

Labour history & the future

LHP BULLETIN 72 / APRIL 2018

European Labour History Network Conference
Full Employment in the Digital Age
An Injury or a Concern?
Therese Frances O'Connell: Stories and Songs

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Editorial & Chair's report

It is a privilege to take over the editorial role for a period and also a little daunting to undertake the task while living in Blackball, where the open ditches along the roadside question the exactitude of referencing. The West Coast is in transition from the extractive industries, with underground mining disappearing in the twin explosions of Pike and climate change; to be replaced by the restless tourist. Already there is the felt loss of the culture of solidarity that the underground mine produced, even though, with the changes in mining technology, that culture had been fading.

The articles that follow (including the eulogy for Jim Anderton) are often about transition, while at the same time revealing that touchstones are needed. Toby Boraman's account of the 2nd European Labour History Network Conference suggests that Labour History itself is in transition, that post modernism is creating a field with a growing diversity of framework and story and the demise of any semblance of meta narrative. Yet, as Margaret Wilson surveys the arrival of Artificial Intelligence and argues that the only way to deal with the social trauma is to restore the practical ideal of full employment via state intervention, this diversity can produce surprises. There is however, no surprise that pay and employment equity continues to be a fundamental struggle within identity (and class) politics, both locally and globally, as illustrated by the memoirs of Therese O'Connor and Renee.

In terms of touchstones, as the article by the late Lisa Saksen and the reviews show, the IWW-led revolts and the Spanish Civil War constitute two historical periods (even though the IWW still exists) which remain, in a sense, sacred moments involving radical confrontation between labour and capital. They are confrontations which may have failed, but which continue as beacons of hope, in a world where policy shifts within a social democracy which survives with considerable difficulty in the face of the dark web of global capital, constitute, in comparison, small beer in terms of motivation.

But as well, in this edition, there is a strong theme of inscription, the physical marks that history leaves on land and townscapes. Returning to Blackball, these remain evident; in the ditches, in the swimming pool dug out by miners when on strike, in ventilation chimneys and bathroom remains and in the memorialised story of the '08 Strike.

Paul Maunder

Congratulations Paul and the wonderful team of people whose work is included in this issue of the *Bulletin*. There is much to digest between these covers!

You will also notice that this issue has a new look. We've moved to a two-column layout that means we can fit in more content but with less pages. We hope you like it.

To keep the *Bulletin* looking as fine as it does, we need your financial support. You will be aware that it is time to renew your LHP subscription for the 2018-19 year. Please visit our website www.lhp.org.nz and follow the steps provided.

Of late, the Labour History Project Committee has been grappling with how to better publicise all the labour history work we do. We have been discussing how to represent ourselves in logo, strapline, interview, graphic art and podcast. Reading Lisa Saksen's article 'An Injury or a Concern' will give you a sense of our journey to change the strapline of our organisation from 'An injury to one is a concern to all' to 'An injury to one is an injury to all'.

In that same article appears the new LHP logo, designed by Jared Davidson, of which we trialled a number of versions at Committee meetings and even the last CTU Affiliates meeting (thank you for your input!). At heart, what enables such exciting developments and innovations is the strength of our collectivity—through relationships of warmth, laughter, support and solidarity we sustain the collective 'we' in our voluntary labour.

Long may this continue.

Cybèle Locke

News roundup

In March 2018, Dougal McNeill and Samantha Murphy launched the *Walking Radical Wellington* phone app. The description from the website is provided below. The app is also reviewed by Giovanni Tiso in the reviews section of this *Bulletin*.

Walking Radical Wellington: a walking tour visiting key sites of activism in Wellington

This tour won't take you to Te Papa or to the Botanic Gardens, or to carefully-preserved heritage buildings or even to Parliament. This tour is most likely to take you on routes that Wellingtonians have walked a thousand times, through Cuba Mall, Manners Street, and Lambton Quay, and in doing so, invites the walker to view well-travelled roads through a different lens. The familiar sights of shopping outlets, hotels, innocuous street corners featuring restaurants that change menus every season are also the locations of radical bookstores, social struggle, subversive socialising, and sites of violent protest over the past century.

Walking, Rebecca Solnit observes in her history of the habit, follows the pace of thoughts. Everyday life encourages us to pass over the side street, the forgotten remnant, the reminder, all in favour of what is to come next: work, an appointment, a destination. Capital orders our life according to the clock and just-in-time delivery. It's no surprise that the clichés of mainstream politics emphasise the future against memory, history and the past. Politicians are forever "moving forward", hoping for "step change", driving on towards tomorrow. We suggest a more random, more meandering route. This tour takes you through Wellingtons that have been and that might be again: sites of dissent, disagreement, resistance. Its aim is to connect the walker with the city as a place of history, historical memory, connections between the past and present. Our method follows the meandering pace of the stroller. In this tour associations accumulate alongside each other rather than fitting into any too-clear narrative. We want the otherness of the past—its surprises and radicalism—to stir thoughts in the present.

And this is just one tour of what could have been many. Create two, three, many Radical Wellingtons! Let a hundred walking tour flowers bloom! This is nothing like a documentary of all radical activity. The limits are our own unathletic feet: we want an amble, a chance for drink stops along the way, one possible route. How much more there is to say! J.B. Hulbert satirised Queen Victoria's statue on Kent Terrace in the *Maoriland*

Worker. Newtown has its own radical history, from 1913 to the Springbok Tour. The Hutt saw industrial radicalism through the 1970s. Ours is one, partial, account. We would love to follow more.

The history we tell here is not an attempt to capture the history of Māori political activity in Wellington. That history is all around us, from Ngake and Whataitai smashing their way into the harbour's present form to Kupe's arrival at Seatoun to the sites of Te Aro pā to the struggles of Taranaki Whānui and Ngāti Toa Rangatira for land rights and recognition to the great national mobilisations of the hiko against the Foreshore and Seabed legislation of 2004 to the land march of 1975. We do not have the reo, the immersion in mātauranga Māori, the whakapapa to do that history justice. It deserves another app and a tour of its own.

This tour draws instead on the history of working-class and socialist organising in Wellington. For as long as there have been workers in these islands there has been workers' resistance. Samuel Parnell insisted, on Petone foreshore in 1840, on an eight-hour day. As an old man he was happy to be paraded on Wellington Labour Day marches. The working-class movement, trade unionism, the labour cause, used to be about imagining wholly different ways of life, post-capitalist futures. Women and men met to defend their conditions, certainly, but also to dream, to plot alternative futures, to imagine justice. Has some of that utopian energy been lost today? This tour looks for a lost future in the streets of our past.

Part of our tour will also bring you to not only some of the sites of political organisation of queer Wellingtonians, but social spaces and outlets where the private lives of individuals could find public expression. We introduce the idea of a city within a city, a network within a network of coffee houses, night clubs, theatres, and personal homes. While we do not intend for this tour to be some kind of queer safari, we hope to enable an experience of Wellington from another person's perspective, not only from a different time, but from a different political space, and therefore experiencing a different Wellington entirely. Public space is transformed depending on the way it is occupied, and in queer life, the personal is almost always political.

The tour, like any good companionable work, is a collaboration between us. Our aim has been harmony rather than uniformity. We share responsibility for each

of these entries, but have made no attempt to smooth out the creases of disagreement and emphasis between our differing political affiliations, interests, and emphases. Walking with us gives you the chance to quarrel and disagree as you travel along. That's what radical Wellington involves. Welcome.

Acknowledgements

Samantha's work on this tour was funded by generous support from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington. Dougal's contributions originated as notes for tours he has been running for the Wellington branch of the International Socialist Organisation since 2013. This is intended as an ecumenical tour, and is not an ISO publication, but we acknowledge the concept's initial support in the political home of the ISO.

Professor Leith Davis at Simon Fraser University gave an initial inspiration for this project. We are indebted to the many fine historians of radical Wellington we draw on in the following pages, in particular Jared Davidson, the Labour History Project group's work on 1913, Chris Brickell, and Bert Roth. Our other debts are acknowledged in individual entries; they are many. The work of Mick Armstrong, Jeff Sparrow and Jill Sparrow on radical Melbourne set some of these ideas in motion. Our thanks also to Sue Hirst of the Beaglehole Room, Victoria University of Wellington Library, for her ongoing support.

Dougal McNeill and Samantha Murphy

Cromwell and the Spanish Civil War

A process of historical rediscovery which began in 2006, with a seminar on New Zealand and the Spanish Civil War organised by the TUHP (forerunner of the LHP), reached a further significant milestone on 23 March this year. In his hometown of Cromwell, Central Otago, a plaque was unveiled to the battlefield surgeon Douglas Jolly, described by his British colleague Dr Archie Cochrane as "the most valuable volunteer to come [to Spain] from the British Commonwealth." The plaque states that Jolly was "one of the greatest war surgeons of the 20th century." It stands beside the front door of Jolly's Grain and Seed Store, established by his Scottish-born grandfather in 1870 and now a popular cafe on the banks of Lake Dunstan in Cromwell's historic precinct.

Douglas Jolly gained a medical degree at Otago University, left for London to qualify as a surgeon, and shortly before



Unveiling of the plaque dedicated to Doug Jolly, Cromwell.

graduating, went to Spain as part of a British universities' medical unit. For the next two years, holding the rank of lieutenant in the Republican Army, he was posted to wherever the fighting was fiercest, performed more than 2000 abdominal operations, and greatly contributed to developing techniques and systems for treating the victims of an entirely new form of mechanized warfare.

A fellow NZ volunteer to Spain, the Auckland nurse Isobel Dodds, sent a report which was published in the *Cromwell Argus* in April 1938:

"We met a New Zealand doctor the other day. Dr Jolly. He is quite a 'big noise' out here, and what is more important, a thoroughly good surgeon. He specialises in abdominal surgery and has had unbelievable success repeatedly.... We were thrilled to see him. He made a special visit to Huete to see us. We saw a magazine with Dr. Jolly's photograph and an article written by him."

Along with all other foreign volunteers Jolly was withdrawn from Spain in late 1938. He campaigned for the dying Republican cause in both Britain and around New Zealand, where he spoke alongside fellow International Brigade veterans, Bert Bryan and Charlie Riley. He also returned to visit his family in Cromwell, but the outbreak of WW2 meant that he soon returned to the UK. At lightning speed he wrote a medical manual, *Field Surgery in Total War*, which summarised the lessons he and his colleagues had learned about treating victims of aerial warfare in densely populated urban areas, a then-unprecedented form of warfare. The manual remained influential throughout the English-speaking world for the next 25 years.

Jolly spent the war as a lieutenant-colonel with the Royal Army Medical Corps, serving in the Middle East and southern Europe and earning a military OBE. A letter he received in 1945 from his commanding officer, Brigadier Howard, gives some indication of his contributions to battlefield surgery during the war:

“In the Italian campaign, you have: Developed the two-stage concept of wound treatment to a truly astonishing level of success; Perfected the use of penicillin and established its role in the treatment of war wounds; Reduced mortality and morbidity for most types of war wounds to a level rarely equalled and never surpassed in any campaign in history... It will of course be for the historian to assess the worth of your contributions in relation to advances in all theatres of war but I am confident... that the record of your fine work will find a prominent and permanent place in the archives of war surgery.”

