

LABOUR HISTORY NEWS Spring 2022

Labour History Society (South Australia)



*Those who do not remember the past
are condemned to repeat it
(George Santayana)*

Remembering:

- **Hiroshima (August 6, 1945):** The United States became the first and only nation to use atomic weapons during wartime
- **Germany invades Poland (September 1, 1939):** German troops invade Poland by sending in 1.5 million troops, and at the same time the German Luftwaffe bombed Polish airfields.
- **The 'twin towers' terrorist attack NY (September 11, 2001):** Four commercial passenger jet airliners were hijacked, and two of the planes were crashed into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre in New York City, causing the collapse of both towers within two hours. The third aircraft was crashed into the Pentagon. Passengers on the fourth hijacked aircraft attempted to retake control of their plane from the hijackers, which crashed into a field in Pennsylvania, killing all on board.
- **Military coup in Chile (September 11, 1973):** Chile's military seized control of the Presidential Palace in a coup d'état. On that day, democratically-elected president Salvador Allende - along with 4,000 others - was killed, over 1,000 people went missing, and close to a million Chileans left the country in exile.
- **22 September 1949:** Mao Zedong declared the People's Republic of China with its capital at Beijing. Chiang Kai-shek and approximately two million Nationalist soldiers retreated to the island of Taiwan in December.
- **30 September 30, 1965** A failed coup in Indonesia by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) - followed by a violent purge of communists, with an estimated death toll of half a million people. By 1967 Suharto was formally appointed president - he instituted a new order of a pro-Western economy and remained in power for over thirty years.



Meanwhile, on the domestic frontline:



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- Debate – Republic Vs Voice (Don Sutherland & Doug Melvin)
- Stan Grant on mourning the Queen
- *The Killing Times* (Guardian)
- Letters to editors from LHSSA members
 - Stewart Sweeney re the Monarchy (*The Scotsman*)
 - Terry Hewton re the ALP as a Light on the Hill (*Australian Financial Review*)
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- Chris Sumner re Vicki Chapman & KI (Part 1?)
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REVIEWS:

- Songs of Struggle (Doug Melvin)
- Painters and Dockers (Doug Melvin)
- Our Members be Unlimited (Sam Wallman)

OBITUARIES:

- George Young
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- Elizabeth Grant

WATCH OUT FOR:

- ***The Australian Wars* (SBS)** on Australia's racial 'frontier conflict' began its broadcast on September 21 and will be [available on SBS on Demand](#)
- History Trust [Talking History \(frontier conflict\) Tuesday 18 October](#), Torrens Parade Ground Hall
- Graham Smith Peace award (29 September) **See last page of this newsletter for details**
- The [Anti-Aukus Coalition public call for peace](#)

- **Next general meeting of LHSSA (final meeting for 2022):**

Presenter: Phillip Armanas
Subject: A Labour Life: Francis Walter Lundie
Venue: The Box Factory
Date: Sunday 20 November 2022
Time: 2.00pm

Francis Walter Lundie was a prominent union leader of the early South Australian Labour movement, active also in the politics of what became the ALP. He was recognized as the leader of the Party's 'industrialist' faction by the press. He was a long serving Adelaide City Councillor representing the working class Grey Ward in the city's South-West.

Join us afterwards at the 7 Stars for a convivial end of year drink.

From the President

Members & Friends: As your new President, I greet you at the outset of a time of challenge and opportunity for our South Australian State Branch of the Labour History Society. Throughout late capitalist society for decades now, the rate of participation in associations has been declining. Practically all associations are being challenged in this way. This is an effect of the tendency of capitalism to atomise the population, dissolving bonds and isolating individuals.

This situation directly undermines our mission as a Society to cultivate the historic traditions of the labour movement and pass them on renewed to the rising generation in our ranks. We must meet this threat head on and expeditiously. This is why at the recent Annual General Meeting I foreshadowed a programme of administrative reform to future proof the Branch, to make the technical upgrade necessary to attract youth to the membership by modernisation, whilst continuing to serve in the old way our veteran unionist base. I will lead this reform programme through the Executive, as per our custom and Constitution. The membership of the incoming Executive provides promisingly for both continuity and innovation, with an excellent range of diverse skills. The optimal functioning of both Executive and membership has always required that we adhere to high comradely standards of civility, in debate particularly and generally in our relations with one another at all times. As presiding officer, I will be duty bound to facilitate ongoing realization of these functional standards.

Our Executive will roll out in a timely fashion a schedule of speakers at General Meetings of the Association for 2022/3. An early topic for debate will be the opportunity for signalling to a favourable National Executive a bid to hold a National Conference in February 2025 in Adelaide. I will be recommending to our Executive that we propose to manage local logistics with the National Executive providing for programming. The division of costs between the national body and our Branch will need to be negotiated. Discussion amongst and representations to the Branch Executive from the membership are encouraged.

David Faber

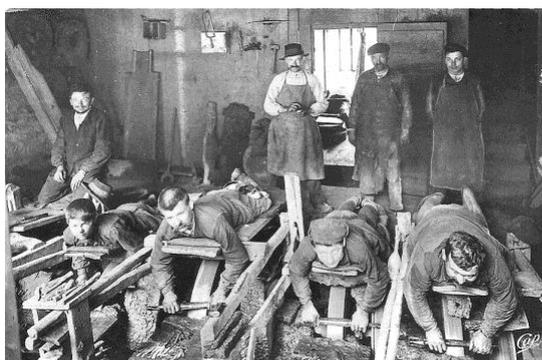
LHSSA Executive

President	David Faber
Vice President	Victoria Fielding
Vice President	Ron Slee
Treasurer	Kevin Kaeding



Executive Members:

- **Ralph Clarke**
- **Sue Marks**
- **Adrian Graves**



Keeping our nose to the grindstone!

Knife grinders in France in the early 1900s. They worked lying down to save their backs and often had dogs sit on their legs for warmth.



A 1948 production line at Holdens, Woodville

When Factories Close: General Motors-Holdens Workers' Memories of Place and Community Ralph Clarke

The above was the title of a talk presented at Labour History's Annual General Meeting on Sunday 21st August 2022, by Paul Sendziuk, Associate Professor in the Department of History, University of Adelaide. An experienced oral historian, he is co-writing (with Carolyn Collins a Research Fellow at Adelaide University) a social history of GM-H, focusing on factory workers and workplace culture.

Paul's talk focused on GM-H's long lasting factory at Woodville. This factory was the where the first Australian made car, the Holden FX sedan was produced in 1948 with then Labor Prime Minister Ben Chifley unveiling the model as it came off the line. GMH Woodville was situated on a very large parcel of land covering many acres which provided not only for the work factory itself but also for a number of amenities that were available to the workers on site, such as a lawn bowling green, and other recreational facilities. The factory was closed and demolished in 1991.

The talk introduced us to a number of former employees who had been employed at the Woodville factory in a variety of jobs between 1945 and 1990 and their memories working for the "General". The workers, many from migrant heritage from Southern and Central Europe discussed with the researchers their experiences working at Woodville, a plant that was old and in many cases dirty by comparison with the General's more modern Elizabeth-based factory.

The workers' memories laid great stress on the camaraderie felt by these workers for their workmates, despite English not being the first language for many. Indeed notwithstanding the language differences workers were collegial in their dealings with one another, forming smaller work/ social groups based around the area in which they worked, e.g. the Tool Room etc. These smaller social groups coalesced around Christmas dinners together or other social gatherings outside of working hours, including the use of the company-provided social amenities on site. This was demonstrated when even after the Woodville site was closed many former employees in their social groups still meet for Christmas dinners and other social gatherings even many years after the factory had closed.

The workers as a group were proud of where they worked and the work they performed. There were a number of workers who later saw their sons, grandsons or daughters join them at the Woodville site. Basically despite the age of the factory and the less than salubrious working conditions, they believed they were doing useful and productive work which gave them a strong sense of self-worth. When the Woodville plant closed employees at Woodville were offered transfers to the GMH Elizabeth plant. Many workers, particularly the older ones, didn't take up the offer, they were very upset about losing their personal connections with their workmates at Woodville. Whilst the Elizabeth plant was cleaner and more modern that didn't make up for the loss of close working relationships.

Paul Sendziuk is still conducting further research with respect to former GMH workers, including at the Elizabeth plant and whether the GMH promise to transition redundant GMH workers into other occupations was a success or not and what can be learnt from their experience.

