

RECORDER

Official organ of the Melbourne Branch of the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History

Issue No. 280—July 2014

IN THIS EDITION:

- The Streets are Alive, by Peter Love, pp. 1-2
- Death of Doug Jordan, by Jim McIlroy, pp. 2-3
- *Silvertown*, by Terry Irving, pp. 3-4
- *The Neighbour From Hell*, by Rowan Cahill, p. 4
- ALH Conference Report, by Liam Byrne, p. 5
- The NIB's 20th birthday, by Peter Love, p. 6
- *Radical Wollongong*, p. 6
- *Red Apple*, by L.W. Maher, pp. 7-8
- Victorian Trade Union Choir, by Susanne Provis, p. 8
- Vale Neville Wran, by Brian Smiddy, p. 8
- The new DLP, by Lyle Allen, p. 9
- The Death of Ray Evans, by Lyle Allen, p. 9
- Recollections of Ray Evans, by Rosemary West, pp. 9-10
- Panel discussion: *Jews and the Left*, by AJHS, p. 10
- Santamaria's List & Its Revelations, by Lyle Allen, pp. 10-11
- Events of Interest and Noticeboard, p. 11
- Branch news and contact, p. 12

THE STREETS ARE ALIVE

By Peter Love

Last Sunday's march across the Yarra to Parliament followed long-established customary practice for demonstrations in Melbourne. On 21 April 1856 building workers marched from their Melbourne University workplace, collecting workers from other buildings on their way to the Parliament House site to remonstrate with Cornish, the contractor who had refused to join the newly agreed Eight Hours System. The usual pattern was for protesters to assemble at a collective place, such as Trades Hall, and proceed to demonstrate their cause during a march to a place representing the entity that might redress their grievance, such as Parliament. While the places and the causes have varied over nearly 160 years, the basic process has remained constant, but there are also some underlying themes in how issues have developed within particular campaigns.

In the bigger campaigns within living memory, such as Vietnam and WorkChoices, there are recurring patterns in the way we have mobilised resistance. Although the primary focal points of the 1970s moratoria were opposition to the Vietnam War and conscription, there were many associated causes that addressed enmeshed issues such as capitalism, militarism, the structures of gender and generational inequity and many others. The overarching interconnectedness of these issues generated a broad coalition of groups much beyond the energetic core of left political and industrial activists. This helped build the size, strength and momentum of that ultimately successful campaign. Similarly with WorkChoices, the individual and collective politics of working life mobilised a constituency well beyond Trade Union and Labor members. It was clear that the policy was a brutally systematic attack on the working lives of ordinary people. The Your Rights at Work campaign drew strength from people's prior knowledge of what



Photograph by Peter Love.

were the underlying intentions behind the 1998 Maritime Lockout. The remarkable success of the Your Rights campaign owed a good deal to the thematically coherent and personally resonant messages at its core. A significant feature in the public face of the Vietnam and WorkChoices campaigns were the massive demonstrations of people from wide coalitions of groups.

In recent weeks it seems that there may be a developing momentum in public reactions to the Abbott Government's Federal Budget. Again, it seems to be registered in the re-energised life on the streets. This year's May Day March was the usual lively, modestly attended event we have come to expect in recent times. Following the Budget shortly after, on 12 June, there were many thousands of protesters from a wide range of organisations representing people hurt by dramatic policy shifts that have cut the funding to many of the most vulnerable people. Judging by the opinion polls and the feet on the street, it is widely understood that under the phoney guise of fiscal rectitude, the Abbott Government has launched a class war on many of the poorest Australians. Let us hope that history does have something to say about how broad-based oppositional momentum, publicly registered in mass demonstrations, can presage the demise of a toxic Government.

A short video clip of the Bust the Budget assembly at the front of Melbourne Trades Hall on 12 June is on the Labour History Melbourne Facebook page.

Death of Doug Jordan

Phillip Deery: On 14 June a packed memorial service was held at the offices of the Electrical Trades Union for Doug Jordan. The various speakers testified to Doug's strong sense of social justice, commitment to unionism, community activism, and his scholarship. Appropriately, the Victorian Trade Union choir punctuated the service with rousing renditions of "The Red Flag", "The Ballad of Joe Hill" and "Solidarity Forever". Different but intersecting aspects of Doug's life were discussed by different speakers: his early membership of the Socialist Workers' Party; his years as a tram conductor and Tramways Union activist; his academic life as a mature-age student at Victoria University culminating in a PhD, which was recently published as Conflict in the Unions: the Communist Party of Australia, Politics and the Trade Union Movement, 1945-1960; and his 14-year stint as co-presenter (with Kevin Healey) of the City Limits program on radio 3CR.

The following obituary is reprinted (with permission) from Green Left Weekly.

Doug Jordan, socialist militant, 1951-2014

By Jim McIlroy

Doug Jordan, a long-time socialist and union militant, who transformed himself in later life into an innovative labour historian, died on 19 May in Melbourne at the age of 63. Doug passed away after a hard struggle with cancer.

In recent years, Doug was a community activist, especially with the campaign to defend public housing, and co-presented the 3CR program City Limits on Wednesday mornings for 14 years.

Co-presenter Kevin Healy recently wrote on the 3CR website that Doug's "community and working-class commitment was evident in the issues he brought to and attitudes he expressed on City Limits.



Kevin Healy speaking at Doug's memorial service. By Phillip Deery.

"Doug was diagnosed with cancer in the leg last year, and in February this year was informed it had spread and he had only a few months to live. He was determined to live as normally as possible, even held his own wake, an 'I'm still here' party, and continued to present City Limits until the Wednesday before he died."

Doug was a member of the Socialist Workers Party and then Democratic Socialist Party in the 1970s and 1980s, and remained a committed socialist for his whole life. He worked as a tram conductor in Melbourne, and in Adelaide for a time, and was a strong rank-and-file militant in the Tramways Union over many years.

