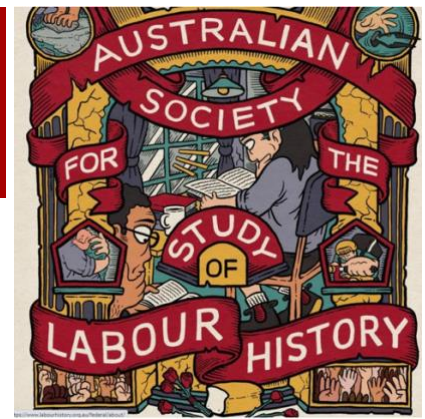


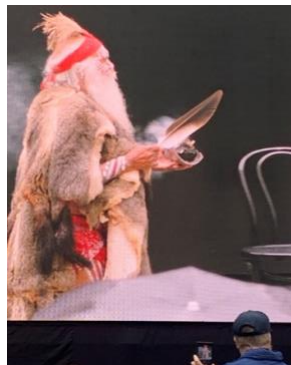
Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past.

Karl Marx, [The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte](#)



The passage of First Nation's Bill into Law – Adelaide 26 March 2023

A view from the street by Mike Duigan



An enthusiastic crowd in excess of 5,000 gave a standing ovation and extended applause to the special public meeting of Executive Council and the signing of the Voice to Parliament Act, thus giving the Royal Assent by the South Australian Governor the Hon. Francis Adamson AC on the steps of Parliament House on Sunday 26 March 2023. It was a poignant and emotional event, made more so by an extemporaneous 5 minute speech by Her Excellency, in Kurna language on Kurna land. It was witnessed by many First Nations peoples, Members of Parliament and a hugely supportive crowd, who rewarded all the speakers, including Ngarrindjeri Elder Moogy Sumner, the Governor, the Premier and the Attorney General in his role as Minister for Aboriginal Affairs.

The Governor committed herself to supporting the principles of the Act, reconciliation and the three pillars of the Uluru Statement from the Heart: The Voice, Truth Telling and Treaty. Similar commitments were made by the Premier and the Minister as they outlined the process undertaken to ensure the passage of the Bill following an election commitment and the pledge of the new government, elected just one year ago, to addressing the wrongs of the past and incorporating the Voice into the debates of Parliament, the policies of governments and the procedures of the public service. There was but a single lone protestor.

The proceedings of the House of Assembly and Legislative Council were broadcast to three large television screens to the crowd gathered outside on North Terrace. This was the affairs of State being conducted in public, with dignity and unity and with great respect being shown by both the representatives from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders. It was only the sight of three nearby Liberal Members of Parliament, including Deputy Leader of the Opposition, Mr John Gardner MP, who sat stony faced, with folded arms and refused to either stand or applaud the making of the new Statute. This spoke volumes about the breaking of their own election pledge to support the Voice. This was further evidenced by their contributions during the Bill's Second Reading debate:

".... there is work to be done to aid Parliament's decision making, but doesn't involve a Voice that creates a Third Chamber (which undermines) the primacy of Parliament established in the Westminster systemThe Opposition therefore is of the view that the model that is the subject of this Bill is defective and will not achieve practical outcomes Aboriginal South Australians can thrive based on having access to education, health, employment and ultimately economic opportunity so as to reach their potential and in doing so become active members of the South Australian community."

Steven Patterson MP Hansard, 9/3/23

On 14 August 1834, the Bill to establish the Province of South Australia passed both Houses of the British Parliament. Two years later, on 28 December 1836, South Australia's first Governor, John Hindmarsh read a proclamation at Holdfast Bay in front of all the settlers. It read, inter alia:

"In announcing to the Colonists of His Majesty's Province of South Australia the establishment of the Government ... It is also, at this time especially, my duty to apprise the Colonists of my resolution, to take every lawful means for extending the same protection to the Native Population as to the rest of His Majesty's Subjects and of my firm determination to punish with exemplary severity, all acts of violence and injustice which may in any manner be practiced or attempted against the Natives who are to be considered as much under the Safeguard of the law as the Colonists themselves, and equally entitled to the privileges of British subjects. I trust therefore, with confidence to the exercise of moderation and forbearance by all Classes, in their intercourse with the Native inhabitants, and intentions toward them, by promoting their advancement in civilization, and ultimately, under the blessing of Divine Providence, their conversion to the Christian Faith."

The recent Voice Act comes into effect 189 years after that Declaration as a result of a political commitment made by the Premier in the 2022 State election, which committed the government to a Voice for First Nation Peoples, before Easter 2023. The South Australian Voice pays testimony to the Uluru Statement from The Heart of 2017, which proclaimed inter alia that:

"With substantive Constitutional change and structural reform we believe this ancient sovereignty (of 60 millennia of possession) can shine through as a fuller expression of Australia's nationhood. We seek to address the" torment of our powerlessness" through Constitutional reform to empower our people and take a rightful place in our country. Our people will walk in two worlds and their culture will be a gift to their country. Accordingly we call for the establishment of a First Nations Voice enshrined in the Constitution".

The South Australian Voice Act is a new Act in its own right and amends the South Australian Constitution Act of 1934 and incorporates the Act's objectives into the Statute Book of South Australia. The pathway to this historic position was aided enormously by the extensive and wide ranging consultative work with over 400 people undertaken by Dale Agius, who, in his work as Commissioner for First Nations Voice. He held more than 30 in person engagement sessions that led to his first report and the subsequent drafting of the Bill, which, with some critical amendments allows for the continuation of existing and advisory bodies.

In introducing the Bill to Parliament, the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Kyam Maher said that the government was committed to...

"take the significant and fundamentally important steps to begin to reverse the disenfranchisement and disempowerment of Australian Aboriginal people that the Uluru Statement invited us to take. With the introduction of this bill, we open the door to a historic change. We can become the first jurisdiction in the nation to legislate for a Voice to Parliament and a Voice to government for First Nations people, empowering them to shape decisions, instead of being subject to them."

The Voice is to be implemented by the establishment of local, regional and state based First Nations voices and are not agencies or instrumentalities of the Crown. The State's First Nation Voice will convene the local voices at least once a year and can establish Advisory Sub-Committees. It will produce an Annual Report and make an Annual Address to Parliament and make presentations on any Bill before the Parliament. It must also meet with each Minister and Chief Executive Officer of an Administrative Unit of the Public Service each year through one of its presiding members as well as twice yearly meetings with Chief Executive Officers. Furthermore, the State Voice shall meet with Cabinet at least twice a year. Submissions will be able to be made to the Presiding Office of the House of Assembly or the Legislative Council, in addition to making an Annual Address to the combined Parliament. Upon making a submission to a Minister, that Submission must be presented to the Parliament, outlining what action has been taken with respect to the matters raised in the submission.

Minister Maher noted in his second reading speech that:

"The First Nations Voice must deliver an Annual Report and address a Joint Sitting of Parliament and may present a report to Parliament on any matters of interest to First Nations Peoples, to ensure that the issues raised in such reports are appropriately considered, the Minister is required to provide a response to the Report, including whether any action has been taken or any action is proposed to be taken."

The next steps in the implementation of the Voice in South Australia will be to establish various elected Consultative bodies that the Bill envisages will take place during the remainder of 2023, with the help and advice of the Commissioner Dale Agius, who has already established the basis of this work.

There is a strong commitment from all parties to ensure that the proposed system works. Such a commitment was recognised in a number of the speeches delivered during the second reading and debate. For example, Nadia Clancy MP noted :"

"The Voice is about looking for solutions to overcome some of these deeply entrenched problems and inequities, and for government to develop effective solutions Aboriginal people need to be at the table, because for programs or services to truly benefit Aboriginal people, Aboriginal people need to be involved in the development of them, and in the decision making process."

And Tom Koutsantonis MP provided the following less than sanguine but realistic observation:

"The Voice will not be easy. The Voice will be confronting., especially for ministers who have executive function. For us, the Voice will be the most difficult. For us, the Voice will be confronting., as it should be. The Voice will be the voice of the so far unheard and they will be heard and heard often. Often, what we hear, we will not like. That is the point of the Voice: not to be congratulated, but to hear voices pf dissent. That is real representation."

Finally, Catherine Hutcheson MP quoted in her speech the following words of a Voice supporter, Dianne Grigg, a retired volunteer from the Blackwood Reconciliation Group:

"The take-away lesson for me in all my working was that you can't have an agreement without a partnership, and you can't have a partnership without a relationship, and you certainly can't have a relationship, without a conversation... a Voice"

The whole ceremony was a most impressive and respectful celebration of walking in two worlds for all of us. I feel so privileged to have been able to witness such an historic event and to hear all of our First Nation and civic leaders speak with one voice.



**A view from inside the House of Assembly
on 26 March 2023 by Lucy Hood MP**

The mood inside the Chamber as the bells rang at 10.55am, was one of anticipation and emotion. While this is something we do to mark every new sitting day, there was something different about listening to the bells sound for five minutes. They sounded louder, defiant – history was calling. We took our places and stood, awaiting the arrival of the Speaker. As the Speaker arrived for an acknowledgement of country, it again felt more significant than ever before. He paused for a few moments longer than usual as he finished the acknowledgement and proceeded to prayers.

The Premier stood and indicated he would keep his comments for the final reading brief, so as to save his main remarks for the crowd growing outside. His voice cracked as he commended the Bill to the House. When the Speaker asked for all those in favour to say yes - it was jubilation from the Government side. When he asked all those in against to say *no*, there were audible *no's* from the Opposition. I turned, shocked, to my colleague the Member for Gibson, Sarah Andrews MP (on my right), and said, "did they really just say *no*?" I honestly thought out of respect for the occasion, and for the First Nations people in the public gallery, they would at least maintain a 'dignified' silence.