That final prediction proved greatly premature. In the postwar period Jolly ceased practising surgery and his innovations in trauma treatment and rehabilitation were largely forgotten. He remained working in England, eventually as chief medical officer of Britain’s largest limb-fitting hospital, and died there in 1985.

Twenty years later, several factors contributed to the recognition of his status as a internationally significant medical pioneer and humanitarian. The 2006 TUHP seminar produced a book, *Kiwi Compañeros: New Zealand and the Spanish Civi War*, published in 2009 with Doug Jolly’s portrait on the cover. A retired orthopaedic surgeon and Cromwell resident, Patrick Medlicott, began promoting the idea of a memorial to Jolly in his home town. Another New Zealand surgeon, David Lowe, working at the intensive care unit of a large Sydney hospital, independently researched Jolly’s past and discovered an extraordinary cache of his personal papers in the possession of his step-grand-daughter, Bidda Jones, in Canberra.

These separate efforts came together and resulted in the project to install a plaque on the Jolly family store building. This was unveiled on a bright autumn afternoon, at a moving ceremony organised by Graye Shattky of the Central Otago Heritage Trust and attended by Central Otago District Council mayor Tim Cadogan, acting Spanish Ambassador to NZ Snr Vicente Mas Taladiz, and many of Jolly’s relatives from around the

country. His niece, Barbara Jolly recalled the warm-hearted, hospitable and unassuming man she often visited in London. She credited her uncle’s example for her decision to become an operating theatre nurse, a profession she followed for half a century.

Bidda Jones, although unable to attend from Australia, sent a message which was read out on her behalf:

“Some people live on in the minds of others long after death. The memory of Doug Jolly’s sense of the ridiculous, the shared conspiratorial twinkle in his eye, the way he came around a corner with a jaunty whistle, and his humane companionableness, keeps him vividly alive.”

The Jolly family’s grain and seed store originally stood in the old quarter of Cromwell, which was deliberately flooded in the 1980s to make the artificial Lake Dunstan which now powers the Clyde hydro dam. The store and several of the town’s other historic buildings were painstakingly dismantled and re-erected about 200 metres away on the shore of the lake. It is a spectacularly scenic location facing distant hills which were glistening, at the time of the unveiling ceremony, from an early-autumn snowfall.

With the placing of this plaque, Doug Jolly has in some sense returned permanently to the home he left in the 1930s. However, work continues to ensure that his contribution to military medicine and civilian trauma care is fully recorded and recognised. A full-length biography, commissioned by the University of Nebraska Press, will draw on the lifelong personal archive preserved by Bidda Jones, supplemented by archival research in several countries.

Several speakers at the unveiling noted disturbing similarities between present-day geopolitical conditions and those which led to the civil war, and urged those present to follow Doug Jolly’s example. Although a dedicated and humane physician who insisted on treating enemy wounded on the same terms as his own troops and allies, he was also a committed antifascist and told the *Evening Post* newspaper, “My sympathies were completely with the [Spanish Republican] Government; that was why I went to Spain, and I saw nothing there which altered my mind.”

Mark Derby



Wobblies of the World launched in Auckland

A groundbreaking new study of Industrial Workers of the World was published late last year; *Wobblies of the World: A Global History of the IWW*, edited by Peter Cole, David Struthers and Kenyon Zimmer. The book's range of papers emphasise the wide range of nationalities, ethnicities and languages found among Wobbly activists, along with the transnational nature of the Wobbly message. *Wobblies of the World* contains two papers on IWW connections with New Zealand, both written by authors who have been active in the Labour History Project. Mark Derby has contributed a paper on the IWW in New Zealand, looking in particular at their outreach to Māori workers through articles written in te reo Māori by Wobbly Percy Short. Peter Clayworth has a short paper on the love/hate relationship between transnational Red Fed activist Pat Hickey and the IWW.

In recognition of these New Zealand connections two launches were held in Auckland in late November, with Mark Derby being instrumental in organising both. The first of these was held at the University of Auckland on the late afternoon of Wednesday, 29th November, in conjunction with the New Zealand Historical Association's biennial conference. There were a few teething problems, as the video link to Peter Cole in the USA refused to co-operate and the launch ended up squeezed

in between a number of other conference events. Despite these minor issues the launch was a success, with Mark and Peter giving brief talks on the history of the IWW in New Zealand as part of a global phenomena and how their papers related to this.

The second launch, held at the Auckland Trades Hall on the evening Thursday 30th November, was a much more lively affair. The Auckland Labour History Group and the Working Women's Resource Centre organised this event, which combined speeches, music and a few hearty toasts. An enthusiastic group of union stalwarts gathered to welcome the book to the antipodes. In addition to speeches from Mark and Peter, Matt McCarten spoke on the inspiration the Wobblies had given him, particularly in the context of his work with Unite. The evening was rounded up with a hearty sing-along of classic Wobbly songs, led by a musical ensemble of women unionists, (unfortunately your correspondent did not record the name of this fine group). A good number of books were sold and the Wobbly message of unity, mutual aid, class struggle and socialism was celebrated appropriately.

Peter Clayworth

Above: Peter Clayworth (far left), Mark Derby (third from right), and guests at the second launch of *Wobblies of the World*.

The turn to the global? European Labour History Network Conference report

Toby Boraman

Sometimes people think labour history is dead due to the rightward turn in much of society since the 1980s. As a result of this rightward shift, labour history today seems quite unfashionable and marginalised within mainstream history. Yet since about the 1990s, labour history globally has been going about a quiet revolution and revitalisation which might be called ‘the turn to the global’. Australian labour historian Terry Irving has described the Global Labour History School as being a reformulation of labour history that ‘may prove as significant as E. P. Thompson’s *The Making of the English Working Class*.’¹ This current has had some impact in the (minor?) resurgence in labour history that has occurred in this country in recent times, especially in publications about radical unionists, anarchism and the Industrial Workers of the World before WWI.²

The 2nd European Labour History Network conference held in Paris in late 2017, which I was very lucky to attend, exemplified this preference to study history beyond national boundaries, and to further expand labour history beyond traditional histories of national labour institutions (such as trade unions and union federations) and towards what might perhaps be called the ‘new labour history’. This includes not only transnational history, but also histories of unfree labour (slaves and indentured labour) as well as ‘free’ labour, paid and unpaid work, secure and insecure work, and so on. This ‘new labour history’, confusingly, perhaps differs from the old ‘new labour history’ which, spurred on by people like E. P. Thompson and more importantly various social struggles, developed in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. It examined labour from the bottom-up (rather than having a top down focus on union leaders), stressed workers’ everyday experiences and culture, and started to look beyond the traditional white male industrial worker and their unions. However, there are many similarities and interwoven threads between the two – perhaps the newer global labour history is just an outgrowth of the older new labour history.

As such the conference was incredibly broad. Numerous streams ran throughout the conference: labour & empire;

building sites; feminist labour history; labour law and industrial relations; time & work; factory history; health and environment; military labour history; free and unfree labour; metallurgy; apprenticeship; de-industrial landscapes; maritime labour history; workers’ writing; the home as a workplace; wages, family budgets and gender; and workers’ education.

About 350 people attended. Given about seven streams ran concurrently the comments below are necessarily restricted to the few streams I could attend. For me the sessions on deindustrialisation and feminist labour history were highlights. The latter ranged from comparisons of the gendered burden placed on female workers under supposedly ‘self-managed’ factories in Yugoslavia during the 1960s, everyday women workers’ disputes over their uniforms in a French factory in the 1970s, and a fascinating analysis of Milan homeworkers’ attempts to form their own union in the 1970s.

The discussions on deindustrialisation included an overview of songs lamenting factory closures and their devastating impacts globally in the 1970s and 1980s, and how such music expressed local and global concerns. It was intriguing to hear stirring Asturian bagpipe music about the closure of a steel mill intermixed with fairly cringe worthy Australian rock music about the shut down of a steel mill in Newcastle, amidst academic analysis of nostalgia or ‘retrotopia.’³

Scottish historian Arthur McIvor delivered an excellent keynote speech about the importance of oral history in labour history and particularly deindustrialisation. He restated that oral history is important in rediscovering the past, giving voice to those at the grassroots, personalising history, reconstructing living memories and experiences and for bringing the body and emotions back into history—in terms of disease, pride and joy, and anger. He said deindustrialisation studies show the deep impacts of restructuring—of loss, grieving and trauma;

Opposite: Amphitheatre Richelieu at the Sorbonne in Paris, where the keynotes of the final day were presented.



yet interestingly many had mixed emotions, as some saw themselves being liberated from death traps and shitty, mundane work. As far as I know, no one specific study, from a labour history perspective, of the major de-industrialisation that occurred here from the mid to late 1970s to the 1990s exists. Hence there is plenty of scope for such oral history here.⁴ Other keynote speeches covered unfree labour globally by Alessandro Stanziani, and Cristina Borderias on counting women's work.

For me, the conference also highlighted a few weaknesses of the global turn and the 'new labour history.' Understandably, given the focus of the conference, most of the talks were from Europeans about Europe, despite the global turn. The 'Imperial history and the global turn' stream included interesting discussions of how the British navy exploited local lumpers—from India to South Africa—to carry coal into their warships over a hundred years ago, how the French state recruited North African labour in the 1940s and 1950s, and how the British state used convict labour in hulks in the UK, Gibraltar, Barbados and Australia in the 1800s. Yet these talks were viewed from the lens of colonial power, rather than from indigenous or local or enslaved workers themselves. Perhaps this was simply due to the lack of records but it seems to me crucial to emphasize the experiences of workers themselves under imperialism and global history.

Another weakness is how the 'new labour history' can also be so broad, and sometimes perhaps a little bit influenced by the blurriness of post-structuralism, that it loses sight of labour and especially class. It then becomes indistinguishable from other forms of history, or other subjects. However, this is not the case for all historians.

Yet overall it was great to see micro histories of individual factories and other workplaces combined with macro histories of economics, politics, and urban and community histories, showing that a traditional criticism of global history—that it focuses on sweeping global overviews and transnational connections, and therefore overlooks regional and local differences and discordant trends—can be overcome.

The global turn and the 'new labour history' has huge value for Aotearoa New Zealand, given it is probably fair to say that most labour history here has largely been institutional and focused on traditional topics (with many notable exceptions).⁵ Many transnational topics are

yet to be explored, such as the links between Aotearoa New Zealand and other Pacific Islands in terms of not just labour migration but also union connections, links between various anti-colonial movements and the labour movement, and so on.

Yet the circumstances here are different from Europe. It is difficult to carry out transnational history without money, time, and knowledge of many languages. Consequently, such studies tend to be carried out by academics, which unsurprisingly reinforces academic elitism and the inward-looking nature of much of academia. Indeed a major drawback of the European conference (compared to Aotearoa New Zealand) was that union and community based 'public historians' working outside academia were not seemingly present, as most attendees were either students or academics. This is a real strength of labour history here. Further, Aotearoa New Zealand is not like Europe where countries are packed closely together, where people are schooled to be multi-lingual, and it is simply easier to trace transnational connections. What is more, labour history here has many glaring gaps in traditional, orthodox history—for example, we lack a history of some of the most important unions in the country such as the meatworkers' (or freezing workers') unions. So here many orthodox topics still need to be researched, alongside the 'newer' and more transnational ones.

