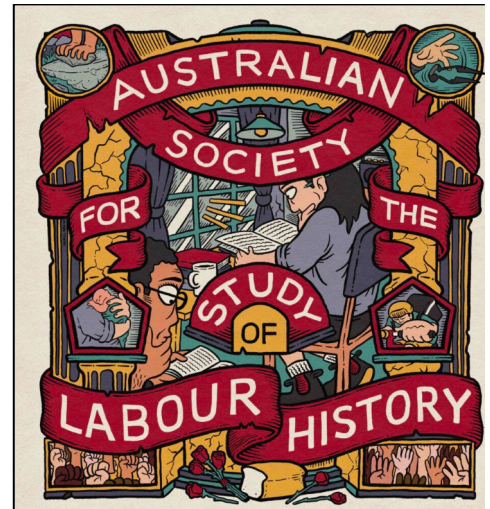


# LHSSA LABOUR HISTORY NEWS Spring 2025

***Stupidity is a more dangerous enemy of  
the good than malice***

***- Dietrich Bonhoeffer***



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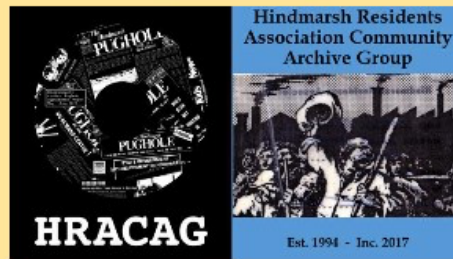
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## RECENT LHSSA TALKS YOU MAY HAVE MISSED

### A People's History of Organised Community Activism

1970 – 2000



*People make history - Archivistas gather and preserve the accounts - Tell the story*

### After European Colonisation Hindmarsh Becomes Pughole Country

In 1839 land in Bowden was made available by lottery and advertised as having "clay very suitable for brickmaking". (Parsons, Ronald. Hindmarsh Town, Corporation of the Town of Hindmarsh, Adelaide, October 1974. p.15)

Extracting clay for brick making purposes in colonial Adelaide created deep red pits — pugholes — "initially dug by the hands of 'independent' small family landholders in the backyards of small two roomed workers' cottages". (Riddle, Ann. People of the Pugholes. In the Town of Hindmarsh 1836-1986, Town of Hindmarsh Jubilee 150 Community Committee, Hindmarsh, 1986, p. 2)

Over time claypits merged and grew larger, as owners and brickmakers like Shearing after 1839 and then Hallett's in the late nineteenth century, consolidated holdings.

Eventually pugholes punctured the indigenous landscapes of Bowden, Brompton and Ridleyton. When exhausted they became rubbish tips and toxic sites.

### Integral Urban Neighbourhood - the Alternative Plan

UPC participated in community consultations, collected and analysed as much data as possible between November 1983 and January 1984.

In February 1984 they unveiled their Integral Urban Neighbourhood concept at the second Australian Institute of Urban Studies Seminar in the Hindmarsh Town Hall.

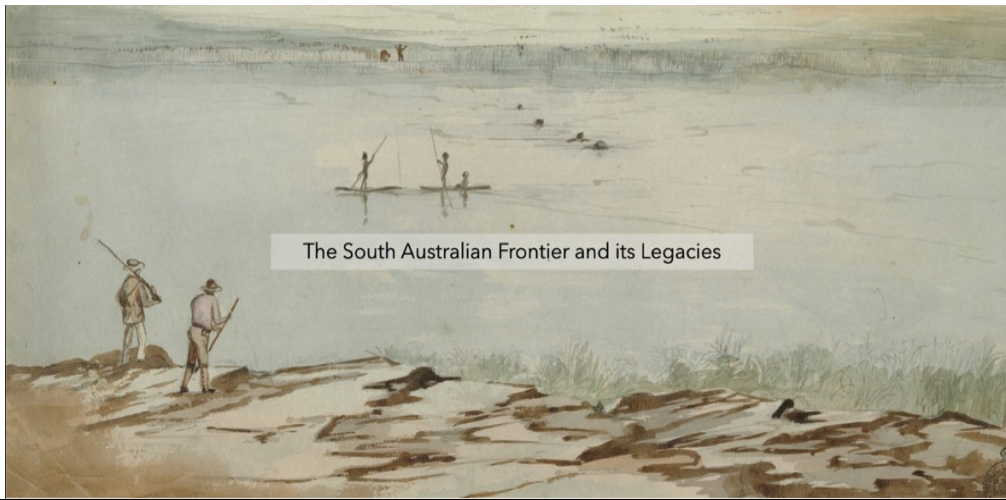
UPC hijacked the foyer with their display and jumped the Inner Western Metropolitan Team's plans. It looked so good that some guests (town planning buffs) thought it was the government plan.

This was guerilla action based on Hindmarsh community activist precedents such as picketing premises, restoring and squatting in condemned dwellings and burning effigies of government ministers. UPC became known by some government officials as "the Urban Troublemakers".

The Integral Urban Neighbourhood is holistic design, a synergistic integration of services and infrastructure for community development, a methodology towards self-sustaining and self-reliant communities.

**Andrew Derrington's introduction:** *I am going to focus on the period 1975 to 1985. In part because this period set the tone on how to work with local residents to secure a safer and healthier community, and secondly because I think there were significant conditions and ways of working which made the community so strong that so many of its demands were met. Additionally I believe that alongside the community's strength, success hinged on gaining the respect from power brokers in the Trade Union movement and left leaning Labor Ministers and their advisors, who got behind the residents and recognised that their delegates truly worked to represent their interests, and that the residents themselves were at the forefront of the campaign to improve their lives. I will mention many names of local activists but also the work of others in the housing sector, concerned to improve the lot of the most disadvantaged in our community. This is another way to recognise that it takes a village to raise a person and to make the community safer and healthier for all.*

<https://share.google/syS9VFMrfpTKbfmB> (pdf of the History Council presentation)



## **The South Australian Frontier and its Legacies**

**Skye Krichau & Bob Foster (17 August, 2025)**

<https://experience.arcgis.com/experience/4755c59ae93447a9b0acf9b2b0b265f6>

This site maps colonial encounters that took place between Aboriginal peoples and European settlers in South Australia from early colonialisation to the late nineteenth century, and records how these events have been remembered from region to region. 'Frontier conflict' is interpreted broadly as both interpersonal violence and cultural violence.

The aim of this site is to widen public awareness of, and dialogue about, frontier conflict as part of South Australia's colonial past. The content draws upon digitised colonial collections held by partner organisations and other national libraries. It also draws upon the contemporary accounts of Aboriginal people and settler descendants from different regions of what is now the state of South Australia. With this project we hope to show how knowledge of the past has been transmitted through generations and the enduring impacts of colonisation in the present.

We acknowledge that the material contained in this site only forms one part of the diversity of voices and perspectives on the histories and experiences of South Australia's colonial frontiers, and that there are events and community accounts of the past that this website doesn't capture. Nor does the site include the vast lands of the Northern Territory that were governed by South Australia from 1863 to 1911. We nonetheless hope it will provide a starting point for an ongoing process of reconciliation and truth telling.

The term reconciliation also requires comment. As some commentators have pointed out, Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians first need to meet in respectful and equal relations before they can be reconciled. We hope that this project will help generate further community engagements with the past and local projects on which Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people can work together, place by place.

If you believe any image included on this site should be restricted from general viewing for cultural reasons, please contact [frontierconflict@adelaide.edu.au](mailto:frontierconflict@adelaide.edu.au)

## Alan Reid: Glory, Glory for the Franchise: Tom Price and his Battles with the Legislative Council (October 12<sup>th</sup> 2025)



### Thomas Price (1852-1909)

**At its meeting on October 12<sup>th</sup>, Labour History Society SA celebrated the 120th anniversary of the election of Tom Price, the first Labor Premier of SA. Professor Alan Reid examined the period of minority Labor government from 1905-1909, particularly focusing on the battle to change the qualifications for voting in Legislative Council elections. Tom Price's trajectory - from a stonemason working on the exterior detail of the new SA Parliament House in the 1880s to the Premier of South Australia in 1905 - represents a remarkable chapter in SA political and trade union history.**

The eldest of seven children Tom's childhood was impoverished: his stonemason father often unemployed because of intemperance. Tom left school at the age of 9 to work but later enrolled in evening classes in a mechanics' institute and became a successful stonecutter. With lungs damaged by his work Tom migrated to South Australia in 1883 where he worked as a stonemason, building his own home in Unley and shaping the marble capitals on the columns of the new Parliament House. He joined the Operative Masons' and Bricklayers' Society of Australia, becoming South Australian secretary and president (1887), and from 1890 delegate to the United Trades and Labor Council; he was also a founder of the Building Trades Council and the Democratic Club.

In 1891 Tom Price joined the United Labor Party and assisted in that year's election campaign, two years later winning the seat of Sturt (Torrens from 1902), and becoming one of ten U.L.P. men in the House of Assembly. He advocated improved workers' accommodation, land reform, compulsory education and votes for women. Price was a poetic and aggressive orator; but heated debate often made him bleed from the lungs.