Regardless, the Bill's outcome was clear and the joy was impossible to dampen as we all stood as the Speaker departed the Chamber. In a scene not often witnessed in Parliament - Government MPs all turned to the public gallery, to the First Nations Voice advocates watching on, and we clapped and clapped. The bells rang once again to adjourn the Parliament. We had answered the call.



SA UNIONS

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE MAY DAY

EVENTS ON KAURNA LAND

MAY DAY

SAUNIONS.ORG.AU/MAYDAY23

MAY DAY MARCH & FAMILY FUN DAY

SAT 29th APRIL
10AM-2PM
TARNTANYANGGA / VICTORIA SQUARE, MARCHING TO VICTORIA PARK

LIVE MUSIC, FOOD & DRINKS

 **Johnston Withers Lawyers** **Union Family Hub**

PETTING ZOO, MINI GOLF, FACE PAINTERS & GAMES FOR THE WHOLE FAMILY!

MAY DAY DINNER

MON 1st MAY
6:30PM FOR 7PM
WATERSIDE WORKERS' HALL

SCAN TO PURCHASE YOUR TICKETS



PRE-DINNER DRINKS
SEMAPHORE WORKERS' CLUB
FROM 3:30PM, 1ST MAY

See *A Short History of May Day* by Doug Melvin (p 15)

Reflections on May Day – and ‘being union’

‘Being union’ means being ready to stand with, and stand up for, other people when they’re in need – knowing there are people around you who will do the same for you. It means working together to create a world built on respect, justice, and dignity. To me, being union doesn’t stop at our national borders - I’m an internationalist. There’s no other way workers in Australia or anywhere can build a society that sustains life on our planet and sees people living in peace and dignity, unless we build that society globally. Internationalism is the only way the human race will be able to confront the defining challenges of our time: extraordinary wealth inequality, the prevalence of poverty, and climate change.

Our struggle is also one that calls for sacrifice – union activists give an incredible amount of themselves to guard what we’ve won and continue striving to take further steps forward. That sacrifice can take its toll, and our movement needs a thriving heart of solidarity, togetherness and culture to sustain us. To me, all those things are what May Day is about. It’s our opportunity to reflect as an international movement on where we’ve come from in our collective effort, sustain ourselves through our solidarity and galvanise us for the work still to be done.

Dale Beasley, Secretary South Australia Unions

Working five to nine: Industriousness in the History of Capitalism

Call for Papers Hybrid/IRL Symposium

Abstracts due May 1

7 July 2023, Australian Catholic University

Victoria Parade, Fitzroy (Melbourne) Hybrid Format

Convenors: Hannah Forsyth and Elizabeth Tandy Shermer

Twentieth century capitalism has relied to a considerable degree on industriousness at work and school. Such industriousness became key to accessing the elite. Yale law scholar Daniel Markovits describes a college application essay in which a student boasted that their dedication to study led them to pee their pants rather than interrupt an intellectual discussion. Such commitment became quite widespread. Musical icon Dolly Parton recently rewrote her iconic song, “9 to 5,” into “5 to 9” for an app commercial, which praised the many striving to get ahead, or just break even, in the Gig Economy. Productivity increases in service sector occupations have arguably driven a great deal of profitability since the late twentieth century. Longer working hours, fewer and shorter vacations, helicopter parenting and other forms of investment in our own human capital have acted as a bulwark against falling into workforce precarity or losing class status, though it may be destabilized by the ‘Great Resignation’ succeeding COVID lockdowns. **This symposium seeks to understand the origins and unfolding of this twentieth century work ethic, considering New Deal and welfare state preoccupations with full employment, the massive increase in years of schooling globally and the expansion of working hours, particularly among university students and in white-collar occupations.** We welcome proposals from history, sociology, education, political economy or other fields that consider industriousness in the twentieth century, whether in the USA, UK, Australia or elsewhere. Priority will be given to papers that may cohere into a published collection.

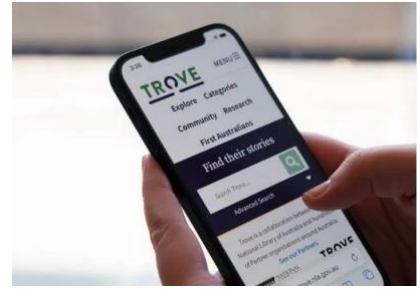
Please send short abstract proposals to Hannah by 1 May 2023: hannah.forsyth@acu.edu.au

For enquiries, feel free to contact either Hannah or Ellie eshermer@luc.edu

Trove saved – thanks to \$42.2 million Federal lifeline

Richard Watts ArtsHub 3 Apr 2023

The Albanese Government has provided digital archive Trove with \$33 million over four years plus an additional \$9.2 million in indexed ongoing annual funding.



This funding has ensured the survival of [Trove](#), a digital portal used by thousands of Australians every week for both personal and academic research, after months of campaigning by the National Library of Australia. Without this investment, Trove faced falling off a funding cliff on 30 June, when its previous funding arrangements – established by the former Coalition Government – expired. Crucially, the Albanese Government has also committed to providing a further \$9.2 million in indexed ongoing annual funding beyond the forward estimates, a move designed to end funding uncertainty and secure Trove for future generations

One of Australia's most significant historical and cultural resources, Trove features more than 14 billion digital items including newspapers, magazines and other archives. Providing a single point of entry to the collections of hundreds of Australian libraries, universities, museums, galleries and archives, it is regularly utilised by academics, genealogists, authors and the general public seeking information about Australia's past.

Minister for the Arts Tony Burke said the Government was very aware of the significance of Trove and the importance of safeguarding its future. 'Trove is, in many ways, Australia's digital memory,' he said. 'It records and retains some of our most important stories, moments, challenges, controversies and successes in one accessible location. 'Whether you're using it to look up a bit of family history or for academic research – Trove is an incredibly important part of our national cultural institutions,' Burke said.

The news has been welcomed by the National Library of Australia, a Library spokesperson commenting: "We are delighted that Trove's future has been secured. Trove has a place for every story, with 14 billion Australian moments captured for future generations. It has a story for every place, with 'Voluntroves' from Groote Eylandt in the Northern Territory to Burnie in Tasmania. It is where old poetry is transformed into new lyrics, newspapers articles become historical fiction, and where Australian humanities research is powered. Most recently, it has been a place for First Nations communities to continue to tell their stories, through our First Australians pages. Trove is a place for all Australians, which is connected to all our places. It is a truly national treasure, and an international world leader. The overwhelming support we have received from the Trove community (both new and old) has been humbling. We take our role as the custodians of Trove, on behalf of the Library and our partner organisations, very seriously. 'The certainty of this funding decision will allow the National Library to continue to provide this essential service, enrich it with new content, and stabilise and secure the platform, in line with the Trove Strategy."

Trove hosts some of Australia's most important cultural collections, including Austlang – the vocabulary of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages maintained by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. Trove also contains digital copies of Banjo Paterson's original manuscript of 'Waltzing Matilda', an architect's model of the Sydney Opera House, the voice of Lionel Rose and radio stories from the ABC chronicling the first mentions of a new invention called 'Wi-Fi'. Burke said: "This funding helps restore and maintain our strong cultural infrastructure – a key pillar of [Revive, the Government's new National Cultural Policy](#). It takes us a step closer to ending the budget cuts and culture wars of the previous government".

Minister for Finance and Senator for the ACT, Katy Gallagher, said that by providing funding certainty, Trove and the National Library can keep doing what they do best – collecting and preserving today's stories for future generations. "We know just how important Trove is to so many Australians and the Albanese Government is pleased to be able to provide our National Library with the funding needed to finally take Trove off life support. Without this funding Trove would simply cease to exist in a few short months – and with that, free, digital access to much of Australia's history would be denied to millions of Australians."

<https://www.artshub.com.au/news/news/trove-saved-thanks-to-42-2-million-federal-lifeline-2623797/>

Message from the president

I regret to inform LHSSA members and supporters that Dr Victoria Fielding, our Vice President, has resigned from the Executive Committee. Victoria's resignation is the third since our committee was formed, two of whom (VP Victoria, and Sec Grant Banfield) were officers elected by the members.

Victoria will be a huge loss to the Executive Committee and to the Society. She was elected Vice President twice. She is a notable scholar in labour history and media, an influential trade union activist and holds responsible positions in the Labor Party. Not least, she has a young family and a demanding professional life. Despite her other responsibilities, Victoria's service to the Society is significant, including her invaluable contributions to the organisation of the State Conference in 2020 and several general meetings along with her governance knowledge, wisdom and respectful contributions to the Executive Committee. Victoria's excellent social media and technology skills were an invaluable asset to the Society. She was our youngest member, one of only two women, and contributed a contemporary and reforming perspective to our work sharing with me and others, an inspiring vision for the development of our Society.

I am sure that you will all join me in thanking her for her service to the Society and wish her well for the other great work she does for our movement.