1. Terry Irving, 'Labour History and its political role: a new landscape', 2011 address, <http://radicalsydney.blogspot.co.nz/p/labour-history-and-its-political-role.html>. For some publications within the global labour history school, see Marcel van der Linden, *Workers of the World: Essays Toward a Global Labor History* (Leiden, 2008) and "The Promise and Challenges of Global Labor History" *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 82 (2012): 1-21; Jan Lucassen, ed., *Global Labour History: The State of the Art* (Bern, 2006); and Leon Fink, ed., *Workers Across the Americas: The Transnational Turn in Labor History* (NY, 2011).
2. Such as James Bennett, *Rats and Revolutionaries: The Labour Movement in Australia and New Zealand, 1880-1940* (Dunedin, 2004), the chapters by Mark Derby and Peter Clayworth in Peter Cole et al. (eds.) *Wobblies of the World: A Global History of the IWW* (London, 2017), and Jared Davidson, *Sewing Freedom: Philip Josephs, Transnationalism and Early New Zealand Anarchism* (CAL, 2013).
3. See Javier Toral, 'Hermosa Villa de Mieres', <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mhaEgGv0Mjs>
4. Cybele Locke in her *Workers in the Margins* (Wellington, 2012) uses oral history to explore deindustrialisation (especially in the meat industry in the 1980s), and its resultant effects on unemployment and unemployed organising, but as part of a much broader study. Additionally, a few social impact reports from government departments and community groups outline, for instance, the effects of the closure of meat works on communities. See for example Vera Keefe-Ormsby, *Tihei Mauri Ora: The Human Stories of Whakatū* (Wellington, 2010).
5. See for instance Melanie Nolan, *Kin: A Collective Biography of a New Zealand Working-Class Family*, Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2005.

An injury or a concern?

Lisa Saksen

At a Planning Meeting of the Labour History Project Committee in August 2017, Cybèle Locke proposed a motion that the organisation's banner strap line 'An Injury to One is a Concern to All' should be changed to 'An Injury to One is an Injury to All'. The motion was unanimously accepted, but in the process, those who had been on the Committee for a while suggested this kind of discussion had happened before. After digging into his files, Peter Clayworth came across a draft of an article by Lisa Saksen, distributed for comment in February 2012, which had never been published in the *LHP Bulletin*. We decided it was about time it was, with a little editing work from her friends and comrades.

At a recent meeting of the Labour History Project the question of the strapline under the name of the organisation was raised. Presently it reads "an injury to one is a concern to all." There was some discussion that this should be changed to "An injury to one is an injury to all." To enable the committee to come to a decision on the form of words used in the strapline, I agreed to look into the historical background to the two phrases.

It should be stressed that this is not a "beauty competition" between the Knights of Labour ("an injury to one is a concern to all") and the Industrial Workers of the World ("an injury to one is an injury to all"). Both organisations played important and class-conscious roles in New Zealand's labour history.

An Injury to One is a Concern to All: Knights of Labour

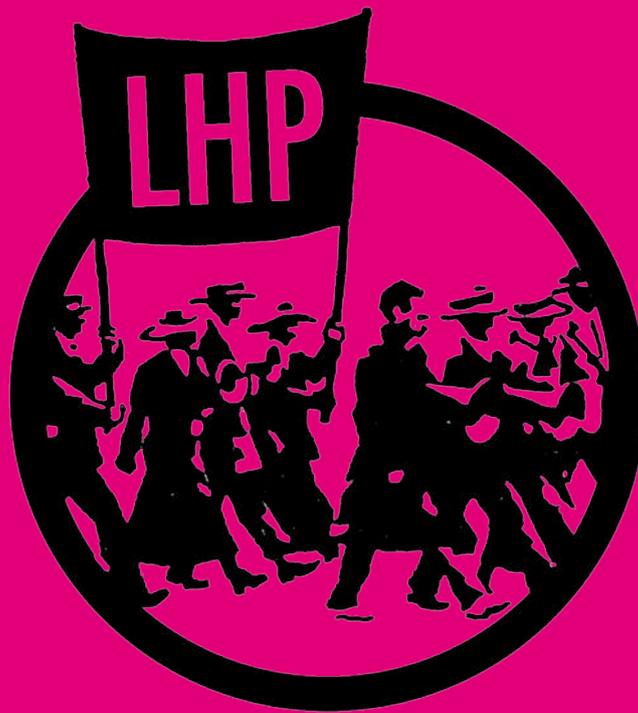
This phrase stems from an organisation known as the Noble Order of the Knights of Labour (Knights). It was established as a quasi-brotherhood in the United States in 1869, with rituals which preserved anonymity and owed quite a bit to the recycling of Masonic rites. The Knights accepted all workers, regardless of their race, gender or nationality, and in the spirit of "New Unionism", recruited from unskilled or semiskilled workers; in New Zealand women and Maori were welcomed into the order.¹ They gained popularity in New Zealand at a time when the Knights had gone into decline in the US. It has been argued that when the New Zealand union movement collapsed after the failed 1890 Maritime Strike, the Knights filled the vacuum.²

With the introduction of universal male suffrage in 1890, organised working people were able for the first time to have an impact on national politics. Many of the reforms which the Knights put forward were adopted by the Liberal Government. They strongly supported the principles of cooperation and arbitration and their educational work prepared the ground for the acceptance of the 1894 Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act. The Knights looked to this legislation as a means to empower unions and workers to gain advantage in the labour market, and to provide a means of compelling employers to give reasonable wages to their employees. The labour movement embraced the Arbitration system in the 1890s, despite the fact it meant giving up the right to strike, because many felt strikes added nothing to workers' struggles except a period of poverty and uncertainty.

The position that the government could supply the solutions that the working class and its allies needed was bolstered by another popular import from America: *Looking Backward: 2000 to 1887* by Edward Bellamy. The book conversationally relays the experiences of a young man who went to sleep in 1887 and woke up in the year 2000.³ The utopian vision which Bellamy portrayed in the book centred on the state being effectively de-politicised and running the affairs of the nation for the good of all citizens. This idea fits very well with the tendencies of the Knights of Labour and other groups seeking a state solution to labour problems.

It has been estimated that membership of the Knights was around 5,000 people, but even higher figures have been claimed. In the South Island the Knights were concentrated mainly in Christchurch, Dunedin, and the West Coast. They were stronger in the North Island and particularly in the Wellington Province where virtually every township had an assembly in the early nineties. Two district assemblies functioned at Auckland and Wellington until 1895, when the whole of New Zealand was joined together as a national assembly under a national master workman.⁴ The Knights' influence was strongest in the early 1890s when they claimed the

Overleaf: 'An Injury to One is an Injury to All': logo of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and the new logo of the Labour History Project.



allegiance of 14 members of Parliament.⁵ The last meeting of the national assembly took place in 1897. A year later the Knights had ceased to exist in New Zealand.

An Injury to One is an Injury to All: Industrial Workers of the World

At the other extreme from the views of the Knights of Labour was the anti-arbitrationist position of the "Red Feds" and other Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) supporters in New Zealand. They coined the slogan "An injury to one is an injury to all." Those unions impacted by the "Wobblies" (nickname for the IWW) flowered between 1908 and 1913, although the ideas of the Wobblies lingered for far longer. They were extremely active in prominent strikes that took place in the Blackball mine on the West Coast of the South Island, and on the streets of Waihi, Auckland and Wellington in the North Island. It has been put forward that one of the many reasons for the collapse of the "Red Feds" was in part to do with these strikes. Eventually, even the most committed of the syndicalists came to realise that strikes were a two edged weapon which could inflict as much damage on the wielder as on the opponent. After the Waihi strike in 1912 and the murder of Frederick Evans, the *Industrial Unionist* proclaimed:

"Lengthy strikes are only relics of a bygone age, and when a victory is not speedily won, it is best for the workers to return to work apparently beaten, and operate on the job as their intelligence directs."⁶

The notion of "Industrial Unionism" sprang from the IWW who attempted to engage working class workers, mostly men, although, unlike many other unions the IWW was happy to have women members, in a union structure that emphasised class solidarity rather than trade or craft boundaries. The IWW tried to put in place One Big Union to achieve this end. In general the supporters of this position were indifferent to or dismissive of political action. For them, the socialisation of the means of production could only be brought about at the point of production and trade unions were obvious vehicles to undertake this task.

Pat Hickey in his *"Red" Fed. Memoirs*, sums up the position of the IWW supporters in New Zealand towards political activity as:

"we felt that no political party was sufficiently worth while [sic] to warrant us surrendering any of our many

activities into its keeping. We were justly proud of the splendid spirit of the Federation's membership, and just a bit jealous, perhaps, lest politicians, in their scramble for votes, would obscure those issues which we regarded as being of front-rank importance. The class war was recognised as no intangible thing to be only referred to in whispers and among friends. We proclaimed it from the house tops."⁷

This set of ideas has in fact a long history. The idea of the political strike, where workers usurped the power relations of capitalist society, and changed it to their benefit, goes back to the Chartist movement in Britain. The First International in 1868 hoped to use the "strike of the peoples" as a means to stop war, and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (Anarchists) in 1873 saw the general strike as a way of starving out and overthrowing the bourgeoisie.⁸ It was the departure of Bakunin and his followers that split the First International after the fall of the Paris Commune, and essentially the Marxist and Anarchists sides of the anti-capitalist movements have been at each other's throats since that time.

It was left to Engels to point to the weakness of the strategy of the political strike. Even the Bakuninists admitted that to carry out a political strike of the length needed to "starve out the bourgeoisie", the union concerned needed to have both deep pockets and extremely good internal organisation. Here was the weakness that Engels saw in the strategy, as no government would allow unions to concentrate either the necessary funding or develop the type of organisation which would enable the strike to go ahead.⁹

While the "Redness" of the "Red Feds" has been much commented upon and their class consciousness, at least, is not in contention, the opposite cannot be said of the trade unions that rejoiced in the passage of the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act (IC&A Act). Commentators of the time however had no difficulty, despite holding opposing views, in acknowledging that it was possible to be in sympathy with the IC&A Act and have strong working-class consciousness and sympathies for the union movement. Hickey reflected:

"At this time the President of the Denniston Miners was Mr John Foster, a man well advanced in years, entirely self-educated, with by no means a wide grasp of the Labour movement, but possessing a full measure of

shrewd common sense, and one who, in his day, under adverse circumstances, did the very best he could for those whom he represented. He was a whole-hearted supporter of Arbitration. He could not conceive of unionism without arbitration and in this connection he reflected the outlook of every miner's official on the West Coast at that time."¹⁰

Red Fed scorn for the Arbitration system marked the beginning of the bifurcation of the New Zealand trade union movement. It is possible to see the development of labour history in New Zealand as being caught between these two ideas of how workers should organise for their advantage. Only a few unions had the power by virtue of their relation to the overall New Zealand economy to pose such a threat that strike action would lead speedily to an outcome positive for workers. These can be summed up as the transport unions (the drivers, the wharfies and the seafarers), and for a period of time the meat workers. Others made little or no impact on the economy as a whole and striking for them only fulfilled the prognosis of the Knights of Labour General Master Workman (president) Terence Powderly:¹¹

"Precious lives were lost in strikes; homes were wrecked and children deprived of education through strikes, millions of dollars were lost to labor through them, and in the main never recouped losses incurred during a strike, in the main this great waste and loss could have been avoided... Conditions change so rapidly that what we strike for and win this year may not be worth having next year... Today's loss can seldom be replaced by tomorrow's gain."¹²