Healy explains, "He was arrested during the 1990 tramways dispute which saw Melbourne streets lined with trams as the union fought the then Labor government attempts to introduce a new ticketing system which would reduce staff levels."

Doug was forced to leave the trams in the late 1990s when Liberal Premier Jeff Kennett removed the conductors, and he refused to be trained as a ticket inspector. He later returned to tertiary study and gained his PhD in labour history at Victoria University.

His thesis became the basis of an important new book, published late last year by Resistance Books (available at www.resistancebooks.com), entitled: *Conflict in the Unions: The Communist Party of Australia, Politics and the Trade Union Movement, 1945-60*.

At a launch of the book in Sydney on 6 May this year, Doug was able to attend (as almost his last public appearance), and explained: "At the centre of this book is an examination of the political work of CPA members in the trade unions during the early Cold War... As a society and for the broad trade union movement, there is much to be done in these areas. Unions need to visit the past and learn from the successes and failures of the CPA."

Doug also noted: "It is entirely appropriate that the book launch be held today because 44 years ago I attended my first mass demonstration in Australia – the Vietnam Moratorium. Having arrived in Sydney [as a migrant from Britain] only a few weeks before, I didn't know anybody so I decided to march with the students from Sydney.

"By the time we got to Town Hall, the main gathering point, there were about 15,000 people there. Then the call went up, 'The waterside workers are coming.' Within a few minutes, the crowd was swelled as thousands of overall-clad workers joined the crowd. That was my first direct experience of the longstanding political traditions of waterside workers – a memory that has remained with me ever since."

Doug himself campaigned tirelessly for progressive politics throughout his time as a union militant in the tramways. At the Sydney book launch, he quoted his PhD supervisor Phillip Deery as telling him, "You are putting your own history down on paper in a different form."



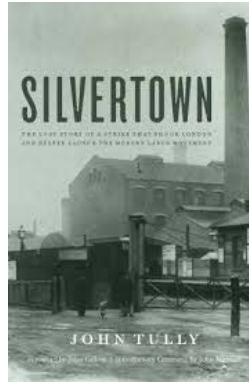
Doug Jordan being arrested. Photo from 3CR.

I knew Doug well as a friend, comrade and even housemate for a time in Melbourne. His ironic sense of humour and feeling for working people and the oppressed was unquenchable.

His fighting spirit will be long remembered by all who knew him. Farewell, comrade.

Silvertown

By Terry Irving



John Tully, *Silvertown – The Lost Story of a Strike that Shook London and Helped Launch the Modern Labour Movement* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2014)

John Tully begins his marvellous book by recreating the day in 1889 when the yardmen at Silver's India-Rubber, Gutta-Percha and Telegraph works submitted a written petition to management for a pay rise. He imagines them emboldened by the long struggle of 16,000 workers in the neighbouring Royal Docks for 'the dockers' tanner', and by the earlier victories of the 'little match girls' at Bryant and May's and the gas workers at Beckton. A New Unionism for the labouring masses was emerging, and they would be part of it. Soon 3,000 workers at Silver's, desperate for better conditions and higher wages, would join the struggle, led by Will Thorne's newly formed socialist union of gas workers and general labourers. Tom Mann and Eleanor Marx were there, the latter forming a women's branch of the union, but the strike committee of Silver's workers led the struggle. What they did and how they were defeated after twelve bitter weeks is the story that John Tully goes on to tell.

He begins by describing the firm, which was at the cutting edge of the telegraphic and electrical revolutions and thus enormously profitable, and its place in the political economy of Britain's imperial system. He contrasts the obscene wealth of the firm's owners and the appalling living conditions of its workers, whose infants died at a faster rate than children in the most oppressed countries today. Then we reach the moment of hope: the strike begins just as the dockers win their demand for sixpence an hour. We learn what impelled the men, women and children at Silver's to strike: the harsh work rules and punishments, the unhealthy work, the starvation wages. Some workers, the fitters and turners who maintained the machinery, received better treatment, and because their union, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, dominated by 'labour aristocrats', refused to instruct their members to join the strike, production at Silver's continued. So class betrayal corroded the struggle. But what ultimately doomed it was the ruling class's determination to stop the advance of the New Unionism. The company used its connections with the government and the press, and worked out a repertoire of oppression that employers, judges, press barons and coppers would deploy time and again over the next decade, 'the Silvertown formula': refuse to recognise unions, to negotiate or accept arbitrators; recruit scabs en masse and billet them on site; intimidate strikers with police and soldiers, take them to court, and use the

press to depict the strikers as thugs depriving 'free labourers' of the right to work. Sounds so familiar now.

John Tully tells the story with passion and purpose, which is how labour history ought to be written. He tells it at a cracking pace when events move fast, but also with seductive changes of 'voice', sometimes imagining the mood of the people, sometimes describing the setting and explaining ideas, and sometimes justifying his partisan position and choice of method.

Hitler's bombs and Thatcher's de-industrialisation destroyed Silvertown, the grim East End suburb on the Thames where these brave people lived and worked, but their struggle "helped build a movement that recast the face of Britain". And there are lessons to be learnt or re-learned. He writes: "Those who today resist what is in effect the declaration of class war by a feral ruling class may find inspiration in the story of these forgotten labourers over 120 years ago". Right on!

The Neighbour From Hell

By Rowan Cahill

Tom O'Lincoln, *The Neighbour From Hell: Two Centuries of Australian Imperialism* (Brunswick, VIC: Interventions publishers, 2014).

Tom O'Lincoln is an Australian marxist scholar, working outside of academia. Raised in the United States, O'Lincoln attended Berkley and cut his political teeth in the Free Speech Movement (1964-65). Later he was involved as an activist in, or as an eye witness to, political events in Germany, Portugal, Nicaragua, the Philippines, and the USSR.