Yours sincerely,

David Faber, President LHSSA

REVIEWS

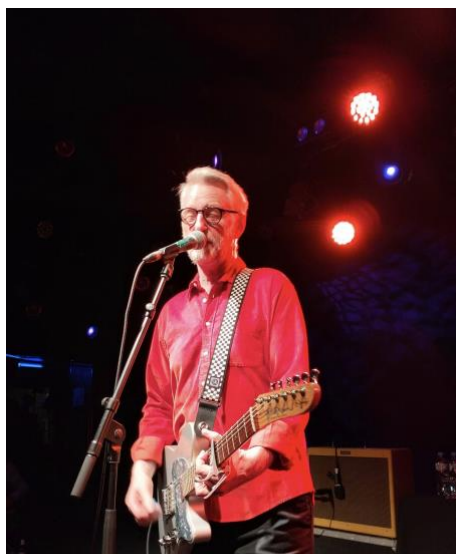


Photo: Mark Window

Billy Bragg at 'The Gov'

5th March

Some of Billy's songs are iconic hits, redolent of the Red Wedge days of resistance to Thatcherism and Mass Murdoch. To pick one amongst many, it is hard to go past the appeal of the nostalgic 'Greetings to the New Brunette', addressed in melancholy to one Shirley, with its driving refrain rhythm in his self-described 'chop and clang guitar style'. And its culmination in the poignant lines 'Oops there goes another year / Oops there goes another pint of beer'. The song succeeds because it is not propaganda but art, evoking shared emotions in an original idiom. This is the answer to the hoary old query as to whether art can or should be political. How can it not be? It's all a matter of heart and finesse. Even to question this involves a narrow understanding of culture, and a lack of gumption in the face of an aesthetic challenge.

Billy Bragg, the Milkman of Human Kindness, took the stage at 8.30pm, older in years like his mainly veteran audience and all the more craftsman-like for it. His command of the room was immediate as he launched into his patter and songs from yesteryear, many of which the audience knew by heart. Indeed, to some extent he hails from the British tradition of singing community ballads, hymns of solidarity and celebrations of the bittersweet appeal of love

The audience shared willingly his ironic sense of humour, with its characteristic self-deprecatory, working class notes; it identified with his broad Socialism and joined with gusto in the battle anthem 'There is Power in a Union.' A good time was had by all, including Billy, who in commenting on a cover, announced 'Talent borrows, genius steals.'

David Faber

Ron Slee (a WW 'tragic') reviews seven sessions from Adelaide Writers Week March 2023

I've been a close observer and frequent attender of Adelaide Writers Week for most of my adult life. For me, it remains a crystal of Adelaide's cultural calendar. I judge the program that Louise Adler curated this year as better than any previous year, particularly for addicts of history and politics! It was hard to drag myself away from some of the best poets and novelists in the world but when I did I was rarely disappointed with the history/political sessions.

Australia Institute sponsored 4 sessions, all chaired by the ABC's Paul Barclay who recorded them for his Big Ideas program: <https://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/bigideas>

The History's Rough Draft session discussed the value of political biographies written while the subject is not only alive but an incumbent. With former Victorian Premier Steve Bracks chairing, Chris Wallace (biographer of former Liberal leader John Hewson), Sumeyya Ilanbey (biographer of current Premier Daniel Andrews) and Margot Saville (author of *The Teal Revolution*) I noted the following:

- *Political biographies of incumbents can be potent packages, can change the body politic and be twisted by opponents (within their party as well as across the aisle) to suit their own ends. Wallace explained that this was the reason she pulled her unauthorised biography of Julia Gillard and handed back the advance from her publisher. She said "I could not let my ethical, balanced, nuanced work be used as a weapon against a serving PM, Australia's first woman PM". An alternative approach, which she has used for her latest book (Political Lives), is to write about prime ministers and their biographers analysing the impact these books have in shaping public attitudes towards PMs, past and present.*
- *Political biography of incumbents is important public interest work in an environment where print media is a declining influence and where social media, while a growing source material for biographers, undermines civil public discourse.*
- *The Albanese front bench is arguably potentially stronger than Hawke's first front bench.*
- *In Queensland, the Greens and Teals are helped because the ALP has stagnated and is badly run.*

In the session **Discomforting the Comfortable**, Lenore Taylor, Editor of Guardian Australia, interviewed Marina Hyde, Guardian columnist in Britain about politics in the UK over the last 15 years and her book 'Look What Happened?! Dispatches from Turbulent Times'. Marina Hyde said:

- *"the Global Financial Crisis was a complete institutional failure in the UK where the elites were never punished and no one was held accountable in 2008 or after. In public life today only football managers resign. Ministers of the Crown don't, and they feel no shame. Boris Johnson only left when his colleagues voted him out and he left office with the same dignity he had brought to it."*
- *"At the 2015 election, after Nigel Farage gave voters an F...Off button to push UK politics left the rails with the 2016 Brexit referendum. Even if Labour wins the next UK election, the huge mess caused by Brexit will remain."*

Big Government was a session that will be part of the ABC's Big Ideas program. **Richard Denniss** (Director, Australia Institute), **Wayne Swan** (Labor Treasurer in Gillard Government) and **Alan Kohler** (financial commentator on ABC and his online publication The Constant Investor) debated the increased role expected of government since the COVID pandemic. Here's a taste of their discussion from my notes:

- *Neoliberalism, the dominant guiding principle of western democracies, while claiming to be an economic strategy to achieve prosperity is actually a set of anti-democratic political values that leads to greater inequality.*
- *Kohler asserted that Murdoch's media influence is the main obstacle in Australia to implementing progressive climate change policies and national policies designed to deal with economic inequalities. Swan disagreed arguing it's a broader battle against "the commanding heights of capital".*
- *Discussing tax, Denniss demonstrated that while the Coalition claims to support small government and low taxes, it is in fact a big spender. And where does the taxpayer's dollar go? To its already wealthy friends not the poor and needy who it treats as its enemies.*

No Friends No enemies, a session chaired by Laura Tingle, debated Australia's capacity to restore its global relevance with **Allan Behm**, Head of International and Strategic Affairs at Australia Institute and author of a recent book titled 'No Friends No Enemies', and Gareth Evans, Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Hawke and Keating Governments and author of several books. This session was a lively debate between Behm and Evans:

- **Behm** questioned whether, internationally, Australia ever “punched above its weight” because it was usually “overconfident, loud, arrogant, had money but was not highly respected”. He pointed to the treatment of First Nations Australians, the penal colony treatment of convicts, the White Australia policy and our predominant misogyny. He emphasised our racist view of China, that we don’t appreciate its amazing cultural history and what it’s achieved in the last 100 years. He said we “love telling others what they should think and do but we don’t understand our own history”. Of the ANZUS treaty, he said “it is 850 words with little meaning. Delivered in a climate of fear of Japan, it’s a psychological not a defence instrument.”
- **Evans** conceded we do have a racist history but that Behm is too gloomy – historically, we have ranked high on many occasions including our key role in setting up the United Nations (Evatt), Colombo Plan (Spender), Antarctic Treaty (Hawke) G20 (Rudd and Swan), the Apology (Rudd) and the Cambodia Peace Treaty (Evans). We operate internationally with “credibility and sensitivity”. And, with Penny Wong as our Foreign Minister, we are changing – “no longer such a white Anglo-Saxon nation. Yes, we have AUKUS but not long ago we also had Morrison, Dutton and Payne”. **Behm** described AUKUS as “unwhipped cream. It’s the resurrection of the white man’s club and we’ll be given what we are given because compared with our two allies, we are so small.”
- On another issue, **Evans** said “I oppose nuclear weapons but not nuclear power. I’m troubled by sovereignty issues with our submarine contracts because we must be more independent. We should treat the US as a seriously equal partner not as top dog and see the submarines as part of a new ‘distant forward’ defence strategy where foreign affairs and defence are wedded – and we should be engaging the public in this debate”.
- On China, **Evans** argued there are 3 policy areas where we could be allies – on climate, the pandemic and weapons – and we should focus on these rather than a view that China is inexorably confrontational. On Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, Evans said “it’s the most intractable conflict I have seen. Zelenskyy is entirely right to defend his country but Putin is so committed to the Tzarist tradition. China is the key - It is embarrassed by what Russia is doing and if it gets off the fence it’s a game changer.”

In the session **Why Political Books Matter**, **Laura Tingle**, ABC journalist and author, and **John Warhurst**, Emeritus Professor of Political Science at ANU, discussed the inaugural Australian Political Book of the Year process. Along with veteran journalist and author, **Laurie Oakes**, they formed a panel which made the decision. As we know, the winner (by unanimous choice) was Dean Ashenden’s ‘Telling Tennant’s Story: The Strange Career of the Great Australian Silence’ – this book was launched at a joint LHSSA/Graham Smith Peace Foundation meeting in June 2022. Publishers submitted 35 books to the panel, which then decided on a longlist of 10 and then to a shortlist of 4 from which the winner was announced at the National Press Club in November last year. To see the long and short lists and to read more about the panel’s approach, go to <https://auspolbookaward.com.au/>. Tingle and Warhurst explained that although they were given very few formal guidelines they were looking for books that were timely, likely to also stand the test of time, dealt with big issues, documented important histories we may not yet know about, and made us think about things in new ways. They were hoping future submissions from publishers would include more books written by women and economists, adding they were expecting one about ‘Robodebt’! [By the way, for political ‘tragedies’, the Long List is a good place to check which recent Australian political books you might have overlooked. To that list, I would add Jenny Hocking’s *The Palace Papers*, Niki Savva’s *Bulldozed*, Chris Wallace’s *Political Lives* and Frank Bongiorno’s *Dreamers and Schemers*.]

On Tuesday afternoon of Writers Week, a noisy concert at Adelaide Oval almost drowned out speakers at a session called **America America**. Former NSW Premier and later Foreign Minister, **Bob Carr**, chaired a panel of four very articulate writers about what is going on in the USA: **Shalom Auslander** (Jewish American satirist), **James Curran** (Australian historian), **John Keane** (political theorist who studied his undergraduate degree at the University of Adelaide) and **Fintan O’Toole** (prolific Irish writer).