Price became frustrated by the failings of South Australia's Liberal ministries. Convinced that a true reformist government could only be achieved by a U.L.P. victory, he led it to triumph in the 1905 election. The party increased its representation from 5 to 15, winning 11 of the 12 city seats with a policy of development and progress, expansion of business and honest government. With the support of 8 Liberals headed by Archibald Peake, Price forced (Sir) Richard Butler's government to resign. The Labor leader formed a coalition with Peake and on 26 July 1905 became premier.


The major objective of Price and his four-man cabinet was reform of the Legislative Council. He proposed its abolition, but this was unacceptable to Peake. Price compromised by recommending a £15 franchise and dual votes for the householder and his spouse. The Council rejected this, along with workers' compensation, compulsory school attendance and other reforms. Late in 1906 the premier obtained a double dissolution on the issue of Upper House reform and Labor increased its assembly representation to 19. Faced with Council's intransigence Price finally accepted the council's proposal of a £17 householder franchise.

Important legislation was passed such as for the formation of wages boards, a minimum wage and nationalization of several companies to establish the Municipal Tramways Trust; the costly administration of the Northern Territory was surrendered to the Federal government and free state

secondary schools were introduced. These steps signified an evolutionary approach to attaining social justice, which Price believed was the role of the Labor Party; he had established it as the major party in the assembly by demonstrating its capacity for responsible government.

**AUSTRALIA**

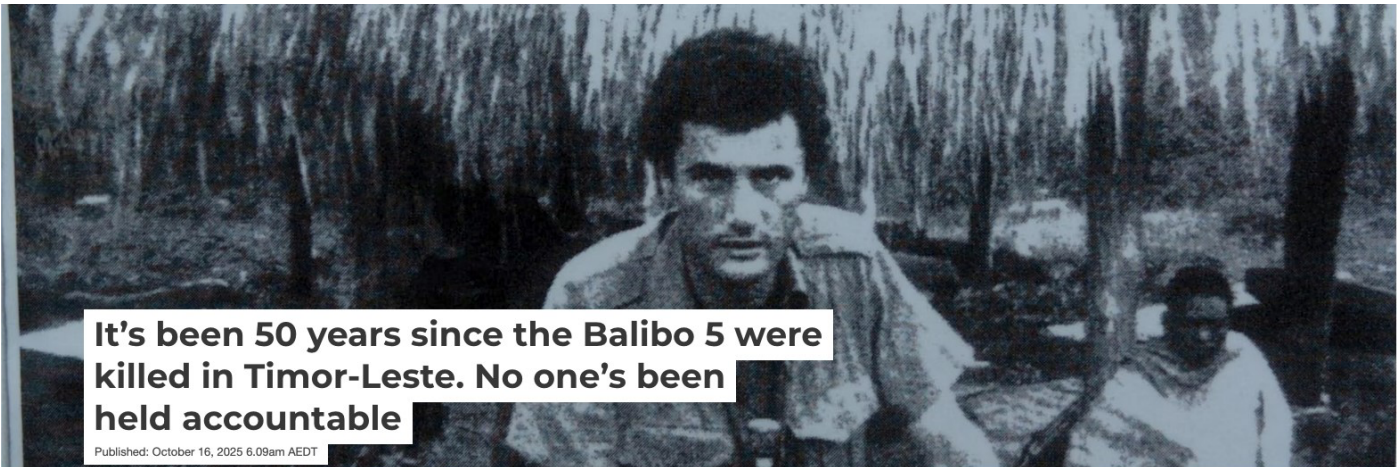
**A Museum of Convict Transportation (a 6 min video): Alison Pennington**

The Irish  contribution to Australia's history is remarkable. Bigger than green clothes & beer can capture. It's in our constitution. On any Saint Patrick's Day get acquainted with their struggle against the British empire, for freedom & liberty against tyranny, which came to Australia in chains through the convict transportation system. Proud to be part of this outstanding cross-England, Ireland, and Australia art & history project *Conviction Politics*, here's a case for our own museum for the troublemakers and the forgotten people, featuring Tony Moore, Thomas Keneally, Billy Bragg & yours truly.

[Click on the picture below to start the video](#)



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[Click here to read the article](#)

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## South Australia's Newest Political Party Launches: David Simmons, *InDaily*, Oct 24th 2025



A newly registered political party hopes to be a left-wing alternative for South Australian voters in the upcoming state election following the launch of the South Australian branch of right-wing organisation Turning Point Australia.

SA Socialists was officially registered yesterday after the group, associated with the successful Victorian Socialists party, secured the 200 members required to become an official political party under the *Electoral Act*. The party hopes to offer voters a left-wing alternative to the mainstream political parties in South Australia and was planning on fielding candidates at the 2026 state election.

Its launch followed the recent formation of a South Australian branch of right-wing organisation *Turning Point Australia*, affiliated with assassinated activist Charlie Kirk's *Turning Point USA*. Conservative social media commentator George-Alexander Mamalis was announced as the group's new state coordinator. Meanwhile former *One Nation* legislative councillor Sarah Game has announced two new candidates for her new political party, *Sarah Game Fair Go For Australians*. Accredited video game and film certifier Angela Rojas will stand for number two on the Upper House ticket for Fair Go, behind City of Adelaide councillor Henry Davis, while Jake Hall-Evans will contest the seat of Colton in Adelaide's western suburbs.

Victoria Socialists was a "successful case of how you can bring socialists politics to modern Australia", SA Socialists interim secretary Tom Gilchrist told *InDaily*. The Victorian counterpart, led by social media figure Jordan van den Lamb (aka Purple Pingers), in May announced it would expand nationwide. While Victorian Socialists did not land an upper or lower house seat at the 2025 Federal Election, it recorded double-digit first-preference votes in certain seats across the state. SA Socialists hoped to build on this momentum, Gilchrist said.



*SA Socialists interim secretary Tom Gilchrist, Victorian Socialists Footscray Coordinator Anneke Demanuele and Victorian Socialists Senate candidate Jordan van den Lamb. Photo: Nix Herriot*

The SA party would host a founding conference in November where the official constitution would be voted on and candidates would be selected to run at the state election. The party would target “longtime, really safe Labor seats” – working-class seats that Gilchrist said the Labor party “really take for granted”. SA Labor is set to hold its State Convention this weekend, and it is unclear whether any major candidate announcements will come out of it. Gilchrist said Labor was “more concerned with actually trying to win over the marginal seats from the Liberals than actually addressing the problems that exist in those areas. There should be a socialist option for people who feel disenfranchised and left behind by Labor and actually want to vote for a party to the left that expresses that the problems are with the pro-business politics of Labor,” he said.

Gilchrist said the party was “overwhelmed” with the initial response to the formation of SA Socialists. “We had hundreds of people join in just the first few days of that launch back in May,” he said. “From there, it’s been a process of turning that into something real. Organising events, forums, rallies and supporting strikes and actions from workers.” He said the party would focus on issues around wealth inequality, instead of the “pro-capitalist, pro-business politics of the major parties. I think particularly in South Australia the Labor Party... seems more concerned about Trump supporting AUKUS or expanding law and order, whereas we think the problems people are actually facing is the housing crisis, the health crisis and we should be taxing big business to solve those problems,” he said.



*SA Socialists joined the nationwide march for Palestine in August. Photo: Supplied*

The launch followed news that [Opposition leader Vincent Tarzia would lose his seat if the election were held today](#), with the SA Liberals facing a wipeout in all its metropolitan seats according to new DemosAU/Ace Strategies Poll data. Gilchrist was concerned that the weakness of the state Liberal Party “just strengthens the position of what is actually a pretty conservative a pro-business Labor government”. He said SA Socialists would agree with the SA Greens “on a bunch of things” but “they’re also not a socialist party. There’s members of the Greens who might be more socialist, but there’s also members of the Greens that support green capitalism,” he said. Gilchrist said the Party’s main message was that “the problems in this country are that we just have politics which is done for and by the rich”.



*SA Socialists have been hosting events and forums since being established in May this year. Photo: Nix Herriot/Supplied*

Gilchrist said the growing prominence of right-wing groups in South Australia was “obviously very concerning. The establishment of a local Turning Point group and the rise in the polls of One Nation I think does show the importance now of a left-wing project like SA Socialists,” he said. “We’ve got people blaming the housing crisis on immigrants, and I think it’s something the major parties have not been able to stand up to properly because they don’t want to have a serious fight with the right over immigration. I think there’s an importance for a left party that can put forward radical anti-capitalist solutions to these problems.”

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### **SAlt v Soli: Why Splits on the Marxist Left Matter:**

**David Lockwood, LABOR TRIBUNE, Sept 28th 2025**

*Annoying to some, irrelevant to others, David Lockwood<sup>1</sup> argues we need to take splits seriously if we want to build a workers’ movement capable of winning socialism.*

It is strange that the two groups on the Australian Marxist left that are most hostile to each other, [Socialist Alternative](#) and [Solidarity](#), have the same political origins – and, in the case of very senior members, an early career in the same organisation. Both originate from the International Socialists (IS), set up in 1975, based on the ideas of the IS in Britain and the US. The influence of the Americans faded over time and the International Socialists came to be strongly identified with the British group (which changed its name to the Socialist Workers’ Party (SWP) in 1976) and its overarching leader and theorist, Tony Clij.