Labour Relations: It was surprising to a number of us former union activists present at our AGM that there was the absence of any reference to what the workers thought of their unions, or any of the industrial disputes they would have been involved with over the years, such as pay rises and improved conditions of employment. Our speaker Paul, stated that during the interviews with these workers he had tried to steer some of the conversation around to the issue of labour relations at GMH and the unions represented on site. Despite his gentle nudging in that direction however, the workers had little comment to make about the union movement, even though they would almost certainly in the main have been union members and also would have been engaged in one or more of the industrial campaigns that the GMH unions were involved in over so many years. Paul did not suggest any reasons why there was this absence of union recognition by these former GMH workers and he is still continuing his research and the union movement's role at GMH would be more fully explored in this further research.

From a personal perspective on this matter, I can only guess; perhaps we who are, or were active in the union movement fail to see “the wood for the trees”. By that I mean whilst we get very excited and forthright about workers’ rights and the struggles our forebears had to contend with, the fact may simply be that the average Australian worker, if they believe they are reasonably well paid, enjoy their work and the people they work with, that is all that they want. That is, there is no Marxist-Leninist philosophical base, or Fabián view of class warfare amongst these workers. The idea that there should be greater redistribution of wealth in our society just doesn't seem to gel with these workers, or Australian workers generally.

One only has to see the success of the Morrison government at the 2019 Federal Election scaring average workers that the ALP was going to tax their very lifestyle, if they, if elected introduced the removal of franking credits for those who hadn't paid any tax and increasing the capital gains tax on investor owned real estate. The scare worked a treat and against the odds Morrison was re-elected. In response, the ALP federally removed these pledges from their campaign at the 2022 campaign, and in addition promised not to abolish the legislated 3rd stage income tax cuts due in 2025, notwithstanding those tax cuts overwhelmingly favour those families earning above \$200,000 p.a.. Ben Chifley ALP Prime Minister 1945 -49 was the first political leader to give voice to the “hip pocket nerve” of the average Australian voter and he has been proved right on so many occasions – or am I just a little jaded?

See also: [Holden closure: Australia's history of car manufacturing comes to an end Mike Ladd, ABC RN, 8 Oct 2017](#)

FUN FACTS ABOUT THE CAR INDUSTRY

24 Sept, 1908 Ford Model T: The first factory-built Ford comes off the assembly line. It became affectionately known as the Tin Lizzie.



11 Sept, 1970 Ford Introduces Pinto: Following the success of Japanese and European Imports in the USA, Ford introduces the Pinto a compact American Made car costing less than \$2,000. Because of a major design flaw the gas tank was likely to explode in a rear end collision of over 20 mph – but Ford kept quiet about it for years.

8 Sept, 1986 Nissan sets up in the UK: Nissan opens a factory in Sunderland, England as the first Japanese automobile factory in Europe.

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The Royals Are at the Heart of British Capitalism

From offshore accounts to rentierism, the royals are quintessential British capitalists.

by [Laura Clancy](#) Novara Media 9 September 2022



Emphasis on the dramas of the ‘Family’ only serves to occlude the Firm’s essential role in Britain’s contemporary class structure.

There are several versions of the British monarchy. The version we often see is the monarchy of pageantry and tradition, philanthropic visits, weddings, babies and funerals. Another version is [associated with the state](#): the opening of parliament, the monarch’s weekly meeting with the prime minister. A crucially overlooked way to understand the monarchy, though, is as a corporation: [the Firm](#), out to maximise profit and maintain its global corporate empire.

The monarchy is often dismissed as a traditional, out-of-touch, backwards-looking institution with no place in contemporary Britain. This, however, is to fundamentally misunderstand the way that monarchical power works. Rather than an aristocratic relic of a pre-bourgeois era, the British monarchy has worked its traditional privileges into the heart of British capitalism. Emphasis on the dramas of the 'Family' only serves to occlude the Firm's essential role in Britain's contemporary class structure.

The corporate Firm.

One of the most telling examples of the royals' entanglement with modern financial capitalism lies within the Paradise Papers. Alongside other global corporations like Apple and Nike, the Duchy of Lancaster (the British sovereign's private estate) was [found to have investments](#) in two offshore financial centres: the Cayman Islands and Bermuda.

Despite legally being a common law corporation, the crown is exempt from much taxation. The sovereign grant, which funds some of the monarchy's activity, is exempt from income tax. The crown is also [liberated from inheritance tax](#) on 'sovereign to sovereign bequests', meaning assets can pass down the bloodline without alteration or loss of wealth.

Thus, while corporations such as Amazon [avoid paying tax](#) through arrangements like stock-based compensation, the Firm relies on the uncodified British constitution and political custom to play the same game. The Firm, therefore, stitches together historical traditions with financial capitalist logic.

Historically, there are consistencies in how the monarchy exploited its legal status to its advantage, mapping onto developments in capital accumulation. A long time before offshore tax havens, the aristocracy and the monarchy were avoiding tax by investing landed estates in trusts. Trustees manage estates on the benefactors behalf, not only concealing the owner's identity but [putting the assets into an "ownerless limbo"](#) where they cannot be subject to checks from other authorities.

This mobilisation of historic custom to ensure the monarchy and its assets remain forces of wealth and value also extends to land ownership. The crown estate – a land and property portfolio – announced a [net revenue profit of £269.3 million in 2021](#), and it is run as an 'independent commercial business' [with 450 staff](#). While much of its holdings were conquered by historical monarchs or taken during the Reformation, the Firm has diversified its portfolios over the years. The estate now encompasses huge swathes of prime land, including London's Regent Street, Eltham, Richmond, Egham and Hampton; fourteen retail parks; much of the UK's wind, wave and tidal power sites; and 336,000 acres of agricultural land and forestry.

The sovereign grant, the annual public payment which partly funds the monarchy's activities, is calculated from a percentage of the crown estate's net income. Yet, although the Financial Times [describes the sovereign grant](#) as 'performance-related pay', the grant does not decrease when crown estate profits decline. It can, though, increase when profits go up, reflecting the pervasive neoliberal practice of socialising losses and privatising profits.

Similarly, sponsorship deals directly connect the Firm to global, corporate brands. [The Prince's Trust regional awards' sponsors](#) include HSBC, Royal Bank of Scotland, Natwest, Dell, Delta Air Lines, Tesco, G4S and BAE Systems. The [Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme](#) has been supported by Lloyds Banking Group, Stagecoach Group plc, Legal and General, Aston Martin Lagonda Ltd, and British Gas. Elsewhere, in 2020, [a Chinese television advert](#) featured Peter Phillips flogging Jersey Milk surrounded by the royal iconography of country estate and carriage. His sister, Zara Phillips, has [multiple commercial promotional deals](#) for luxury watch brand Rolex, horse auction house Magic Millions, outdoor clothing brand Musto and iCandy prams – she even has a personalised jewellery collection for Calleija.

In this context, the idea that the Firm isn't run as a corporate bureaucracy is absurd. In the Oprah Winfrey interview, Meghan Markle (who herself used the phrase 'the Firm') spoke of the royal HR department, and alluded to the shadowy figures who control the organisation through hierarchical structures (e.g. the private secretaries). In the family Firm, the monarch is roughly equivalent to a corporate vice president, the Lord Chamberlain (who runs ceremonies and events) is the chairman, the monarch's private secretary is chief executive, and heads of department are sector managers. Among senior staff there seems to be a revolving door [between the Firm and trade and professional organisations, global banks, PR departments, political campaigns](#), and the civil service.

The family Firm.

It is extremely ironic, then, that [some got so angsty](#) about Prince Harry and Meghan Markle's corporate and sponsorship deals after they resigned from the Firm. We might ask what they are doing that truly deviates from the Firm's traditions. Two possible explanations arise: a) the criticisms are racist; b) given Harry and Meghan are no longer protected under the Firm's ideological umbrella, their deals appear more obviously corporate.

How is the Firm sheltered from the accusations that were launched at the departing couple? In part through its protected status in the British imagination as a royal family. There's an important distinction between the terms 'monarchy' and 'royal family', despite their often interchangeable use. 'Monarchy' describes the institution, whereas 'the royal family' describes the individuals within it, and the stories about them that circulate in social and corporate media. And it's [media representations of those royal individuals](#) that we most often see, from babies being born to a royal cutting another ribbon. Even [ex-director of royal communications Sally Osman said](#): "there is a distinction between what we do to articulate the monarchy[...] and then the role that each of the individuals play within that story".

In [a 1984 essay](#), journalist and writer Rosalind Coward referred to the monarchy as "The Royals: the longest-running soap opera in Britain". The Royals, she argues, uses conventions of the family melodrama, with weddings, babies, break-ups and internal conflict. In this, she says: "we never have to deal with the royal family as a political institution; we only have to think about human behaviour, human emotions, and choices restricted to the family."