- On Trump, **O’Toole** described him as a pre-fascist in the sense that because fascism is a process, Trump, being a media figure, is testing the market to see how far he can go towards fascism. Keane said he’s a symptom of US decadence and preferred to call him a despot.
- On AUKUS, **Curran** called it a lock that will force Australia to stick with the US when it goes to war. He added that the Washington noise about China is designed to keep China on the back foot and to distract attention away from the fact that US military expenditure is ten times more than any other country, that it has military bases in 80 countries and is an empire in denial. China, by contrast, is a galaxy empire. Carr agreed that the US seeks an empire of alliances.
- On living in USA, **Auslander** reminded us that they have more guns than people but then told a story that when he once lived opposite a crack house (where cocaine is bought and sold) the neighbourhood felt safe and free of violence because the criminals made sure there was never any trouble near their crack house. However, when the police closed it down, law and order broke down overnight. Auslander finished the session by telling us that

he had heard of attempts by some to ban the Palestinian writers from attending Writers Week but he wanted us to know that the best thing that had happened to him all week was that he'd been able to sit down over a drink and talk with these visiting Palestinians about family backgrounds, children and food as well as literature and politics. The large crowd broke into applause.

At the final session **Cold War Hot Culture**, the chair **Bob Carr** was forced to retrieve his own deep knowledge of USA history when technology left him stranded while attempting a live streamed interview from New York with **Louis Menand**. When the zoom link was eventually fixed, Carr was able to resume asking questions of the author of 'The Free World: Art and Thought in the Cold War', a cultural history of the US from 1945 to 1965.

- *Menand's book begins with the end of WW2 after which the US was given diplomatic advice delivered in a 5,000 word cable telegram from its Moscow Embassy on 22 February 1946 that Stalin, after being on the side of the Allies in defeating Hitler, now needed to be contained. The Cold War lasted more than four decades but Menand chose to end his book in 1965 when the US sent its first ground troops to Vietnam.*
- *During that 20 year period of relative prosperity, artists in the US felt secure enough to become fearless in their opposition to contemporary cultural norms. They took chances and opportunities to promote their often outlandish work. In visual arts, Abstract Expressionism took off in New York City in the '40s with Jackson Pollock, Willem de Kooning, Mark Rothko, Louise Bourgeois, Lee Krasner and others. Later, in the early '60s, with Pop art (Andy Warhol, Roy Lichtenstein, Claus Oldenburg and others) both these radical schools of art not only challenged American traditions but also became global movements. In the 50s, Elvis Presley and others turned rock 'n' roll music from experimental to mainstream. John Cage in '52 invented a controversial piece called 4'33", a three movement composition for any instrument in which the score instructs the performers not to play during the entire duration of the piece – four minutes and 33 seconds.*
- *In literature, the African-American James Baldwin began writing in New York City but chose to leave for Paris in 1948 where he spent 9 years before returning to New York to become the leading literary voice of the Civil Rights movement. By 1963 his mainstream fame was such that he appeared on the cover of Time magazine. Susan Sontag, was hailed by Menand as America's most erudite critic, becoming by the '60s a well-known activist opposing the Vietnam War and establishing herself as a role model for aspiring female writers. Jack Kerouac sometimes called "king of the beat generation", in 1957 published 'On the Road' a novel based on the travels of Kerouac and his friends across the US living a countercultural life of music, poetry and drugs published in 1957 - which it brought him instant fame.*
- *The Women's Movement in the '60s rose up against misogyny as the Civil Rights Movement had risen up against racism. Betty Friedan in 1957 started surveying female college graduates about their satisfaction with their current lives. The prevailing environment was typified by advice given to these young women that "You may be lucky. You may marry a Harvard man". Friedan's survey results led to publish articles about what she called 'the problem that has no name'. This led to her ground breaking book 'The Feminine Mystique', published in 1963, selling 1.5 million copies.*
- *New technology helped drive the influence of these cultural changes. Juke-boxes and car radios disseminated the new music, new magazines flourished, while Off-Broadway musicals like Hair and later Oh! Calcutta! challenged mainstream theatre with nudity and risqué themes.*
- *Radical artists became popular and were championed by intellectuals as the wave of anti-war protest, civil libertarian, environmental, feminist and civil rights movements all found sustenance in a new politically aware generation.*

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PS: Just in case some still hold hope for the future of the United States, here's a chilling family photograph posted by Andy Ogles, the Congressional representative for Nashville, Tennessee. Rep Ogles defended the photo, despite public criticism following the killing of three 9yo children and three adults at Covenant school in Nashville on 27 March.

- **Paul Barclay** (ABC Radio National program *Big Ideas*) introduced the topic with the question of how do the Australian people get a better share of Australia’s wealth, and led the panel to develop a powerful argument to reverse growing inequality in Australia.
- **Greg Jericho** (Policy Director of Centre for Future Work, Australia Institute, Guardian columnist) began by pointing out that recent interest rate rises are designed to increase unemployment to reduce inflation - that is, it is deliberate RBA policy for the poor to bear the costs of managing the economy. He later reminded us that the last thirty years have seen a rebalancing of the economy in favour of corporations largely by Coalition governments deliberately reducing the size, power and influence of unions. This has been done by stacking the Fair Work Commission (with Commissioners such as Liberal ex-MP Sophie Mirabella), manipulating Enterprise Bargaining to tip the balance towards employers, and public sector wage caps to weigh down wages generally.
- **Sally McManus** (ACTU Secretary, author of *On Fairness*, MUP) picked up on these attacks on working people and the consequent reduction in real wages and rise in the cost of living. Sally pointed out that the issue is Power - Banks have the power to make huge profits, Employers have the power to degrade employment by making it insecure, and Governments have the power to legislate against the interests of working people - or for them, as in Tony Burke’s recent Bill for multi-employer bargaining. More of such legislation is sorely needed. Sally referred to research that showed that unions are actually popular, with members and non-members alike, but the workforce in which members are recruited has changed dramatically - 55% of union members are women, and the average member is a 42yo nurse. However, recent public acceptance of the fairness of curbing one of the superannuation rorts of the super-rich could be the start of a movement towards fairness.
- **Ben Schneiders** (journalist with ‘The Age’, author of *Hard Labour: wage theft in the age of inequality*) agreed that it all comes down to Power, that the business model of many corporations relies on reducing wages and labour costs through wage theft and unfair bargaining. The infamous SDA/Coles Enterprise Bargaining Agreement was supposed to be checked by the FWC for compliance with the BOOTest before approval, but obviously was not. Inequality in Australia has been growing and accelerating for decades, boosted by a highly regressive low tax system, with too much reliance on income tax and not enough on corporate tax. Even at the personal taxes level, Government revenue from income tax is ten times greater than that from capital gains tax. Australia is now much more unequal than the high-taxing Scandinavian countries - there was a time when we were more equal than them. Government subsidies to private schools is highly regressive. Australia must review its Tax-to-GDP ratio.
- **Alison Pennington** (Senior Research Fellow, LaTrobe Uni, author of *GEN F'D?: How young Australians can reclaim their uncertain futures*) pointed out that ongoing acceptance of insecure work, inconsistent rostered hours, low pay and wage theft, is particularly imposed on young workers in much of the hospitality industry. Buying a cup of coffee in such an unfair business is also purchasing consent to exploitation. If a business cannot afford award rates, it should not be in business. Each generation should experience improved living standards - if not, the upcoming generation revolts, as in Europe in the sixties. The current generation of young workers in Australia has been atomised and isolated from each other by the degradation of employment into casual jobs and contract gigs - they have no strong work relationships, they are untenured and insecure, they seldom meet and talk together at work, remain addicted to their screens, have never experienced solidarity, and many have never met a unionist. This generation, GEN F'D, faces working conditions worse than previous generations and worse than their contemporary elders, despite their higher levels of education - little wonder that many of them are somewhat alienated. Then they are hit with the recent lower payback threshold for HECS debts, which is a ball-and-chain right at family formation time. They see unions (with a little help from the Mainstream Media) as remote authorities close to Government. They are not particularly anti-union, not just individualistic, just not socialised – so they could be part of a union movement determined to breathe new life into the Fair Go. Like Mariana Mazzucato of ‘Mission Economics’ fame, Alison is highly critical of the Big Four consultancy companies dominating public policy reviews and evaluations, and calls for a more interventionist public sector. This could lead a movement for fairness through expanding PS jobs, reducing working hours, expanding education (not only through broader access for working-class kids, but also through higher-ages’ access in WEA, adult literacy, tertiary education & LifeLong Learning) and building affordable public and social housing.
- Paul wove together the contributions of the panellists very skilfully. Greg showed us that the current dire situation did not just happen - it was created by people with power. Sally demonstrated that the union movement is in good hands and that change is possible. Ben addressed the core problem of economic and social inequality. Alison provided a deep analysis of the plight of the upcoming generation of young workers.
- **A podcast of this session is available as ‘Work, wages and fairness’, RN Big Ideas broadcast Wed 15 March 2023 at <https://abclisten.page.link/WqGVuZe93bsxp3438> or through the ABC Listen app.**

Gen F'd? How Young Australians can Reclaim their Uncertain Futures **Alison Pennington**

Historians will tell you that the world is made by big blocs of different people with differing interests finding commonality and moving together as one.

Alison Pennington



Alison Pennington MA is a proud alumnus of Woodville High School, the University of Adelaide and University of Sydney's Department of Political Economy. Coming from Adelaide's western suburbs she remembers well her years of insecure, entry level and casual employment.