The Australian IS had two big ideas, essentially cribbed from Cliff. The first was an analysis of the Soviet Union as a state capitalist economy, presided over by a dictatorial ruling class (the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) which could only be removed by a workers’ revolution. The same went for the rest of the Soviet bloc and also China, Cuba and so on. The second was the centrality of the working class in socialist revolution, influenced more by the ideas of Rosa Luxemburg than Vladimir Lenin. Once the student upsurge in Australia (1965-75) had spent itself, the early IS oriented heavily towards workers’ struggles.



Both groups would claim adherence to the same ideas today. And yet, they are not only organisationally divided – they hate each other. This, naturally, gives rise to some grim joviality among the rest of the left – ‘your worst enemy is the one closest to you’. But for the prospects for the Marxist left in Australia, it is a serious problem. Socialist Alternative is the larger group, with some hundreds of members and more hundreds of supporters in the Victorian Socialists and their state equivalents. *Solidarity*, though much smaller, punches above its weight due to its consistent activism in broader groups – the [Refugee Action Coalition](#) being the most prominent example. So both groups are influential among the tiny ranks of the non-Labor Marxist left. But their blanket refusal to work with each other and the negative effect of two groups with virtually identical politics spitting venom at each other has a dispiriting effect in many areas of left activity. In Palestine solidarity work, both organisations set up rival ‘united fronts’. The same has happened in anti-fascist work in recent weeks, pathetically dividing activists between competing campaigns.

### **Keep Active, Avoid Thinking**

How did they come to this? Fear not, I will not drag you through the twists and turns of IS policy and the internal disputes to which they gave rise (some serious, some bizarre). You can read the accounts of Mick Armstrong (*Socialist Alternative*) and Ian Rintoul (*Solidarity*) for that. But the thing that might strike you as odd is that the disputes were overwhelmingly about *tactics* – about what the group should be doing, not doctrinal disputes or points of analysis. As Armstrong puts it, “Socialists must be able to answer the central question in politics – what to do next.” For Marxists and serious partisans of the working class, tactical disputes should be easily contained within the same disciplined organisation, but this seems not possible in the general ‘Cliffite’ milieu.

There were a number of reasons for this concentration on day-to-day tactical questions. **Firstly**, the IS had no political program. In terms of theory, the group was based on the two Big Ideas outlined above. Tony Clij in London always urging comrades to look for the ‘next link in the chain’. In practice this meant activity was based on whatever scheme the leadership had come up with to recruit new members. This was linked to the **second** reason which was that the group’s main function was to recruit new members, whose main function was to recruit new members . . . and so on. **Thirdly**, ‘what to do next’ was closely connected to the leadership’s mortal fear of the group’s members being idle and therefore losing enthusiasm, or worse, thinking for themselves. Demonstrations, campaigns, petitions and paper sales were vital in keeping the members occupied.

So, with politics pushed aside, internal debate (and there was a lot of it) circled around what activities would produce recruits and what they would do once recruited. Workers struggles or student work? Intervention or isolation? Routine activity or hyper-activism? Tactical differences generated overheated disputes and produced resignations, purges and splits.

## Without a Program, Tactics Become All

If the group had had an agreed-upon program, discussions on strategy and tactics could have assumed their proper place and not become the centrepiece of the group's internal life. Discussions on strategy or tactics do not necessarily end in splits, but perhaps on an agreement to differ – within the bounds of the program. And there was a belief in the IS that only one strategy could be carried out at a time. Dissent was treachery.

The last internal bust-up started in 1993. By this time, the British SWP had decided that a revolutionary period was imminent and that everyone (in Britain and elsewhere) had better drop everything, get out and do something about it. The period was described as being “like the 1930s” – except “in slow motion”. The Australian leadership dutifully took this up and a predictable round of frenzied activity and increasingly hysterical injunctions to “Build!” followed. But in the middle of 1993, the leadership fell apart. Two of its leading members, Sandra Bloodworth and Mick Armstrong, were summarily purged from the National Committee for reasons that were never properly explained. The move had the full backing of the British organisation so perhaps it was because the two were not implementing the “1930s” madness properly. In any case, the lack of any *political* reasoning behind the purge was illustrated by the fact that Armstrong and Bloodworth, having been strong supporters of the “1930s” nonsense, now discovered that they opposed it – and framed their 18-month campaign of trench-warfare against the remaining leadership in these terms.

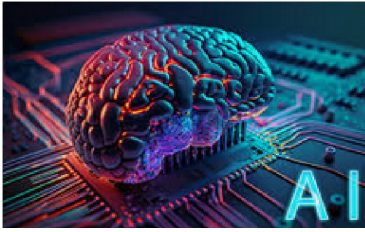
After further expulsions and resignations, [Socialist Alternative was formed in 1995](#). The rump International Socialist Organisation eventually became Solidarity. The ISO and Solidarity continued its outward focus, with Socialist Alternative retreating more to student work. In the medium term, sheltering during a period of low class activity has reaped some rewards for the now larger group. Faction fights, purges and splits produce a fair amount of unpleasantness. The leaders of the contending groups that stagger out of the wreckage are not likely to be best friends, even when the dust settles. That is certainly one reason why the leaderships of the two groups hate each other so viscerally. Another is that they represent two sides of the original IS coin. The mothership SWP under Tony Cliff and epigones is renowned for this flip-flopping between isolationism and broad-frontism. Solidarity embodies an earlier version, devoted to activism in broad committees and fronts. Socialist Alternative maintains elements of IS brashness and self-sufficiency (which some regard as sectarian).

Many in the labour movement no doubt shrug and dismiss this split as irrelevant, however division between them becomes a problem (for those on the outside) when the two organise against each other in political terrains that matter. For example, they attempt to carry out trade union work for Palestine through separate (and competing) committees. In Melbourne on 26 September, the Solidarity-aligned Refugee Action Collective organised its ‘Unite Against Racism’ Rally – while in a few weeks the SA aligned ‘Campaign Against Racism and Fascism’ is organising its own. The existence of the two groups stamping the same ground does not help the Marxist left. At the very least they should come back together on the basis of their common political positions. Further, Socialist Alternative should extend an invitation to Solidarity to join the Victorian Socialists and their state equivalents. And Solidarity should do so.

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<sup>1</sup> There are a number of accounts of IS history available, the best being Tom O’Lincoln’s [Marching Down Marx Street](#). This article draws on the two most recent: Mick Armstrong, ‘[The Origins of Socialist Alternative](#),’ *Marxist Left Review*, Number 1, Spring 2010; and Ian Rintoul, ‘[Whither the Propaganda Perspective?](#)’ *Solidarity*, 20 July 20210. Neither is completely accurate. In the interests of full disclosure, as a member of the IS (and subsequent iterations), I was a full participant in the internal frolics from 1975 to 1999.

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## AI Helping Shape a Better Future

**The Hon Andrew Leigh MP Assistant Minister for Productivity,  
Competition, Charities and Treasury: OPINION PIECE  
*Published in The Canberra Times 10 September 2025***

Artificial intelligence is often described in apocalyptic tones. Depending on who you listen to, it is either about to take every job, or end work as we know it. But there's a less dramatic, and more useful, way of looking at the future. Across advanced economies, the real problem isn't too few jobs, but too few workers. Populations are ageing, birth rates are falling, and shortages are widespread. From hospitals to construction sites, demand for human expertise is growing. AI can help meet it – if we get the choices right.

The Productivity Commission has found that AI could underpin a new wave of productivity growth in Australia. That's not an abstract number on a spreadsheet. It's a reminder that technology, used wisely, can lift living standards. MIT economist David Autor argues that AI isn't just about rules and routines. Done well, it helps workers combine knowledge, judgment and data to make better decisions. Imagine nurses using AI to interpret scans more quickly. Or technicians overseeing complex manufacturing processes. Or caseworkers solving problems that once needed a lawyer. These are not examples of robots replacing people. They are examples of workers becoming more effective, and better paid, because machines help them do more. Autor calls it restoring the “middle-skill, middle-class heart” of the labour market. That should be our national ambition.

This isn't the first time new technology has disrupted the world of work. During the Industrial Revolution, artisanal trades gave way to mass production. At first, the consequences were grim: 12-hour days, unsafe factories, child labour. But over time, unions and reformers fought for safety laws, reasonable hours and fair pay. The result was a new era of skilled machinists, typists and operators, and the growth of a thriving middle class. The computer age shifted things again. Computers raised the productivity of professionals, but eroded middle-skill roles. Wages at the top grew faster than those in the middle, and inequality widened. The lesson is obvious: technology alone does not guarantee fair outcomes. Fairness comes from strong institutions and a labour movement willing to insist that workers share in the gains.

