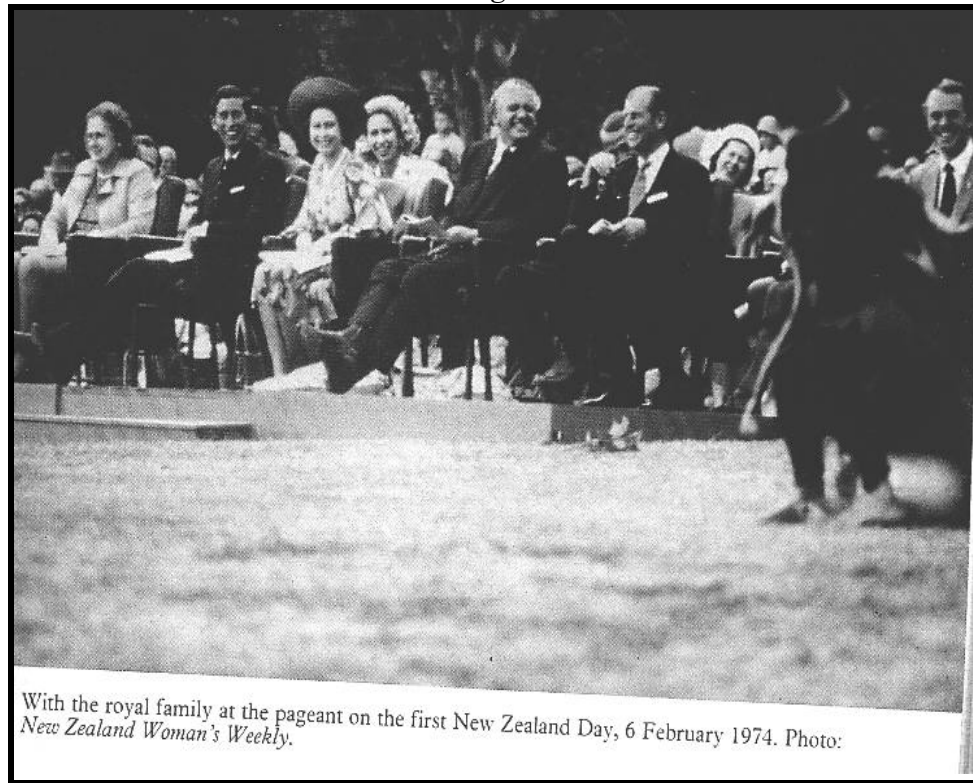
New Zealand’s foreign policy is much better known today than at any time when the National Government was in office. For too long we have been the pawn of the superpowers. No one was prepared to stand up against France in case we lost some other sales in Europe. No one was prepared to speak against the United States and its policies and actions in Vietnam, because we might lose markets.

It is time that New Zealand, as a nation, spoke up for what it believes in. This Government has an independent policy, and the people of the world know it. We may not be a very big nation, but at least we can be expected to speak our mind. New Zealanders expect the government to do this on their behalf. I am proud to be a member of the government that implemented that independent policy, a government is not satisfied with words and words alone”. (NZPD vol. 382 p.1723).

1974 a year of crisis

1974 began well for New Zealand with the Commonwealth Games and the Royal tour. Both these events were very successful.

*P13-29 : Walding with Royal Family
at Waitangi 6/2/1974*



The government had some good achievements in foreign affairs, superannuation and local government. However housing prices accelerated, inflation rose sharply, and industrial unrest increased. The Labour Government had come to power with great expectations from the population at large about what could be achieved. These expectations were never going to be met fully and as people would have liked. Joe Walding, however, got on well with his work.

Ominous economic signs

By April, it was evident that all was not well with the economy. There was a tightening of bank credit. Share prices slid much lower. Falling meat and wool prices were portents of worse to come. What had come to be known as the First Oil Shock had altered New Zealand terms of trade fundamentally.

The Death of a Prime Minister

On 31 August 1974, Prime Minister Norman Kirk died. Whilst he had been ill since April 1974, his death was a profound shock both to the nation and to his parliamentary colleagues. For Joe Walding it was a time of deep sadness. Margaret Haywood records as follows, on Monday 19 August. "On Sunday Mr Kirk got out of bed. With Mrs Kirk, Gray Nelson, and a driver Ron Iremonger, he went to Palmerston North for the opening of the new Roman Catholic co-educational College, which had received a generous government grant. When he rang me and said he was going, I remonstrated with him, but he simply said, "I can't let Joe down. 'Joe's good value'. And I remembered Joe's seat was marginal". (Haywood, M., 1981, p.294).

*P13-30 : Mr Kirk opens St Peters College,
Palmerston North*



Source: *Manawatu Evening Standard* 19/8/1974

This incident a week before Norman Kirk's death is a pointed indication of the importance of the personal relationship to both Kirk and Walding.

The State funeral the and subsequent events

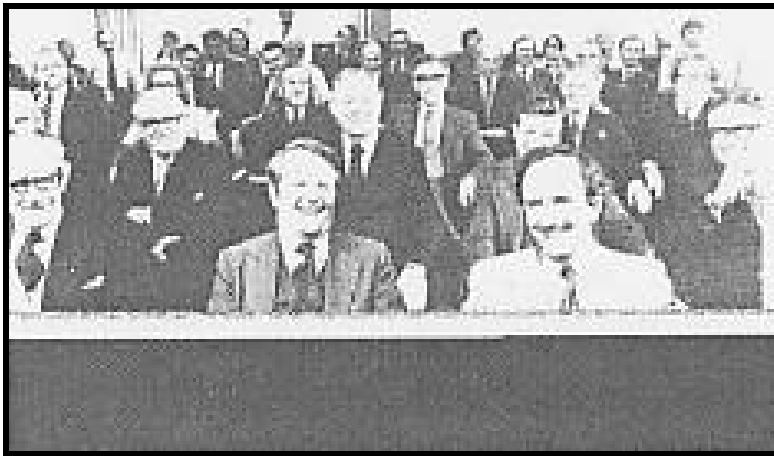
P13-31 : State Funeral for Norman Kirk
31 August 1974



Joe Walding then played his part as a Cabinet Minister in the arrangements for the state funeral for the Prime Minister and the public mourning that followed. He also played an important part in the Labour Party caucus on Friday the sixth of September when it assembled to elect a new leader. The contest was between Hugh Watt and Bill Rowling. Rowling succeeded. He was appointed Prime Minister by the Governor General a few hours later.