Her compact analysis of the lived experience of 'millennial' Australian youth in the neo-liberal labour market starts by documenting exploitation in 'the gig economy', clearly conveyed and well supported with statistics. She then focuses on divining practicable paths ahead in the years to come. A key finding is that a liveable Australian future for the people of this country begins with the rebuilding of unionism. She calls for refurbished labour institutions and a rejuvenated Fair Go to be returned to the heart of national life – reminiscent of FDR's New Deal, which helped pull the United States out of the Great Depression. We too need to remember that the labour movement's turning to politics in the 1890s arose from a similar phase of rebuilding the movement, against a background of industrial setbacks.

This great little book, as the world-famous economist Yanis Varoufakis writes, is "packed with insights on how this generation might earn a shot at a future worth living for." It is an absolute joy to read and supremely accessible. Her telling points are in simple, plain English – discreetly diplomatic without pulling punches. Buy an inexpensive (\$25) copy for a young friend, or anyone interested in demystified economics.

David Faber *Author's note: Alison was keynote speaker at the LHSSA's State Conference in February 2021.*

Russia – now and then

Jack Cook

As the war in Ukraine drags on, cities are destroyed and people's lives are devastated, how do we make sense of Russia and the rationale behind its 'special military operation'? There has been intense focus on the plight of Ukraine's citizenry, but less attention has been paid to the Russian mindset, the historical context for this invasion and the likely consequences. Former ABC foreign correspondent Monica Attard was joined by historian Sheila Fitzpatrick and Belarusian writer Aldierd Bacharevic. (Unfortunately political scientist Anatol Lieven was unable to attend). I chose this session because I fear the invasion of the Ukraine is potentially the most dangerous conflict since the end of the Second World War. The threat made to use tactical nuclear weapons by Russia's President Vladimir Putin and the consequences that might follow could give rise to an extremely dangerous situation. I came away from the session somewhat disappointed, partly because I was expecting much more. There was little said about the Russian historical context and how that relates to Putin's decision to invade the Ukraine. While nation states cannot always be defined by their past, in the case Putin's Russia he may well be a captive to its past. Russia history represents somewhat of an insurmountable and un-escapable phenomenon that has engulfed Putin engendering a paranoia resulting in threats to use nuclear weapons.

- A most important point made by Aihierd Bacharevic was his assessment of Vladimir Putin, in that he may resort to the use of tactical nuclear weapons should he be facing a defeat and the loss of the Crimea. If he did so it would be a profound and critical decision the consequences of which would be alarming not just for the Ukraine but the entire world. According to Bacharevic, Putin claims 80% of the Russian Federation's population supports his "special military operation". He may well be right, since independent media outlets have ceased to exist within the Russian Federation. Bacharevic made what I thought was an interesting point. He believed opposition to the Russian invasion is predominately from Western nations and that seems to be the case. What Bacharevic might have been suggesting is the growing trade relations between Russia, China, India and

an increasing number of other States is blunting the impact of the many USA-led Trade Sanctions. Recently when commenting on the Ukrainian War the well-known and respected U.S. intellectual Noam Chomsky pointed out that the U.S. had two options. One, to fight the Russians to the last Ukrainian, hoping it will weaken Russia economically and militarily reducing Russia to a minor state, but in pursuing such a policy there is a real risk of nuclear war. The other option is to face up to the reality that the only alternative is a diplomatic settlement, which will be ugly – it will give Putin and his narrow circle an escape hatch. Of course, the use of tactical nuclear weapons could quickly escalate to full scale nuclear war. According to Noam Chomsky everyone knows that no one wins a nuclear war.

Further analysis by Jack Cook of this aspect of Russian history will appear in later issues of the LHSSA newsletter.

***The Road to War* David Bradbury**

Andy Alcock



On Wednesday 29 March 2023, 220 people attended a viewing of David Bradbury's latest film *The Road to War* at the Capri Theatre, Goodwood.

David Bradbury has been making epic documentary films about important events and people for decades and this latest one is no exception. His past films have included *No Act of Choice* (2019) about the Indonesian brutal occupation of West Papua, *My Asian Heart* (2009), *A Hard Rain* (2007), *Blowin' in the Wind* (2007) *Fond Memories of Cuba* (2002), *Nazi Supergrass* (2002), *Chile: Hasta Cuando?* (1986), *Nicaragua: No Pasaran* (1984), and *Public Enemy Number One* (1981) - a documentary about Wilfred Burchett.

This powerful documentary film was very timely in that it raises the problems associated with the AUKUS (Australia UK US) pact and the relevance of the construction of nuclear-powered submarines in Australia, the US alliance, Australian politicians talking up war with China along with US leaders. *The Road to War* also looks at the causes of the Russian war in Ukraine and the role of the US and NATO in helping to foment it and the implications of this for Australia as the US talks up a conflict between China and Taiwan. David Bradbury is concerned that Australia could be end up being a patsy in a proxy war between China and Taiwan just as Ukraine has become the patsy in a US proxy war against Russia. He was anxious to finish the film by the time that Richard Marles delivered his defence paper and managed to complete it not long afterwards.

The event was organised by several peace and solidarity groups in Adelaide – the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom SA, the Independent and Peaceful Australian Network SA (IPAN SA), the Graham F Smith Peace Foundation the Australian East Timor Friendship Association SA and No Nuclear Subs SA in association with Adelaide for Assange and Amnesty International. Click the following links for further information:

<https://youtu.be/hEU02LTJBxI> (promo clip for the film)

<https://youtu.be/HsDB2C0QtL0> (interview on ABC Hobart)

David Bradbury also spoke of his concern about the way that Julian Assange has been treated by the US and the UK – with no serious attempt by Australian leaders to advocate for his release. On the day before the film event, he spoke passionately at the weekly picket that is organised by the Adelaide for Assange group and Amnesty International outside Senator Penny Wong's electoral office in Adelaide. David believes that because of the US alliance our government will not take effective action to help an Australian journalist like Julian Assange - who is not a criminal, but someone who exposed war crimes, human rights abuses and corruption of a number of governments including the US.

ARTICLES



Reflections on the AUKUS deal

Brian Abbey

18 March 2023

Laura Tingle's commentary on today's ABC News website <<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2023-03-18/paul-keating-savage-mouth-aukus-questions-china-defence-slipping/102113150>> is the first useful response to Keating's all-out attack on the AUKUS deal, of which the best that anyone could reasonably have said of that deal at this stage is that it was an idea worth discussing. It was not, not, not a deal that should have been concluded, and as such it stands, with some other things, as another reason to be severely disappointed about the way 'Albo' Labor is doing the business of government.

Like Tingle, I find it easy to raise questions about some aspects of PK's performance (although it will never change my mind that Paul Keating is what Australian governance practice and performance needs a lot more of). But this time his conclusion was too absolute and his aim was too scattergun to be fair, and in these respects he left himself less likely to "win the argument". But winning shoot-to-kill or boastful arguments is what electoral politics usually is, at its worst. It has little if anything at all to do with major policy formulation, especially over the key matters in long-term foreign policy, and doubly so in a fundamentally-changing world that will not reveal its full character for perhaps another decade.

I cannot see any likelihood in the long-term foreseeable future of a Chinese strategy to initiate a direct attack on Australia, much less a full scale invasion and land war. China has a 'scary' image far in advance of its capacity to conduct such a plan. It has too many very, very difficult distractions and internal weaknesses to make such an action likely – among them, large numbers of subdued but not controlled people in diverse regions who will never want to be 'loyal Chinese' supporters or cannon-fodder.

Indeed, quite the reverse is the case: a Chinese major war effort in the next decade (forget the Taiwan issue which is already settled and just waiting its turn) would see a fragmentation, not an expansion of its empire. As the standard of living of China's people rises they are less likely to be susceptible to the mass-mobilisation now used to support the ruling *junta* (a term used provocatively but not, I submit, foolishly. China has large and potentially powerful neighbours on all sides, all of whom have their own international priorities and aspirations and most of whom have or are aiming to have foreign achievements of their own that lift their status on the global scale - something that backing a sudden escalation in Chinese territorial ambition would not help. Its medium-to-longer term interests lie to its east and in Africa where it is already probably the biggest and certainly the most-innovative player, gaining friends among the elites but often not among the masses as it rumbles ahead.

What China is aiming at is what the United States - which may soon come closer to becoming the *Disunited States* - did successfully exactly 99yrs and 9 months ago, when it launched the Monroe Doctrine. That laid down the rule that warned all the major European nations that the United States would not tolerate further colonization or puppet governments in the western zone embodying the Americas. It made clear that any colonisation or the installation of any more puppet governments - indeed almost any major intervention - in the political affairs of the Americas by foreign powers would be regarded as a potentially hostile act against the United States.

The underlying purpose was the same as that of all similar doctrines whichever body issues them: the gaining not only of political and military hegemony over the chosen zone, but also control of the economic fruits of that hegemony. (China is not alone in getting into this game at present: others taking the same course in their respective zones include Turkey, perhaps one of the more obvious, Pakistan, despite its troubles, while the African continent supplies other examples at other stages of slipping the shackles of empire, including Nigeria and the nations around the Horn.

What Tingle does not do – and Keating's full-blast, head-on assault denied him the chance to do – was to raise questions about whether there is as-yet any undisclosed complexity in the ALP's stance. Is Minister Wong's lavishing of money and good will on our Pacific neighbours simply be following the subaltern role allowed us by the USA; or is it perhaps laying the ground for building some degree of independence for Australia within the shelter of the US-designed plan, resulting perhaps in some local treaty blocs laying the foundations for some more latitude for the participants as time goes by? (Can you believe it - we voted against Israel in the UN General Assembly recently, quite out of step with the US and its loyal tools.) Our SE Asian neighbours are showing signs of wanting to obtain and retain more independence than would be fully compatible with the US's larger 2023 Monroe Doctrine, and they have been the prime focus of Wong's work so far, alongside her Pacific Islands efforts.