Even those anti-arbitrationists most opposed to the IC&A Act acknowledged that in its early days it operated in favour of workers. Hickey explained:

"The first Judges found their task comparatively easy. Wages were low, hours long, conditions of labour deplorable. An increase of wages here, a shortening of hours there, an alteration of the working conditions somewhere else—all were to the workers' advantage. The Court was hailed as the instrument of the workers' salvation."¹³

However after this first flush of success, even as convinced an arbitrationist as Jack McCullough, found the arbitration system unresponsive to workers' just claims, and in 1921 he resigned his position as the

Workers' Representative on the Court.¹⁴ During his time on the Court McCullough had struggled to win cases in favour of the workers, yet remained convinced both of the necessity of attaining socialism and that the way to do this was through political changes to the current capitalist system. McCullough stated:

"I hold as firmly now as ever I did—the sacred right to rebel against tyranny & oppression w[h]ether exercised by King Parliament, or in our case by Capitalist[s]. But the very sacredness of our cause should impel us; who are in the front of the skirmish that is now going on to think well before we suggest to those who look to us for advice that they should rebel. We must not let our indignation so overcome us as to either throw down the gauntlet of battle to our enemy or accept it until our forces are so equipped as to give us a chance in the fight. I want you therefore to think carefully before you advise your Union to throw over arbitration for the Strike."¹⁵

Many commentators have characterised the working class of this period as being fundamentally conservative. Certainly the outbreak of WWI and the general spirit of patriotism and loyalty to King and Empire this engendered would have militated against the development of revolutionary working class sympathies. The hegemonistic discourse around Empire and unity in New Zealand was underscored by the seemingly ever widening provisions of the Sedition Act and the various trials of people attempting to put forward a view contrary to that propagated by the government, especially around the issue of conscription and the lack of equality of sacrifice being required of all sections of the population. This discourse managed to capture some who had earlier taken part in the greatest militancy ever seen in the streets of New Zealand—the 1913 Great Strike. As Belich has noted, some of those bearing the scars of "specials" batons were seen playing jingoistic music in the early years of the war. As he goes on to say: "Militarism weaned some workers from Militancy."¹⁶

As we know to our cost, arbitration is no more in New Zealand. Rather than ushering in a period of union creation along the lines of the old "new unionism", without the foundations of government regulation, unions and participation in unions have seriously declined. Those that have borne the brunt of the loss of unionism are the poorly paid, those in part-time work, Māori, Pacific peoples and women. The consensus over the role of the state in industrial relations has been

shattered, and it is not likely that it will again mediate between workers and employers. The dissolving of links between organised labour and the Labour Party is once more being discussed. There is little appetite for a resumption of a central government framework for the settling of wages and disputes. As Ken Douglas said, “What the state gives it can also take away.” While the arbitrationists played a powerful and important role in New Zealand’s labour history, I believe it is now time to let them and their slogans go. We should strive to emulate the solidarity that “An injury to one is an injury to all” celebrates.

1. Robert E. Weir, ‘Whose Left/Who’s Left? The Knights of Labour and ‘Radical Progressivism’’, in Pat Maloney and Kerry Taylor (eds.) *On the Left: Essays on Socialism in New Zealand*, Dunedin 2002, p.32.
2. Weir, ‘Whose Left/Who’s Left?’, p. 24.
3. Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward: 2000 to 1887*, Sydney, 1920, reprinted 1932.
4. ‘KNIGHTS OF LABOUR’, from *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, edited by A. H. McLintock, originally published in 1966. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 22-Apr-09 URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/political-parties/7> accessed 2 February 2012.
5. Ibid.
6. Fran Shor, ‘Bringing the storm : Syndicalist Counterpublics and the Industrial Workers of the World in New Zealand, 1908 -1914’ in Pat Maloney and Kerry Taylor (eds.) *On the Left, Dunedin*, 2002, p.67.
7. P. H. Hickey, “Red” *Fed Memoirs*, Reproduction by the Media Collective, Wellington, undated, p.32.
8. Paul Frölich, *Rosa Luxemburg*, Trans. Edward Fitzgerald, London, 1940, p.150.
9. Frölich, *Rosa Luxemburg*, p.151.
10. Hickey, “Red” *Fed. Memoirs*, p.7.
11. Herbert Roth, *Trade Unions in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1973, p.41.
12. Weir, ‘Whose Left/Who’s left’, p. 28.
13. Hickey, “Red” *Fed. Memoirs*, p.5.
14. Melanie Nolan, *Kin: A Collective Biography*, Christchurch, 2005, p.78.
15. Nolan, *Kin*, p. 72.
16. James Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, Auckland, 2001, p.102.



And it is with this powerful piece of history-writing by Lisa Sacksen that we go forth with the banner strapline “An injury to one is an injury to all.” After a long illness beginning in 2012, Lisa Sacksen (pictured above) died on 27 October 2017. Lisa, we miss you, your astute observations and your throaty laugh, your sense of humour, your commitment to social justice and your wonderful history work on communism. I think about you often, as I draw on your work to piece together the communist life of Bill Andersen. You were so incredibly helpful, sharing your research on the Working Women’s Alliance, and such an excellent tutor. We send our love to Peter and your family. — Cybèle Locke

Full employment in the digital age

Margaret Wilson

Address by Margaret Wilson to the PSA Conference, Waipuna Lodge, Auckland, 29 May 2017.

Thank you for the opportunity to contribute to your conference on a topic I believe is of fundamental importance as we transition through the current technological revolution. In preparation for the presentation I reread the PSA submission to the NZLP Future Work Project. I think much of what I am about to say today is consistent with the submission. The focus on the workplace is precisely where changes must be made if we are to ensure the increasing introduction of technology into our workplaces benefits both employees and the public who receive the services.

In preparation, I also checked to see what policies or programmes are in place in the public service to address the digital revolution. I read the documents relating to Building a Digital Nation¹ and struggled to find much reference to the impact of technology on employees in public or private sector workplaces. I also noted the Treasury's Living Standards Framework and the development of policies around Integrated Data Infrastructure (IDI).² The current focus appears to be on developing the notion of social investment into policies that rely on integrated data.³ While these policy frameworks have serious implications for us all as citizens, I have noted a singular lack of policy development around the impact of technology on employees. I have therefore assumed rightly or wrongly that the current workplace policies and legislative frameworks are meant to regulate what some have predicted will be the loss of nearly 50% of jobs, either totally or partially under threat in the next 10-15 years.⁴

A very useful survey of the impact of technology on the profession of accountancy raises relevant questions for both policy makers and individuals. This report has recently been joined by a report issued by the New Zealand Institute of Directors with Chapman Tripp in which it was recommended government establish a high level working group to consider the impact of AI (artificial intelligence) technologies in social, legal and economic areas. Their Report notes:

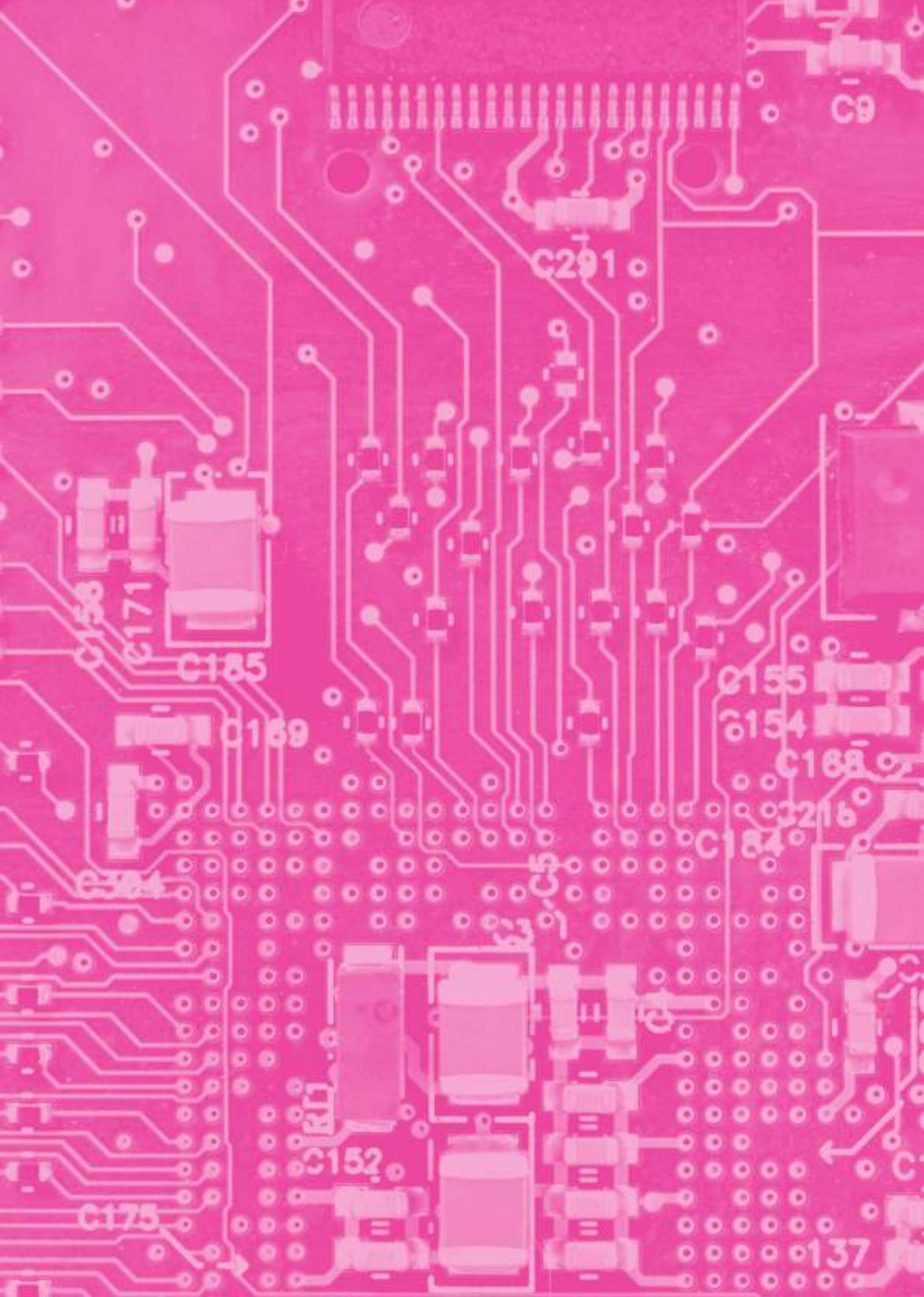
"The use of AI technologies could lead to greater productivity, enhanced social good and the creation of new fields of work. But AI also presents risks. This could include greater inequality and unemployment from disrupted industries and professions."⁵

The Report also calls for a co-ordinated approach to prepare for the effect on the economy, work, education and welfare and notes this will require big picture thinking, long term vision and appropriate oversight.