There were five nominations for the deputy leader of the Labour Party, Arthur Faulkner, Warren Freer, Bob Tizard, Colin Moyle and Joe Walding. Bob Tizard was elected.

For the Cabinet, Joe Walding urged that a new ballot be held. All of the 17 previous Cabinet Ministers were re-elected. When Rowling assigned the new portfolios, Joe Walding retained what he had previously held. As Bassett writes "Rowling, however, kept Joe Walding as Associate Minister of Foreign Affairs. He made it clear from the start that he expected to be putting more of his own time as Prime Minister into domestic affairs, and in particular to the problems of the economy. It was essential therefore to retain an associate minister". (Bassett, M., 1976, p.171).



P13-32 : Bill Rowling (centre) with his new Cabinet and Caucus, September 1974

Initially the new arrangements under Prime Minister Rowling were well received by the public but gradually public sentiment began to turn against the government.

Overseas trade

P13-33 : Walding meets the Pope

Bassett has written as follows about 1974 “During the year other steps had been taken to improve New Zealand’s overall economic position. Considerable efforts were made to secure new trade outlets.

Several ministers, and in particular the tireless peripatetic Joe Walding, the Minister of Overseas Trade, had been to the Middle East hoping to arrange a meat deal in return for oil.

He also undertook the lengthy trip to Europe and the United States in March and April, during which time he met the Pope (*P13-33*).



The principal purpose of the trip was to discuss with the EEC Commission the terms of entry for New Zealand dairy produce after 1977. In June, Joe was in the Middle East and in London again. ‘Nice of you to drop by’ quipped Mike Moore when Joe turned up for Caucus in July. By the beginning of October, however the economic position was worse than it had been five months before. A revised OECD report had been released which indicated that the upturn expected for 1975 in the world economy would not now take place until 1976. Trends in the United States and in Europe were cause for pessimism rather than optimism”. (Bassett, M., 1976, p.176).

The local scene in 1974-75

In Palmerston North, political attitudes mirrored the national mood. There was deep sadness about Norman Kirk's death and an initial acceptance of Bill Rowling's leadership. The economic downturn was another matter, and soon began to take its toll on the previous Labour majority won in 1972.

The main criticism that emerged was to accuse Joe Walding of being absent unnecessarily from the electorate on government business. No amount of rational explanation to explain the responsibilities of a cabinet minister in the discharge of his duties, had any effect. Slowly people began to shift their political allegiance. Dilemmas in housing policy began to emerge. In 1973 more housing permits were issued than ever before. Indeed, it set a record that was not to be eclipsed until 2003. However, there were still people who could not raise a mortgage or secure a state house. Public criticism followed. Joe Walding was dismayed. Substantial state funding and private funding had gone into housing as part of Labour's effort to honour election pledges, but it was still not enough. Demand exceeded supply.

In the latter part of 1974, unemployment began to rise as a response to the major difficulties in the world economy. With the economic measures taken necessarily by the government in response to the crisis, more unemployment would follow.

In Parliament, Muldoon attacked Joe Walding and accused him of speculating in rezoned land in Palmerston North in 1967. The land concerned was in Aokautere. There had been local rumours spread about which were false. Nevertheless Muldoon took the opportunity to try to score political points and embarrass Joe Walding. Joe Walding denied the accusation, which was manifestly untrue. Nothing further happened.

P13-34 : The link between Housing and Industry



The 25-acre Roberts Line block where the first sod was turned this week for the Borg-Warner transmission assembly plant. *MES. 25/10/1974.*

Housing And Industry Linked

The Minister of Overseas Trade and member of Parliament for Palmerston North, Mr Walding, supports the establishment of the Borg-Warner transmission assembly plant at Palmerston North. "I support the development of balanced industrial growth in the city, and the establishment of Borg-Warner, provided environmental safeguards are established," he said.

His comments came in the wake of the turning of the first sod on the 25-acre Roberts Line site for the new industry, which eventually will comprise 300,000 square feet of factory. The construction of the multi-million dollar automotive plant will proceed in three stages — each of 100,000 square feet — and preparatory work for the first stage began this week.

Mr Walding said Palmerston North needed more industry, but warned that the city could not plan for industry without planning for housing needs. "And you certainly cannot plan for housing needs without planning for industry," he said. "There is no point having an industry employing 1000 people if you have nowhere to house them. The long-term issues have to be seen in perspective."

An international company, Austin-Anderson, has the contract for the building of the new Borg-Warner plant. The firm built the company's Albury plant, 20 miles from Sydney, and also the giant Boeing Aircraft Company plant at Chicago.

1975

Joe Walding's energy as Minister of Overseas Trade and his effectiveness led to a growing recognition of a reputation as a person who got things done. Groups like the Federated Farmers and the Manufacturers Association acknowledged his achievements.

In the latter part of 1974 and throughout 1975, he had to face Opposition efforts to lay the blame for the current downturn in New Zealand on bad management by the government. Joe Walding replied "It is utter nonsense to suggest the Labour government and the Minister of Overseas Trade were responsible for the world trading position. The two real facts were inflation and the effect on the world of the increase in the price of oil". (NZPD 1974 vol. 394 p.4923).

The Labour Government had had a number of successes in its term. Superannuation and Foreign Affairs stood out. The Health White Paper of 1974 however was only promises. Agricultural policy to allow young farmers to take up land was effective. Some other policies in the Justice area were worthwhile.