That remains true today. Unions are already negotiating agreements to ensure that AI serves workers, not just employers. They are demanding transparency when algorithms are used in rostering or hiring, and fighting for training so workers can use AI to do higher-value work. At last month's Economic Reform Roundtable in Parliament House, the Australian Council of Trade Unions argued that workers must be partners in how AI is introduced, not passive recipients of decisions made in boardrooms. The government has responded by beginning work on a national AI capability plan and an AI plan for the public service. These measures are about ensuring that AI serves the common good.

When introduced responsibly, AI can make work better. In healthcare, it can help nurses and midwives interpret scans and track patient data, meaning more time for patients and less time on paperwork. In aged care, smart monitoring systems can detect early signs of health problems, helping carers step in before small issues become major ones. In construction, AI-powered cameras can identify hazards on building sites in real time, preventing accidents and saving lives. In transport and logistics,

routeplanning algorithms cut fuel use, reduce fatigue for drivers and lower emissions. In public services, automating routine approvals allows frontline workers to spend less time shuffling forms and more time helping people. The pattern is consistent: AI as a complement, not a substitute. A lever for human expertise, not a replacement for it.

Jobs and Skills Australia estimates that nearly nine out of ten current jobs are more exposed to augmentation by AI than to full automation. That means most jobs will change, not vanish. The challenge is to manage change so it makes work more rewarding, not more stressful. But there are darker paths. We know AI can be misused, for surveillance, for union-busting, for reducing skilled roles to button-pressing. That's why we need to ensure workers have a say in how AI is introduced, that training is a universal right, and that AI lifts standards in safety, quality and service rather than driving a race to the bottom. These are not abstract principles. They are what will determine whether AI helps rebuild the middle class or erodes it further.

The Australian ideal of the "fair go" is that prosperity is shared. Technology should serve people, not the other way around. The real risk of AI is not mass unemployment, but the devaluation of expertise. If every task is treated as generic, no job is valued – and inequality soars. But if AI is harnessed to extend expertise, work becomes more meaningful, more dignified and more fairly rewarded.

AI could take us down two starkly different roads. One is a "WALL-E meets Mad Max" world – humans sidelined; wealth concentrated in a few hands. The other is a society where healthcare and aged care are more affordable, jobs are more rewarding, and millions more people enjoy the pride that comes from meaningful work. Which road we take will not be decided in Silicon Valley boardrooms. It will be decided here in Australia.

Work is more than a pay cheque. It is about purpose, dignity and community. For too many Australians, that dignity has been undermined by casualisation and inequality. But with AI, we have a once-in- a generation chance to restore it. If we get this right – if governments listen, if workers' voices are at the centre – then AI can help us build an economy where expertise is widespread, middle-class jobs are plentiful, and the fair go is stronger than ever. The story of technology is not destiny. The future of AI is not written. It is ours to shape, and we should shape it so that work in the AI age is fairer, safer and more rewarding for all Australians.

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## Lawyers and their Role in the Whitlam Government Dismissal: Chris Sumner

The sentiment which remains with me above all others amid tributes and analysis of Gough and his life and times is one of shock at the behaviour of the primarily NSW legal establishment. They exhibited a one-sided approach to the Dismissal of the Whitlam Government. Kerr, Barwick, Ellicott, Mason, Gleeson (and Aickin from Victoria) all got into the act in some way or another.

Ellicott's opinion was self-evidently partisan: he was a member of the Fraser shadow cabinet, no matter how eminent a lawyer he might have been in a non-political context. Gleeson and Aickin provided advice to the Liberal Party on 23 October 1975 – Chris Merritt, *The Australian*, 23 October 2014 - that Kerr could get around the accepted convention that a GG should act on the advice of the responsible Minister to dissolve the House of Representatives by dismissing the Minister and getting an amenable one. They also asserted that a GG does have the power to dismiss a government that has the support of House of Representatives if it can't secure passage of its budget; that is, the Crown has a reserve power in this respect.

The opinion goes on to say that the GG should make an assessment of whether the majority in the House still represents a majority in the electorate. This latter view is bizarre to put it mildly. How is the GG to do this – instinct, a guess, conducting an opinion poll? Explainable only if you accept the authors wanted to provide as much backing as possible for the Dismissal. They invite the GG to second guess the verdict of the electorate and substitute his own view of the popularity of the Government for the view recently expressed by the people at an election.

I think it is now generally accepted that the reserve power exists where there is a parliamentary deadlock over supply, even if the circumstances in which it can be used are more disputed. After all the power was used successfully by Kerr. What appears to be missing from the opinion is the detailed circumstances in which and how the power should be used. Understandably, the Liberal Party didn't want to know the answer.

Barwick should not have been involved. Even if there was some limited precedent for a Chief Justice being consulted by a GG it should not have happened here. Apart from the abuse to the separation of powers, Barwick had a dreadful conflict of interest. He was Ellicott's cousin twice over and a former Liberal Minister. The perception of bias, let alone the actuality, was manifest.

Even more puzzling was Mason's intimate involvement which has been revealed more recently. Whatever precedents exist about the GG seeking the advice of a CJ they do not extend to a GG seeking and obtaining clandestine advice from anyone else on the High Court. It is inexplicable that a High Court judge (even on the basis of a close friendship with the GG) would give detailed advice about the removal of a democratically elected government.

Close friendship would normally disqualify the judge or at least make it unwise. It is like a judge giving private advice on the law to a friend which is something generally regarded as unacceptable even if the matter might not come before the judge. Although it appears that Mason advised Kerr to give Whitlam a chance to go to the election as PM, there is nothing to suggest that he opposed the ambush which Kerr had devised in consultation with Fraser.

Kerr also said that Ninian Stephen had endorsed Mason's advice. Stephen denies this and says that the first he heard of any of it was when the Dismissal was publicly announced. This clarification is a serious blow to Kerr's credibility on his recollection of events generally. It is inconceivable that Stephen would have forgotten his involvement or be deliberately lying about it. That means Kerr has lied or been mistaken or perhaps misinformed by someone. Whatever the truth, it is a measure of Kerr's desperation to bring in all the big guns he could muster in support of his actions.

Whether from the hired guns (Gleeson and Aickin), the partisan actors (Ellicott and Barwick) or the misguided feelings of friendship exhibited by Mason, the advice was all about how to get rid of Whitlam. There was apparently no counsel about other options.

This is surprising. The convention that the GG should act on the advice of the PM was not in dispute. There was a dispute about the use of the Crown's reserve powers between the Crown's law officers ( Byers and Harders - leave out Enderby for this purpose ) and others, including Kerr and Barwick.

Kerr should have openly canvassed this difference of opinion with them and with Whitlam and Enderby. If he had come to the view that the Crown Law officers and the Whitlam Government view was wrong, he should have told them so and set out in writing his own view and the circumstances in which the GG could exercise the reserve powers.

The Government having no money (at some point) would on the Kerr view be an obvious moment to exercise the reserve powers. Kerr could then have formally sought Whitlam's advice on how to resolve the crisis in accordance with the established constitutional rules about the relationship between the GG and an elected government.

A corollary of the rule that the GG should act on the advice of the PM is for the GG to advise the PM if he no longer intends to follow his advice, as did Game in 1932, expressly and repeatedly. If Whitlam had continued to provide no such advice then Kerr could have set out his view of the consequences: conditions for dismissal could exist at some point. Setting out his views would have kept the spirit of both constitutional principles intact. Kerr did none of this. Apparently not one of the distinguished lawyers advised Kerr or counselled him to take his PM into his confidence.

This is inexplicable, a major failing in the various advices obtained. Instead Kerr, without notice, called Whitlam to Yarralumla and, in conversation, asked if he would dissolve the Parliament and call a double dissolution election. Whitlam advised the calling of a half-Senate election, Kerr ignored that advice and handed his PM the prepared letter of dismissal.

Kerr's reasons for the ambush have been well canvassed. He feared that Whitlam would have approached the Queen to seek the withdrawal of his commission. The simple answer to that is so what? Whatever the result for him personally, constitutional and personal propriety required him to act in an open and transparent way and engage in dialogue with the PM.

The real test of ethical character and courage is to take a stand even in the knowledge that there might be serious adverse consequences. It is extremely unlikely that Whitlam would have sought to contact the Queen. The political consequences would have been enormous. At some stage there was going to be a realisation within the Government that a new GG would still have a crisis to resolve if the Senate maintained its position on supply.

Had Kerr acted with propriety and been open with the PM, there could have been a number of consequences.

- Whitlam approaches the Queen. Unlikely.
- Whitlam realises he must take some action to break the deadlock and advises a half Senate election. Kerr would have been required to accept that advice at that stage. Whether it would have resolved the crisis is a moot point but not a relevant one for the GG at that stage because the possibility existed that the crisis could have been resolved by a new Senate.
- The Liberal Senators with doubts about blocking supply might have changed their minds. There is credible evidence that more than one was close to doing this.
- Whitlam soldiered on in the full knowledge of Kerr's view of the Reserve powers, the Senate maintains its position and the GG has no alternative but to dismiss the Government. Had Kerr behaved in this way, he would have largely avoided the opprobrium which has been heaped upon him. The blame would have clearly rested with Fraser (and Whitlam to some extent for being intransigent on resolving the crisis).