The NZ Labour Party also in its Future of Work project recognised that technology is fundamentally changing the world of work and it is important that as a country we prepare for what is inevitable through exploring a range of options that are relevant and appropriate for New Zealand. The objectives of the project were stated as being to achieve decent work, lower unemployment, higher wages, greater economic security and high skilled, resilient workers.⁶

While I do not want to labour the point, there is also a growing literature overseas on the impact of technology on work and the political options available to cope with it. For example, Martin Ford in his book *The Rise of the Robots*, links the rapidly evolving digital technology with the impact of climate change and how work, as we know it, will be affected. No type of work will be immune to change and whether the work is unskilled or skilled we can expect to feel its affects. Although the technology is still evolving, much of his message is about the rapidity of change and therefore the need to prepare not only for the economic affects but also the social dislocation that will accompany increasing unemployment or under-employment. He concludes his analysis with this:

"The greatest risk is that we face a "perfect storm"—a situation where technological unemployment and environmental impact unfold roughly in parallel and perhaps even amplifying each other. If however, we can fully leverage advancing technology as a solution—while recognizing and adapting to its implication for employment and the distribution of income—then the outcome is likely to be far more optimistic."⁷



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There is also an interesting collection of articles in a recent issue of The UK Society of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce (RSA) Journal *Work Shift*.⁸ In an article tracing the history of work, Ryan Avent concluded:

"But addressing the challenge of technological abundance is less a matter of technocratic policy design than one of fundamental change in our view of the role of work in society. In the industrial era, workers were a small but critical component of a big economic machine: the resulting challenge was to build a society that ennobled and empowered such workers. In the digital era, workers are a vestigial component of a big economic machine, and the social machinery that ennobled and empowered people in the past now serves to demean and disempower. Realising the potential of the digital age will require nothing short of a new social revolution."⁹

The Argument

The argument then that I shall develop is premised on the assumption that New Zealand requires a fundamental shift in policy settings from the current neo-liberal assumptions. While such a shift has seemed unlikely in the past, sufficient time has now passed for the practical implications of the current labour market policy to become apparent. I do not need to repeat the growing evidence of income inequality that has placed economic and social stress on individual employees, but is also manifesting itself in political unrest in the US, UK and Europe.

I find it difficult however to assess if there is in New Zealand any real fundamental rethinking of our labour market policy settings. Recent policy initiatives have left unchallenged the current flexible market approach to employment relationships. The Better Public Services exercise, to an outsider, appeared, in essence, to ensure greater control of government over the mechanisms for the delivery of public services through a target mechanism to ensure they cost less money. Writing out a Department of Labour from the public service was a clear statement that employees and their relationship with both employers and the state institutions are subservient to the notion of the flexible labour market.

The Treasury's Higher Living Standards Policy Framework is designed to include a wider range of factors in the policy framework but essentially it is complimentary to neo-liberal values and processes. The pursuit of the notion of social investment is a classic example of an

attempt to ameliorate the effect of transferring public responsibility to the not for profit sector through a contracting, business-investment model. While we would all agree with the objective of better delivery of services to the vulnerable, the method of achieving this through integrated data is an example of introducing technology without a full public discussion and understanding of the implications. I am not only worried about privacy issues where much of the criticism has been directed, but on the use of integrated data to develop algorithms that are used to predict behaviour.

My argument for a new regulatory framework then is founded on the assumption that the State retains the responsibility to deliver public services and engages with the sectors of the community to ensure that the well-being of community is not primarily assessed on the amount of profit to be gained, but on the real needs of citizens: housing, health and education, employment and sustainable infrastructure that protects the environment as well as underpinning economic development. The assumption then is that social outcomes are an integral part of the economy and ensure there is an equitable distribution of the wealth of the community. What is required is a return to the notion of an active State that works in partnership with business, unions and the community to deliver economic and social services through a cooperative relationship. The competitive contractual relationship is not a functional model for the delivery of social services, nor is it the appropriate model for the workplace.

In terms of the workplace, my analysis is based on the assumption that decisions made in the workplace that affect the employees are to be negotiated and are no longer to be seen as solely a managerial prerogative. The right to negotiate wages and conditions was the basis of our employment relations system for over 100 years until the enactment of the ECA and the withdrawal of State responsibility to ensure decent working conditions. The legislative attempt to provide a different model for workplace decision making under the ECA has been negated by the many employers who fail to negotiate with their employees either collectively or individually. The result has been an economy based on low wages, low productivity and employment insecurity.

The recent OECD Report *Back to Work: New Zealand – Improving the Re-Employment Prospects of Displaced Workers*¹⁰ analyses the cost of the current flexible labour

market policy on workers and their families. The Report noted New Zealand dismissal law is more flexible than in any other OECD country. This is illustrated through the length of notice and the lack of redundancy laws. The Report then concludes:

"As such, costs of firing people in New Zealand are low compared with other OECD countries and firms can easily adjust their employment needs when confronted with fluctuating sales or evolving production technologies. The downside of this approach is that the costs of economic restructuring largely fall onto affected workers and their families."

I mention this Report because it demonstrates how unprepared New Zealand is to address the predicted disruption in the workplace with the increasing introduction of robots and AI. It is inevitable that, as jobs are lost or restructured in terms of content and time, that employees will be affected financially and socially. At the moment employees have no real right to negotiate how their lives are being restructured. If an employee belongs to a union then there is a greater opportunity for a negotiated transition. The evidence is however that if a new job is found it will be for less money and less security. The OECD Report recommends key policy changes New Zealand could adopt including improved measurement of job displacement, longer minimum notice periods, replacing voluntary redundancy payments with a mandatory active-redundancy insurance scheme that integrates early intervention support and redundancy payments, and a better short-time work scheme.

There is no shortage of ideas of how to adopt policy frameworks to address digital disruption from the perspective of either the individual employee or the labour market as a collective entity. New Zealand is not alone in this experience and much can be learnt from the experience of trade unions, NGOs and policy think tanks in the UK, USA, and Australia. Even though New Zealand is on the extreme end of the flexible labour market spectrum, I would argue there is plenty of scope to develop a policy framework that will prepare us for this technological revolution. Any such development however is dependent on a fundamental shift in both economic and social policy objectives and processes. A part of that shift is a revival of the notion of full employment as a societal objective. I shall therefore explain why any labour market policy framework should be designed to include the objective of full employment.

Full Employment

I am aware that full employment has been construed to be an anachronism in this age of the flexible labour market. It seems not only economically unattainable but also socially out of step with younger workers who it is argued prefer the greater freedom afforded by portfolio work. It is argued the growth in insecure precarious work provides both flexibility for employers and freedom for the employee to choose when and how to work. While this rationale reflects the reality for some in the labour market, it does not address the reality of income inequality and insecurity for an increasing number of the workforce.

The notion of full employment in New Zealand has traditionally achieved cross party support though there were considerable differences on the best way to achieve it. Full employment had been assumed to fulfil both economic and social roles within nation building. It also assumed there was a state responsibility to provide a policy environment and regulatory framework that supported and promoted full employment. Any examination of the continuing relevance of full employment therefore requires an alignment of the state objectives with economic and social policy. This is why my focus is on reframing the debate in terms of achieving the objective of full employment. Such a focus enables a better integration of economic, social and education policy to manage technological change for the benefit of all parties. It would also require a different role for the state, a more active participatory role.

This is not the place to review why full employment has been either abandoned by the neo-liberal policy framework or co-opted by the economists' narrow definition of full employment as the trade-off between unemployment and inflation. In a review of their book *Getting Back to Full Employment: A Better Bargain for Working People*¹¹ the authors make the following conclusion that seemed to me to be relevant in our current context. They wrote:

"If "constrained politics" is a reason not to think and write about policy solutions, those of us in that business might as well close up shop. In fact, such ideas and debates have long runways, and the more we debate the path back to full employment, the more likely we'll be to have a viable agenda when cramped politics in the nation's capital loosen up." (I note this was written before the Trump administration was elected so the runway has become a little longer).

There are many ways in which to characterise full employment and its importance to any society. I have been attracted to the notion of employment as being an intrinsic human right. The various reasons why employment should be considered a human right are explored by William Mitchell and Joan Muysken in their Working Paper *Full employment abandoned: Shifting sands and policy failures* for the Centre of Full Employment and Equity at the University of Newcastle.¹² In brief those reasons include the fact that for the majority of individuals, employment is the dominant source of income; unemployment and under-employment deprive a person access to social networks and the advantages they provide; and an unemployed person is susceptible to a range of social pathologies including a higher incidence of family breakdown, alcohol and substance abuse, deteriorating physical and mental health, participation in criminal activity and incarceration.

Traditionally full employment has meant full time engagement in paid employment often with one or two employers. The flexible labour market assumes full employment will not be one standard employment job but several jobs that will be contracted on different pay rates and all likely to be short term and insecure. It is therefore necessary to redefine what constitutes full-time employment. The new definition will include the sum of several jobs resulting in a living wage and decent working conditions. Such a definition will be possible if the legal definition of who is an employee includes all employees and sole contractors. It will also require the integration of several job packages being organised to result in a living wage and decent conditions. Such a project would be a good example of an Integrated Data Infrastructure Framework. This would be a positive use of the technological future.

Such a IDI Framework could also accommodate those periods when the employee is out of paid employment. There has always been recognition that full employment was rarely achievable for all employees all the time and that some form of assistance was required when either no such work was available or the individual was incapacitated from undertaking work through accident or illness. Some form of state financial support was therefore required between periods of paid employment. The state also had a role through the provision of education and training to prepare individuals to undertake the work available.

I am conscious that such an approach to full employment requires state institutions to provide a facilitative and supportive role. This role can be developed only if there is a change in the ideology of the role of the state. While this seems unlikely in the foreseeable future, the reality of the digital disruption ahead of us will require a political response. Whatever the prevailing ideology, there is an expectation that governments will pursue policies that produce low unemployment figures. I am conscious of the difficulties in measuring unemployment and underemployment. It is essential however that the statistics reflect labour force reality. It is essential because any new policy framework will require reliable measurable labour market data.

Current Regulatory Framework

Before I propose the requirements for a new policy framework, I shall briefly review why the current regulatory framework needs to be amended to accommodate new forms of employment. The current New Zealand employment relations regulatory framework sets out its objective as being, “to build productive relationships through the promotion of mutual trust and confidence in all aspects of the employment environment.” This objective is internally focused on the nature of the relationship. It also assumes the traditional form of standard employment is the norm. Various amendments since 2008 have been aimed however at promoting more flexibility in the relationship through individually negotiated terms of employment. The issue I want to raise is whether the objective of the current legislation is sufficient to promote and protect the interests of employees and employers at a time of rapid technological change.

It is important to note however that the primary objective of the employment relations framework was designed to be consistent with the overall objective of the government’s economic policy, namely, to promote growth in the economy. It was through economic growth that opportunities would be created for employment. Currently the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment is responsible for reporting on a variety of employment related policies to at least eleven different Ministers. The overall purpose of MBIE is stated as being “to grow New Zealand for all” and in terms of employment it states, “The effective use of knowledge, skills and capital in firms is a key driver of innovation and growth.” It is clear that growth is the key to economic and social wellbeing and that all policies are to be directed towards this objective.

My question is whether the economic growth that it is assumed will be generated through increasing technology entering the workplace will be distributed more fairly through the current regulatory framework. Most employees have no control over the introduction of new technology. Employers also have little control if they wish to remain competitive. The impact on employees' wages and conditions is currently dependent on how well they can negotiate with their employer or contractor. For the 20% of employees covered by collective agreements, they will have their union to negotiate on their behalf but this is a minority of employees, mainly in the public sector.