Overall, in the three-year period 1972-75 the Labour Government had seen the country slip from a period of some prosperity into the worst economic downturn since the Great Depression. The opposition used every tactic possible to lay the blame for the difficulties on the government. They were successful.

The death of Norman Kirk in mid 1974 removed from politics a Prime Minister of great talent. His status in the public eye meant that on his death a deep gap emerged which Bill Rowling, talented and gifted though he was, could not bridge.

1975 election campaign and result

Joe Walding defended his seat against three candidates who were new to the hustings.

For the National Party John Lithgow was the candidate. He had a very strong hard-working campaign committee.

P.J. Edmonds stood for Social Credit. The Values Party had grown in strength since 1972. It was represented in that year by N.W. Rennie

On the New Zealand level, the Prime Minister, Bill Rowling faced the biggest challenge of his life. He had a degree in economics, and had been serving in the New Zealand Army in the Educational Corps when elected to Parliament. Originating in the Nelson region where his family lived, he became an experienced parliamentarian. He also served three years as the President of the New Zealand Labour Party. Bill Rowling was an intelligent, determined

man who had shown as Finance Minister and subsequently as Prime Minister a willingness to take hard decisions. Political campaigning by this time had been altered by the development of television. Mastery of television became of central importance. On television, Bill Rowling came across somewhat hesitantly. This was to count against him in the election.

Robert Muldoon had succeeded to the position of Leader of the Opposition in July 1974. Mr Muldoon won the position not only because of his talent but because he was seen as the one person at that time in the opposition who could match Norman Kirk the Prime Minister. Mr Kirk's death in late August 1974 meant that the contest between the two never occurred.

Robert Muldoon

Robert Muldoon had entered political life when he joined the Junior National Party branch in Auckland in 1947. Four years later, he sought nomination for the Mount Albert electorate but was unsuccessful. In 1954, he became the National candidate for Mount Albert but lost by 3226 votes. Muldoon failed again in 1957 when defeated in Waitemata. However, he had established himself as a rising star in the National Party and in 1960 he succeeded in winning the Tamaki seat for National and remained in Parliament until 1992. Between 1970 and 1984 Rob Muldoon dominated New Zealand politics.

P13-35 :
Robert Muldoon



Born in Auckland in 1921, Robert Muldoon came from a hard-working, frugal family. His father, however, suffered very serious ill health after World War I and by 1928 was in permanent care. His mother and grandmother were strong people and saw to it that the family had the best that could be provided in the circumstances.

Robert Muldoon was a gifted student in school, doing particularly well whilst at Mount Albert Grammar School. Away from school, the Baptist Church and the YMCA were his main interests.

His first employment was with the Auckland Electric Power Board but this was interrupted by his war service 1942-45 with the New Zealand Army in New Caledonia and subsequently in Italy. At the end of the war, he received

an armed service educational bursary, which he took in London where he studied accountancy. After a brief period back with the Electric Power Board, he joined an accountancy practice and built it up.

In public political life, Robert Muldoon was a very hard-working but combative person. He was seen as a gifted, well-informed figure, abrasive and unyielding in his politics. These features often obscured a shy, self-conscious aspect of his personality. He also was by nature an innate conservative. To compound the complexity he was a statist and a centralist politician in a free enterprise party.

The National Party 1975 election campaign

The political campaign by the National Party in 1975 was extremely effective. The campaign theme was “New Zealand the Way You Want It”. The publicity was based on market-research drawn from door-to-door knocking asking people to identify what were the three most serious problems facing the country. The results were conveyed by Muldoon’s speeches. Muldoon attacked the Government’s economic management, raised fears about the economic future, and then showed what prosperity would be like under his control. He also made a feature of policy to pare immigration to the bone. He also made a vigorous onslaught on trade unions.

John Lithgow the Palmerston North candidate for the National Party was a particularly effective door-to-door canvasser. He introduced himself to hundreds of Palmerston North residents and gained some votes by this method. The National Party electorate organisation was at its peak and ran like clockwork.

The Labour Party local organisation was as strong as ever and repeated the effective work in 1972 at the local level. However, at the national level proper planning for the 1975 election was left very late. There was a lack of unity between the national executive and the parliamentary party. The campaign was run as a defence of what had been achieved, rather than providing new proposals for the electors to discuss.

P13-36 :
Muldoon given a rough ride

It's a sell out, says the P.M.

N.Z. Press Association

Whangarei, Thursday. — The National Party's \$200,000 television advertising campaign was last night called a "sell out" by the Prime Minister, Mr Rowling.

Speaking to an overflow crowd of about 1000 in the third major meeting of his election campaign, Mr Rowling said much of the Opposition \$200,000 television campaign spending went overseas, as the commercials were not made in New Zealand.

"They've spent overseas funds that they talk so much about, getting a collection of very dubious material to show on television," he said.

"If there was ever a sell out of New Zealand policy let me assure you, that's it."

Mr Rowling said one advertisement dealing with tertiary bursaries had already been called "full of factual inaccuracies" by student leaders.

Gap

"Talk about a credibility gap," he said, "This applies to borrowing, immigration, unemployment and imports."

The Prime Minister's attack on Opposition credibility was linked with an attack on Mr Muldoon, whom he called the "temporary leader of the National Party".

He also criticised contradictory statements on immigration by Mr Muldoon.

"Like most New Zealanders I'm becoming just a little curious as to just what the National Party's policy is on immigration."

And once again, Mr Rowling defended the Government's economic record saying it was one the people of New Zealand could be proud of.



Muldoon given a rough ride

MES 13/10/1975



but he had the loudest voice...



"Evening Standard" reporter.

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr Muldoon, fought to be heard above loud heckling in a closely guarded Palmerston North theatre last night.

Finally, the amplifiers were turned up and the hecklers were lost in an address which was ear-splitting in some parts of the theatre.