Resident in Australia since the 1970s, O'Lincoln has produced a large body of work on Australian political and economic history. This work is accessible, devoid of jargon, tightly written, and has politicising intent. Much of it is available on his website 'Tom O'Lincoln's Red Sites' (<http://www.redsites.info>).

O'Lincoln's latest book is *The Neighbour From Hell*, an 88-page exploration of Australia as an imperialist state, or, as O'Lincoln terms it, a "boutique imperialist". Defining imperialism via its core components of seeking "stability and security for profits and trade routes, with the aim of creating the best possible conditions for capital accumulation", O'Lincoln develops an historical overview and analysis of Australia, not as a timid lapdog/follower of the great power imperialisms of Britain initially, and later the United States, the traditional interpretation of the left, but as a proactive, aggressive, imperialist state in its own right, one that chooses and picks its targets and involvements, hence his adjectival use of "boutique".

According to O'Lincoln, this "boutique imperialism" began in 1788 with European settlement, spreading from its East coast beach-head to dominate the continent at the expense of the indigenous peoples. From the 1850s onwards, this continental drive for possession went in tandem with the developing desire to spread financial and territorial interests in the Pacific region. In the O'Lincoln analysis this was not a reflection solely of British imperial imperatives, but of local "Australian" initiatives.

At the same time this twin-expansionism was taking place, colonial Australia also endeavoured to involve itself in European colonial conflicts abroad. By 1901 and Federation, the Australia depicted by O'Lincoln was a nation and a national culture with a strong "robber and spoiler" ethos.

With this as his bedrock, O'Lincoln confidently ranges through twentieth century and current Australian foreign affairs, robustly developing his account of Australia as "boutique imperialist", cherry picking its more recent involvements in East Timor, Fiji, and the Solomons. In O'Lincoln's account, the post-World War II Australia-US Alliance was/is not a case of Australian lapdogism. Rather, it is an investment by Australia in terms of financial cost and blood sacrifice to curry favour with the US with the aim of committing the US to a back-up position for Australia's imperial interests in the Asia Pacific region.

O'Lincoln also hits on the head the furphy that recent regional "peacekeeping" involvements by the Australian Federal Police and the defence forces are primarily driven by humanitarianism as maintained by advocates. Not so, according to O'Lincoln; behind the spin they are components of the imperial impetus. A recent essay by US anthropologist David H. Price, "Counterinsurgency by other names: Complicating humanitarian applied anthropology in current, former, and future war zones" (*Human Organization*, vol. 73, no. 2, 2014) is a useful supportive study here.

Overall, O'Lincoln's book is timely, worthwhile, and useful, particularly for anti-war and anti-militarism activists as a source of understanding and perspective; for if O'Lincoln is correct, and I believe he is, they will have much to do. Australia will continue to be involved in boutique imperial initiatives and adventures, expressed in military and/or "policing" terms. Far from being the easy-going friendly nation promoted by propagandists, Australia is "the neighbour from hell".

In May this year, Rowan Cahill was awarded the "Jim Hagan Memorial Prize" at the University of Wollongong. This prize is awarded to the PhD candidate "who has received the highest recommendation from one or both assessors in the previous year". Rowan's thesis on Rupert Lockwood (1908-1997) has been downloaded over 1,000 times since it went online in November 2013 on the Research Online platform at the University of Wollongong, NSW, Australia. Congratulations, Rowan! <http://ro.uow.edu.au/theses/3942>

AILH Conference Report

By Liam Byrne

It was funny how it wasn't until the old man started to speak that the room felt silent for the first time. It was the final session of the first day of the Tenth International Labour History conference being held in Noida, a district bordering Delhi, India. All of us walked into the session with the energy of the day, most of us still finishing conversations from the coffee break, one of many which invariably stretched beyond deadline as the conference organisers attempted to shepherd attendees from our conversational clumps near the coffee in the foyer back to the sessions. More than once the session was delayed as the speaker, or the chair, was still out the front of the venue lost in discussion. It was that kind of conference: something was buzzing in the air alongside the sound of the traffic beyond the compound's leaf-covered walls.

The rustling of paper as his talk was handed out; it was prepared too late for the programme. We were called to order by the chair, and the old man looked around, down at the page, and began to read his story. That's what it was, his story, and we listened in silence and stillness as he flipped the pages, one by one, and told us of his life as a railwayman and a unionist. He told us the story of his father's conversion to the nationalist cause, his own beginnings in politics, and the life that he led as a militant on the railways. We listened in silence; it was that kind of conference.

It was the conference of the Association of Indian Labour Historians in conjunction with the VV Giri National Labour Institute, at the grounds of which the conference was held between the 22nd and 24th of March this year. Delegates assembled from across the world to discuss the question: "Labour History: A Return to Politics?" An indication of the international nature of the conference can be found in the number of papers given, 53 all up, 30 by domestic scholars, 23 by international guests.

The papers stretched across a variety of fields and perspectives, interrogating a vast range of spatial and temporal locations and events, both Indian and international. Many responded to the challenge in the call for papers to examine sites of political mobilisation beyond those "traditional" forms associated with "male factory workers led by organised trade unions." The number of talks dedicated to varying forms of non-proletarian labour was noticeable with sessions considering the informal sector, special economic zones, itinerant and migrant workers, as well as questions such as the relationship between slaves, prisoners, inmates of mental institutions, and soldiers, to the world of work.

From the very start the conference was dripping with a theoretical and conceptual richness, symbolised by

the welcoming session in which not one but two books were launched. Both, *Towards a New History of Work, and Working Lives* and *Worker Militancy: The Politics of Labour in Colonial India* were in their own way an indication of the discussions that would follow. The depth and breadth of the conference was visible at the two groups of the first session to follow the launch. Around forty attendees in both groups discussed questions such as the history of the Indian arbitration system with no less than Leon Fink, Ottoman artisans and state before 1850, the cultural politics of labour in China, and migrant workers' trade unionism in South Korea since 1994. Included in this session was a theorisation of political culture and a comparison of Australian Labor and the German SPD, a very important talk for this conference-goer, not the least because it was mine.