Under the current policy, the emphasis on growth producing more jobs has led to the performance of the current system being assessed in terms of unemployment rates. This is a crude measure however and masks not only the quality of the work but also the underemployment of many in the workforce and those most represented in the statistics in terms of age and ethnicity. This is not the place to analyse the unemployment statistics. The point I want to make is that the level and nature of paid employment remains both an economic and political objective. What is not clear is whether decent full employment remains a primary objective of the both policy and the regulatory framework.

Future Regulatory Framework

While there is much to recommend aspects of the current employment regulatory framework, by which I include the minimum standards legislation, I would argue it is not fit for purpose to address the rights of employees in a period of digital disruption. I have identified several changes that need to be discussed to update our legislation. In thinking through what changes we should consider I was struck by the fact that research in the UK, US and Australia have all identified similar issues and suggested similar changes to their regulatory frameworks. For example, I note that in the United Kingdom the Prime Minister has commissioned an inquiry into modern working practices under the independent chair Matthew Taylor of the Royal Society of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce. He set out in a Guardian article his understanding of the role and identified that 5 million people are wondering if they can pay their bills because of insecure work and this has caused considerable stress and anxiety. He acknowledges the reality of increasing flexibility in the labour market but states it's important that it works for more people. He also notes "From employment regulations to tax and



welfare rules to public services operating hours, much is still premised on traditional employment. Can governments do more to support non-standard work?" It is these sorts of issues that I argue the New Zealand government needs to acknowledge and to analyse whether the current policy settings are sufficient to prepare us for the changes ahead.

In the recent United Kingdom *Uber Case*¹³ the company argued that it was a technology company providing a platform for the provision of technology services and not a company providing transport services and therefore the drivers were not employees but contractors. The Tribunal rejected this argument. After reviewing in detail the terms of the agreement and the reality of the conditions under which the drivers worked, the Tribunal found there was no legal relationship between the driver and the customer but there was an employment relationship with Uber. The case will be appealed but the case highlights the type of work that depends on an app communication in many different service industries.

A further challenge to attempts to characterise employees as self-employed contractors has come in the United Kingdom with the crackdown on companies that use large numbers of self-employed agency workers on low pay to perform delivery services. The government has announced that HM Revenue and Customs was launching a special unit to investigate companies that avoid giving workers employment protections by using agency staff or called them self-employed.¹⁴ This action is the result of an inquiry into the employment practices of Hermes that employed courier drivers. Also, agency workers in Sports Direct are to receive \$1 million pounds in back pay. In the United Kingdom, there is evidence that the reality of work performed is to prevail over any agreement or contract that attempts to define workers as self-employed. The courts have been signalling this direction for some time, but the recent shift in govern-

ment public policy is likely to result in a change in employment practice. I have no doubt this shift in policy is also motivated by a loss of taxation through these practices, but the political costs of increasing criticism of growing income equality should not be discounted.

The need to redefine the status of employee to include all employees (including contract employees) was also identified as a pre-requisite for any new regulatory framework in a series of research papers undertaken by the Roosevelt Institute as part of their National Employment Law Project.¹⁵ They further identified the need to “update pathways to worker organisation” through the removal of barriers to collective organisations. They explore the use of Internet platforms to enable employees to converge remotely as a means to overcome the lack of many employees sharing a common workplace. Platforms such as Coworker.org and Dynamo have experimented with this means of organising. They have encountered employer opposition through preventing employees from contacting each other off-platform, but argue policy makers should protect a free and open internet.

An Australian example of how unions can protect their members and workers generally from online companies that act as labour hire companies is seen in Unions NSW negotiating an agreement between the job posting platform Airtasker and Unions NSW that improved pay rates and offered an affordable and flexible insurance product to protect workers against injury and illness, and importantly provided for an independent dispute resolution service overseen by the Fair Work Commission. Talking with Mark Morey of Unions NSW about the agreement, he confirmed that a fundamental step in protection of workers in the gig economy is to change the legal status of employees to include contract employees.¹⁶

An issue identified by the Roosevelt research that in many ways most seriously affects the rights of employees is the use by employers of data to develop algorithm based software. The increasing use of workplace surveillance generates data to be used by algorithms to determine wage-fixing, allocation of hours, and performance related to hiring, promotion and firing. As this technology becomes more common place it is necessary to ensure employees are granted the right to know exactly what data is being collected by employers and how that data is being used. This data should include consumer-based performance ratings that are not sub-

ject to oversight and often determines the fate of an employee.

There is insufficient time here to go into detail about the various initiatives to protect employees’ rights in the digital age. The point I want to make is that this is a global issue for employees and that there is a need to develop and respond to the negative effects of technology in the workplace. While change is inevitable, such change must be negotiated. I shall conclude by listing several changes that should be discussed and introduced to ensure New Zealand workplaces, whether physical or virtual, provide decent work standards.

Agenda for Reform

First the legal definition of employee must clearly include dependent contractors, sole contractors and independent contractors. It is time to rethink the control test and develop a test that recognises the value the employee’s work brings to the employer and the shareholders. In other words, employees become equal partners in the enterprise. As such all employment standards legislation should apply to all employees.

Secondly, unions must be given the freedom to organise on behalf of their members. The pass-on provisions that enable free loading have to be amended to ensure that such practices are an interference with an employee’s rights and the employer will be in breach of those rights if the same or substantially similar pay and conditions are passed on to non-union members.

Thirdly, the provisions relating to collective bargaining need to be totally rewritten with the dominant purpose being that an agreement is reached within a stated time by the parties or an independent body. Negotiating a collective agreement should not be a matter of choice but a requirement. Whether the agreement covers an individual enterprise or an industry or an occupation is a question that also needs to be addressed seriously. The pay equity agreement may provide useful experience that could be transferred to other employment issues.

Fourthly, there must be a right to access the data and how it is used when such data is used to affect an employee’s rights. It is a basic principle of contract that equality of bargaining, and that includes information symmetry, is essential to ensure a valid contract. This principle should be resurrected and given more prominence in any employment regulatory regime.

Fifthly, as the ‘gig economy’ is likely to expand with its short term insecure work model, it is important to use the advances in technology to develop a platform where there is portability of workplace benefits such as holidays, sick leave, and paid parental leave. Such a platform would also enable employees to access financial assistance during periods of unemployment and assistance with finding new employment or retraining. The government is already developing integrated data framework to identify vulnerable children so there is the capability to start thinking about such a framework for employees, whatever their status.

Finally, I do not want to enter the debate on a universal income benefit or supplement that is often proposed as a solution and is being experimented with in some cities. The issue is on the options agenda of some commentators however and needs to be carefully considered in the New Zealand context.¹⁷ If such an option were to be explored seriously it is important that the current system is not merely adapted but a new system is required. The current income support system is bureaucratic and inefficient and while it may be saving the government money, it is incapable of addressing increasing underemployment on a scale that some would predict is about to accompany increasing technology in the workplace. Any new system would need to be founded on the notion that such a benefit is a right and not a privilege and seen as an integral element of the economic and social system. Personally, I fear any such system would eventually limit the individual employee’s freedom as it would unfortunately accrete to it intrusive qualifications requiring further personal information and surveillance.

I am fully aware what I have suggested requires much more thought and work. We have to start somewhere however and recognise that if people are our most valuable asset then it is time public policy placed employees at the centre of any policy and not at the periphery. I close with a quote from Senator Elizabeth Warren.

“For centuries, technological advances have helped create new wealth and have increased GDP. But it is policy—rules and regulations—that will determine whether workers have a meaningful opportunity to share in that new wealth.”¹⁸

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Rona Bailey Memorial Lecture 2017

Therese Francis O'Connell: Stories and songs

Emma Kelly

I first encountered Therese O'Connell at an Equal Pay meeting when I was Women's Officer for the Tertiary Education Union in 2016. Accompanied by her dog Dolly, Therese brought humour and a breadth of experience to the meeting. This was particularly welcome at a time when it was unclear whether the then National Government would work with unions in response to the findings of the court in regards to ETU's case featuring Kristine Bartlett as the lead claimant to argue for equal pay under the Equal Pay Act 1972.¹

Therese began her life in social justice movements while still at home in the Taranaki. She grew up in an Irish Catholic working class household. But it was when she came to Victoria University of Wellington in 1970 and found that working in the university cafeteria gained her significantly less pay than her male colleagues doing the same work, that her life as an Equal Pay and social justice campaigner truly began.

This made Therese the perfect speaker for the Rona Bailey Memorial Lecture 2017, hosted by the Labour History Project (LHP). She described her working life and personal experiences during the lecture held at Te Whaea, National Dance and Drama Centre in Newtown, Wellington. It was a very full house with 120 or so attendees, many of whom are and were activists whose stories interwove with those of Therese over the course of decades of movements and campaigns. Therese was quick to point out in her introduction that she is not an academic and would therefore be giving a talk, rather than a formal lecture.

Therese explained that she has been involved in various protest movements and performance groups, including Women's Liberation Front, Progressive Youth Movement, Spartacist League, Daughters of the Anarchist Revolution (that was a joke organization, she says), Workers' Power Party, mobilisations (and arrest) during protests against the Vietnam War, Anti-Apartheid movement, OASIS (Organisation Against the Security Investigation Service), Local Bodies Officers Union, Clerical Workers' Union, Wellington Marxist Leninist Organ-

isation, United Women's Convention Committee 1973-1975, Working Women's Alliance, ARC (Abortion Rights Committee), Women Against the Cuts, the Wellington Trades Council Management Committee and Choir, Wellington Trades Council Women's Sub-committee Choir, Worker's Communist League, Labour Party, and comedy performance with Pinky Agnew as Glory Box. She was Federation of Labour Women's Committee Convenor and on the Federation of Labour Executive.

A feature of Therese's experience of the social justice movement has been the singing of songs, and so those were woven through her talk with the support of the audience and the Feisty Feckin' Fulltime Feminists choir, of which she is a key member. She sang 'Faith of Our Fathers', a hymn no longer sung in the Catholic Church as it was in her childhood, given lines such as:

Our fathers, chained in prisons dark,
Were still in heart and conscience free;
How sweet would be their children's fate,
If they, like them, could die for thee!

She said that as a "recovering Catholic" it illustrated "how easy it was to go from Catholic to Communist." Singing has always been a joy but also a way in which to express sentiments which were otherwise unwelcome in some circles. For example her involvement in the H Block Committee/Armagh movement to support Irish Freedom Fighters in the 1980s emerged from her Irish background, but also out of her strong sense of solidarity for those experiencing persecution for their beliefs. It was an opportunity to protest a situation and connect with Irish culture through discussion and song. That interest continued in the band she was lead singer for, 'Ourselves Alone', named for the translation of Sinn Féin. They were a popular pub band around Wellington in the 1980s. Therese's Irish Catholic working class background has continued to be a foundation for her work and life and a strong part of her sense of self.