It was Mr Muldoon's sixth appearance in the Labour-held electorate in 14 months. (Mr J. A. Walding has a 1758 majority.)

A crowd of 1400 was supervised by at least 25 police officers, who formed a close guard when Mr Muldoon left the theatre.

The Mayor of Palmerston North, Mr B. G. C. Elwood, prompted the first heckling when he in-

troduced Mr Muldoon. "Whatever the outcome of the election, we will either be bilked or robbed and I know most of you are hoping it will be Robbed," he said.

"I describe him tonight as the man who is just a ballot box away from being Prime Minister."

Mr Elwood's words brought not only the first applause, but also the heckling, which for many people drowned out Mr Muldoon's reference to charts which "counted the cost of three years of Labour".

Every mention of Labour or the Prime Minister brought instant rounds of applause and stamping.

Mr Muldoon held up the latest Labour manifesto for some time before the hecklers let him refer to it as "The Black Book of Disaster with Noddy's photo on the front page".

Mr Muldoon said that so far during the election campaign our Prime Minis-

ter has not once mentioned the farming industry.

"I would remind him of this essential industry and suggest it is the only way

Security Intelligence Service, Mr Muldoon made his support of the SIS clear.

"Bill Gilbert is an honourable man and he is doing his job the Kiwi way," he said. "New Zealand needs a security service in today's world."

The country needed neither the KGB nor the CIA, he said, referring to the controversial "Dear Gerry" letter. He said the writer had only hoodwinked the Evening Post, and that was no offence.

He would not repeat the Amanda Russell allegation made under privilege of the House.

Two of the written questions appeared to have further "Dear Gerry" undertones and were described by Mr Muldoon as a "dirty lie—the kind that the Labour Party's rumour machine is circulating".

"It refers to a colleague of mine now dead. A nasty vicious letter."

The night ended with written questions from the audience.

Answering one on the

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we are going to pay back the \$2000 million that he has borrowed," Mr Muldoon said.

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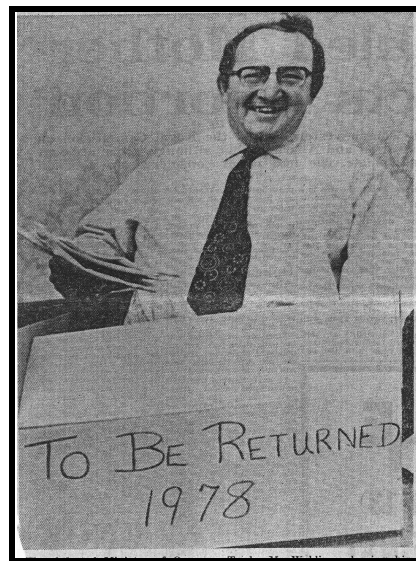
Walding lost votes to National and Values. As well, some of his own supporters did not vote.

1975 to 1978 Out of Parliament and back to Business

Following his defeat in the election of 1975, Joe Walding immediately returned to business. He returned to Smith and Walding. However, innovative as usual, he developed a new small company concerned with the propagation of plants, in particular, carnations. The base for this development was in Havelock North.

He had not lost his interest in meat exports. He began to develop a trade with Russian interests and this matured in the following years.

P13-38 : Joe Walding retained his sense of humour in his loss in 1975



Political Action

Joe Walding had been deeply hurt by the continued accusations before the election that he had neglected his electorate by travelling overseas as the Minister of Overseas Trade. He was determined to regain his seat. He worked tirelessly with the local Labour party branches to put in place the means to secure a return to Parliament in 1978.

Meanwhile the National Government under Robert Muldoon worked vigorously on its political agenda. The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme was wound up and the new taxpayer funded National Superannuation introduced.

In foreign policy, traditional links with Australia , the UK and the USA were re-emphasised. The economic strain of New Zealand living beyond its means did not go away, but in those years some economic improvement masked the difficulty. Some steps were taken to reduce the deficit and some modest steps towards deregulation were put in place. In policy terms, however the

Muldoon government wavered on whether to undertake a radical deregulation programme or to make modest steps in economic change.

Muldoon's political instincts to keep things as they were and hurt as few people as possible won the day. Full-scale deregulation and substantial changes would have to wait as far as he was concerned. However, a group of National members wanted their government to commence deregulation and make the economy over in the image of competitive private enterprise. There was a struggle within the National caucus. John Lithgow the National MP for Palmerston North, labelled himself as a "Muldoon man". He was all for a fair go for the ordinary bloke.

Muldoon campaigned in 1978 with the election slogan "We're Keeping Our Word". Lithgow was happy about the slogan.

Meanwhile Walding campaigned with great determination. He even felt sufficiently confident to join with David Lange, the deputy leader of the opposition, in what was called the demolition squad, which campaigned in National party electorates.

P13-39: 1978 Election result

Walding J.A. (Lab)	10629	49%
Lithgow J.L. (Nat)	7893	36.4%
Edmonds P.J. (S.C.)	1453	11.8%
Serrallach G.F. (V)	551	2.6%
Smith A.J. (T)	48	0.7%
Majority	2736	

Joe Walding had achieved a massive swing in his favour in the election. It was the largest majority of his political career.

Such a personal success was not matched New Zealand wide. Despite having a majority of votes throughout New Zealand, the first past the post voting system yielded a majority of seats for the National Party. Muldoon returned as Prime Minister.

Wages, price, rent freeze

The more Robert Muldoon tried to control the economy, the more he was forced to use extreme measures. In 1976, he had tried a 12 months freeze on wages and salaries. Later using the 1979 Remuneration Act, he again took action on the control of wages. This led to widespread opposition particularly by the trade union movement.

P13-40 : The front page of *Imprint*, the Printing Union's journal, 1976. It depicts the enormous frustration at Muldoon's wage restrictions.



The banking sector and the financial services groups, however, were all opposed. It was not until three years later that the harshest wage freeze was instituted.