No doubt it could be argued that even if Kerr had done the right thing and consulted Whitlam and put him on notice about his view of the Crown's reserve powers the result would have been the same. This is not necessarily the case as there were other possibilities. Even if this was the case, what happened would have been in circumstances where Kerr had acted with (i) propriety and (ii) in an open manner and (iii) not in a secret, clandestine way and (iv) not relying on undisclosed advice which was an affront to most Australians and remains so. Kerr could have left office with his reputation largely intact.

The manner in which Whitlam was dismissed is completely inconsistent with the principles of administrative law developed by parliament and the courts particularly since the 1970s. Another reason for my shock at the legal establishment's enthusiasm for Whitlam's dismissal: the manner abused constitutional propriety and failed to accord the PM due process.

It is inconceivable that the Mason High Court would have countenanced an administrative body taking adverse action against individuals without following due process and according them natural justice by (i) outlining the case against them, (ii) openly setting out the options available and (iii) giving them a chance to respond to the proposed action.

A lowly Commonwealth public servant is accorded such rights but the eminent legal personages that advised Kerr did not think he should apply the same courtesy to the highest elected official in the land.

All this from persons who are said to be among the best legal minds in Australia is quite extraordinary, particularly given Whitlam's respect for the constitution and Parliament. Consistent with this was Whitlam's high sense of duty.

In 1969 I was the ALP candidate against John McLeay in the seat of Boothby. McLeay's views were in almost all respects the opposite of Whitlam – denigration of the UN, support for apartheid. Our local ALP team thought McLeay's views were so far off the planet that we used the slogan "vote against extremism" in our campaign material. I was therefore quite surprised to learn that Gough had attended McLeay's funeral.

In the tributes on the day of Gough's death I noted that even in his wheelchair he had attended the funeral of some obscure National Party MP from the north coast of NSW who was in Parliament at the same time as Gough. He seemed to feel that it was his duty as a former PM to attend the funerals of all those he had served with in the Parliament.

I did not know him very well but he always recognised and acknowledged me when our paths crossed. When I received the Italian Honour of *Commendatore*, already bestowed on Gough, I received a simple note – "welcome to our order".

The circumstances of the Dismissal have been well and truly traversed, perhaps there is nothing new in the above. On hearing the details, the role of the lawyers stood out. I was freshly affronted and so have used this opportunity to get it off my chest.

*Acknowledgement. This is an edited version of an article originally published at the time of Gough Whitlam's death (21 October 2014) in the Newsletter of the Southern Highlands Branch [NSW] of the ALP, the only genuine Labor Party periodical in Australia, Number 210, October-November 2014 (Editor, Rodney Cavalier).*

## THE WORLD

### Tracking Hard Right – Trump is Delivering the Project 25 Agenda (Extracts)

By Adam Rorris

*Adam Rorris is an economist who has worked for various UN agencies, the Australian federal government and various State governments of Australia. Adam is also currently a Committee member of the SEARCH Foundation.*

Looking at the USA under Trump 2.0, first impressions are of an administration with a seeming inability to keep focus. It careens from one wild announcement to another. **We see a disaster wrapped up as reality tv. But the real action is not what we see on TV news.** Whatever remains of a progressive USA America is being systematically ripped apart by forces coordinated and guided by a far-right project called **Project 25 Agenda**. It is the blueprint that the Trump administration is using to launch its **soft coup against the American people and whatever institutions may provide effective resistance**. Strongman chaos might be front and centre of what we see, but the decisive action is off-stage.

#### What is Project 25?

Project 2025 is a far-right policy agenda spearheaded by **The Heritage Foundation**, a powerful conservative think tank, in collaboration with over 100 right-wing organizations, including the following key architects:

- The Heritage Foundation (Primary Organizer)
- The Centre for Renewing America (CRA)
- America First Legal (AFL)
- The Claremont Institute
- Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF)



**Trump-2016 personnel:** over 140 former Trump officials helped write Project 2025. Current key figures include:

- John McEntee (Head of Presidential Personnel Office, enforcing loyalty purges)

- Peter Navarro (Trade advisor, pushing aggressive tariffs) • Kash Patel (FBI).

**Project 2025 isn't just policy—it's a soft coup attempt to lock in permanent far-right rule by:**

- Stripping 50,000 civil servants of their employment protection and replacing them with loyalists.
- Criminalizing dissent (anti-protest laws, expanded policing).
- Ending checks on presidential power (e.g. weaponization of the Dept of Justice).
- Redefining the notions of individual rights and freedom of speech as a means of reinforcing and reshaping the cultural hegemony of the ruling elites

***Project 2025 represents an authoritarian/reactionary blueprint designed to consolidate oligopoly and monopoly corporate and far-right power, dismantle social welfare programs, and suppress working-class movements by restricting and redefining what is "democratic activity".***

***Heritage Foundation and partners developed Project 25 which has four pillars of action:***

- ***Policy Agenda (dismantle the "administrative state") .***
- ***Personnel Database (Heritage vetoed potential appointees for the 50,000 positions spilled by the adoption of Schedule F). [See Heritage Personnel Database](#)***
- ***Training Program (indoctrination in far-right governance).***
- ***Legislative Playbook (ready-to-pass bills to codify authoritarianism).***

## **How Did Project 2025 Come About?**

***The origins of Project 25 are found in the 1980s.*** Heritage Foundation's first *Mandate for Leadership* (1981) was a guiding influence on Reagan's policies. Fast forward to 2017-2021 and Trump's chaotic first term seems to have convinced far-right groups they needed a more disciplined takeover plan. After Trump's loss in 2020, Heritage Foundation and more than 100 allied conservative organisations began training "conservative warriors" to infiltrate the next administration. To help do this, they created the "Presidential Administration

***Capitalist & Authoritarian Power Grab*** – via the enhanced corporate control of government, through:

- Empowering large corporations and their lobbyists (e.g., fossil fuel, defence, tech and finance industries) by deregulating industries and slashing taxes on the wealthy.
- Privatising public services (education, healthcare, infrastructure) to further enrich large corporate interests (capitalists) at the expense of workers.

***Erosion of Democracy*** – delivered through:

- voter suppression (via stricter ID laws, purge of voter rolls) which aligns with the far-right agenda to disenfranchise working-class and minority voters.
- replacing civil servants with loyalists to create a patronage system, turning government into a tool of the ruling class.
- criminalising and "legislative hamstringing" civil society and working-class organisations from recruiting, campaigning and reinforcing grass roots and self-determining sites of democracy.
- The destruction of democracy also includes the targeted attacks on civil society, by intimidation (ranging from public humiliations to massive lawsuits) of dissenting entities and persons, including trade unions.
- A broader assault can also be observed on progressive political organisations such as refugee support groups, sports organisations, community organisations.
- Also targeted are dissenting judges, law firms, media outlets (the most egregious being the abolition of public broadcasting) as well as universities and research institutions. Stacking the judiciary, redrawing

electoral boundaries, voter suppression measures, increasing federal control of elections, utilising the military to suppress dissent, such as in LA, all of these contribute to the assault on democracy.

***Attack on Labour & Social Welfare via:***

- weakened labour protections, making it harder to unionize and easier for corporations to exploit workers,
- dismantling social security & Medicaid, Project 2025's long-term goal is privatisation and benefit reductions, pushing retirees into precarious private markets (even though Trump publicly opposes cuts).

***Reactionary Social Policies:***

- projecting White Christian nationalism through the supported criminalisation of abortion and LGBTQ+ rights, while defunding public schools in favour of religious charter schools as proposed further reinforces ideological control.
- militarized repression via expanded police and ICE powers targeting immigrants, activists, and marginalized communities.
- requiring conformity to government policy for recipients of government funding – e.g. Universities and research institutes.