Photograph by Liam Byrne.

The conference was well-attended, around 70 per cent of participants hailing from India, and the sizeable international contingent forming the rest. As a participant in the conference what was most notable was the verve and energy that constantly surrounded the sessions, a constant stream of discussions and debates occurring across the conference rooms, the crowded kitchen where lunch was served, and at the accommodation provided by the Institute. It was noticeable that younger scholars made up the bulk of attendees, with over half of the participants being early career researchers.

The conference concluded with a discussion led by Marcel van der Linden in which a number of the organisers surmised the proceedings, and the floor was opened to all participants to offer comments about what worked well and what didn't. Perhaps this could end easily in an uncomfortable silence as attendees desperately scrambled for something to say, but this wasn't that kind of conference. Within minutes a discussion had begun attempting to theorise the relationship between labour historians and movements of labour. Participants from several continents considered the question before the discussion turned to the next International Conference to be held in two years' time. Discussion eagerly ensued as to how to ensure the expansion of participation, within India, and around the world.

Later, clumps of chattering groups gradually dissolved out the front of the conference venue. Cars came and went and to handshakes and hugs and more see you soon than goodbyes, we eventually dispersed. It was that kind of conference.

New International Bookshop: 20 years!

By Peter Love

On May Day the NIB celebrated its 20th birthday at the Bella Union Bar in Trades Hall. The function, organised by the indefatigable Cavell Zangalis, Liz Aird and other Bookshop comrades, kicked off with Anthea Sidiropoulos singing songs of resistance, and life, by Mikis Theodorakis. After the cheerful assembly of friends and supporters had settled into their chats, nibbles and drinks, the Victorian Trade Union Choir performed a short set of songs, including the *Internationale* in honour of the Bookshop.



Cavell Zangalis and Liz Aird. Photograph by Peter Love.

Gerard Morel, Jim Crosthwaite and Ken Blackman were among the many stalwarts milling about, a little more slowly these days, and exchanging memories of the NIB, its foundation and precarious existence bolstered by fund-raisers like the Big Red Book Fairs, Quiz Nights and Comedy Debates. Although it is no longer a co-op, it has maintained a broad range of books on politics and history, Marxism, political theory, gender studies, labour movement and Australian issues. We understand that there will soon be an announcement about the Bookshop's new focus.

After a formal welcome, Jeff Sparrow, the Bookshop's first co-ordinator, spoke about its early years and, more generally, about the role of bookshops in our changing society, referring to their rich history that he and his sister Jill explored in their *Radical Melbourne*. He also recalled some of the incidents and colourful individuals he encountered during his tenure. After a brief interlude for the selling of raffle tickets, Jeff was

joined by his successor Seb Prowse who added his own stories of "interesting times" and eccentric characters. He recalled one regular with scruffy long hair and wearing a daggy grey suit who sprouted crackpot conspiracy theories and talked about setting up a website where whistleblowers could expose the secrets of governments, the military and other criminals. At the time, Seb had no idea of how serious Julian Assange was and how true many of his theories turned out to be. Jeff and Seb exchanged impressions and anecdotes about the Bookshop and how, despite its perennial struggle to survive, it has made a difference, in its own small way, to the culture of the left in Melbourne.

After a brief interlude, the NIB's number one ticket-holder Rod Quantock presented a series of both sincere and piss-taking awards to NIB stalwarts who were at the core of the voluntary labour force that have given the Bookshop life for twenty years. Following the raffle draw, Jake Wishart, on behalf of the Search Foundation, proposed a toast to the NIB, which was heartily endorsed by all present.



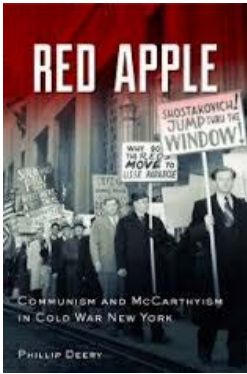
Seb Prowse and Jeff Sparrow. Photograph by Peter Love.

Radical Wollongong

Radical Wollongong is a new documentary examining the history of Wollongong through the lens of its radical tradition. This wide-ranging film covers many topics, including the "Pig Iron" dispute, the 1949 Coal Strike, the role of the Communist Party, the Vietnam War, campaigns for women's jobs, and the environmental campaigns against coal seam gas. Written by John Rainford and produced by Green Left TV and Art Resistance, *Radical Wollongong* will be screened in Melbourne sometime later in 2014. For more information see www.radicalwollongong.com

Red Apple

By L.W. Maher



Phillip Deery, *Red Apple: Communism and McCarthyism in Cold War New York* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014).

In this reviewer's assessment, Phillip Deery, a stalwart of the Melbourne Branch of the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History, is Australia's leading scholar in the field of the history of Australia's domestic Cold War.

This fine book is also further proof, if it were needed, that its author is at the forefront of international scholarship concerning the Cold War by which I mean both the broad, turbulent geo-political context of the years 1945-2000, and the detailed unfolding of events in those years in many nations, but especially the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

Professor Deery displays all the scholarly talents for which he is well known and lauded in Australia and abroad: clarity of thinking, painstaking research – much of it pioneering in its ferreting out of important hitherto unused or undiscovered archival material – originality of choice of subject matter and of analysis, and complete mastery of the existing scholarship. And there is another talent on display which is perhaps a more important measure of the author's inquiring mind, namely, a marvellous writing style. It can truly be said of this book that it will appeal to all readers.

Such was the political influence of the eponymous Senator from Wisconsin, Joseph Raymond McCarthy (1908-1957) that the word "McCarthyism" has passed into general usage both to refer to the entire epoch of the anti-communist exertion of the Cold War; and, more specifically, the "witch-hunting" technique to which Arthur Miller, himself a victim of it, drew attention in his allegory, *The Crucible* (1953).