Joe Walding back in Parliament 1979-1981

Local issues

While there were many local issues that Joe Walding attended to on his return to Parliament, such as Massey University and the Palmerston North Technical Institute, it was the rising unemployment that concerned him the most.

Overseas trade

It was natural that Joe Walding, as a past Minister of Overseas Trade would speak about that topic. There was a trace of nostalgia when he chided the government for failing to acknowledge past achievements “They could have given some credit to the Labour Government (1972-75) for opening up trading posts in Peking, Vienna, and Moscow, for initiatives taken in the Middle East ... and for the achievements of the Export Import Corporation. When that Corporation was set up every member opposite opposed it ..., now they take credit for it ... because of the export drive In 1973 they said it smelt of socialism for socialism’s sake”. (NZPD 1980, vol. 424 p.2300).

The protected economy

Between 1977-1981, the government was caught between competing pressure groups. The farming community and the importers wanted the economy freed up. The Manufacturers Association and the Federation of Labour wanted protectionist measures. In the end, Muldoon and the majority of his caucus, noting that the removal of interest controls and protection would lead to unacceptable rises in unemployment, and that devaluation would follow turned to other measures. Muldoon decided to compensate farmers, and to increase both the protection of exports, and of their incomes by a number of incentives and subsidies. Everyone, including Muldoon, realised these could not be sustained indefinitely. The most favoured of these incentives and subsidy schemes was the Supplementary Minimum Prices scheme (S.M.P.). This scheme placed a floor under the prices paid to farmers for meat, wool and dairy products.

Joe Walding attacked the schemes. He considered the S M P prices too high and asked “where would the money come from ...? The plight of farmers has been caused through inflation ... a 20 percent increase in production has been offset by costs of 24 percent ... Farmers lose out by 4 percent”. (NZPD 1981, vol. 440 p.3129).

Springbok Rugby Tour

When the New Zealand Rugby Football Union in 1980 ignored both the Government request to consider putting the tour off, as well as the Gleneagles agreement, and invited a merit-selected South African team to tour in 1981. The scene was set for trouble.

The issue became the dominant question for all New Zealanders and provoked widespread disputes between groups in the community. Although Muldoon stated that he was personally against the tour he resolutely refused

to cancel it. His stand undoubtedly helped him win some marginal seats in the provincial areas and thus secure a win in the 1981 election.

In Palmerston North, the Springbok tour issue was particularly acute.

Joe Walding steadfastly opposed the tour at every turn taking his stand on moral grounds and the good name, internationally, of New Zealand.

P13-41 : Joe Walding and others headed the procession of 5000 people as they marched down Broadway into the Square where they were addressed by a variety of speakers.



Source: Evening Standard, May 2, 1981

P13-42 : Speech by Walding prior to the tour.

17 June

Address in Reply; and Proposed Amendments

513

Hon. J. A. WALDING: Certainly we have a free vote. I remind the House of the amendment moved by the member for Roskill, which simply is "and that in the national interests of New Zealand the House urges the New Zealand Rugby Union not to proceed with the proposed tour of New Zealand by the Springbok rugby team this year". That is simple, and I think the House is entitled to know where members opposite stand on this issue. I hope that they do get a vote.

I can recall the 3 years when I was associate Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1972 to 1975, including time spent at the United Nations, and I remember the reputation that New Zealand had at that time. It was certainly promoted by the attitude of the Government of the day against French testing, and also its attitude against apartheid and sporting contacts with South Africa. Nothing much has changed, and I do not know of any other subject that is now dividing this country to such an extent.

I am not one who believes that all those who support the tour are racist, or anything like that. I know many of them. I believe that many of them are misguided; all they think about is the game of rugby, and they believe that politics should not come into it. I believe they are mistaken. It is up to members of Parliament, who certainly should be in possession of all the facts. Once they have the facts and make up their own minds, they should then ask the rugby union to call off the tour—which they have done. I am bound to point out that the Government has changed its mind since 1972-75, and I give those members who changed their minds full credit for that. I think of the former Prime Minister, Mr Marshall, the present Prime Minister, and many other members. They have changed their minds, and I think that is good; but whether they are going far enough, whether they really want the tour stopped, or whether they are prepared to shut up some of the people who support the tour and act according to the Gleneagles Agreement, is another matter.

I believe that no section of the community has the right, consciously or unconsciously, to place the nation's reputation in disrepute. Of one thing I am certain—if the tour goes ahead, the reputation of this nation will be irreparably damaged. I recall many trips overseas between 1975 and 1978, and the only thing that hundreds of people I met overseas knew about New Zealand was that the black nations boycotted the Montreal Olympic Games because of New Zealand's actions. They knew nothing else about the country—not whether the Government was National, Labour, or whatever—all they knew was that because of New Zealand's actions and its sporting contacts, the blacks did not go to the Montreal Olympic Games.

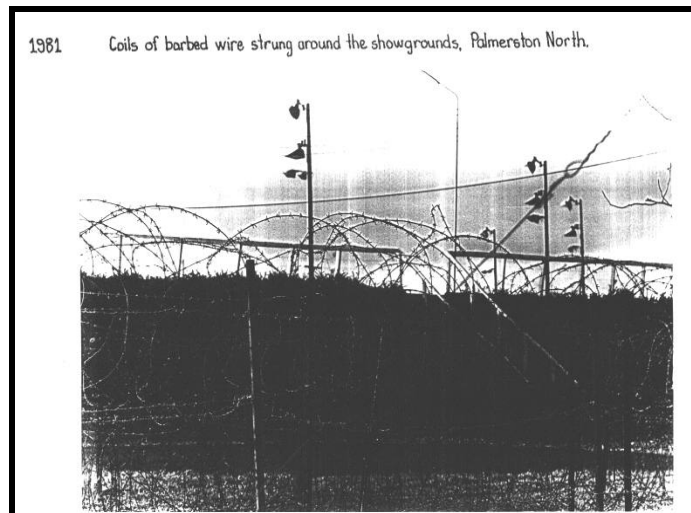
Those who say that we should just ride this problem out and that it does not matter are making a very serious mistake. I am reminded that Norman Kirk had to make a decision—a much harder one than the Government has to make now. He had to go back on the policy of the party, and I recall his saying, publicly and privately, "If I have got to make a decision, I would much rather make the right one, and, even if it causes my party and myself some embarrassment, I am going to make the right decision." And he did exactly that. I think he gained by it. It was certainly a Cabinet decision, and it had the backing of Government members at that time. There are members who say that some Government members—not all—are prepared to ask the rugby union to cancel the tour. I say that we should support the amendment moved by the member for Roskill. Members of Parliament, the people who are elected, should have that right, and they should be seen to be counted, and should stand up and say whether they support that amendment.