This is not sent out as a full denunciation of what may just possibly underly Albo's longer-term thinking – it is rather a criticism of the fuller-than-full trumpet-blowing and paradigm of the US link that surrounded the AUKUS launch. The Australian public will, I suggest, be more sceptical about our government's long-term grasp of things rather than being filled with a new sense of security. I doubt China is feared as strongly in the cities and townships as it is in some quarters in Canberra where voices closely attuned to the American-leaning-and-funded and nominally-independent institutes and sympathisers reside and carry out their works.

Australia needs a protracted conversation conducted largely in the open but also at top levels among exclusively Australian and Australian-oriented advisers. That is, we need to see, hear and talk about more balanced questions than we need to watch a prettied-up circus run over by a bulldozer.

A Short History of May Day

Doug Melvin

In Australia on 21 April 1856, Victorian stonemasons undertook a mass stoppage as part of the eight-hour workday movement. It became a yearly commemoration, inspiring American workers to have their first stoppage for an eight-hour workday.

1st May was originally chosen to be International Workers' Day to commemorate the 1886 Haymarket Massacre in Chicago on 4 May, when police acted to disperse a public rally in Chicago's Haymarket in support of a general strike for the eight-hour workday. The event led to the deaths of seven police officers and at least four civilians; sixty police officers were injured, as were one hundred and fifteen civilians. Hundreds of labour leaders and sympathizers were later rounded-up and four were executed by hanging, after a trial that was seen as a miscarriage of justice. Other strikes followed in different parts of the US including the following day in Milwaukee, Wisconsin where on 5 May the State Militia fired on a crowd of strikers killing seven.

The first meeting of the Second International (held in Paris in 1889) called for international demonstrations on the 1890 anniversary of the Chicago protests. On 1 May 1890, demonstrations took place in the United States and most countries in Europe as well as Chile and Peru, and May Day was formally recognized as an annual event at the International's congress in 1891. Australia's May Day activities officially began in 1890 and the day was proclaimed as a holiday in all the states became known as Labour Day. The SA May Day Collective has made a submission to the SA Government Public Holiday Review that May Day should be public holiday in SA. NB: ACTU Institute website <https://atui.org.au/2022/04/27/the-origins-of-may-day/>

Stepping Back

Members, supporters and general readers – after four and a half years in various editorial roles on the South Australian Labor History Newsletter, I have decided it is time for me to step back. With the changes to the Branch Executive since the August 2022 AGM, I believe it is the ideal time for a new voice on the editorial panel. I have thoroughly enjoyed my time in the various editorial role – firstly working with Allison Murchie and then over the past couple of years, with Ken Bridge. I have learnt a lot, and hopefully have help produce a newsletter with interesting articles, reviews, and general information. Thank you for your support.

Doug Melvin (co-editor, LHSSA newsletter)

**The Senate committee supports a suite of policies that would radically alter Australians' work-life balance**

Chair of the Senate work & care committee,
Greens senator Barbara Pocock

<https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2023/mar/09/australia-four-day-work-week-labor-greens-senators-support>

Australia should trial a four day work week at full pay and more than double paid parental leave (PPL) to 52 weeks, according to recommendations backed by Labor and Greens senators. The Senate work and care committee reported on Thursday, calling for a suite of policies that would radically adjust work-life balance, to make more time for caring responsibilities and boost quality of life. The committee, chaired by Greens senator Barbara Pocock, backed many of the Greens' industrial relations policies, including a right to disconnect from work by not answering phone calls or emails outside work hours. The unanimous report received support from the Labor and Coalition senators, although its recommendations go much further than official government policy and both major parties warned of the cost implications of its measures.

The committee proposed the Fair Work Commission should review the operation of the 38-hour work week, including whether to introduce "stronger penalties" for longer hours, or work, health and safety rules to prevent workload becoming a health hazard. The committee called on the federal government to launch a four-day week trial, with employers in diverse sectors and locations to offer employees their full salary for 80% of their ordinary hours, while maintaining their full productivity and output. The majority report also called for an increase in pay for workers in childcare, disability and aged care. It called for equal pay for equal work in the gig economy, including rights to predictability of work, liveable income, decent health and safety standards and paid sick and holiday leave.

In a statement Pocock said Australia is "mired in a work and care crisis which demands bold reform to fix an economic, gender equity and workforce catastrophe. The committee's report gives the government the blueprint it needs to revolutionise our workplace laws so Australians, and particularly women, can find a balance between working and caring responsibilities," she said. "Australia is an international outlier in terms of our support for workers with caring responsibilities. We have slipped too far behind. And we are paying a price in labour supply, stressed workers, and gender inequality. It is time for a new social contract, fit for the 21st-century workplace, that does not put the burden on workers juggling care responsibilities around their jobs."

The Labor government senators said they supported the recommendations 'in principle' but argued that the "trillion dollars of debt from the former Coalition government ... necessarily imposes constraints on social policy". In their comments, the Coalition senators warned many of the recommended measures would have a "significant impact on the budget" and could reduce the "flexibility" in the employment relationship.

Labor has committed to provide same job, same pay in labour hire and to allow the Fair Work Commission to provide minimum conditions to employment-like work in the gig economy, measures to be legislated in the latter half of 2023. The Albanese government has committed to increase PPL to 26 weeks by 2026 and wants to pay superannuation on PPL – another key recommendation of the report.

See also: Ryan, Rugg and the right to work 'reasonable hours': <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/audio/2023/mar/07/monique-ryan-sally-rugg-right-to-work-reasonable-hours>

History of the two-day weekend offers lessons for today's calls for a four-day week

The Conversation: January 3, 2020 Brad Beaven, Professor of Social and Cultural History, University of Portsmouth
<https://theconversation.com/history-of-the-two-day-weekend-offers-lessons-for-todays-calls-for-a-four-day-week-127382>

The idea of reducing the working week from an average of five days to four is [gaining traction around the world](#). Businesses and politicians have been considering a switch to fewer, but more [productive hours spent working](#). But the idea has [also been derided](#). As a historian of leisure, it strikes me that there are a number of parallels between debates today and [those that took place in the 19th century](#) when the weekend as we now know it was first introduced. Having Saturdays as well as Sundays off work is actually a relatively modern phenomenon.

Throughout the 19th century, government legalisation reduced working hours in factories and prescribed regular breaks. But the weekend did not simply arise from government legislation – it was shaped by a combination of campaigns. Some were led by half-day holiday movements, others by trade unions, commercial leisure companies and employers themselves. The formation of the weekend in Britain was a piecemeal and uneven affair that had to overcome unofficial popular traditions that punctured the working week during the 19th century.

'Saint Monday'

For much of the 19th century, for example, skilled artisan workers adopted their own work rhythms as they often hired workshop space and were responsible for producing items for their buyer on a weekly basis. This gave rise to the practice of "Saint Monday". While Saint Monday mimicked the religious Saint Day holidays, it was in fact an entirely secular practice, instigated by workers to provide an extended break in the working week. They worked intensively from Tuesday to finish products by Saturday night so they could then enjoy Sunday as a legitimate holiday but also took Mondays off to recover from Saturday night and the previous day's excesses. By the mid-19th century, Saint Monday was a popular institution in British society. So much so that commercial leisure – like music halls, theatres and singing saloons – staged events on this unofficial holiday.

Workers in the early factory system also adopted the tradition of Saint Monday, despite manufacturers consistently opposing the practice, as it hurt productivity. But workers had a religious devotion to the unofficial holiday, which made it difficult for masters to break the habit. It continued to thrive into the 1870s and 1880s.

The origin of the 'weekend'

Nonetheless, religious bodies and trade unions were keen to instil a more formal holiday in the working week. Religious bodies argued that a break on Saturday would improve working class "mental and moral culture". For example, in 1862 Reverend George Heaviside captured the optimistic tone of many religious leaders when, writing in the Coventry Herald newspaper, he claimed a weekend would allow for a refreshed workforce and greater attendance at church on Sundays. Trade unions, meanwhile, wanted to secure a more formalised break in the working week that did not rely on custom. Indeed, the creation of the weekend is still cited as a [proud achievement in trade union history](#).



Half-day Saturdays "improve productivity"

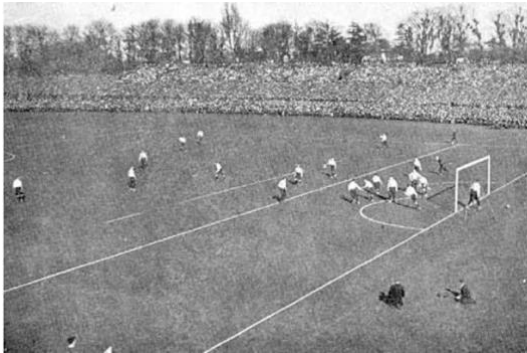
In 1842 a campaign group called the [Early Closing Association](#) was formed. It lobbied government to keep Saturday afternoon free for worker leisure in return for a full day's work on Monday. The association established branches in key manufacturing towns and its membership was drawn from local civic elites, manufacturers and the clergy. Employers were encouraged to establish half-day Saturdays as the Early Closing Association argued it would foster a sober and industrious workforce.



Trades unions and workers' temperance groups also saw the half-day Saturday as a vehicle to advance working class respectability. It was hoped they would shun drunkenness and brutal sports like cock fighting, which had traditionally been associated with Saint Monday. For these campaigners, Saturday afternoon was singled out as the day in which the working classes could enjoy "rational recreation", a form of leisure designed to draw the worker from the public house and into elevating and educational pursuits.