Anyone (but especially readers born after, say, 1985) coming to the Cold War for the first time and knowing only that something called "McCarthyism" was involved, will enjoy reading this book and will derive a clear sense of the intensity of the social and political forces that were unleashed in the early Cold War years and the deplorable effects on the lives of ordinary and not so ordinary individuals – all of them law-abiding folks who had the misfortune to be or to be suspected of being Communists or sympathisers or "fellow travellers".

The author's short introductory chapter is as good a snapshot as this reviewer has seen in what is a sizeable body of literature of what was at work in the early days of the domestic US Cold War.

The book's five chapters are case studies of the caprice and cruelty that were well entrenched before Senator McCarthy made his grandiose entrance on the US domestic (and international) scene when he delivered his speech at Wheeling, West Virginia, on 9 February 1950.

For anyone who has not seen documentary film of Senator McCarthy in action, the following short YouTube excerpt of his sneering attack on the distinguished Boston lawyer, Joseph Welch, in June 1954 will be instructive [youtube.com/watch?v=lAur_1077NA](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lAur_1077NA). Welch's thoroughgoing and well-warranted humiliation of McCarthy for his cruelty and recklessness proved to be the start of the end for the Senator.



Phillip Deery at the New York launch of *Red Apple*. By Nora Godwin.

The first case study focusses on Edward Barsky, a physician who had been active in the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (JAFRC) which was denounced as a subversive communist front organisation. He ended up in a federal penitentiary to serve a six-month sentence after unsuccessfully challenging the lawfulness of the activities of the US House of Representatives Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).

Howard Fast was a well-known, prolific and successful communist novelist who also ended up in a federal penitentiary for refusing to answer questions when he was called before HUAC and who, greatly disillusioned like others, left the communist movement in 1957.

Professors Lyman Bradley and Edwin Burgum were sacked by New York University because their loyalty to the United States was called into question when they refused to co-operate with congressional investigations.

The remaining two cases studies illustrate how the all-pervasive nature of the anti-communist crusade and the fate of persons who were drawn into the centre of the developing maelstrom, not because they were regarded as immediate participants in the international communist conspiracy, but rather because of their close associations – one artistic, the other that of a lawyer endeavouring to represent an unpopular client in an increasingly hostile social environment.

In the case of Dimitri Shostakovich, the renowned Russian composer, his visit to the United States in 1949 to participate in the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel was proof positive to the anti-communist zealots that the warmongering Godless Soviet Union would diabolically invoke the cause of a peaceful world to dupe and enslave a gullible populace.

O. John Rogge was a New York City lawyer who had represented the JAFRC and had been invited to speak at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel conference and who by the time North Korean troops crossed the 38th parallel in June 1950 was beginning to dissent from the Soviet-inspired view of the path to international peace.

In this reviewer's assessment, Rogge's trajectory is a timely reminder that the right of individual dissent is at the centre of political liberty and is indivisible. In the past 40 years, various forces, including some on the Australian Left, have combined to undermine the role of dissent in the Australian polity by an unwise attachment to a collective approach to human rights which adopts a selective content-based censorious approach to dissent.

In conclusion, three important observations, albeit in some respects mundane, need to be recorded. First, physically, the book is a very handsome production. Secondly, it has a very valuable collection of notes, an equally valuable list of books and articles, and an excellent index. Finally, in a book which is notable for the strikingly evocative pen pictures of the six leading actors, the human dimension is (as it were) almost brought to life by the inclusion of fine photographic portraits of Edward Barsky, Howard Fast, Lyman Bradley, Edwin Burgum, Dimitri Shostakovich and O John Rogge, and the clever use of all six in a one-page montage.

Victorian Trade Union Choir

By Susanne Provis

The Victorian Trade Union Choir is excited to announce the launch of our crowd-funding project through pozible.com.

We are aiming to raise \$5000 to fund a Victorian regional tour of our music-theatre show "I'll be there". In 2012 and 2013 we had sell-out seasons of the show at Trades Hall and La Mama in Melbourne. Now we are planning performances in regional centres including Geelong, Morwell, Portland, Ballarat and Shepparton.

We have lots of great rewards for donations to our project, but we need your help! Have a look at our project site: <http://www.pozible.com/project/183302>

If you like what you see please make a pledge to donate and then pass the link on to workmates, friends and family. The choir will keep in contact and let you know how it all goes.

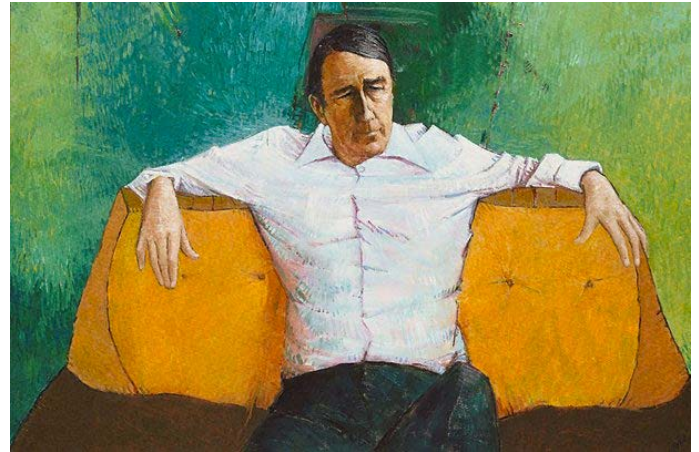
Vale Neville Wran

New South Wales Premier
11 October 1926 – 20 April 2014

By Brian Smiddy

Neville Wran, at times a controversial figure, has died at the age of 87. He became Labor Premier in 1976 and remained a Premier for a decade. Mr Wran entered Parliament in 1971 as a member of the NSW Upper House. He became Parliamentary Leader in December 1972 and went on to lead Labor to victory in 1976. During his time as Premier he had seen off six Liberal leaders.