I have another suggestion to make in all seriousness to the Government. I believe that there is something else it should do. I say again that the rugby union is interested in playing rugby. It is not familiar with the nuances of foreign policy, or anything like that. All it wants to do is play rugby, believing that that is its responsibility, and it is not interested in the wider implications. The Government has done all it can to get the rugby union to change its mind, but the union does not see that as its responsibility. I believe it is the Government's responsibility to tell, not request, the rugby union to abandon the tour. There is the ridiculous situation whereby the Government evidently expects the British Embassy in South Africa to issue visas to South Africans to come to this country. I am quite certain that the present British Government would not do that for a Springbok tour to the United Kingdom.

Source: NZPD 1981 vol 437 p. 513

The tour was not stopped. On the eve of the Springbok V. Manawatu rugby match at the Showgrounds in Palmerston North, army engineers from Linton military camp moved into the grounds under the cover of darkness to ring the area with rolls of barbed wire.

P13-43 : A bleak reminder of that occasion.



Source: *Manawatu Evening Standard* 1/8/1982

Think-Big

During 1980 and the first half of 1981 the National Government gathered together a number of disparate ad hoc policies and projects which eventually came to be called “Think-Big”.

There were two major objectives of this approach. The first objective was to make New Zealand strategically less dependent on scarce and costly overseas fuels. The second objective was to use New Zealand’s energy resources to create new industries that would diversify the economy and move it away from almost total dependence on the production and export of a narrow range of agricultural commodities.

Joe Walding retires from politics. His Parliamentary Valedictory

Six months before the 1981 election Joe Walding indicated to the Labour Party and his electorate that for health reasons he needed to retire from political life. This he did, making way for his younger colleague, Trevor De Cleene.

The parliamentary valedictory given to Joe Walding was a very handsome tribute indeed. Bill Rowling focussed on Joe Walding’s friendly affability. He suggested that Joe Walding would be remembered as one of the strongest Ministers of Overseas Trade there had been.

He had achieved an international reputation as a person who was fair and tough. Rob Muldoon, Prime Minister, wondered why Joe Walding was on the other side of the house, “He is a private enterpriser, he is an entrepreneur, he is a very able man”. (NZPD 1981, vol. 442 p.4350).

P13-44 : Walding's speech in reply, presented in full

Hon. J. A. WALDING (Palmerston North): I thank the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition for the kind remarks they made about me. It is 14 years since I first came into the House. I was out of the House for 3 years, a time I found quite refreshing, because I was able to gauge more effectively what was happening to society. A few nights ago I reread my maiden speech, and I think I could make the same speech today, because everything I said then is true now. However, if I did, it would probably mean that I have not achieved very much and that there was no point in being here. I have certainly learnt a lot. First, I learnt what Parliament is all about. Many people believe that most of the decisions are made in the Chamber. My experience has been that the decisions are made by Cabinet, and that members simply give final approval to those decisions. Legislation would be quite different if Parliament did not exist to expose that legislation to the criticism it receives from members.

I have tried to work out just what the job of a member of Parliament is. Is it to be measured just in material terms, and in providing people with more carpets, more cars, and bigger houses? I do not think so. I think we have a wider responsibility to affect the quality of life. One of the greatest difficulties we work under is the 3-year term. I think the length of the term is responsible for the kind of legislation and the kind of policies that emerge. Several years ago a referendum was held on that issue, and I voted for a 4-year term, as I would again. I think an extension of the term should be considered seriously for the future. I thank my constituents for giving me the chance to be here. I have found that part of my job to be the most satisfying, because after all the talking that goes on here it is good to get back to the electorate and to solve a problem that someone might have. At the end of the day one can then say that something has been achieved. Maybe that problem could have been solved in some other way, but at least one has achieved something that cannot be achieved in the House at times.

I thank the staff of Bellamy's, the library, the press, and the secretarial corps, especially Mrs Oaks, my secretary. I thank my colleagues on both sides of the House for the experience they have given me. I have enjoyed it, and I hope that I have contributed something. At such a time, one remembers people who have come and gone. I think particularly of Mat Rata and Walter Nash. Such memories will stay with me for a long, long time. I pay a tribute to my wife, Eileen, and to our six children. As has been said already, it is the wives who pick up many of the price tags. No member could do his job without a wife at home to do all the work. I think that they work much harder than we do here. Young married men who want to become members of Parliament and stop here for a while should be made aware that the longer they spend down here the harder it will be for their families. There has to be some way to spread the load so that members can go home each week for at least a day or two, otherwise their children grow up and they have lost them for ever. I thank my wife, Eileen, and the children for all they have done; and I thank my local organisation.

Source: Valedictory, NZPD 1981 vol 442 p. 4367, 23/10/1981

After Parliament Joe Walding returned to business life again

Three years later, however he was asked by the Labour Party to assist David Lange, now the Leader of the Opposition, by acting as his minder during the 1984 election campaign. This he did most effectively, contributing to the winning of the election.

P13-45 : An entertaining article about David Lange and family, with Joe Walding, watching the election result in 1984

How Lange watched himself become PM

DAVID LANGE sat with his tribe in a hotel room on Saturday watching himself become a prime minister.