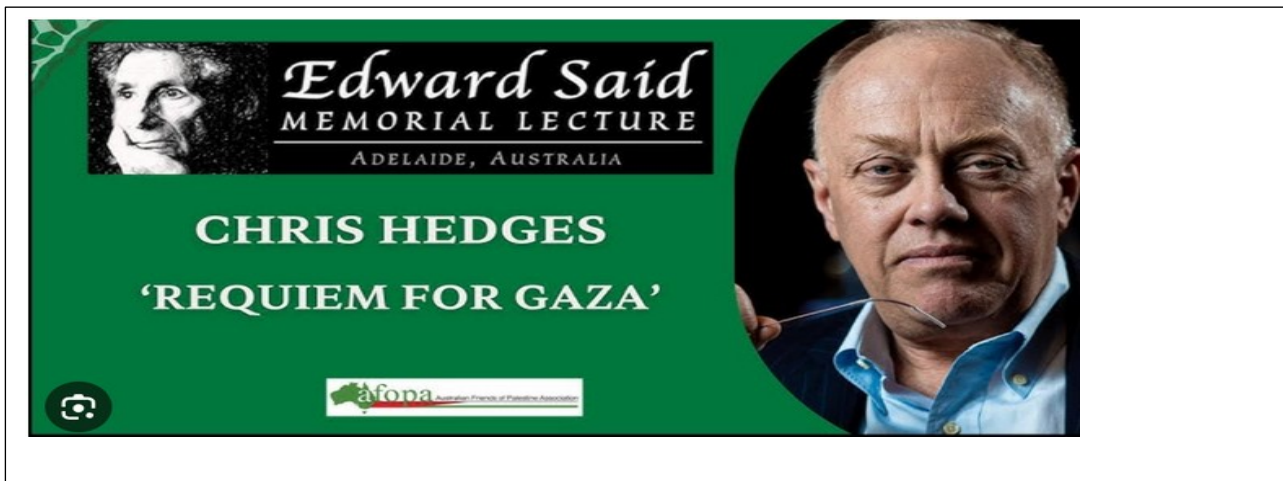
***Environmental Destruction for Profit*** – has been an early and prominent attack item with:

- full fossil fuel deregulation as Project 2025 abolishes climate protections, thereby accelerating ecological collapse in favour of oil and gas profits.
- defunding renewable energy while further boosting subsidies for coal and oil fracking, and (iii) corporate land grabs delivered through privatizing public lands for mining and drilling.

***International pace setting for the far-right and cowering of the centre*** – all eyes are on the roll-out of the authoritarian agenda in the USA. The 2025 elections in Australia and Canada were a clear rebuff to Trumpian styled authoritarianism, but there remains a worrying and highly visible kowtowing to the military might and the size of the USA economy. For example, the “withdrawing and reviewing” academic funding for prominent Australian-Palestinian activists both here and in Germany.

The Heritage Foundation itself offers a [Project 2025 Tracker](#) sending visitors to its website to get up to date monitoring of progress against each of its demands. Progress is visualised on dashboards tracking overall progress, by each of the 317 objectives/demands, as well as policy area and by line agency.

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## Chris Hedges: Edward Said Memorial Lecture: Requiem for Gaza

**Edward Said** (born November 1, 1935, Jerusalem—died September 25, 2003, [New York](#), New York, U.S.) was a Palestinian American academic, political activist, and literary critic who examined [literature](#) in light of social and cultural politics and was an outspoken proponent of the political rights of the Palestinian people and the creation of an independent Palestinian state.

**Chris Hedges is a Pulitzer Prize–winning journalist who was a foreign correspondent for fifteen years for The New York Times, where he served as the Middle East Bureau Chief and Balkan Bureau Chief for the paper. He previously worked overseas for The Dallas Morning News, The Christian Science Monitor, and NPR. He is the host of show The Chris Hedges Report.**

## [Israel and the Palestinians: History of the Conflict Explained](#)

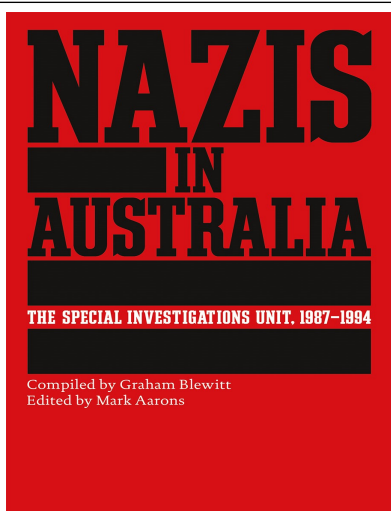
**BBC, 14<sup>th</sup> October 2025**

The conflict between Israel and the Palestinian people is one of the longest-running and most violent disputes in the world. Its origins go back more than a century.

There have been a series of wars between Israel and Arab nations. Uprisings - called intifadas - against Israeli occupation, and reprisals and crackdowns by Israel have also taken place.

The consequences of the historic dispute over issues including land, borders and rights are still being felt and include the latest war between Israel and Hamas in Gaza.

**Nazis in Australia: The Special Investigations Unit, 1987–1994** Edited by Mark Aarons & [Graham Blewitt](#)



The incredible story of the special investigations unit that tracked down the Nazis who called Australia home after World War II. In 1986 journalist Mark Aarons presented a Radio National series, which established that a significant number of Nazi collaborators and war criminals – particularly from Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania and Yugoslavia – had settled in Australia after World War II. Aarons' explosive reporting led to the formation in 1987 of the Special Investigations Unit (SIU), which investigated over 800 suspected war criminals living in Australia. This book gathers the recollections of historians, archaeologists, police investigators, SIU leaders, translators and lawyers to create a detailed insiders' account of the unit's efforts to prosecute Australian residents and citizens believed to have participated in horrific war crimes.

The SIU left an important legacy. As well as pursuing justice for victims of the Holocaust, it demonstrated that historical investigation of war crimes was possible, even decades later. In the words of former SIU director Graham Blewitt, 'Australia should be proud that, for a brief period in our legal history, we stood up and did the right thing. There was a time when Nazi collaborators living in Australia were wondering when the SIU knock on the door would come.'

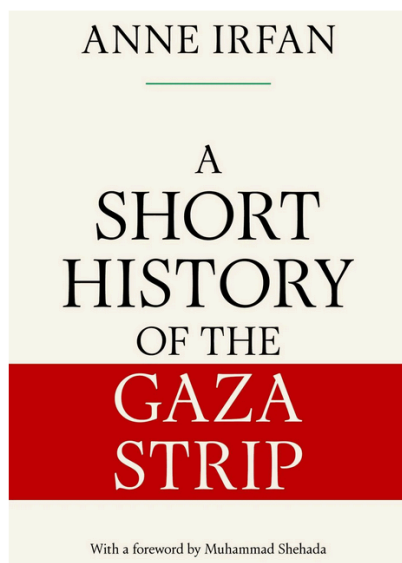
**Australia's Nazi hunters**

**Time - and the law - took its toll on the SIU, a special taskforce created by the Hawke government, [Ruth Balint, Inside Story](#), 12 September 2025**



**Ivan Polyukhovich leaving court:  
Adelaide, June 1992**

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*A Short History of the Gaza Strip*, by historian Anne Irfan, is a timely addition to an important corpus of literature taking a historical and contextual view of the Palestinian/Israeli conflict. By telling the story of the Gaza Strip, Anne Irfan, a lecturer in race, gender and postcolonial studies at University College London, is telling the story of all Palestinians from 1948 to the present – from the catastrophe of the creation of the Israeli state, known to Palestinians as “al-naqbah” (the Nakba), to the catastrophe now engulfing Gazans in 2025. It is a story of dispossession, colonialism, imperialism, resistance, samud, (Arabic for steadfastness/defiance), occupation, siege, destruction, death, hope, futility, ethnic cleansing and, more recently, alleged genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity.

While it is by definition a short history, one of the book’s most important contributions is that it gives the Palestinians, and Gazans in particular, a voice. One of the many constant themes running through the book is how Palestinians are consistently denied agency; what the influential Palestinian academic Edward Said terms “their permission to narrate”. As a colonised and marginalised people, Palestinians have been routinely and deliberately denied their ability to define their own struggle and to tell their own stories.

Perhaps what is surprising here is that this suppression comes not only from previous colonial powers and Israel, but from a succession of Arab and Muslim leaders who routinely use resolving “the Palestinian Question” as a cause célèbre to promote their own geopolitical designs.

Irfan’s narrative shows that despite being robbed of their voice, Palestinians are not passive. Gazans have persistently responded to their dispossession and occupation through activism that ranges from collective action to civil disobedience to armed resistance that culminated in the horrific October 7 attacks on Israel.

The book moves away from depicting the Gaza Strip as simply a terrorist enclave devoted to the destruction of the Israeli state. The reader thus gains an appreciation of the context and history of the Palestinian question and why this sliver of land, less than half the size of Canberra, became the engine room of Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation. By placing events in historical context, the book highlights Israel’s own contribution to the radicalisation of Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and by extension the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

### **Pivotal moments**

Irfan’s book identifies and examines six key junctures in Gaza’s modern history, each of which prove pivotal to its evolution. These are the 1956 temporary military occupation of Gaza; the 1967 expulsion of Palestinians from Gaza, the First Intifada in 1987, the Palestinian Authority’s establishment of its first headquarters in Gaza in 1994, the evacuation of Israeli settlers in Gaza in 2005 and the establishment of a Hamas government there in 2007. But before Irfan briefly examines these junctures, she devotes significant time to examining al-naqbah. As she notes, to understand the history of a place you have to go back to the start. For the Gaza Strip that start is the naqbah. Nothing that happened subsequently – from the 1950s to the 2020s – can be understood without it. The long-lasting effect of al-naqbah on Palestinians in general, and on Gazans in particular, cannot be understated. Irfan notes that Palestinians often speak about al-naqbah as an ongoing process rather than as a specific event.