Neville Wran was the youngest of eight children. He remembered kids with their "arses hanging out of their pants". He was raised in Balmain, and went to the selective Fort Street Boys High School, and, later studied law at Sydney University.



Portrait of Neville Wran by Clifton Pugh. NSW Art Gallery.

During his time as Premier, he stood down for three months during an enquiry into allegations he had interfered in committal proceedings concerning a person associated with New South Wales Rugby League. The then State Chief Justice, Sir Lawrence Street, after an enquiry, cleared him of all the allegations. Addressing the NSW Labor Conference at Sydney Town Hall he made the famous remark "Balmain boys don't cry".

During his time as Premier he introduced democratic elections for the Upper House, created a more multicultural society, ended the destruction of rainforests and modernised public transport. Later on, he became National President of the ALP.

When he announced his retirement to the 1986 NSW State Conference there were cries from delegates "No, no, no". Neville Wran was one of the first Labor leaders to learn how to engage with the media. As Opposition leader he was prepared to travel widely in order to learn the needs of the community. The death of Neville Wran brings to an end a life lived in service to others. To his family we extend our deepest sympathy at his passing.

The new DLP

By Lyle Allan

The old Democratic Labor Party (DLP) never claimed to be a religious party. This point was made by Chris Curtis, former Vice President of the DLP in Victoria, in a letter published in the *Australian Financial Review* on 11 June.

The new Democratic Labour Party Constitution clearly states that the party operates under Christian principles. This might have excluded some secular members had the old DLP ever had such a clause in its Constitution. Frank Riley of the Manufacturing Grocers Union, a member of the old DLP Executive, was a rationalist. So too was DLP supporter Frank Knopfelmacher.

It is true that the old DLP membership was comprised largely from Catholics, certainly in Victoria but possibly not to as great an extent in New South Wales. The DLP did welcome members from all faiths and none. Its *raison d'être* was anti-communism, but its social policies could hardly be called extreme right-wing. It is doubtful that the old DLP would have supported the industrial relations and welfare policies of the Abbott government.

Death of HR Nicholls Society founder Ray Evans

By Lyle Allan

(Neville) Ray Evans, the co-founder with former Liberal Party federal Treasurer and leadership aspirant Peter Costello of the HR Nicholls Society, died on 17 June 2014 at the age of 74.

Evans, regarded as ultra-conservative, was the subject of a glowing eulogy by News Ltd columnist Andrew Bolt. The HR Nicholls Society supported freedom of association in the workplace, and opposed the arbitration system.

It is not generally known that Evans was once a member of the Australian Labor Party (ALP). In his youth he also supported what then were radical causes. He campaigned with Bill Thomas, a student leader at the University of Melbourne with great potential, even Prime Ministerial potential, for the abolition of the White Australia Policy and the ALP's then commitment to racist immigration policies. Thomas died in a car accident at Mansfield in 1962. Evans became President of the Melbourne University ALP Club, the less radical of the two major campus left wing political clubs, with the Labor Club at the time regarded as pro-Communist.

Evans was a delegate to ALP Conferences in the early 1960s from the Federated Fodder and Fuel Trades Industrial Union of Australia. He left the ALP in 1966 to act as Campaign Manager for Sam Benson, who successfully re-contested his seat of Batman as an Independent after his expulsion from the ALP. After 1982 his views turned radically to the Right after he became executive officer of Hugh Morgan's Western Mining Corporation.

For commentary on Evans activity as a "new right" activist see Dominic Kelly, "How this warrior of the right changed Australia," *The Age*, 23 June 2014, p. 23.

Recollections of Ray Evans

By Rosemary West

In mourning the passing of Ray Evans, I want to share memories of his extraordinary kindness and generosity and of his important role in the Melbourne University ALP Club in the early sixties. Ray and I were vice presidents of the ALP Club during the presidency of Bill Thomas. Actually Ray was the Vice President and I was the Lady Vice President, back in the days when we didn't mind a bit of tokenism, or perhaps were not afraid to take on a bit of affirmative action. ALP Club parties were often attended by the graduate luminaries such as Stephen Murray Smith, Max Marginson, Brian Buckley and Barry Jones (& John Cain had been a member and may have also attended.) At these parties, Bill entrusted Ray with managing the bar: as he was Methodist and didn't drink (well, not as much as the Catholics, perhaps).

The Split was still quite recent Labor history: in the ALP Club, we ritually hated the Groupers, but were strongly influenced by an increasing awareness of the dictatorial oppression of Stalinist communism. As a schoolgirl reading newspapers, I was inspired by the the Hungarian Revolution, and at university, along with many ALP Club members attended the wonderful free lectures on Marxism by a Czech refugee, Dr Frantisek (Franta) Knopfelmacher. Hence we in the ALP Club regarded ourselves as Left-Wing but anti-communist and were strong critics of the Victorian Central Executive of the ALP at the time. Ray and I also worked with Bill on the 1961 Student Action against the White Australia Policy campaign.

When I was left single and pregnant after Bill's death in a road accident, Ray, who was by then working as an engineer with the SEC, and his wife Marion were staunch supporters. One cold day, I took my daughter to crèche, but found it closed for a public holiday. I had to leave her with my house mate, who had other plans and was not happy. I called Ray from my work, as a cadet journalist with the Melbourne *Herald*: he drove my house mate and her son to her mother's place in Box Hill and took my daughter home to spend the day

with his children. After work, there was a hot dinner waiting and a lift home.

We stayed friends for years, and my ex-husband, John Kiely and I are (remiss) godparents to the five wonderful Evans children. Ray's aggravation with the then communist influence in the ALP led him to support Sam Benson, a sea captain who was expelled from the ALP for supporting the Defend Australia Committee in 1966. It continued in his campaign for re-election as the Independent MHR for Batman, and eventually, to supporting the DLP Senator Frank McManus and to actively encouraging the merger between the DLP and the Country Party, which led to the virtual demise of both and to the formation of the National Party.