Coward's insight remains true today. Prince William and Kate Middleton display their idealised family unit on Instagram, creating an image of heteronormative 'middle-class' domestic bliss, obscuring the army of nannies and plethora of palaces. The brotherly rift between Princes William and Harry is splashed all over the newspapers, sidelining the story of racism which forced Harry and Meghan out. The Queen was depicted as mother, grandmother, and elderly great-grandmother clutching her handbag, taking on the affective maternal role for nation and Commonwealth.

This appropriation of the family aesthetic lies in historical attempts to make new forms of capital respectable. At each shift of capitalism, particular figures emerged as vulgar faces of capitalist wealth, contaminating the supposedly natural economic order headed by the aristocratic landowner. The eighteenth-century dominance of the East India Company led to [moral panics about so-called nabobs](#): mercantile elites returning from India who would then marry into aristocratic families, buy positions in parliament, and disrupt established economic norms. Likewise, new Victorian business owners were seen to compromise a social class order grounded in the morality of the family and inherited wealth. To counter this, early business organisation was [modelled on the family](#).

Queen Victoria recreated this familial look. While previously the court was the centre of political power, as monarchies around Europe and the world began to crumble the monarchy needed new forms of legitimation, and looked towards this moralising narrative of the family. Victoria's reign was characterised by portraits of interior domestic scenes, and Victoria and Albert were depicted as bourgeois parents. By modelling the monarch on middle-class wives – the guarantors of their husband's values and status – monarchy could act as a public symbol of the nation, and avoid political accountability.

The contemporary monarchy's performance of Victorian-inspired, middle-class family values is a strategic project. It distances the Firm from wealthy oligarchs and capitalist dynasties such as the Bransons and the Trumps – with whom the Firm arguably has more in common than a typical middle-of-the-road family. Indeed, keeping the royal family clean of associations with capitalist vulgarity is vital for its legitimacy in the public imagination, and to preserve a higher moral order untethered from the divine right it could once rely on.

The aristocratic Firm?

George Orwell once declared Britain "the most class-ridden society under the sun". Is this any wonder, given the subservience to an ancient aristocratic family built into our entire political structure? Aristocratic power might be less visible today, but that doesn't mean it's not there, even if its forms and functions of wealth accumulation have diversified. Think of the billionaire Duke of Westminster and his [global property portfolio worth £10 billion](#), or the

Marquesses of Bath who have turned the Longleat Estate – complete with a safari park, the modern-day aristocratic menagerie – [into an Instagram lifestyle brand](#). This is landownership still marked by feudal form – it’s held by descendants of a traditional feudal class – but expanded into capitalist landlordism and real estate ventures which ensure the aristocracy can maintain its towering position.

The monarchy may be a feudal institution, but it can’t just be dismissed as an irrelevant anachronism in the face of corporate forms of wealth and power. The monarchy is a capitalist corporation, oriented toward, and historically entrenched in, processes of capital accumulation, profit extraction, and exploitation. Its historical and constitutional privileges are reworked for a capitalist marketplace, even though, in the bourgeois imagination, using political power to grant specific privileges violates the sacred ‘level playing field’ of the market.

Many exclaimed their shock that the monarchy was involved in the Paradise Papers. [MP Margaret Hodge said](#): “Monarchy is one of the most trusted, loved and respected institutions in Britain and it symbolises the integrity of Britain in the world, and to see it sullied by these sort of activities is outrageous.” Such bewilderment at the monarchy’s unscrupulous wealth-accumulating practices shows how it is positioned in the public imagination at the opposite pole to corporate forms of wealth and power.

As we move into a new era with King Charles III, is it finally time to disrupt such romanticised notions? No longer do we have as Queen a benevolent elderly woman clutching her handbag. Charles has projected a different version of being royal, including explicit political lobbying and more hands-on property development in his work on the Duchy of Cornwall. His style may more readily lend itself to politicisation from below. The fight against global corporate monopolies and for the expansion of democracy must include the Firm as a target.

Laura Clancy is a lecturer in media at Lancaster University and author of *Running the Family Firm: How the Monarchy Manages its Image and Our Money*.

Another view on the monarchy - Stewart Sweeney’s letter to *The Scotsman* 12 September 2022

Monarchy a bulwark against capitalist greed (*heading supplied by the newspaper*)

The crucial role played by a hereditary monarchy in an age of turbo-charged capitalism and an increasingly challenged and stressed democracy has been highlighted, as we reflect on the death of Queen Elizabeth II and the accession of King Charles III.

The monarchy provides a link between feudalism and the economic and social order that succeeded it with the emergence of capitalism. Feudalism privileged stability, continuity and hierarchy leavened by adaptability. There was a place for everyone, and everyone had a place. The late Queen adapted and overcame challenges to reaffirm and personify these feudal fundamentals following a period of instability and uncertainty in the monarchy.

Capitalism, in contrast to feudalism, privileges change, growth, disruption and mobility. Everything is up for grabs, and there is a cycle of creation and destruction and creation again. There are winners and losers, the rich, the middle and the poor. The losers include the homeless, the refugees, the lonely, the oppressed and too many more. Nature and planetary survival have now joined the ranks of the losers - and the threatened - as the carbon-charged capitalism of the 20th century became the turbo-charged capitalism of the 21st century.

This is the world that Charles III and the rest of us inhabit. It is no surprise that embedded in and drawing on his feudal heritage and sensibility, the then Prince Charles extended his involvement in charities that responded to the inequalities and inequities of capitalism to encompass concerns about the land, the built environment and city, nature and environment and climate change. King Charles III will do no less and no more.

STEWART SWEENEY
Adelaide, Australia

The Scotsman is a Scottish compact newspaper and daily news website headquartered in Edinburgh. First established as a radical political paper in 1817, it began daily publication in 1855 and remained a broadsheet until August 2004. Its parent company, JPIMedia, also publishes the Edinburgh Evening News.

Today's Debate topic: The Republic Vs The Voice – a messy mix?

With the death of the Queen, the Republican movement in Australia has stepped up its call for the Republic debate to be renewed. However we should be very wary that such a debate would override the debate on the promised referendum on the First Nation Voice. Many of us are staunchly opposed to using the death of the Queen, as an opportunity to pursue an Australian republic at the cost of the Voice debate.

The immediate priority for us white fellas is working out how, led by our aboriginal peoples and their leaders, to win what will be a very tough campaign to change the Constitution that enables their Voice in the form of constitutional change that they endorse - a Voice that in turn gives strength and authority to the truth-telling that is growing and the treaty-making to be more powerfully established.

We should never forget, nor ever stop learning, how much pain and effort has brought the big majority of our aboriginal peoples to the Uluru Statement from the Heart and the gigantic effort of teaching and explaining that has been happening and is still growing since then, in the face of much white fella mischief-making and naivete.

One of the most impressive features of the First Nations march to Uluru and since has been the sophisticated grasp of strategy that is well in advance of what has been shown so far by the republican movement in Australia. We must not allow a republican campaign to dissipate the building of a national focus to make the Voice happen, and also growing power for Treaty and Truth-telling.

When this historical victory of a Voice has been achieved, we, across several generations, will have learned how to truly take on the creation of an Australian republic. We would have earned the right to take it on and, will have learned more deeply and profoundly the strategy and tactics that can make it happen.

Don Sutherland and Doug Melvin

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**After Queen Elizabeth II's death, Indigenous Australia can't be expected to shut up.
Our sorry business is without end** By [Stan Grant ABC News 18 Sep 2022](#)

The girl with no socks got to see the Queen

When the Queen first visited Australia in 1954, my mother almost did not get to see her. Like millions of other school kids, mum was expected to join the throng flocking to glimpse the young royal. The problem was, my mother didn't have any socks. She was a dirt-poor Aboriginal kid living in a tin humpy on the outskirts of Coonabarabran, in north-west NSW. Socks were a luxury. Clothes and shoes were shared among a dozen siblings. The school said no socks, no go for the trip to Dubbo to see the Queen. Mum's older brother had made the royal trek a day earlier and met mum at the back fence between the primary and high schools and threw his socks over. It is a memory that has stayed with mum. She has told me the story many times - wearing her brother's cast-off socks to see the Queen.



It is one of the rich memories of a long life. And she has other memories, other stories that she has told me. Stories of her father being tied to a tree like a dog by police and left all day without food or water to swelter in the sun. Seeing Aboriginal men arrested for drinking alcohol and roped together and marched down the main street of her hometown. Stories of two younger brothers who died as children. Stories of her siblings taken to welfare homes. Stories of aching hunger. Of once following a white girl eating a cake around the schoolyard and pouncing on a crumb that the girl dropped. My mother still says it was the best cake she ever tasted.

The girl with no socks got to see the Queen, while her family and other black families lived in poverty that the Crown inflicted on them. Living homeless in a land that had been stolen from them in the name of the Crown.