By the end of the 1947/48 war that created Israel, approximately 750,000 Palestinians were displaced from their homes, villages, and cities to refugee camps around Gaza City, the West Bank, and in neighbouring Arab states – some willingly, many forcibly. Of these, approximately 200,000 refugees came to camps that sprang up around Gaza City alongside the existing 80,000 inhabitants in neighbouring towns and cities that would become known as the Gaza Strip. Population density rose from 500 people per square mile in 1944 to 2,300 people per square mile in 1948. The armistice line, or the Green Line as it became known, which forms the boundary of the Strip, “severed [it] from the towns and villages across Palestine with which Gazans had long traded and interacted.” Because of al-naqbah over 70% of Gaza’s population are refugees.

To add import and cogency to her analysis, Irfan sprinkles her narrative with recollections from Palestinians detailing the violence and trauma inflicted by Israel’s military and paramilitary during and after al-naqbah. This would become a constant feature of life in the Gaza Strip, alongside activism, civil disobedience, defiance, samud and, quickly, armed resistance. It is through these recollections that Irfan gives Palestinians their voice. Of all the chapters in this book, this one perhaps has the most gravitas, because it provides an important foundation and touchstone for understanding the decades of Palestinian resistance, their yearning for an independent state and the rationale for the attacks of October 2023.

The subsequent chapters are a brief examination of that resistance and equally of Israel’s effort to crush Palestinian resistance and to transform Mandatory Palestine, established by the League of Nations after World War I and governed by Britain, into the state of Israel. As Irfan describes in detail, in the intervening decades this involved the systematic destruction of many visible signs of Palestinian habitation, infrastructure, and culture, to be replaced by Israeli towns, cities and infrastructure, and the assertion of Jewish culture.

### **The Six Day War**

Alongside 1948, 1967 is another seminal year examined by Irfan. The 1967 Six Day War saw Israel occupy the remaining territory of Mandatory Palestine in the form of the Gaza Strip, West Bank and East Jerusalem, alongside Egypt’s Sinai Peninsula and Syria’s Golan Heights. As Irfan details, the Six Day War is important in Palestinian history because it marks the beginning of nearly six decades of Israeli occupation. It also precipitated the formation of organised and Palestinian-controlled resistance in the form of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), headed by the chairman of the Fatah political party, the charismatic Yasser Arafat.

Debates conducted by the Israeli government of 1967 about what to do about Gaza, writes Irfan, mirror those being discussed by the Israeli government today, especially those exploring options to [forcibly transfer Gazans out of the territory](#). Another key theme is that the way Israel views and deals with Gaza and Gazans today is nothing new – it has been going on since 1948. The chapter on the after-effects of the 1967 war also deals with the contentious issue of the establishment of Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip that are in contravention of Section III of the [Fourth Geneva Convention](#). Israel, writes Irfan, envisaged constructing the settlements to “shatter Gaza’s territorial contiguity by cutting it into five zones”.

Throughout this, Irfan details the development of resistance from within Gaza that initially complements, but then competes with, the exogenous resistance conducted by the PLO. This competition has important ramifications for Palestinian and Israeli history because we see the evolution of Hamas – The Islamic Resistance Movement. As Irfan explains, the history of the Gaza Strip and of Palestinian resistance becomes inextricably intertwined with the history of Hamas. When Hamas was launched in 1987 its goals were twofold: to end Israel’s occupation of [Palestine territory](#) and challenge the PLO’s control of the Palestinian resistance. This competition is fought out in the intervening chapters. Irfan examines the First Intifada (Arabic for uprising) from 1987–1991, [the 1994](#)

[Oslo Accords](#) and establishment of the Palestinian Authority, the evacuation of Israeli settlers from Gaza in 2005 and Hamas gaining control of the Gaza Strip in 2007.

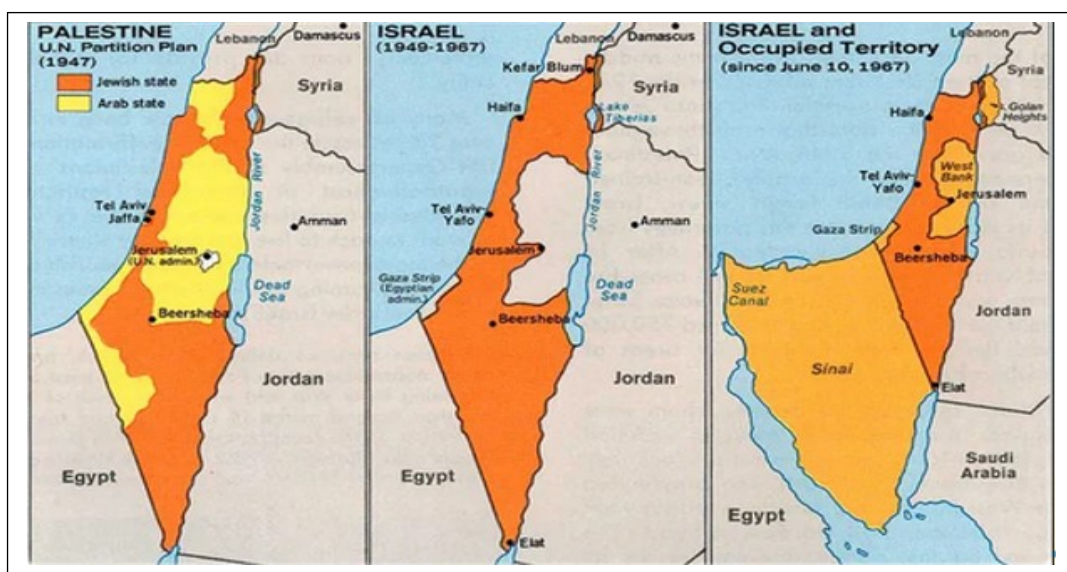
## Hamas

It is perhaps the chapter on the rise of Hamas that will surprise those readers who are not familiar with the intricacies of the Palestinian/Israeli conflict. As Irfan explains deftly, for Palestinians, Hamas is not an extremist movement solely bent on the destruction of Israel, as portrayed by many western politicians and media. It is a movement dedicated to resisting Israel's occupation, both politically and militarily, and to advancing the cause of Palestinian statehood. Since its inception, Hamas has played a crucial part in Palestinian social and political life, especially in Gaza, providing a range of basic services like education and health care. It is also a political movement that won the first free, fair and open elections in the Arab world in 2006.

Irfan details the response by Israel, the US and Fatah to Hamas's election victory, with Israel beginning to blockade Gaza with the hope of causing Hamas's new government to collapse. After a year of attempts to engineer the collapse of Hamas's government, Hamas decided to assume control of Gaza from Fatah. In response, Israel upgraded its blockade to an outright siege, intended to prevent Hamas from participating in Palestinian politics and resistance.

Irfan details the violent and non-violent actions of Gazans and Hamas in the intervening 18 years as they resist the deprivations of Israel's siege, which has included five wars: 2008, 2012, 2014, 2021 and 2023. Irfan closes her account by seeking to establish why Hamas felt it needed to launch such horrific attacks on Israel in October 2023. In no way does she seek to justify Hamas's actions. But she attempts to establish why these attacks occurred; a discussion that moves away from the dominant narratives proffered by Israel and its supporters. Irfan emphasises the point that while atrocities were indeed inflicted upon Israelis, these attacks did not eventuate from nothing, they were a product of 1948 and decades of Israeli occupation.

Overall, the book is excellently written, with Irfan providing a detailed and easily accessible history of Gaza's foundational part in Palestinian resistance. It should be necessary reading for anyone seeking to gain an introductory understanding of some of the complex and contradictory issues that litter the Palestinian/Israeli conflict. Most importantly, it provides Gazans and Palestinians an opportunity to tell their own stories about their life under Israeli occupation.



## TRIBUTES



## Miriam Tonkin

**March 4 1928 – July 19 2025 (97yrs)**



**aeunionsa** 10 w

Vale Miriam Tonkin. A beloved friend, activist, and comrade who achieved remarkable things for preschool and school educators during her time working with the AEU. Our thoughts are with Miriam's loved ones and our heartfelt gratitude is with Miriam for her lifetime of work for our movement.

Pictured at the 1983 Pre-school Teachers' Association annual meeting, Miriam Tonkin of Marino Kindergarten (seated left) with guest speaker and standing from left are Jenni Grossi of Netley Kindergarten and Kathy Bodnar, Chandler's Hill Child Centre and SAIT executive. (SA Teachers' Journal photographic collection)

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COLLECTION

OH 1197/47

Full transcript of an interview with

**Miriam Tonkin**

on 18/02/2022

by Don and Lyn Longo  
for the

**Days of Wrath, Years of Hope:  
Memories of Protest and Civil Disobedience  
in South Australia, 1965-1983 Oral History Project**

Transcribed by: Lyn Longo

## FOR YOUR DIARY

DR HUGH SADDLER MEMORIAL LECTURE

the Australia Institute  
RESEARCH AND POLICY

ADELAIDE

*Courage in Climate Leadership*

DELIVERED BY

THE HON  
**MIKE RANN**  
AC CNZM

Former South Australian Premier

6PM ACDT  
THURSDAY 13 NOVEMBER 2025

In the second Dr Hugh Saddler Memorial Lecture, featuring the Hon Mike Rann AC CNZM, former South Australian Premier and current Chair of the UK Climate Group, will discuss the politics of climate ambition, the importance of courage, and lessons from South Australia's renewable energy transformation.