Our paths diverged after he went to work for Hugh Morgan and I went to the Brotherhood of St Laurence I recall his first venture with Morgan was to persuade him to offer his workers a temporary 10 per cent pay cut to avoid sackings in the 1982 credit squeeze. Soon after, he invited me to a Hugh Morgan breakfast and I invited him to a Peter Hollingworth event. Neither of us attended.

Panel discussion: *Jews and the Left*

By the Australian Jewish Historical Society (Vic)

Thursday, 14th August, 2014 at 8.00 pm
Jewish Museum of Australia, 26 Alma Road, St Kilda.

The Australian Jewish Historical Society invites you to a panel forum and launch of Philip Mendes' new book:

Jews and the Left: The Rise and Fall of a Political Alliance
(Melbourne: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)

The panel will be moderated by University of Melbourne Professor Leon Mann, and include:

- * Professor Bill Rubinstein, Adjunct Professor at Monash University and former Editor Victoria Editions of *AJHS Journal*
- * Professor Dennis Altman, Professorial Fellow in Human Security, La Trobe University
- * Arnold Zable, writer and human rights advocate
- * Associate Professor Philip Mendes, Monash University Department of Social Work



They will discuss the key themes and arguments of the book, and their implications for Australian Jews today.

\$8 AJHS members; \$10 non-members. All relatives and friends warmly invited.

Santamaria's List and Its Revelations

By Lyle Allan

On 6 December 1952 the ALP led by John Cain Senior won the Victorian state election. Despite malapportioned electoral boundaries the party won a majority of seats in the Legislative Assembly for the very first time. Just two days later on 8 December a meeting was held by supporters of B.A. Santamaria's Catholic Social Studies Movement, (the Movement), at La Verna, then a Franciscan monastery in Sackville Street, Kew, a prestigious Melbourne suburb.

Movement supporters then comprised the largest faction in the Victorian ALP. Although they lacked majority support in the state parliamentary caucus, they did control the ALP Victorian Central Executive, and had clear support from the Catholic Hierarchy and Archbishop of Melbourne Daniel Mannix. Industrial Groups, largely but not completely Catholic ALP members who contested trade union elections in order to defeat Communist officials, were also strong supporters of the Movement faction.

The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the legislative agenda of the Cain government, and in particular it considered a list of factional allegiances among the members of the Victorian parliamentary Caucus. The list was published in 2008, in an edited book of documents from Santamaria's files (Morgan 2008). A cursory examination of the list would suggest the extent of division among Labor's Victorian parliamentary members.

Under normal circumstances an ALP so divided would be unlikely to win office, but the Liberal Party at the time was even more divided. The election of the Cain government was probably unfortunate, for it led to a split that kept the party out of office in Victoria for twenty-seven years after 1955.

The list categorised the members of the ALP's Victorian Parliamentary Caucus into three categories or "camps." Up to 16 as "ours" (friends or supporters of the Movement), up to 10 as "Barry" (possible friends) and up to 26 as "Cain" (clear enemies). "Barry," or alleged supporters of prominent wheeler-dealer Bill Barry, the lower house member for Carlton, was as much a euphemism for the Melbourne Catholic businessman John Wren, whose supporters the Movement tried to win over as Wren's influence declined, as much as it was for supporters of Barry. Wren died in 1953, but in late 1952 his influence was virtually non-existent. Only two listed in the Barry camp were clear former Wren associates, Barry himself and Archibald Fraser, the father of tennis star Neale Fraser.

The list keeping was not just about keeping tabs on numbers; it suggested a possible leadership challenge to party leader and Premier John Cain when the

numbers could be found. His replacement would be someone favourable to the Movement faction. It suggested an almost evenly divided Caucus between Cain and those who may vote to replace him. This may have been wishful thinking, for Cain's support was much stronger than the list suggests. There were several errors, with Cain supporter Stoddart from Gippsland North omitted, and Sheehan from Ballarat, a Catholic who in fact proved to be a Cain supporter, in the list as "ours." The son of one member of the "Barry" camp told the writer that his father was never a supporter of Bill Barry.

Some parliamentarians in each category were described with question marks. Of the two in the "ours" camp only the non-Catholic, Anglican David Arnott, failed to support the Movement when the party split in 1955. The Barry camp had three question marks, but these names are nothing but rough guesses as to possible allegiance. Only three of the nine in the Barry camp at the time of the split, including Barry himself, supported what became the ALP (Anti-Communist) and later the Democratic Labor Party (DLP). The Cain camp had two question marks. Of those listed as loyal to Cain, with the exception of one upper house member, Coleman, (regarded as a question mark), all supported Cain at the time of the split.

When the party split in 1955 neither of the two leaders of the breakaway party, Barry in the lower house and Coleman in the upper house, had been regarded as part of the Movement camp in 1952. Both had divided loyalties and both were clearly pliable and at some point in the months before the formalised break they strongly aligned with the Movement camp. Jack Little, who became leader of the DLP in the upper house from 1955-58, was not included in the 1952 list as he was elected to the Legislative Council at a by-election in 1954, caused by the resignation of Archibald Fraser upon his appointment as a Judge of the County Court. Little was not a Catholic, but was loyal to the Industrial Groups and their supporters in the Movement faction.

One interesting feature of the ALP Legislative Councillors at the time of the split is the position of J.W. Galbally, a Catholic, the ALP's leader and Minister for Electrical Undertakings during the Cain government. Galbally was correctly listed as a Cain loyalist but he was also an associate of John Wren. Wren financed his election to the Council when he defeated the Independent Likely McBrien, a football administrator, in 1946. Galbally acted for Wren in the famous criminal libel trial against Frank Hardy in 1951 (Hardy, 1961).