We aren't supposed to talk about this

I called my mother this week and she told me the story of her childhood brush with royalty over again. I have thought about mum and dad and all of my family, of my people — First Nations people — who die young and live impoverished and imprisoned lives in this country. We aren't supposed to talk about these things this week. We aren't supposed to talk about colonisation, empire, violence about Aboriginal sovereignty, not even about the republic. Everyone from the prime minister down has told us it is not appropriate.

I'm sure I am not alone amongst Indigenous people wrestling with swirling emotions. Among them has been anger. The choking asphyxiating anger at the suffering and injustice my people endure. This anger is not good for me. It is not good for my mental health. It is not good for my physical health. I have been short of breath and dizzy. But that is nothing compared to what too many other Indigenous people go through day after day. Those languishing in cells. Those who take their own lives. Those who are caught in endless cycles of despair.

Writing this is not good for me. I feel my pulse racing now. I feel the tension building in my head. The veins constricting. I know what will come. I know the abuse that will come from those who don't like Aboriginal people who speak up. I know that online trolls will target my family with the most foul language, even threats of physical violence. Why do we do it? I ask myself that, too. Why do we have to explain ourselves, why do we have to relive pain? Why? Because a voice is all we have. Because too often that voice is silenced. Like this week.

The other side of history

I have wondered where that voice is. If it has spoken it has more often been in muted tones, lest anyone be offended. I have wondered where the voices of Indigenous political leadership have been. Where have they been as [Indigenous rugby league player Caitlin Moran](#) received a suspension to the equivalent of a quarter of her salary for an Instagram post deemed offensive to the Queen?

Australians will likely vote in a referendum for a constitutionally enshrined Indigenous Voice to Parliament, but what good would that voice be if at times like these it is reduced to a whisper? This past week, I have been reminded what it is to come from the other side of history. History itself that is written as a hymn to whiteness.

History written by the victors and often written in blood. It is fashioned as a tale of progress, as a civilising mission. As historian Caroline Elkins writes in *Legacies of Violence*, her history of the British Empire, for hundreds of millions of people "the empire's velvet glove contained an all too familiar iron fist". From India to Africa to Ireland, the Pacific, the Caribbean and of course here, Australia, people from the other side of history have felt that fist.

It is not a zero-sum game. There are things in the British tradition that have enriched my life. But history is not weighted on the scales, it is felt in our bones. It is worn on our skin. It is scarred in memory.

How do we hold strong?

How do we live with the weight of this history? How do we not fall prey to soul-destroying vengeance and resentment, yet never relent in our righteous demand for justice? At times like these I struggle with that dilemma. Because Australia has never reached a just settlement with First Nations people.

The Voice to Parliament — whatever its virtues — falls well short of justice. It is another step on the long journey to justice. But again, we don't talk about that this week.

I have felt a sadness at feeling adrift, estranged from friends and colleagues. Sadness at knowing that at times like these there is a chasm between us. I have watched as others have worn black and reported on this historic event, participated in this ritual mourning. And knowing I cannot. They come to this with no conflict. I cannot.

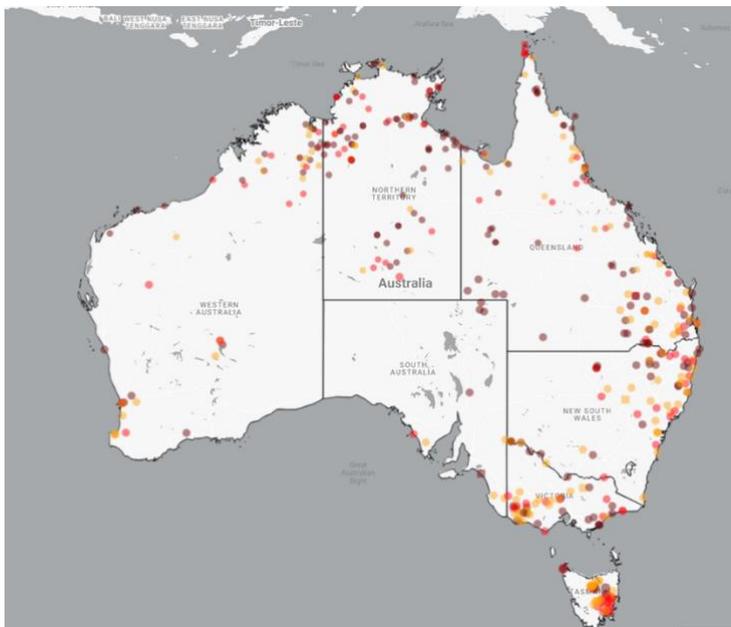
My colleagues can extol the Queen's undoubted and admirable devotion to duty. They can lament the passing of "everyone's grandmother." This is their 'sorry business' I have sought to show 'Yindyamarra' (deep respect) to those for whom this moment is profound. This is their "sorry business" and I respect that. But it will pass. For Indigenous people, our sorry business is without end.

At times like these I wonder what it would be to not know apocalypse. To not know what it is to come from a people who face an existential threat. Who have clung on to their very place on this earth. I wonder what it would be like for me to be like my colleagues for whom this is one of the defining stories of their lifetimes. Sometimes, I wonder what it must be like to be white. But then I would not be my mother's son.

Stan Grant is the ABC's international affairs analyst and presenter of Q+A on Thursday at 8.30pm. He also presents China Tonight on Monday at 9:35pm on ABC TV, and Tuesday at 8pm on the ABC News Channel.

See also: [The truth of the Queen's legacy](#)

The Killing Times Guardian website March 2022



This interactive map shows evidence of mass killings from 1788 until 1928 - a sustained and systematic process of conflict and expansion. The mapping of our turbulent history is happening in many forms across the country, through painstaking research by historians, archaeologists, artists and descendants on all sides.

Just click on the text below to open the link.
([interactive map of frontier conflict](#))

Meanwhile – where to now for unions and the ALP?

Australian Unions Need to Stop Pinning Their Hopes on the Labor Party

Owen Bennett Jacobin August 2022 (published prior to the Jobs and Skills Summit September 1)

Since the 1980s, Australian unions have subordinated everything to getting Labor elected. It's a failed strategy that has diminished union power, leading to declining wages and conditions for workers. In the lead-up to the Labor government's Jobs and Skills Summit the union movement faces a dilemma. The first option is to continue relying on

Labor to end neoliberalism, a strategy that has seen the union movement decline precipitously. The second option is for the unions to rebuild ground-up industrial power and fight for the change they want to see. Rebuilding industrial strength will necessitate confronting a hostile Labor government. Employers and the media will also seize on a resurgence of militancy to attack Anthony Albanese's Australian Labor Party (ALP). Consequently, the unions must choose between defending the ALP's interests or their members' interests - they cannot do both.

A Small Target

"A vote for the Australian Labor Party is a vote for the unions." Since the unions first entered politics in the 1890s, this has been the rallying cry of the Australian labour movement. The May 2022 federal election called this slogan into question once again. Armed with a small-target strategy, Labor went to the election intent on recasting itself as immune to union influence. Going into the election, the unions' top-tier concerns were stagnating real wages, rising insecure work, the aged-care crisis, and the cost-of-living crisis. Despite years of [soaring profits and stagnant wages](#), Labor's election commitment was to advocate for the status quo.

Industrial Peace

Albanese's small-target strategy is in keeping with the scathing internal review of Labor's shock defeat at the 2019 federal election. The review in November recommended that "Labor's policy formulation process should be guided by its strategy and the national interest, avoiding any perception of capture by sectional interests. Labor should adopt the language of inclusion, abandoning divisive rhetoric" The implication was clear: the ALP would refuse to put union interests first and instead pursue a policy of industrial peace. [Labor abandoned](#) the wide-ranging platform of industrial reform that it took to the 2019 election, including the reintroduction of industry-wide bargaining, demanded by unions. "Business, workers, and unions have to work together,"

Despite years of soaring profits and stagnant wages, Labor's election commitment was to advocate for the status quo. In reality, however, this success has not been shared. Between 2016 and 2021, in real terms, corporate profits increased by a [staggering 256 percent](#) while wages grew by only 7.5 percent. Clearly, the unions must challenge Labor's industrial peace strategy if they are going to reverse this trend. However, this is not what the union movement has done. In fact, the peak union body, the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU), supports Labor's industrial peace strategy. Following Albanese's lead, in 2019, the ACTU scaled back its calls for overhaul of the industrial relations system. The following year, during the height of the pandemic, the peak body struck a deal with the Business Council of Australia to [fast-track union-approved enterprise agreements](#), even if it meant some workers would be worse off.