For example, in Birmingham during 1850s, the association wrote in the Daily News newspaper that Saturday afternoons would benefit men and women who could: "Take a trip into the country, or those who take delight in gardening, or any other pursuit which requires daylight, could usefully employ their half Saturday, instead of working on the Sabbath; or they could employ their time in mental or physical improvements."

The weekend as a business opportunity: Across the country a burgeoning leisure industry saw the new half-day Saturday as a business opportunity. Saturday afternoons became a very attractive holiday for workers, as it facilitated cheap excursions and new exciting forms of leisure. Train operators embraced the idea, charging reduced fares for day-trippers to the countryside on Saturday afternoons. With increasing numbers of employers adopting the half-day Saturday, theatres and music halls also switched their star entertainment from a Monday to Saturday afternoon.



Perhaps the most influential leisure activity to help forge the modern week was the decision to stage football matches on Saturday afternoon. The "Football Craze", as it was called, took off in the 1890s, just as the new working week was beginning to take shape. (photo: the well-attended 1901 FA Cup final)

The adoption of the modern weekend was neither swift nor uniform as, ultimately, the decision for a factory to adopt the half-day Saturday rested with the manufacturer. Campaigns for an established weekend had begun in the 1840s but it did not gain widespread adoption for another 50 years. By the end of the 19th century, there was an irresistible pull towards marking out Saturday afternoon and Sunday as the weekend. While they had their different reasons, employers, religious groups, commercial leisure and workers all came to see Saturday afternoon as an advantageous break in the working week. This laid the groundwork for the full 48-hour weekend as we now know it – although this was only established in the 1930s. Once again, it was embraced by employers who found that the full Saturday and Sunday break [reduced absenteeism and improved efficiency](#).

<p>The centenarian conundrum Bernhard Warner <i>New York Times</i> January 21, 2023</p> <p>A society full of centenarians poses a profound challenge for the world's advanced economies</p>
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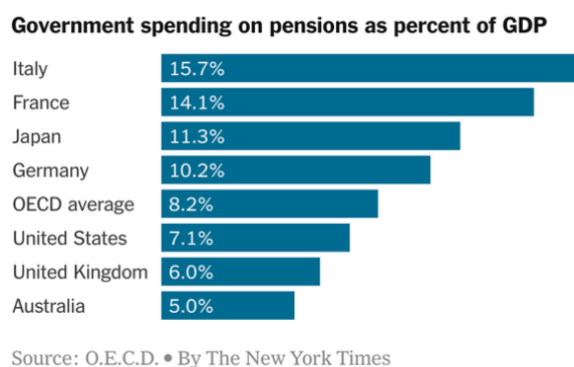
The long-life paradox

Today's 5-year-olds have it even better than you think. In the wealthiest nations, more than half of these tykes will live to at least 100, the Stanford Center on Longevity expects. But a society full of centenarians poses a profound challenge for the world's advanced economies and many of its companies: How do you adapt to an older world and pay for the inevitable pension time bomb ticking in the background as this super-ager cohort approaches retirement age? As the Stanford center puts it: "The 100-year life is here. We're not ready." The real-world effect of the worries about the long-life paradox were on full display this week: In France, nationwide strikes and protests brought the country to a standstill at the government's deeply unpopular attempt to reform pension rules; in China, authorities

reported that the population was falling for the first time in six decades; and at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, business leaders and policymakers grappled with the consequences of this demographic conundrum.

The ticking time bomb

In France (life expectancy: 82), workers and students took to the streets to protest President Emmanuel Macron's push to overhaul the pension system and raise the minimum retirement age to 64 from 62 by 2030, an attempt to tame the country's ballooning social welfare costs. (In the United States, where the life expectancy is 77, the typical retirement age is 67, although workers as young as 62 can begin collecting Social Security benefits.) France spends just over 14 percent of its GDP on pensions, one of the highest rates among the group of rich countries that comprise the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. "We need to work more," Mr. Macron said in a New Year's address, to "pass on to our children a fair and durable social model, because it will be credible and financed in the long term."



The situation is more grim in China (life expectancy: 78), which is confronting a shrinking population. One reason: It costs more to raise a child in parts of China than it does in the United States, a reality that's pushing families and professional women to choose not to have children (despite a number of government inducements to get them to do so). The not-too-distant impact: a shortage of workers could imperil economic growth and torpedo Beijing's ability to raise sufficient funding through taxation of the younger, working population to support the biggest population of pensioners on the planet.

S&P Global, the credit ratings agency, sees China- and France-like warning signs across the world: lower fertility rates, rocky public finances and rising interest rates combined with longer life expectancies are creating a "global aging crisis". "Unless countries begin serious policy action to cut age-related spending," two Standard & Poor's analysts, Samuel Tilleray and Marko Msrnik, wrote in a note this week, "a potential avalanche of longevity-fuelled junk ratings will follow, raising costs for future generations. Just over half of the 81 countries we have analysed would have credit metrics that we associate with speculative-grade credit ratings (BB+ or below) by 2060."

Welcome to the 'longevity economy'

At the World Economic Forum, organizers tried their best to change the gloomy Malthusian narrative about ageing. Talk of time bombs or a "silver tsunami" were out, replaced by high-level discussions on what the forum calls the "longevity economy." A central theme: If we're expected to live longer, we're going to have to adjust some life goals and work longer, too.

Darryl White, the chief executive of the Canadian bank BMO, said society needed to consider a different kind of life hack. For starters, we have to ditch the first-school-then-work-then-retire framework. He told a panel on super-ageing "Life is nonlinear, I could decide that I want to start working earlier. I could decide that I want to retire later. I could decide that I want to have various recommitments to my career as I reinvent myself." Upskilling and reskilling are important to this strategy, an investment obligation that will need to be shared by employees, employers and governments. The upside: W.E.F. calculates that by improving access to reskilling and lifelong learning, workplace productivity would increase and add \$8.3 trillion to global gross domestic product by 2030.

Giving workers the opportunity and resources to work well beyond their retirement age is good for society and companies, said Lynda Gratton, a professor of management practice at London Business School and a co-author of *The Hundred-Year Life: Living and Working in an Age of Longevity*. "We know that when people stopped working in their early 60s, their social capital deteriorates, their networks deteriorate. They're not so cognitively active," she said.

Moreover, a longer stint in the workplace would help their personal finances, which would ease pressure on the pension system.

Age discrimination, she said, is growing more pervasive in the corporate world, and that could affect corporate productivity. “I would like to see corporations held accountable for age discrimination just as they are for every other form of discrimination,” she said. “I would like companies to have to report how many people are employed at different ages so we can get a sense of, ‘Are you employing people in their 60s and 70s?’” Such a measure, she believes, would pressure management to recruit from a broader talent pool. And companies would see the benefits of building multigenerational workplaces.

‘A huge burden on the young generation’

Young people struggling to break into their careers might want to see such data reported, too. Noura Berrouba, president of the National Council of Swedish Youth Organisations, told the W.E.F. panel that age-based discrimination affects the job prospects of the old and young alike. “If we’re being honest, the way our demographic curve is bending, it’s going to be a huge burden on the young generation,” she said. She proposed more progressive tax policy, fairer wages and more corporate governance scrutiny to ensure that enough money is going into the collective pot to fund more people getting a social security check. Ms. Berrouba also suggests that workplaces need to strengthen the bonds between younger and older employees. “If people are living longer lives — hopefully more equitable lives — we need to make sure that intergenerational solidarity is part of that,” she said. “Many young people feel that intergenerational solidarity is going in one direction. It’s going from young people to the elderly, but it’s not going in the other direction.”

Governments have made steady changes to national retirement policy in recent years. The O.E.C.D. average for the minimum retirement age is 62.5, but will tick up to 64 in the coming years as a number of countries, including Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden, push up the minimum pension age to correspond with increases in life expectancy.

Hervé Boulhol, a senior economist at the O.E.C.D. specializing in pensions, bristles at the idea of an ageing time bomb threatening the world’s biggest economies. But he does see a risk if policymakers and business leaders fail to address the matter. “Yes, the clock is ticking,” he said.

NEOLIBERALISM: THE CASE OF THE 2011 ROXBY DOWNS INDENTURE

Dr Anne Burger

An abstract of her presentation to the LHSSA on 19 February, 2023

In 2011 the South Australian Labor government made an historic agreement with BHP Billiton for a massive expansion of the Olympic Dam mine in the northern region of the state. Called the Roxby Downs Indenture, the agreement was designed to achieve a five-fold increase in copper and uranium mining at the Olympic Dam mine that would reach world-size proportions. In stark contrast to the commonly held belief that neoliberal policy involves ‘small government’ and deregulation, an analysis of this agreement reveals the real nature of neoliberal policy-making, in particular, that there is extensive state interventionism and reregulation to create a new policy regime.

The case study also shows the class nature of neoliberal policy. The union and environment stakeholder groups were ignored in the policy making process and twenty South Australian statutes were modified in favour of BHP Billiton. Opposing voices were effectively eliminated which threatened the quality of democracy. Overall, the mining agreement gave greater power and advantage to BHP Billiton while reducing that of other social classes. With the 2011 Indenture the South Australian state increased its accumulation function of facilitating capital at the expense of its legitimating function of advancing social and economic power for other social classes in South Australia.

In spite of a very generous agreement with substantial subsidies and favourable royalties for BHP Billiton, the mining magnate company cancelled the project expansion the following year purportedly for global economic reasons.