Despite omissions and minor errors Santamaria's list was remarkably accurate as a predictor of the likely decision Victoria's ALP parliamentarians had to make in choosing sides as the split progressed in late 1954 and early 1955: either supporting Cain and federal leader H.V. Evatt on the one hand, or the Coleman-Barry breakaway group on the other. Religion was clearly important for some parliamentarians, who put their Church ahead of their own personal best interests

(Hayes, 2005). Only two parliamentarians who were non-Catholics, Little in the Legislative Council and Robert Joshua, the Mauritian-descended original leader of the anti-Communist ALP in the House of Representatives, supported what became the DLP. While the breakaway party in Victoria was overwhelmingly Catholic, it did not attract support from all Victorian Catholic Labor parliamentarians, a significant minority of whom supported Cain at the time of the split. The ALP lost many of its able members, and recovery was slow.

References

Patrick Morgan (ed.), *BA Santamaria. Running the Show. Selected Documents 1939-1996* (Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 2008), p.184.

Frank Hardy, *The Hard Way* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1961), p.61.

Tim Hayes, "Faith of our Fathers: the fate of the expelled," in B. Costar, P. Love and P. Strangio (eds.), *The Great Labor Schism. A Retrospective* (Melbourne: Scribe Publications, 2005), p.283.

Events of Interest & Noticeboard

Events at the Royal Historical Society of Victoria

Enquiries to the RHSV: 9326 9288 or email office@historyvictoria.org.au

Coming RHSV Lectures

Tuesday 15 July – New Historians Evening Juan Sanin will speak on 'The Cultural Biography of Vegemite: Commercial Nationalism and National Symbols'. Gabriella Haynes' will talk about 'Willie Sang's Garden: Finding the 'margins' in Mackay, Queensland'.

Tuesday 22 July – The Case behind the Judge Willis Case Books: Crime in Port Philip 1841-1843 – An Event of Melbourne Rare Book Week 17-27 July – Paul Mullaly and Janine Rizetti will showcase the history behind these rare books.

Exhibition Opening at the RHSV

'The Australian Red Cross in the Great War', to be opened on Friday 8 August at 5 pm. This will be followed by the annual Augustus Wolskel Memorial Lecture to be delivered by Dr Bart Ziino, entitled: 'At Home with the War: The Great War in Victorian Private Life', commencing at 6.15. Welcome by Prof Don Garden, President of the RHSV.

Cost: Member \$20; Non-member \$30; Student \$10
Bookings: 9326 9288 or office@historyvictoria.org.au

RHSV Conference 2014

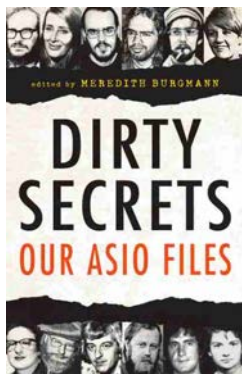
The Other Face of War: Victorians and the Home Front
Friday 8 August and Saturday 9 August. Go to the RHSV website for program and booking details.

Victorian Community History Awards 2014

A copy of the 2014 entry form can be downloaded from the RHSV website. Entries Close 5 pm Friday 1 August 2014.

Holsworth Local Heritage Trust

Grants of up to \$2,000 are available for the publication of any specific or general local history or natural history in rural and regional Victoria. Applications close 31 July. See more at the RHSV website.



In 2010, Humphrey McQueen called for the burning of the thousands of ASIO files compiled on political activists in Australia. For historians reliant on these sometimes dubious sources, it was a controversial thought. Taking a different approach to the vexed issue of ASIO surveillance, *Dirty Secrets: Our ASIO Files*, highlights the sometimes absurd preoccupations of the Australian intelligence services. The book, which is edited by Meredith Burgmann, takes the novel approach of having those subject to surveillance discuss their files. Chapters in the book are written by Phillip Adams, Verity Burgmann, Rowan Cahill, Peter Cundall, Gary Foley, Michael Kirby, Jean McLean, David Stratton, Anne Summers and others. The book was launched by Anthony Albanese at Madame Brussels on 11 June. A full review will appear in the next edition of *Recorder*.



Gary Foley speaking at the launch of *Dirty Secrets*. By Phillip Deery.

Melbourne Branch ASSLH News

Conference organising for the 14th biennial labour history conference is in full swing. Around seventy papers are being prepared for the conference with several workshops and keynote addresses also planned. The conference will be held at the University of Melbourne. We have been fortunate in securing some funding from the School of Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities at Swinburne University and the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies at the University of Melbourne. Given the federal government cuts to universities we are particularly grateful for this support. We will continue our fund-raising efforts in the hope that we can keep registration costs down. A draft program for the conference will be available in early August. Please direct enquiries to Julie Kimber (jkimber@swin.edu.au). The conference website will be updated regularly: labourhistorymelbourne.org/2015conference

The Melbourne Branch is now on Instagram. Find us at [instagram.com/labourhistorymelbourne](https://www.instagram.com/labourhistorymelbourne)



Dave Oliver at the Bust the Budget Rally. Photograph by Peter Love.

Melbourne Branch ASSLH Contacts**President**

Peter Love, 51 Blanche Street, St Kilda 3182.
Tel: 9534 2445 E: plove@swin.edu.au

Secretary

Brian Smiddy, 7 The Crest, Watsonia 3087.
Tel: 9435 5145

Treasurer

Phillip Deery, 85 Little Page Street, Albert Park 3206.
Tel: 9690 2184 E: phillip.deery@vu.edu.au

Website: <http://www.asslh.org.au/branches/melbourne>
Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/LabourHistoryMelbourne>

Recorder is published three times a year. The opinions of the contributors are their own and not necessarily those of the Editor or Executive of the ASSLH, Melbourne Branch. Send all contributions and queries to the editor, Julie Kimber (jkimber@swin.edu.au). *Recorder* is published with the generous help of Ellen and Brian Smiddy and Kevin Davis.