Wagging the Dog

Every time a reforming Labor Party has formed government, it has been on the back of the union movement. Consider the barnstorming election victories of the reformist Labor leaders John Curtin, Ben Chifley, and Gough Whitlam in 1943, 1946, and 1972, respectively. These historic Labor victories coincided with the decades of the Australian union movement's greatest strength. Union density hit a peak of [64 percent](#) in the 1940s, before dipping to just over [50 percent](#) in the mid-1970s. Without the industrial strength of the unions, it would not have been possible for these Labor governments to introduce the redistributive reforms for which they are remembered. Curtin laid the foundations of the welfare state, Chifley built a full-employment economy, and Whitlam introduced Medibank and increased all social security payments to the poverty line.

The bipartisan abandonment of full employment in the mid-1970s proved a turning point. Naturally, employers used workers' growing fear of unemployment to undermine union power and drive down wages and conditions, leading to a [sharp increase](#) in the share of the national income going to business. The ACTU responded by pursuing an industrial peace agenda, leading to the ACTU-ALP Prices and Incomes Accord and, ultimately, thirteen years of federal Labor governments between 1983 and 1996.

As the majority of unions accepted the accord, Bob Hawke's Labor government attacked the militant minority that refused to accept industrial peace, including the Builders Labourers Federation and the nurses' and pilots' unions. The result was a significant shift of power away from the rank and file and toward union officials. As unions

prioritized negotiation, union membership declined due to restrictions on industrial action and a diminished emphasis on workplace organization. The result was the steady degradation of workers' industrial power. Between 1983 and 1993, union density declined to [37 percent](#) while workers' share of the national income decreased by [10 percent](#). Consequently, the movement that had either pushed Labor governments to introduce reforms or that had defended them lost much of its historic power.

Pulling Teeth

In the early 1990s, Labor escalated its assault on the unions' industrial power. This reached its zenith in 1993, when Paul Keating's Labor government expanded its system of enterprise bargaining agreements (EBAs). The shift toward EBAs made it impossible to generalize wins, requiring unions to duplicate their efforts at many different workplaces. It also opened avenues for employers to sidestep or undermine workplaces with particularly militant traditions.

As a result, workers' power in the labour market nose-dived. [Union density declined](#) from 44.3 percent in 1992 to just over 20 percent in 2010. Incredibly, the union movement not only supported Keating's EBA system but extended this support to Kevin Rudd and Julia Gillard, both of whom placed EBAs at the heart of their governments' industrial relations agendas.

In 2007, Keating [proudly reflected](#) on his government's legacy of union busting. "I was the guy that had to get the ACTU in a headlock and pull its teeth out. . . . I was one of those who ushered Australia into the post-industrial age, where the collective is less and the natural role of unions is less. They also got incompetent as well. [The union movement] is dying on the vine. . . . [Today] you have Labor with unions attached, but they're not the ones calling the shots."

Successive neoliberal governments, along with employers, ruthlessly took advantage of the disorganization of Australian workers. Casual and insecure work became the norm. Labor sold state-owned assets wholesale, junking its postwar legacy of redistributive reformism.

A Political Solution

In 2015, the unions doubled down on their political gamble by endorsing the ACTU's plan to invest greater union resources into Labor's election campaign. Rank-and-file union members continued to lose power to power brokers, technocrats, and aspiring Labor politicians. By 2016, union density had declined to [15 percent](#). Over the next five years, the ACTU spent at least \$38 million on two political campaigns. The first was the "[Build a Better Future: Fight for our Living Standards](#)" campaign of 2015, which cost \$13 million. The second was 2017's "[Change the Rules](#)" campaign, worth \$25 million. Both assumed that electing a Labor government would challenge Australia's decades-long commitment to neoliberal policymaking. They never got around to explaining how or why Labor would abandon its long-term commitment to neoliberalism. Once again, it was a dead end for workers. Following Labor's 2016 and 2019 federal election defeats, a few left-wing union leaders began to [publicly criticize](#) the ACTU's top-down electoral focus. Instead, they suggested going "back to basics" by building power at the workplace level.

A False Dawn

In response to these criticisms, in 2019, the ACTU commissioned former Queensland state Labor MP Evan Moorhead to review its Change the Rules campaign. The report criticized the campaign for its poor communication and argued that there was no clear link between the campaign's policy objectives and a Labor victory: The combination of an assumption of a Labor win and a dependency on Labor policies poses a risk of putting faith in political solutions in circumstances where voters are not easily convinced.

At long last, it appeared that the union movement might begin rebuilding its industrial power. However, the reform agenda promoted by left-wing union leaders lost momentum, while the pro-business strategy pushed by Labor's newly chosen leader, Anthony Albanese, gained ground. In line with the recommendations of the Moorhead review, the ACTU [publicly pledged](#) not to complicate Labor's election narrative with a detailed policy agenda. The ACTU did concede that it should spend less of its funds - derived from union members' dues - on Labor campaigning. It did not, however, come out with a plan to rebuild industrial power at the workplace level.

At the same time, many unions simply transferred their own campaign resources away from the ACTU-led effort and toward Labor itself by directing their officials to “volunteer” for a factional Labor ally in a marginal seat. Once again, unions kept their members in the dark about this use of union resources. Thus, the union movement continued to subordinate itself to Labor, effectively abandoning whatever small leverage its flawed 2015 campaign model had given it. Rank-and-file union members continued to lose power to power brokers, technocrats, and aspiring Labor politicians.

Next month’s Jobs and Skills Summit presents an invaluable opportunity for the unions to stand up to Labor. Indeed, the ACTU appears to be calling in old debts, having recently taken the unusual step of publicly [demanding](#) that Labor use the summit to announce an overhaul of the “[broken bargaining system](#).” Whether it’s the beginning of the unions’ rejection of Labor’s commitment to industrial peace or another flash in the pan remains to be seen.

Owen Bennett is the founding president of the Australian Unemployed Workers’ Union. He is currently writing a book for *Interventions on trade unions and unemployment in Australia*. **For media reports on the outcomes of the Jobs and Skills Summit click [AFR](#) and/or the [Guardian](#)**



A fresh glimmer of light on the hill? Terry Hewton’s letter to the *Australian Financial Review* 6/9/22

It's no surprise that Labor and the ACTU teamed up to stage-manage the Jobs and Skills Summit as a mechanism to distribute wealth from "profits to wages" (The AFR View, "Summit talkfest dresses up unions' big victory", September 2). It's Ben Chifley's "light on the hill" that Anthony Albanese, Tony Burke and other party luminaries covertly still believe is the driving principle of the ALP.

Sure, it has to be realistic in its implementation to work in our capitalist economy. That economy must be productive enough to come up with enough national wealth for effective equitable distribution across the nation. And it needs effective mechanisms in our free and democratic society to enable a fair apportionment of that wealth away from the rich in the direction of the poor.

Ever since Gough Whitlam's downfall the ALP has been too scared to openly state this because the elite forces of darkness opposing them have been able to manipulate that message to their electoral advantage. This time the ALP has struck electoral gold. Miraculously, Labor won the election because the Liberals self-destructed, allowing for an ALP victory on a bare minimum of policy electioneering. It now remains to be seen whether it is possible to once again implement a genuine popular democratic socialism in Australia.

So far Albanese is shaping up well as a PM of stature. And he has a strong inner cabinet to back him up. This time round the odds are that a revamped Labor Fabian socialism in office will run its full course.

Terry Hewton,
Adelaide Beach South, South Australia

[Ombudsman clears former SA deputy premier Vickie Chapman of conflict of interest in Kangaroo Island port decision](#) ABC News May 3, 2022



Is that the end of the matter? Chris Sumner says NO

An extended response to the Ombudsman Report

Hon C J Sumner 30 June 2022

This response to the Ombudsman's Report elaborates on my views in the following media statement made when the Ombudsman's Report was released on 5 May 2022:

"Former Attorney General Chris Sumner who prepared the Ministerial Code of Conduct in 1993 says the Ombudsman's decision has far reaching adverse implications for integrity in government. There might be a legitimate debate about whether there was an actual conflict surrounding the property Chapman owned on KI but there can be none about the appearance of conflict because of it and her family friendship with Mayor Pengilly. Pengilly had a property that was affected and was an active opponent of the port. Chapman's decision supported Pengilly and resulted in a serious detriment to the proponent company as well as closing down a potentially profitable long term timber plantation industry on KI with economic benefits for it and the State.

The Ombudsman has substantially downgraded the importance of government officials not having an appearance of allowing their private interests to conflict with their public duty. A terrible precedent has been established. The Commissioner for Public Employment and other public sector integrity agencies will now have a difficult task to enforce proper standards of decision making. The decision has also neutered the Ministerial Code. It is precisely this situation that the Code was designed to cover. If a Minister had a potential (ie, even just a possible conflict, which was obvious here) then the matter was to be resolved not by the Minister but by the Premier and Cabinet. Had this been done then none of the fiasco that followed would have happened.