A song which expresses the importance of performance to make a strong political point is 'Chains', written by



Therese O'Connell and Wendy Davis. Although not sung at the Rona Bailey lecture, it is one Therese performs with the Feisty Feckin' Fulltime Feminists choir, and Therese's explanation of the song encapsulates the reasons why the Wellington Trades Council Women's Sub-Committee Choir was so important in the 1970s and 1980s union movement. As Therese explained:

"The original tune was composed by Carole King and Gerry Goffin [and sung by The Beatles]. It was adapted by Wendy Davis and Therese O'Connell for a New Zealand Federation of Labour Conference Social about 1979. Ocean Beach Freezing Works [in Southland] was taken to court by three women who had been refused the opportunity to become mutton butchers. In 1979 the Human Rights Commission ruled in their favour, but the union refused to back down. In 1980 the case went before the Equal Opportunities Tribunal, which ruled that workers must be judged purely on their ability to do the job. Ted Miller—who appears in the song—was the Secretary of the Freezing Workers' Union at the Ocean Beach Works. Wendy and I sat down before the FOL conference social and said "let's do this and stick it to them." Ted Miller of the Union opposing the women's claim was in the audience, and we sang the song directly to him. We were a bit on edge, but the audience loved it."

At this time and into the 1980s, women unionists often felt they were treated as 'second-class citizens by male union leaders' according to Joyce Hawe.² Therese and others have described how hard it was to be granted the space to speak and be heard at various union conferences and meetings. The lyrics for the song encapsulate both the humour and the ferocity with which the women were trying to make a significant point. They also remind those of us too young to remember the challenges that women in the unions have faced for many years, and in some cases still face today.

Chains

Chains! They won't let me work on the chain
And it's because—they can't see—
Oh Oh Oh Oh—The chain needs me—Yeah!
I want to tell you Teddy Miller – about that meat
I want to put my knife in it—
And I can't wait to get there on that chain

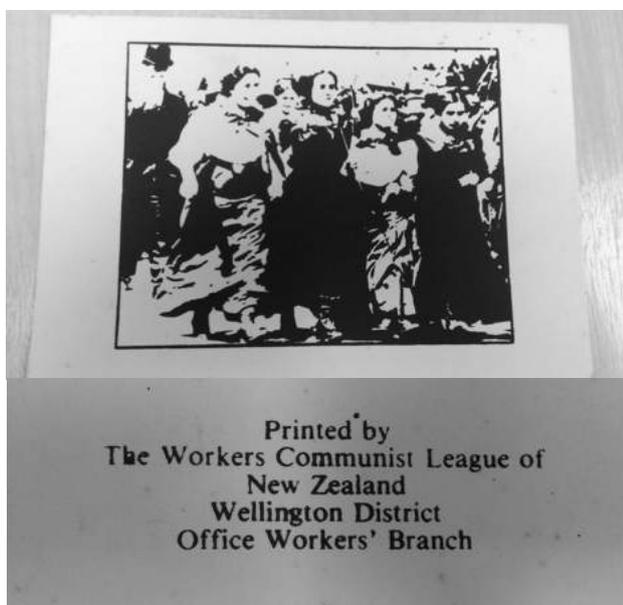
They won't let me work on the chain
And it's because—they can't see—
Oh Oh Oh Oh Oh! The chain needs me, Yeah!

The girls went to the Commission—and won their case—

Both the bosses and the union
Were left with egg on their face
Chains! Now they let me work on the chain
And it's because—they had to see—
Oh Oh Oh Oh! The chain needs me—Yeah!³

Therese has told me when we have discussed her work, that her memories and ideas have been stimulated by various projects she has been involved in lately, including the efforts of Dr Cybéle Locke, with Dr Grace Millar, to collect the oral histories of the Clerical Workers Union of New Zealand, for which Therese was a field officer from 1975, then Education Organiser and finally Acting Women's Rights Secretary in 1989. As part of that project, Therese has been interviewed alongside other women workers, in order to ensure their experiences are available for others to hear. At the same time, the Labour 100 project (a joint Labour Party and LHP project) has been encouraging grassroots left leaning people to consider putting their archival materials such as posters, badges, writing and photos into their local archives. As Labour 100 Archivist I had the pleasure of helping Therese organise her materials. Sitting with her looking through her treasure trove was a great way to hear the stories of various campaigns and events she had been a part of. Much of this collection has been accepted for the J.C.Beaglehole Library collection at Victoria University of Wellington, and the rest by the Alexander Turnbull Library in the National Library of Wellington.

However Millar, Locke and the Labour 100 project have not been the only people interested in Therese's story. Therese was delighted to see on delivery of her SIS (Security Intelligence Service) file that there were a number of articles and pieces of information she had forgotten about, diligently recorded by the state. Details from the SIS file were woven throughout her talk. For example, David Lange's less than warm welcome at the Annual Federation of Labour conference in 1986 when the enormity of the cuts and reforms of Rogernomics were being felt is described in an article in the SIS file. Therese was the following speaker to Lange, who received no applause as he left the room. She remembers feeling quite panicked at that moment before she started her speech, and so began to sing. That song about Ruth Richardson's treatment of mothers with the rousing chorus 'Give Up Your Babies, Give Up Your Babies if



Top: From left to right; Therese O'Connell, Wendy Davies, Jane Shallcrass, Claire-Louise McCurdy, Emma Kelly, Sue Hirst, Marie Russell—Feisty Feckin' Fulltime Feminists, 2017 performance.

Middle: Workers Communist League ephemera from Therese O'Connell's personal collection.

Bottom: Marie Russell, Bill Rosenberg, and John Maynard at Rona Bailey Memorial Lecture 2017.

you're not rich like me...' sung to the tune of 'Waltzing Matilda' earned her a standing ovation.⁴

Throughout her Rona Bailey lecture, Therese showed how important humour has always been to her in the many politically charged situations she has found herself in. For example she described the apology from the Director of the New Zealand Security Intelligence Service Rebecca Kitteridge which accompanied the SIS file which points out that some of the comments from SIS officers are inappropriate "as in some cases they are over 45 years old and written in a different era." This prompted Therese's interest, she told us. Sure enough, the descriptions within the file of Therese's physical appearance, ranging from "of plump build" to "solid and rotund—a coarse, dark version of Mama Cass" made us all roar with laughter, but concomitantly, a serious point is being raised here. Women activists, like all women were and are judged on their physical appearance to the detriment of a serious consideration of their political views. She related her favourite comment, that "Therese Frances O'Connell attended The Workers' Communist League film evening held on Friday 23 November 1984 and was seen devouring copious amounts of the readily available popcorn." As an audience member commented afterwards, it demonstrated to him the absurdity of the resources put into the surveillance state and arbitrary use of authority.

Another useful part of Therese's archive which fed the lectures and talks she has been giving has been the correspondence with her parents. Her Mum, Margaret Mary Monica Muir (NZ born Irish/Scots) kept the letters. Margaret and Therese's father Jim O'Connell (NZ born Irish/Polish) were always supportive of Therese's work, interested in the detail and politics of the day, and so Therese would explain various stoushes and political discussions which were occurring. In a letter to her parents dated 31/08/83, Therese explains the battle regarding voluntary unionism and what it could mean for union membership:

"I'll explain the difference between last time (the vote) and this time. Bolger (Minister of Labour—so he says) is putting forward a proposal to wipe "the unqualified preference clause" [which people] voted overwhelmingly to retain—now the Govt don't want a vote to be taken but just declare all unions voluntary—in the name of freedom of course. It's much more devastating—cos when freedom is when people are told "remain a

member of the union or keep your job” most of our members will be intimidated out of belonging to the union—the crazy thing is that the Govt are after the “militant” unions—but the most affected to begin with will be our sort of union—the service workers—mainly women, Polynesians and young people as they are already at the bottom of the pit. It infuriates me. Not only are the Govt after the “militants” but they want (by pressure of the small businessmen) a “free enterprise” of wages—a lot of the small businesses are having a hard time and as wages are a major component of any business expense—they want to be able to lower them. They can’t do that now because of compulsory unionism (which makes for national awards) but with voluntary unionism and the ability to negotiate with employees without the union they will just dictate rates instead. What’s so infuriating as well is the fact that our union and others which represent mainly women are really just getting their act together and this could mean a great step backwards.”⁵

This vernacular explanation of the risks of the changes that were indeed made to long fought for union rights did come to pass and we now see 35 years on the effects of ‘free enterprise.’ As Therese argued at the time, it would be women, Polynesians and young people most affected by these changes [in this sense by ‘Polynesians’ Therese is referring to Māori and Pacific Peoples], and as she maintains, unions representing marginalized peoples were only ‘just getting their act together’ and it did mean a ‘great step backwards’ for them as the changes came to pass with (for example) the Clerical Workers’ Union shutting down.

In the early 1980s when this letter was written, Therese was part of the community of women fighting for the Working Women’s Charter to be incorporated into businesses, unions and general society. They undertook education training about it in schools and workplaces, and it was adopted by the Federation of Labour in 1980 after years of struggle.⁶ It called for childcare support for all, Te Reo Māori to be spoken, Equal Pay, equal access and so on. Many of the elements called for in the charter are still needed today in our workplaces, and an excerpt from the charter is reproduced opposite.

After covering a range of issues and protests she had been involved in over the course of the Rona Bailey Memorial Lecture, Therese ended by discussing her current interests. Therese is a teetotaler, and has been all

her life. She made the point that heavy drinking can be problematic because it can lead to health problems, and as we have seen in recent times with the media discussion of the Young Labour Party sexual assaults on a weekend camp in February 2018, alcohol can be the excuse for sexual violence in our communities. That topic would make for a separate lecture itself, but Therese restricted herself to saying that reflecting on our own behaviors as unionists, as workers, and as people making choices about what we consume continues to be a vital element of the struggle for social justice. Therese continues to sing, argue, fight and support others like her who believe that workers must continue to fight for social justice for all, as feminists, as unionists, and as diverse communities living in Aotearoa New Zealand.

You can listen to Therese’s lecture on the Labour History Project website, and watch the video too:

www.lhp.org.nz

1. ‘On 18 April 2017 the E tū flags flew high with the announcement of the Care and Support Workers (Pay Equity) Settlement Agreement—a massive win for over 50,000 workers in the care and support sector and for the Equal Pay campaign. The win came after E tū member and caregiver Kristine Bartlett took an Equal Pay claim all the way to the highest court on behalf of over 3,000 other union members, arguing that the low rates of pay in the care and support sector were the result of systemic gender-based pay discrimination. This was the first time that the Equal Pay Act 1972 was used in this way, and we won! Rather than let the courts decide what Kristine and her colleagues’ new pay rate should be, the Government chose to enter directly into negotiations with us for all workers across the sector. After a long negotiation, we finally reached a settlement in 2017—which has resulted in one of the biggest pay rises in New Zealand history, and Kristine herself is overjoyed.’ <http://www.etu.nz/campaigns/equal-pay/>
2. Quoted in Cybéle Locke’s *Workers in the Margins: Union radicals in Post-War New Zealand*, Bridget Williams Books, 2012, p.75.
3. A recording of this and other songs sung by Therese O’Connell, Marie Russell, Wendy Davis, Claire-Louise McCurdy, Jane Shallcrass, Sue Hirst and Emma Kelly can be heard at <https://soundcloud.com/emma-jean-kelly/feisty-feckin-fulltime-feminists-audio>
4. If you are interested in obtaining your SIS file, contact the Privacy Officer via email: <http://www.nzsis.govt.nz/contact/official-information-act-and-privacy-act-requests/> explaining who you are, birth dates etc.
5. Personal Collection, Therese O’Connell, Letter to her Parents, 31/08/83.
6. Locke, *Workers in the Margins*, p.74.