This mysterious process did not exactly overawe the Lange family.

Emily Lange, 8, wandered around bopping people with a red and silver balloon.

The Labour leader fussed about the hotel fridge. It wasn't working properly and his tonic water was warm.

He strode over the blue-green carpet and ordered his kids about.

His minder, Joe Walding, sat hunched over a television set, a cigarette dangling from his mouth.

Laugh

At 7.45pm the first trickle of a Labour torrent was appearing.

Lange sat on the sofa and tried to break open a gift-wrapped food basket.

He sat up suddenly when National Cabinet minister Jonathan Elworthy appeared on television and said he was winning the battle to hold the crucial seat of Waitaki.

"No you're not!" Lange roared at the television.

By **ANTHONY HUBBARD**
Political Reporter

He burst out laughing when the interviewer asked Elworthy how long he had spent in his electorate during the campaign.

"All the time . . . no one else would have you there mate!" Lange boomed.

"He is the only guy to promise his electorate a cement works for four successive elections."

Mrs Phoebe Lange, the politician's mother, passed in front of the television and drew a protest from her son.

National's Rosemary Young Rouse appeared wanly on the screen and confessed she was losing the battle for Wellington Central.

"She can go and live with her father [New Zealand ambassador in Britain and former National Cabinet minister Bill Young] when he gets home from London," Lange said comfortingly.

In a suite at the DB Mangere, Lange's Wellington staff jostled with members of his family. The leader had taken them all out to a Chinese restaurant for dinner and they were in high spirits.

Lange himself remained on

the sofa pulling morsels out of the basket.

The hotel radio could not pick up the national programme's election coverage. Lange bustled about calling loudly for someone to get a radio.

"There's one in the car," Walding offered.

"Oh good, Joe will go and drive the car in here — that's lateral thinking for you," Lange said.

Mrs Lange senior was ordering her grandson Byron off a chair when she was hushed by the leader. Sir Robert was looming onscreen to predict there would be no Labour landslide. Lange said nothing.

Television announced Labour would hold Manawatu.

"Labour doesn't own Manawatu, you idiot," Lange rasped.

"Where do they get these people from? They're all lapsed journalists, I think."

Whoop

National's Dr Ian Shearer was likely to have lost Hamilton East, the television predicted.

Lange gave a whoop and said: "He's a good joker, that fellow Dillon. [Labour candidate Bill

Dillon] He meets me at airports."

Another progress report said John Kirk had taken five votes in Miramar.

"Bad case of triple voting there," Lange commented.

National's Pat Hunt looked likely to lose Pakuranga to Social Credit.

"Anyone can beat Hunt as far as I'm concerned," Lange said.

"He's worked very hard to lose that seat."

On the radio political scientist Nigel Roberts said on present indications there would be a 23-seat Labour majority. New Zealand seemed to be bedevilled by 23-seat majorities, he said, referring to the 1972 and 1975 elections.

Said Lange: "That's a problem I could live with."

Another political scientist ventured the opinion that the New Zealand Party was a new addition to the political scene.

The politician hooted. "You don't need to get paid for that, mate!" he said.

The Lange children were playing on the carpet and the Labour leader's sister Margaret was wearing a Labour rosette from 1935, the year the first

Labour Government was elected. Now nearly 50 years later Mrs Phoebe Lange was urging her son to go down to the local hall to celebrate another Labour victory.

Social Credit's Garry Knapp appeared on the screen and announced he was at the courthouse — "Been arrested has he?" — and also that he had won East Coast Bays.

"If National can't win East Coast Bays they can't win the country," Lange said triumphantly. He charged around the room grinning and pulling excitedly at his lapel.

He stood behind a chair throwing his leg over the top of it and back again like a ballet dancer limbering up at the barre.

Political pundit Colin James was saying on television that it looked like an anti-National vote.

"Whadda ya mean?" Lange demanded indignantly.

His wife Naomi sitting on the sofa wrinkled her nose.

"It wouldn't be a vote for Labour, would it?" she said with heavy sarcasm.

Finally Lange announced that it was time to go down to the hall.

□ CONTINUED P3

Source: *Dominion* 16/7/1984

1985 the new High commissioner for New Zealand in London

Later in 1984, the new government appointed Joe Walding to the important position of High Commissioner for New Zealand in London. He was eminently qualified for the position. He knew the great deal about international trade. He had been deeply involved in the negotiations concerning the access of New Zealand primary products to Europe. He was widely respected for his business gifts.

Joe Walding's Death

On 5 June 1985 tragically, three months after taking over the senior diplomatic post as High Commissioner in London, Joe Walding died. Tributes to him filled the pages of newspapers throughout the country and in other parts of the world. He was truly mourned.

A week later Joe Walding's body returned to Palmerston North. There was a huge attendance of people for the crowded funeral service at Saint Patrick's Cathedral with people outside the church and on the pavement. He was carried out of the church while the song "I just called to say I loved you" was played.

P13-46: Four tributes

LONDON. — London High Commissioner Joe Walding died this morning (New Zealand time) three months after taking over the senior diplomatic post.

Mr Walding collapsed after an evening meal at the official residence in Chelsea Square and was taken by ambulance to nearby St Stephens hospital.

He was due to have his 55th birthday in two weeks.

Mr Walding's wife and two daughters were at the residence when he fell ill shortly after 10pm, officials said.

Labour Minister Stan Rodger was also at dinner. Mr Rodger was staying at the High Commissioner's home during a visit to Europe.

Mr Walding was a successful figure in the business world who became widely admired for his handling of the overseas trade portfolio in the 1972-75 Labour cabinet.

In only a short time at the High Commission in London's Haymarket he stamped his relaxed, good-humoured and shrewd style on the job.

Mr Walding has for many years been one of the most powerful figures in the Labour Party, both as a policymaker behind the scenes and as a politician up front.