It may not be possible to appeal the Ombudsman's decision to a Court but the Government must set up a process to independently review it and consider its long-term implications for fair government decision making."

Part I:

Scope of this Response.

The Ombudsman's Report contradicts certain of the findings of the House of Assembly and the Select Committee it established on the conduct of the Hon Vickie Chapman MP regarding Kangaroo Island. The Report finds that Ms Chapman while the Attorney General and Minister for Planning in the Marshall Government did not have a conflict of interest nor breach the Ministerial Code of Conduct in relation to her decision not to approve the construction of a port at Smith Bay on Kangaroo Island principally for the purposes of transporting timber from the Island.

In contrast, the Select Committee found that the Ms Chapman had an actual conflict in relation to a property called Gum Valley which she part owned as well as a perceived or apparent conflict relating to this and other matters. This Response confines itself to the issue of perceived conflict.

Legal principles.

The law to be applied is reasonably clear. On 1 June 2021 **the Independent Commissioner Against Corruption, the Hon Ann Vanstone QC** published a report: *Identify, Disclose and Manage: Conflicts of Interest in Public Administration*. This report was released some 10 weeks before Ms Chapman made her decision on 9 August 2021 to block construction of the port. No one in Government or the public service from the Premier down heeded the Commissioner's warnings about the importance of managing conflicts of interest as contained in the following extract from her report. [my emphasis in bold]

“Unmanaged conflicts of interest can compromise the performance of public officers and erode community confidence in integrity in public administration. Failure to appropriately deal with them creates the risk of misuse of the powers, resources and funds entrusted by the community to public institutions. ...

Conflicts of interest arise when the personal interests of a public officer or someone close to them come into conflict – or could be perceived as coming into conflict – with the duties and responsibilities that public officer has. ...

The mere existence of a conflict of interest is not unethical. But where conflicts of interest are not identified, disclosed and managed, due process is compromised and there is a risk the community will lose confidence in the propriety of public officers, as well as in the impartial functioning of public administration.

At worst, conflicts of interest that remain unidentified, undisclosed and unmanaged can give rise to a suspicion that corrupt conduct has occurred, is occurring, or may occur. Many complaints to the Office of Public Integrity arise from suspicions of corruption springing from poorly managed conflicts of interest. ...

While public officers have a responsibility to identify their conflicts of interest, it is not solely a decision for the public officer whether a conflict of interest arises. It is not enough for a public officer to regard themselves as not being influenced by their personal interest. A public officer has a conflict on interest when a ‘fair and reasonable’ person could perceive them as having one.

If a reasonable and fair-minded observer might perceive that a public officer’s personal interest could be favoured by exercising their duties and responsibilities, then a conflict of interest exists. Perception is an important consideration when identifying conflicts of interest, and the reasonable person test should always be considered when seeking to identifying the existence of conflicts of interest.”

The Ombudsman relied on the Commissioner’s statement of the law which I also accept. However, in applying it to the facts he has fallen into serious error by conflating and confusing the issue of whether there was an actual conflict of interest with whether there was an appearance or perception of one.

Self-evidently if a decision maker makes a decision where the general public might reasonably think that they have not brought an independent judgement to the issue then society’s confidence in the efficacy of decision making is undermined.

The facts relating to perception of conflict.

Ms Chapman and her family had a long association with Kangaroo Island. Her father was a previous MP for the area. Ms Chapman was the part owner of a property at Gum Valley from which she and her family derived some income. The property is situated 100 metres from a timber plantation. The property is some 50 kms distance from Smith Bay and would not be directly affected by the port’s construction.

In coming to his conclusion that there was no actual conflict of interest the Ombudsman pointed to the facts that any logs from the nearby plantation would likely be carted on a road to the south of that on which Gum Valley is situated; that Gum Valley is not a tourist facility although it was promoted as such on the Airbnb website in 2020; that there would be no effect on the value of the property from the Smith Bay port and its associated activities; that there would be no effect on Ms Chapman or any lessees enjoyment of the property.

He also concluded that none of this would give rise to the perception of a conflict of interest to the reasonable and fair- minded observer. In my view that conclusion is not justified.

Ms Chapman was aware throughout (or certainly should have been) that a decision to block the port would have a long- term adverse impact on the timber plantation industry on KI. If there is no port then there is no long- term viability for the industry. This became clear when KIPT (the proponent) after the refusal decided to convert all its timber interests to sheep grazing.

The plantation next to Gum Valley was not actually owned by KIPT but it is reasonable to infer that its future would be tied up with the general future of the timber industry.

We do not know whether Ms Chapman or her family favoured a return of the timber plantation to ordinary farming but that is not the point. A decision on the port might mean that, after current logging, the use of the land near Gum Valley would change significantly.

The Report says that the timber plantation would be harvested and cleared irrespective of whether the port was constructed. This misses the point. What is not said is that if the port is not approved then it is unlikely that timber will be replanted and a significant change in land use will occur. Ms Chapman might be indifferent to this issue or favour one outcome over another but this is irrelevant to the issue of whether there is a perception of conflict. Whatever her view there was a perception at least that the likelihood of a cessation of the timber industry on KI could be a factor in her decision.

Relationship with KI Mayor, Michael Pengilly.

Ms Chapman and Mayor Pengilly were close and long- time family friends. They were in Parliament at the same time and members of the Liberal Party. Mr Pengilly has a property that overlooks Smith Bay. It is on the road which was the final route proposed for the transfer of timber to the port. There would be a very significant increase in truck traffic on the road adjacent to the property. Mr Pengilly declared a perceived conflict of interest when the matter was discussed by the KI Council. Mr Pengilly had been a vocal opponent of the location of the proposed port and was a vigorous lobbyist against it with the Marshall government. Mr Pengilly had a fractured relationship with some of KIPT’s representatives. Mr Pengilly attended a meeting in 2017 with company representatives and Ms Chapman at which they both argued for the port to be located elsewhere.

Ms Chapman would have been aware that if she blocked the port then there was a strong likelihood that this would shut down the plantation timber industry on KI and permanently remove the threat that the road on which Mr Pengilly’s house was located would become a thoroughfare for large numbers of timber trucks.

At the time that Ms Chapman was considering the issue of a conflict of interest in October 2020 she should have realised that these factors would create at least a perception that there was one. As Commissioner Vanstone pointed whether there is a conflict is not a decision solely for the decision maker.

The Ombudsman has said that the meeting in 2017 gives rise to an apprehension of bias rather than a conflict of interest. That may be the case but the test is essentially the same namely whether a reasonable observer would consider a prejudgement of the type exhibited at that meeting as meaning that Ms Chapman would not bring an independent unbiased mind to the decision. The Ombudsman thinks it is not a problem. I disagree.

Taken with all the other facts relating to Ms Chapman’s conflict of interest including her friendship with Mayor Pengilly it adds to the perception that she did not bring an independent state of mind to her decision. At all times she would or should have been aware that if she blocked the port proposal, she would be making a decision that was beneficial to her friend Mr Pengilly and delivering for him the result he wanted and for which he had lobbied energetically. In Commissioner Vanstone’s words it is the personal interests of a public officer *or someone close to them* that raises the potential for conflict.

Conclusion on conflict of interest.

In my view it is clear that applying the law to the facts specified it is not possible to conclude, as the Ombudsman did, that Ms Chapman did not have personal interests which appeared or could reasonably be perceived to conflict with her public duty to make a proper decision about the Smith Bay port.

Part 2 of Chris Sumner’s response (in the next LHSSA newsletter) will deal with the Ministerial Code of Conduct and the general issue of good governance



On a winters night in June 1989 the Italian Club in Adelaide was bursting with people with a wide range of interests, at a dinner to celebrate the life of Graham Smith who was dying of cancer. I believe the large number of those attending, (many more being unable to attend due to the limited space) was reflected in Graham's belief in building a more humane, just, compassionate, ethical, and democratic society based on knowledge, experience, reason, and actions. There was much love in the room, and this was supported with great speeches and moving songs. After the dinner, we discussed his funeral arrangements, and it was decided that we would ask people to give money in lieu of flowers to establish an organisation to promote peace.

Following his death, I met with group of friends and supporters, and we decided that a Peace Trust would be created as a lasting legacy to Graham's activism. It would be called The Graham F Smith Peace Trust later changed to The Graham F Smith Peace Foundation (Peace Foundation) in the early 2000s to indicate funding structure. The mission of the Peace Foundation is to *Work for peace through the arts*, encompassing all art forms including literature, music, performing arts, visual arts, craft, design, film, video, television, radio, community arts, Aboriginal arts and movable cultural heritage that relate to human rights, social justice and environmental sustainability. The Peace Foundation also has a strong commitment to First Nations concerns. Thus, it embodies Graham's life working for peace, social justice, human rights, environmental sustainability, and the dignity of labour.