<https://events.humanitix.com/dr-hugh-saddler-memorlecture->

### State Library of South Australia, North Terrace, Adelaide

When Mike Rann was elected Premier in 2002, South Australia had zero renewables; just an incoming leader ready to turn political power into clean energy. As Premier and Australia's first Climate Change Minister - one of the first in the world - Mike and his government pioneered bold reforms that now see more than 60% of the state's energy come from wind and solar. After Mike retired as Premier, he was appointed Chair of the Australian Government's 'green bank', Low Carbon Australia Ltd. He also served as the Australian High Commissioner to London, and later Ambassador to Italy and Albania. Mr Rann was previously based in London, where Rann Strategy Group specialises in renewable energy solutions internationally.

The Dr Hugh Saddler Memorial Lecture is an address in honour of an energy transition expert and founding director of the Australia Institute, the late Dr Hugh Saddler (1943-2023). Dr Saddler profoundly influenced a generation of researchers and policymakers, and his expertise helped lay the groundwork for Australia's renewable energy transition. In this lecture, Mr Rann will reflect on the driving forces behind his decision to lead South Australia through a seismic change in power-generation and explain why it should be seen as a case study in how rapid renewable energy uptake can be successful. He'll also share candid insights on Australia's current climate policy and outline what he believes Anthony Albanese must do ahead of next year's COP31 climate summit. Audience members will also be invited to join the discussion and pose questions to Mr Rann following his lecture.

## Remembering the Sacking of the Whitlam Government, 50 years on.

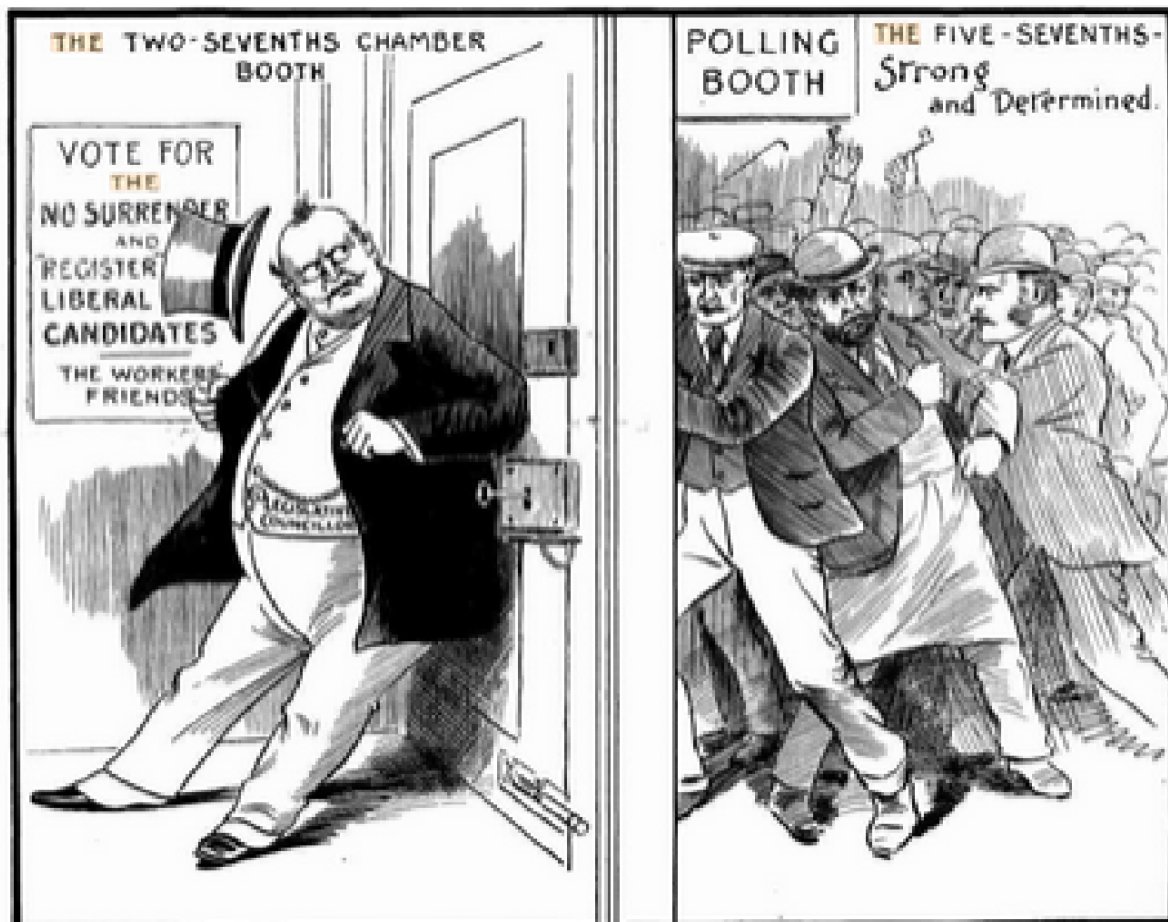


**LHSSA Meeting  
Sunday 16<sup>th</sup> November 2025  
Box Factory Community Centre  
2pm – 4pm**

Come along to hear first-hand recollections on the significance of this historic dismissal of a Prime Minister by a Governor-General on the 11<sup>th</sup> of November 1975 from Dr Richie Gun (who was in Canberra that day as the Member for Kingston and a member of the Labor Caucus) and former Senator Chris Schacht (then an ALP official working in Adelaide on the day this groundbreaking event unfolded).

AND

Bill Denny (who while being interviewed for the position of Aide de Camp to Sir John Kerr was witness to the infamous ‘comings and goings’ that day at Government House of Gough Whitlam and Malcolm Fraser and others.)



## Political parties and democracy: The early development of South Australia's party system

Since 2021 **Professor Alan Reid** has presented an annual lecture on the evolution of democracy in South Australia with a focus on the contributions of its Premiers.

In 2025, his fifth lecture will cover South Australia's political life from 1901 to 1914. In particular, it will examine the gradual shift to a dominant two-party political system and the ongoing battle to expand the franchise for the Legislative Council. These and other issues will be explored through the lives and contributions of some of the leading political characters of the period such as Tom Price, John Verran and Archibald Peake.

Hosted by the History Trust of South Australia and Stretton Institute (University of Adelaide).



## William Dalrymple tickets

An Evening with William Dalrymple

Venue:  
**Adelaide Town Hall, Adelaide, SA** ✓

Date:  
**Thu 13 Nov 2025 7:30pm**

**Find Tickets**

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Fair access to tickets information ✓

**Presented by:** How To Academy

From 250 BCE to 1200 CE, India was not merely a land of spiritual depth but a dynamic hub of innovation and exchange. Its contributions in mathematics, astronomy, medicine, art and philosophy traversed the vast expanse from the Red Sea to the Pacific, shaping cultures and ideas across continents.

Join one of the world's most celebrated historians, **William Dalrymple**, for an illuminating evening as he delves into the rich tapestry of ancient Indian civilisation. Drawing upon a lifetime immersed in Indian culture and studying its history.

**Dalrymple** offers a panoramic view of India's profound influence on the world as explored in his chart-topping podcast *Empire* and bestselling books including *The Golden Road*, *The Anarchy*, *Return of a King* and *The Last Mughal*.

Weaving narratives of emperors, monks, merchants and scholars, bringing to life the stories of India's golden age, **Dalrymple** examines how Indian thought influenced global traditions, from the architectural marvels of Angkor Wat to the philosophical underpinnings of distant societies.

This event is more than a historical recount; it's an exploration of how ancient India's legacy continues to resonate today. Whether you're a history enthusiast or a curious mind, don't miss this opportunity to gain insights from a master storyteller who brings the past vividly into the present.

**An Evening with William Dalrymple** promises to be a compelling journey through time, revealing the enduring impact of India's ancient wisdom on our modern world.

<https://premier.ticketek.com.au/shows/show.aspx?sh=WBHDALRY25&v=BAB>

### LHSSA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 2025

**The 2025-26 LHSSA Executive Committee is:**

**President: Ron Slee**

**Vice-President: Vini Ciccarello**

**Vice-President: Jim Phillips**

**Secretary: Roz Averis**

**Treasurer: Kevin Kaeding**

**Elected members: Nix Herriot, Liam Horwood, Habibah Jaghoori**

**Co-opted members: Doug Melvin, Ralph Clarke**

**Trade Union Liaison OQicer: Doug Melvin**

**Branch Representative on National Executive of ASSLH: Doug Melvin**

**Editorial Collective: Ron Slee, Ken Bridge, Roz Averis, Habibah Jaghoori, Doug Melvin LHSSA**

**representative on History Council of South Australia: Ron Slee**