In the Labour Government of 1972-75, he was Overseas Trade Minister, Recreation and Sport Minister and Associate Foreign Affairs Minister.

He also served on the party's policy council, and was one of the few select ministers on the Labour cabinet's policies and priorities committee, regarded as Mr Kirk's inner cabinet.

He entered Parliament in a by-election in December, 1957, with a majority of 692, scraped back into the House in the general election of 1959 with a majority of 161. He then held Palmerston North in 1972 with a more comfortable 1766 majority. Mr Walding lost Palmerston North to National's John Lithgow by 142 votes in 1975 but won his biggest majority three years later when he defeated Mr Lithgow by 2735 votes.

Before entering Parliament, Mr Walding was a Palmerston North city councillor from 1950-63 where he was prominent in the fields of pensioner housing and getting the Lido complex off the ground.

But it was as Overseas Trade Minister that he made his mark nationally as he travelled widely throughout Europe, doing battle with the European Economic Community and lifting the bamboo curtain around China.

At the same time however, he had to keep one eye on what was happening back home. In Palmerston North because of his frequent absences from the electorate.

This was one of the factors which was blamed for his loss in 1975 when Labour was swept out of power by National.

In the 1950s, the Christchurch-born Mr Walding, son of a journalist, built up one of New Zealand's most successful export food companies and developed a leading catering business in Palmerston North.

He once told the "Evening Standard" that his younger years as a seaman greatly influenced his political philosophy.

In March, 1981, Mr Walding said he would not be standing for Parliament because of "private family commitments and medical advice to take things easier."

Labour Leader Bill (now Sir Wallace) Rowling said at the time it was always sad when an active person was forced to retire on health grounds. He said Mr Walding had been a great international salesman in the widest sense and had an out-

Staff reporter - NZPA



FORMER Palmerston North Mayor Brian Edwood said Mr Walding's death was a sad tragedy for New Zealand.

"I'm very very sad indeed. Joe Walding was one of those people who got on so well with so many people."

"He did not have a threatening nature because he was comfortable with himself and with others and always displayed an interest in what others were doing."

"He was not a high profile public figure, enjoying very much the serenity and security of his family environment. I admired the Walding family for the typical example they gave of a happy family life, that developed very much around Joe's personality."

Tributes follow tragic news

standing career as a tough international negotiator and marketing man of enthusiasm and energy.

"Through his single-minded energy, enthusiasm and drive he helped give a new spirit and confidence to New Zealand exporters."

• **MR WALDING'S** one-time campaign manager, John Dunmore, said today: "It would be hard to find anyone who was an enemy of Joe's."

"Every campaign he ever fought was a clean one. He was your friendly local MP and didn't change when he became a Cabinet minister."

"He had a gift of being a friendly, happy but also efficient man. Riding a bicycle in China was pretty typical of him."

Mr Dunmore managed Mr Walding's bid to enter Parliament in 1980, missing by a narrow 353 votes.

But early the following year, Mr Walding won a by-election, and Mr Dunmore was closely associated with him for every subsequent election until 1975.

• **MR WALDING** was a familiar figure at racetracks as an owner. His most notable horse in recent years was Finn Oiler, who showed good form from the Kago stable at Awapuni before being sold. He went on to better deeds in Australia.

Earlier, Mr Walding raced a successful galloper, Point of Order, in partnership with fellow MP Mattu Rata. Recently he has had interests in the likes of Formality, Pic 'n' Pie and Chief Note. The latter is trained at Awapuni by Eric Temperton and is an acceptor for the Winter Maiden on Saturday.



PRIME Minister David Lange who said he was stunned and deeply saddened by Mr Walding's death.

"Joe was an old friend and a trusted adviser. He was a mate for whom I had a great affection. I will miss him dearly."

He described Mr Walding as an exceptional entrepreneur with wide experience in both government and business. He said these attributes had equipped him particularly well for the post of High Commissioner.



ACTING Mayor Paul Rieger who said Mr Walding would be fondly remembered by many Palmerston North people. "Joe and I were in the Jaycees together, for quite a long time."

"He has been a good friend to many people, who will be very sorry both for the country and for our personal loss."

PARLIAMENTARY Under-Secretary to the Minister of Finance Trevor de Cleene recalled today he had been Mr Walding's guest in London recently.

Mr de Cleene, who took over the Palmerston North seat from Mr Walding, said there was no indication his predecessor was ill at all.

"In fact he was a box of birds... he was doing a very good job in London."

"He looked like he was going to make a breakthrough in trade for us as indeed he did in the old days in China, Eastern Europe and Russia."

"I think it is extremely unfortunate. He was in many ways a great New Zealander."

MANAWATU MP Michael Cox who joined others in grieving over the loss of a man he considered a personal friend.

"Despite being on the other side of the political fence I welcomed his expertise overseas and am extremely sad personally to lose someone I considered a personal friend."

"His death is a sad loss to New Zealand."

Source: Manawatu Evening Standard, June 5, 1985

Summary

Joe Walding was a person of the people. He made his own unique way in life. Professor John Dunmore, Mr Walding's one-time campaign manager said this "it would be hard to find anyone who was an enemy of Joe's. Every campaign he ever fought was a clean one. He was your friendly local MP and didn't change when he became a Cabinet Minister. He had a gift of being a friendly, happy but also efficient man. Riding a bicycle in China was pretty typical of him". (MES 5/6/1985).

His interests were wide. He had a great love of learning and education. His sporting interests were legendary. He was a familiar figure at racetracks as an owner of gallopers like Point of Order and Fine Offer. He was a real internationalist, being at home in Beijing, London, Moscow, and in the Middle East alike.

He was a most successful businessman, enterprising and hard-driving. The conversion of natural resources into good food fascinated him. He loved food as well although this created health issues for him.

He was a great achiever, in person, in business, in politics, an outstanding Palmerstonian, a memorable New Zealander.

Above all, he was a true family man.

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