The Peace Foundation achieves its mission by providing artists or arts organisations with funds for projects in accordance with our purpose to create works of art to challenge and educate us to make a better world. Since 1990 the **annual Peace Award**, which consist of a grant and a certificate, has been a significant part of the Peace Foundation program. The successful recipient is chosen by a panel in accordance with criteria set by the Peace Foundation. The Peace Award is usually presented at the fundraising Peace Dinner. **Here are some successful recipients.**

In **1995** the Peace Award went to the Australian Peace Committee (APC) for the *Port Community Peace Mural* at the Semaphore Workers Club. The mural focuses on the themes of reconciliation, peace, jobs and the environment along with Aboriginal themes, which are central to the culture and history of the Port Adelaide community. It was anticipated that the mural would help strengthen community relations.

The **2004** Peace Award went to the Adelaide Fringe for their collaboration with the Peace Foundation on the *Hearsay Art Project* under the creative leadership of artists. Siv Grava and John Turpie. The *Hearsay Art Project*, enabled the artists to work with refugees and asylum seekers at the Baxter Detention Centre in Port Augusta for six months, culminating in a visual arts installation. The collaborative installation offered an alternative to the hearsay about the men, women and children being held in Australia's detention centres. Still to this day the subject of refugees and asylum seekers are plastered all over the news but rarely are the public given the insight into the lives of these people and a chance to interact and voice their own opinions in a public forum. Having an understanding about the lives of refugees and asylum seekers who have sought out a life in Australia allows the public to make educated decisions about how we treat this ever-present issue.



Hiromi Tango working with children

Carclew Youth Arts received the **2013** Peace Award for the project *Cracken Fling*. During the 2014 winter school holidays artist **Hiromi Tango** worked with children, families, and carers from Davoren Park to create a magical soft sculptural installation which was then used for storytelling, story writing, reading and art making. The project helped to tackle issues such as oppression and discrimination within a wide range of disadvantaged groups in Davoren Park, a suburb at the northern extent of the Adelaide metropolitan area. *Cracken Fling* grew throughout the space over the course of the two weeks creating a wonderland that children now continue to work in and be inspired from. Annemarie Kohn, the then Carclew Program Manager, conceived this project which aligns with Graham's belief that people who are taught to think and to challenge, and who are encouraged to expand their imagination can create a better world.

In recognition of atomic survivor communities worldwide, an Australian sculpture *Tree of Life: Gift of Peace* was gifted to the Nagasaki Peace Park in Japan in April 2016. It represents the sharing of resources between families, communities and nations for peace and harmony. Commencing in 2014, the Yalata Anangu Community and Alphaville Arts Company collaborated on this three-year program of linked community projects involving an international collaboration of artists working with atomic survivor communities. Yalata, in the far west of South Australia, was a community that was affected by British-led atomic testing in Australia. The Peace Sculpture was gifted in partnership with Mayors for Peace Australia and supported by the Peace Foundation's 1915 Annual Peace Award. Keith Peters, Maralinga Tjarutja Council Chair, said: 'The wind can blow an idea away. But a sculpture holds that idea forever'.

Perhaps the most significant Arts project initiated, commissioned, and funded by the Peace Foundation was the *Kurna Reconciliation Sculptures* which have been gifted to the Kurna people as a path to reconciliation. It symbolises Kurna miyurna, Kurna yarta tampinhi, which means *Recognising Kurna people and Kurna land*. The Kurna people are the First Nation people on whose land Adelaide and surrounding regions stand. The Kurna people have never ceded sovereignty of this land. The sculptures were created by three Indigenous and non-indigenous artists and tells a little of the Kurna people's story. The sculptures are situated on the forecourt of the Adelaide Festival Centre. This point is also the start of the Adelaide Kurna Walking Trail. The Sculptures were dedicated by the Premier of South Australia on behalf of the state to the Kurna people.

The Peace Foundation widens its scope by acknowledging and when possible connecting with likeminded organisations such as Women's International League of Peace and Freedom, International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, Women's Climate Congress and The Independent and Peaceful Australia Network which is a network of organisations around Australia – community, faith and peace groups, trade unions and concerned individuals – aiming to build public dialogue and pressure for change to a truly independent foreign policy for Australia – one in which our government plays a positive role in solving international conflicts peacefully. This is done by participating in their activities as appropriate, but mainly through publicising their work in the Peace Foundation newsletter, Peace Notes.

Most recently the Peace Foundation collaborated with the Labour History Society on Truth-telling event based on the Telling Tennant's Story: The Strange Career of the Great Australian Silence by Dean Ashenden at Tandanya. This was appropriate as the Peace Foundation is committed to seeing the Uluru Statement from the Heart is accepted by the Australian people. Presently the Peace Foundation is working with Assemblage, Flinders University on the 2022 Peace Award Artist's Residency, and special speaker project. More information about the Peace Foundation can be found at www.artsppeacefoundation.org We would love you to join us in our work.

REVIEWS



Meet the Ship Painters & Dockers by Lew Hillier, Austype 1981

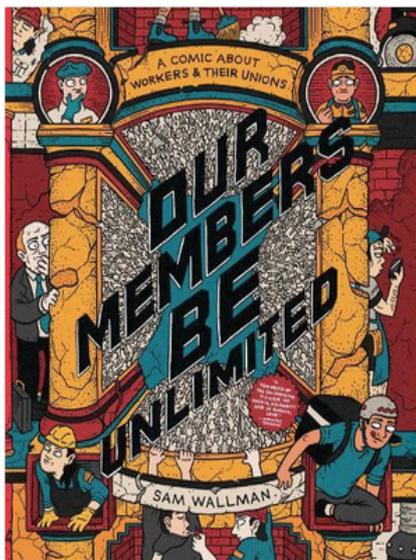
The media version of the history of the Ship Painters and Dockers (P&Ds) is familiar - a union run by criminal gangs and thugs - hence the [1981 Royal Commission into the operations of the Union](#). This book provides a very different view, it describes how the P&Ds supported each other through the hard times especially those injured in the workplace, when workers compensation was not existence or very limited.

The book focuses on the working conditions members faced, based on the experiences of the actual workers on the waterfront. Some stories are very humorous and show the very humane said of the members, like finding a young boy on the wharf, dressed in rags and starving, the P&Ds made sure that he had a warm place on the docks to sleep, clothed him and fed him found out his father was a Dockie whose death left the family in poverty. The P&Ds helped to get the family out of their dire situation. The young lad ending up living with a caring family while his own family got back on their feet all funded by the union members. A horror story relates to a ship that had taken on oil into its empty tanks but no one had inspected the tank and just loaded the oil. Inside the tanks were thousands of dead rats drowned by the flooding with oil. The

P&Ds were to clean the tanks as the vermin had blocked all the fuel lines. The first workers to enter the tanks soon retreated vomiting and generally in a poor state (no breathing apparatus were available). The men refused to work unless that got a good allowance for doing the work and went on strike. The Union called in the manager of the company responsible for the ship and actually made him go below decks. He soon realised that extra allowances were the only way to get the tanks cleaned so 'coughed up'.

The book's author worked for many years on the waterfront. He was an official of the Waterside Workers Federation and worked closely with the P&Ds during disputes which concerned both unions.

Doug Melvin



Our Members Be Unlimited

Sam Wallman

In our current political climate, people are looking for answers - and alternatives. The promise of unions is that their 'members be unlimited': that they don't belong to the rich, the powerful, or special interests, but to all workers.

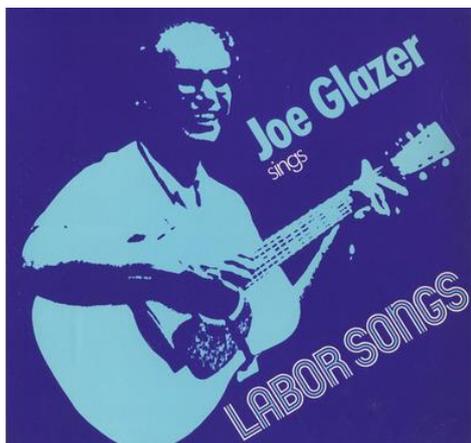
How did the idea of unionism arise? Where has it flourished? And what are its challenges in the 21st century? From Britain to Bangladesh, from the first union of the 18th century to today, from solidarity in Walmart China to his own experiences in an Amazon warehouse in Melbourne, comics journalist Sam Wallman explores the urge to come together and cooperate that arises again and again in workers and workplaces everywhere.