Anne Burger: a personal tribute to Ray Broomhill

Ray Broomhill and I were originally going to do my LHSSA presentation together – Ray was going to focus on the evolution of neoliberalism theory and the neoliberal policy program in SA in 1990s. It was unknown if Ray would be well enough to co-present when the time came and he always said he was happy for me to do it on my own. Unfortunately, Ray's involvement wasn't possible and sadly we lost Ray in late October 2022. Like a lot of people, I was deeply affected.

Ray was a friend from the early 1990s. I first met him on a visit from Canada and I remember he gave me a copy of his published PhD thesis on the Great Depression in South Australia – my MA thesis had been on the Great Depression in Canada. In subsequent visits from Canada I always looked up Ray and Rhonda. I enjoyed Ray's company very much – he was always warm and interested in my union work.

When I returned to live in Adelaide, Ray seemed a natural choice for supervising my PhD and he readily agreed to this. In the weeks being immersed again in my PhD research for the LHSSA presentation, I was constantly reminded of the significant impact Ray had on me – on my thinking, the paths of research to take, the questions to be considered and the enriching of my analysis. Ray's guidance was always delivered with respect and support. I know Ray gave me an exceptional amount of support for my PhD project. I feel Ray has had an indelible effect on me and his intellectual influence will always be with me.

Tributes to Michelle Hogan: A creative, caring feminist & working class leader **16.12.1959 – 8.3.2023**



We mourn the loss of comrade sister Michelle Hogan. Michelle was a dynamic feminist working class activist. She fought for social and economic justice all her working life. She had a wonderful capacity to bring people together across working class and community organisations for progressive ends. Michelle made events and campaigns fun. Laughter, food and caring were her speciality. 'Bread and Roses' encapsulates her approach to work and life.

The moving, heartfelt speeches at her funeral; statements from organisations that she participated in; and state and federal parliamentary acknowledgements reflect the breadth of her positive impact. They celebrate her networking skills, open hearted kindness and passionate advocacy for justice, women's rights and local communities.

From the start of her working life as a CYSS project Officer Michelle demonstrated a concern for equal access to and justice in employment. From the early 1980s she engaged with community arts, co-organising the first national

community arts conference. Michelle brought the creativity of the arts to all her future work; enriching it as she did so.

Michelle's union commitment was particularly evident from the late 1980s when she took up the position of Co-ordinator of the Trade Union Resource Centre with the South Australian United Trades & Labor Council. She was part of a vibrant group of unionists working in the basement of old trades hall prior to Howard Government defunding and attacks on workers and their representative organisations.

Michelle then worked at the Australian Nursing Federation. She and ANF organiser Terri Daktyl became close comrades. On Terri's death in a tragic accident an AHPEDA Union Aid Abroad program was set up in her name. Each year thereafter Michelle energetically supported the APHEDA Terri Daktyl dinner, raising funds for AIDS services in Vietnam.

Throughout this time, Michelle was part of a group of women determined to broaden the union movement –to make it more inclusive at all levels and better connected to the lives of women. She and others had to fight hostility to women from some officials. Michelle was an active member of the Women in Trade Unions Network and Left Women's Caucus. In the early 1990s she argued for the then radical demand for a UTLC Women's Vice President's position. She maintained her involvement with the UTLC/SA Unions Women's Standing Committee for many years, contributing ideas and enthusiasm all the while. Michelle actively supported the Anna Stewart Memorial Program for women unionists interested in taking up a more active role in their union. She was passionate about the union banner projects that included the 1986-7 Women Unionists Working for Peace banner.

As UTLC Assistant Secretary (1998-2002) Michelle worked hard to support women as workers and unionists. She pursued issues of particular concern to women – working hours, maternity leave, work & family. She fought to make opposition to sexual harassment within unions and in the general workforce a central union demand. Michelle supported Indigenous activists and maintained an Indigenous Workers Network. She was deeply committed to structural change and skills development. She toughed out opposition and worked with respect with difficult characters. Michelle's UTLC work involved ground breaking campaigning and building of community coalitions. Ever innovative, she and Jim Douglas organised summer and winter schools to freely explore issues and generate new ideas.

Later, Michelle played an equally creative and principled role as Director of Dale Street Women's Health Centre, Port Adelaide. She was a smart manager of a women-centred health service, at a time when dedicated women's services were under attack. Michelle recognised and acted upon the links between work and general health. Dale Street projects included involving women outworkers from Vietnamese and Spanish speaking backgrounds.

Michelle's involvement with the Working Women's Centre was also longstanding. As a project officer in 1990-91, she researched the experiences of South Australian home based women computer workers in the clerical industry. Her report set out recommendations to all parties for their industrial coverage and protection. Michelle became an active member of the Centre's Management Committee. She Chaired the Committee from 2018. Her leadership is credited as vital to the survival of the Centre during more recent times.

Michelle also cared deeply about her local community, its working class heritage and natural environment. She was one of the founders of PoANT, the Port of Adelaide Branch of the National Trust. Its inaugural meeting was held at the Waterside Workers Hall, with invited speaker Jack Mundy. He inspired locals to fight unwanted 'development' as his union, the Builders Labourers Federation had been involved with in Sydney.

During her five years as Chair of PoANT, Michelle initiated the Rex Munn Cultural Heritage Award to commemorate the life and work of Port Adelaide stalwart, Rex Munn. The Award was presented at the annual May Day commemoration at the Port Adelaide Workers Memorial. She was a driving force behind the ambitious and wildly successful celebration of the Centenary of the Workers Memorial in 2021, linking it with a special May Day program. A fabulous occasion.

Michelle was an elected local councillor for the Semaphore Ward of the Port Adelaide Enfield Council (2014-2018). Again she contributed organisational skills and a myriad of ideas. She was an intrepid community advocate. The wonderful person of Michelle Hogan and her outstanding contributions will be sadly missed.

Jude Elton*

*As well as poignant contributions at Michelle's funeral by partner Rob Hassam and other family members, Prof Lester-Irabinna Rigney, Jane Tassie, The Health Girls, and Clare Shuttleworth as Comrade of Ceremonies, there were also moving speeches by Kathie Muir, Suzanne Franzway, Janet Giles and Abbey Kendall – Jude has drawn on the latter in writing this tribute.

For a live stream of Michelle's funeral click this link: <https://digiflix.com.au/live-streams/michelle-hogan-funeral/>

To remember and contribute to Michelle's legacy, donations can be made in her name to the **SA Unions Anna Stewart Memorial Project**. You can make a donation here <https://wwcsa.org.au/donate/>

A tribute from President Demi Pnevmatikos & Secretary Dale Beasley, SA Unions

Dear comrades,

It is with heavy heart that we write to inform you of the passing of our friend and comrade Michelle Hogan who left us yesterday. On behalf of our movement we have extended our condolences, solidarity and support to Michelle's family.

Michelle was a passionate unionist, feminist and community organiser. Her career in education, community services, civil society and our trade union movement spanned almost 40 years. Many of our lives have been touched and shaped by Michelle in this time,



either through her role as assistant secretary of the UTLC in SA (SA Unions) in the early 2000s, as chair of the management committee of the Working Women's Centre, as a May Day collective member or APHEDA activist. Michelle was also a pillar of a local Port Adelaide community, as a local councillor and chair of the Port Adelaide National Trust.

Michelle was a driving force behind the Anna Stewart memorial project in SA for which she and our Women's Standing Committee received the Jennie George award from the ACTU in 2001. She was a tireless campaigner for peace, justice and women's rights and gave everything she had to the cause. She fought for bread - and roses too.

On top of it all Michelle was fun, energetic, enthusiastic and very much loved. So as you might expect, her family have been surrounded by support since her passing.

There will be time soon to commemorate Michelle's life and we share those details with you all. But for now we know that many comrades will be feeling this loss profoundly and deeply. Now we must do what we do in our collective movement - stand together and support each other in our grief.

Vale comrade Michelle

Yours in Union

Ministerial Statement



Katrine Hildyard MP

Minister for Women and the Prevention of Domestic and Family Violence

Tuesday, 21 March 2023

Vale Michelle Hogan

It is with incredibly deep sadness that I rise to speak about the loss of Michelle Hogan, a much loved and highly regarded woman who has made enormous contributions to the labour movement, to women and community.

Over four decades Michelle worked tirelessly and with compassion and wisdom to advance workers' rights, to achieve gender equality, to ensure respect, fairness and dignity for women and to ensure community organisations were supported to effectively work with and for people, and particularly those most vulnerable, in ways that made a difference in their lives.

In all that she did Michelle relentlessly sought to empower and encourage other women. She was an extraordinary Chair of the Working Women's Centre and a steadfast and long-term supporter of the Anna Stewart Memorial Project which seeks to empower and support women in the Union movement.

Her work as SA Unions Assistant Secretary two decades ago was innovative and transformative and always focused on including people and amplifying the voices of others, particularly those most vulnerable.

Michelle served as a Port Adelaide Enfield Councillor and contributed to community life in a range of different ways both here and overseas including through her steadfast commitment to APHEDA Union Aid Abroad.

Michelle was renowned and so loved for her wisdom and empathy and her generous mentoring of other women. I and others, including the Member for Gibson and the Hon Irene Pnevmatikos MLC have benefited from her kindness and care. She was tireless in campaigning for fairness, peace and women's rights and it was an honour for many of us to campaign alongside her.

A kind friend to many, a passionate and compassionate advocate and an outstanding leader, Michelle will be deeply missed by all who knew her. Her willingness to support and empower others will continue to inspire us and future generations.

Vale Michelle Hogan. May you rest in peace. We offer our love and condolences to her partner Rob, all of her family and the many, many others who loved her.

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