With a dynamic and distinctive art style, and writing that's both thoughtful and down to earth, *Our Members Be Unlimited* serves as an entry point for young people or those new to these notions of collective action, but also as an invigorating read to those already engaged in the struggle for better working conditions - and a better world.

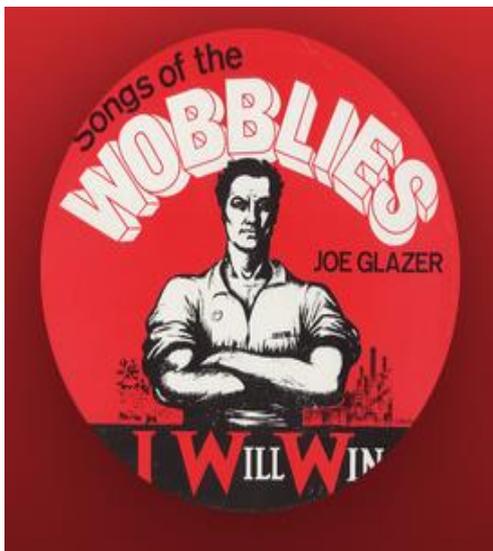
Format	Paperback
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Country	Australia
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SONGS OF STRUGGLE

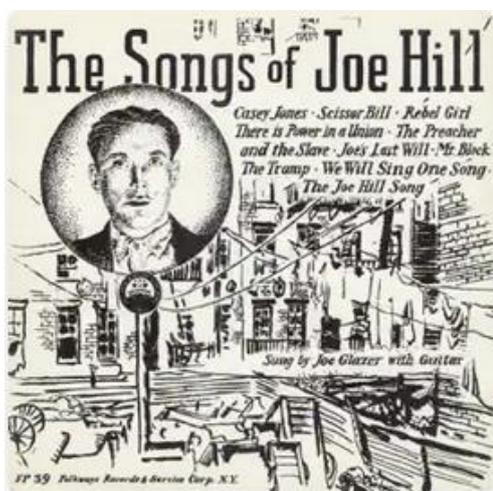
A name not well known in Australia is the US singer **Joe Glazer**. Born in New York City, Glazer was a graduate of Brooklyn College. He eventually moved to Ohio where he performed for the United Rubber Workers throughout his career and also served as education director. Glazer was also a member of the Textile Workers Union of America.



If you go to whoever you download music from your music source (it is *Spotify* for me) and type in Joe Glazer and you will find several recordings by him – songs from the early days of the workers struggles in the US to new struggle songs in more recent times. While the recordings are from the late seventies through to 2012 they all include songs that we sing to day in support of ongoing workers struggles.



I will win: Songs of the Wobblies (released 1977) includes songs like 'Joe Hill', 'The Rebel Girl', 'There is Power in the Union' and 'Solidarity Forever'.



Joe Glazer's album *Songs of Joe Hill* (released 2004) includes *Casey Jones the Scab*, *We will Sing One Song* and *Joe Hill's Last Will*. Joe's 1982 release, *Joe Glazer Sings Labor Songs* opens with an Organising Medley including 'We Shall Not Be Moved', and 'Roll the Union On' – and later on in the recording *Union Maid*, a very good version of 'Which Side are You On'.

Joe's 2006 release, *My Darling Party Line: Irreverent Songs, Ballads and Airs*, is a very interesting reflection of old pro Soviet Communist songs which he shares with Abraham Brumberg. There are tracks that have a humorous side such as 'The Last International' and 'Land of the Daily Worker' about wherever one visited there were people reading the Daily Worker.

Two more recent releases *Bricklayin' Union Man* (2010) and *Songs of Work and Freedom*, while still having traditional struggle songs also introduce some new songs all in the name of workers struggles. I was delighted to see the track 'The Man That Waters the Workers Beer' which I believe originally was an English folk song.

So, friends, download Joe Glazer and listen to songs that will remind us of workers struggles, past, present and what is faced in the future!

Doug Melvin

Vale George Thomas Young 21-12-33 to 9-8-22.

You may have by now heard the sad news of George Young's sudden death on August 9, 2022, surrounded by his beloved wife Anna, daughter Eleni and grand-daughter Sophia. George was father to Eleni Faria, Shane Howe and Jennifer Grace and grandfather to many grandchildren. George is remembered as the President of the AGWA and as a leader in the FMWU & LHMU. Latterly George was a Life member & part of the retired union members of the United Voice and the current United Workers Union.

Stephanie Key



A personal note from Greg Stevens:

Shortly after starting work at the PSA in 1965 I had the pleasure of meeting up with George and some of the other Organisers and Industrial Officers at the AGWA (Australian Government Workers Association). There were no formal or informal links between the two Unions at the time despite each having coverage of large sections of the public sector workforce. The PSA was not affiliated with the UTLC at the time

George and I worked together on campaigns mainly in the health industry on common issues affecting members in our respective unions. We held overflow meetings in places like the Olympic Hall and were able to exert significant pressure on the Walsh, Tonkin and Dunstan governments. George taught me a great deal about organising and campaigning on the job that I would never have learnt through my own Union.

Vale Molly Brannigan 13/11/1924 - 01/06/2022



Molly Brannigan was a South Australian feminist and social activist. She was a delegate at the first World Conference on Women held in Mexico City in 1975 and the Decade for Women Conference in Nairobi in 1985. Molly Brannigan also stood for the Legislative Council seat of Central District No. 2 in 1973 as a member of the Australian Labor Party. Molly earned a Bachelor's degree in Secondary Education in the 1970s and an Associate Degree Women's Studies in the 1980s. She contributed to Women's Studies courses in the SA Education Dept and the University of the Third Age.

Molly was part of *The Tuesday Afternoon Group of Women's Liberation (TAG)* which formed in 1972 for older women interested in feminist issues – a group which over the years also included Eulalie Tapp, Alison Gent, Ruth Sullen, Constance Frazer and Barbara Polkinghorne. As well as supporting many women's issues in third world countries *The Tuesday Afternoon Group* were also very active in raising the issue of community housing for older women. Molly herself was active in a wide range of issues but close to home she was heavily involved in the Community Housing sector which developed during the 1980s, managing housing for special needs groups such as refugees, young people, people with disabilities, and older women. Molly actively worked to set up Community Housing for Older Women (CHOW) a co-operative that provided housing for single older women – Molly herself lived in a CHOW house. CHOW housing was run and managed by the older women tenants who held meetings and made decisions around maintenance and the day to day financial matters. Molly wrote a report *Co-operative Housing for Older Women Inc: a story of self-help, 1985-2005*. Looking at the current situation where older women are very vulnerable it is a pity that this organisation no longer exists. Molly was ahead of her time.

Sue Marks

Elizabeth Grant Died (unexpectedly) 5 July 2022



Indigenous Architecture

6 Jul 2022 · 🌐

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It is with great sadness that we share of the sudden passing of Associate Professor Elizabeth Grant. Elizabeth Grant passed away peacefully in her sleep on 5th July 2022. Elizabeth's contributions to architecture, criminology and anthropology are extensive, awarded and ground-breaking. Her commitment to First Nations people, design, research, institutional environments and Indigenous architecture are known and respected by many peoples across the world. Among her many achievements is the establishment of this social media page – Indigenous Architecture – in 2013. It now has thousands of followers. Elizabeth's energy, drive, determination, wit and passion will be fondly remembered. Elizabeth is a mother, grand mother, and loving partner, and we send our deepest sympathies to her family, friends and colleagues at this very difficult time. Please honour Elizabeth by sharing your best memories of her.

'Liz' Grant was a creative and stimulating student in the Labour Studies program in the 1980s. She had a passion even then for exploring the implications of prison architecture for indigenous inmates, and as a UniSA academic in later years was adept at getting people to challenge their own thinking about such matters. KB



The flyer features a green and blue geometric design. At the top left is the logo for The Graham F Smith Peace Foundation Inc. with the tagline 'History for Peace Through the Arts'. The main title 'Wesley Enoch AM Keynote Address' is in large, bold, black font. Below this, the text reads: 'Dear David and Labour History Society', 'It is an honour that the recipient of the 2022 Graham F Smith Peace Award for an Artist in Residence will be presented at the Wesley Enoch AM Keynote Address on Thursday 29 September, at Tandanya.' A link 'Book your tickets now!' is provided. At the bottom, it says 'We look forward to seeing you there.' The bottom section features logos for The Graham F Smith Peace Foundation Inc., Flinders University, and the Assemblage Centre for Creative Arts. The main title 'MAKING MARKS: ARTS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE' is in large, bold, black font. Below this, it lists 'Keynote | Discussion', 'Graham F Smith Peace Award Presentation for the 2022 Artist in Residence', and a circular portrait of Wesley Enoch AM with the caption 'Wesley Enoch AM, photo credit: Cassandra Henningh'.