— THE — WORKING WOMEN'S CHARTER

1. The right to work for everyone.
2. The elimination of all discrimination on the basis of sex, race, religion, political belief, marital or parental status, sexuality or age.
3. Equal pay for work of equal value.
4. Equal opportunity of entry into occupations and of promotion regardless of sex, race, religion, political belief, marital or parental status, sexuality or age.
5. Equal education opportunity for all.
6. Union meetings and special trade union education courses for all unionists to be held with paid time off for participants with special attention to gain more active participation of women unionists.
7. Equal access to vocational guidance and training, including on-the-job training, retraining, study, and conference leave for all workers.
8. Introduction of a shorter working week with no loss of pay, flexible working hours, and part-time opportunities for all workers by union agreement.
9. Improved working conditions for all workers. The retention of beneficial provisions which apply to women and extension of these to men. Other benefits to apply equally to women and men.
10. Removal of legal, bureaucratic and other impediments to equality of superannuation, social security benefits, credit, finance, taxation, tenancies, and other related matters.
11. Consultation with and special to the needs and requirements of all workers from ethnic communities with special attention to those of women.
12. Wide availability of quality child care with government, employer and community support for all those who need it, including industrial creches, after-school and school holiday care.
13. Introduction of adequate paid parental leave without loss of job security, superannuation or promotion prospects.
14. Availability of paid family leave to enable time off to be taken in cases of family need.
15. Sex education and birth control advice freely available to all people of appropriate age, and legal, financial, social and medical impediments to safe contraception, sterilisation, and abortion to be removed so as to allow the individual concerned to make their own decision.
16. Comprehensive government-funded research into health questions specific to women.

That is the text — what is the message?

- All women are working women. In homes or in factories, in offices or in classrooms — wherever they work and whatever they earn, all women are working women.
- Housewife or teacher, nurse or mother, lawyer or machinist, cleaner or secretary, driver or librarian... whatever work a woman does she should have the same rights and opportunities as other workers.
- The Working Women's Charter seeks to ensure that all people, women as well as men, have the same access to suitable and satisfying work, and the same control over pay, hours and conditions of work.
- All women are not yet treated equally and fairly — the Charter sets out the rights which working women need to gain if we are to live in a truly equal and just society.
- The key message of the Charter is choice. Every clause of the Charter deals with a basic right which will allow working women to choose from the same range of options in life that working men take for granted. When these rights are guaranteed, then whether you choose to use them or not is up to you. But remember — unless we have these basic rights, none of us has a real range of choices.

Reviews

"Walking Radical Wellington, A walking tour visiting key sites of activism in Wellington, New Zealand.

Reviewed by Giovanni Tiso

(reproduced from his blog at Bat Bean Beam:

<https://bat-bean-beam.blogspot.co.nz/p/profile.html>)

Whenever my father was asked for directions near his place of work, in the part of Milan where he was born, he would tell motorists to either turn at the bridge or continue straight after the bridge or similar, which would have confused them greatly since this so-called bridge was removed and the waterway it crossed paved over in 1930, four years before my father was born, and you could guess its past existence only by virtue of a slight slope in the road. But when my father was growing up everyone still called it the bridge and so he kept calling it the bridge, and maybe he even saw it in his mind, that bridge that was removed four years before he was born. He certainly knew where the old rivers were, even if you could barely see them underneath the modern city.

A city is sculpted by time, by the movements of people, by changes in labour relations and the economic base of the community. And it is sculpted by social relations in all their forms, including political relations, which are governed but not completely determined by those other factors. In Wellington, as of last week, we can access this particular layer of the city's history thanks to the *Walking Radical Wellington app*, a project created by Dougal McNeill and Samantha Murphy and supported by the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of our main university. So I downloaded it and went on the walk.

If you're not familiar with these kinds of apps, they are generally overlaid on mapping software such as GPSTracker or, in this case, PocketSights, and connect a series of location that are annotated with text and pictures. Walking Radical Wellington features 28 such locations, connected in spatial as opposed to chronological order. The two main thematic criteria are sites of working-class and socialist struggle, and sites of organisations of the LGBTQ community alongside what the authors call the 'social spaces and outlets where private lives of individuals could find public expression'. This network of clubs, venues and private dwellings, stretching mainly from Cuba Street to Willis Street, is perhaps the most surprising and vivid aspect of the walk, conveying the sense of a secret Wellington that struggled for recognition and ultimately liberation.

The walk can be disorienting, because it takes you backwards and forwards in time, and also because some of the old physical markers have been erased over time by new leases and successive redevelopments. Often you will look for a street number, and find that it has disappeared, as if crushed between the neighbouring addresses. You may be searching for the original site of the Resistance Bookshop at 144 Willis Street, for instance (location #18 on the walk), but the numbers jump from 136 to 148. You are standing right there, but there isn't there anymore. Similarly, you could say that the workshop of Philip Josephs—the anarchist tailor whose life is chronicled in Jared Davidson's brilliant book *Sewing Freedom*—is now a Sunglass Hut, but only more or less: the actual building is long gone.

Yet there is value in those spatial relationships, even when they connect places that have physically disappeared or morphed beyond recognition. The walk tells a story, through flash backs and digressions, and the space in-between the stops is the time it takes for the story to be told. Linear time is replaced by space, or rather displaced into another form of time: the time of walking from one location to another.

The authors are careful to point out that the story of radical Wellington they endeavoured to tell is one of many possible stories, dictated by their particular political interests and knowledge as well as by certain constraints such as how far people could be expected to walk in a single outing (this is why, for instance, an obvious set of locations such as Newtown was left out).

One thing the walk explicitly isn't, is an attempt to map or connect places of current activity and struggle—a fact that was made obvious to me as I passed the social centre at 128 Abel Smith Street twice in the early stages of the walk. And what it perhaps most notably isn't—again by explicit disclaimer – is "an attempt to capture the history of Māori political activity in Wellington", which McNeill and Murphy felt ill-equipped to tell. There, I think, lies the most immediate opportunity for a companion or sequel that might go even further in illustrating how much place matters to our politics.

I really enjoyed the walk, and found it delightfully instructive. And not just because of the many things I didn't know—for instance: about the industrial disputes during the construction of the State Insurance, formerly Bank of

New Zealand building that towers, Death Star-like over the CBD, and where I worked briefly after moving to Wellington. Individually, those are just interesting stories. But woven together, they form a lineage, a heritage.

Walking Radical Wellington didn't speak to me of lost utopias or romantic pursuits, but rather—much more compellingly—of the concrete signs of a collective history that is never finished or exhausted, but can be retraced, and brought back to useful life.

You can download the Walking Radical Wellington app for iOS or Android from the project's web page:

<https://pocketsights.com/tours/tour/Wellington-Walking-Radical-Wellington-1845>

Wobblies of the World: A Global History of the IWW
Edited by Peter Cole, David Struthers and Kenyon Zimmer (London: Pluto Press, 2017)

Reviewed by Ciaran Doolin

Wobblies of the World is a collection of 20 essays written by scholars from many countries on the global history and legacy of the early 20th century syndicalist union Industrial Workers of the World (IWW, commonly known as the Wobblies). New Zealand historians and LHP members Peter Clayworth and Mark Derby contributed chapters to this volume, and several other essays include information of relevance to New Zealand labour history. Traditionally, IWW histories have focused on the American union, with Wobbly activism in other countries receiving scant attention. Although by no means a complete global history, this work looks further afield beyond the US experience.

The collection addresses several dimensions of the IWW's history oft-ignored in the literature. Firstly, the emergence of the IWW occurred in the context of a global syndicalist movement, with the developments across the world not always mirroring events in the US. Secondly, the union was not monolithic: ideology, tactics and goals varied from country to country. Thirdly, the history of the IWW was extraordinarily multilingual—for example, of the 14 weekly and biweekly Wobbly newspapers appearing in 1917, only three were for English readers. Finally, the chronology of the union is highly variable depending on the local and national context; as the editors argue, “it is no longer tenable, therefore,

simply to date the union's decline to US government repression during the First World War, or even to the IWW's disastrous split.”

The book is accessible to both academic and non-academic audiences. Chapters can be perused in any order. However, many of the chapters interconnect, and as such have been organised in a fashion conducive to cover-to-cover reading.

New Zealand's connection with the IWW was established from the very beginning: IWW founder and leader, William Trautmann was born in New Zealand, and miners from New Zealand attended the founding convention. While the IWW was a small organisation in New Zealand, its ideological influence over the early 20th century labour movement was nonetheless significant. Most notably, Wobbly ideas had a powerful influence on the first Federation of Labour.

The essays likely to be of most interest to New Zealand historians and activists are “Wobblies Down Under: The IWW in Australia” by Verity Burgmann, “Ki Nga Kaimahi Maori (‘To All Maori Workers’): The New Zealand IWW and the Maori” by Mark Derby, “Patrick Hodgens Hickey and the IWW: A Transnational Relationship” by Peter Clayworth, “Tom Barker and Revolutionary Europe” by Paula de Angelis, and “Tramp, Tramp, Tramp: The Songs of Joe Hill Around the World” by Bucky Halker. Much of the material in these chapters has been published elsewhere, including in previous issues of the *Bulletin*, but reading these essays side-by-side fruitfully highlights the points of commonality and difference between the Australian and New Zealand Wobbly experience.

Burgmann examines the history of the IWW in Australia, which differs in two important respects from the American and New Zealand experience: Australia had Labour governments at the state level from 1899 and federal level from 1904, and union density was much higher at nearly 50% in 1916 compared with approximately 12% in the United States and 20% in New Zealand. The Australian IWW's ideology and tactics were therefore given a unique colour: on the one hand, militantly anti-parliamentary, and on the other, committed to “boring from within” existing largely craft-based unions. Many Wobblies who played an important role in Australia also spent time organising in New Zealand, including the Cockney firebrand Charlie Reeve, Irish

propagandist Tom Glynn, and English itinerant agitator Tom Barker. Two of these were members of the so-called Sydney Twelve, defendants in a notorious 1916 trial in which 12 Wobblies were—as many in the labour movement saw it—framed for their anti-war and anti-conscription views. Tom Barker spent the longest time in New Zealand, emigrating there in 1909, before leaving for Australia in 1914 to take over the IWW newspaper *Direct Action*. It was in New Zealand that he first joined the IWW and honed his skills as a writer, orator and organiser. (De Angelis gives a useful synopsis of his life in her chapter.)

Derby explores another aspect in which the New Zealand and Australian IWW differed: the indigenous question. In Australia, although the IWW acknowledged the injustices Aboriginals had suffered at the hand of white Australians, they largely ignored the Aboriginal issue, deeming it irrelevant to the class struggle. In contrast, in New Zealand the IWW organ, the *Industrial Unionist*, published a series of articles written by Pākehā Wobbly, Percy Short which appealed to Māori in te reo to join their Pākehā fellow workers in the industrial struggle. Short, a house painter and decorator as well as a licensed translator and teacher of te reo, helped to found the energetic Auckland local of the IWW and he was a member of its newspaper's editorial board. Derby notes that the "inclusion of material in the language of the indigenous minority may make New Zealand's *Industrial Unionist* unique among Wobbly newspapers of any colonized country."

Clayworth chronicles the life of Patrick Hickey, a New Zealand-born trade unionist who was influential in the first Federation of Labour and later the Australian Labour Party. He joined the Western Federation of Miners while working in the United States and was strongly influenced by the IWW, whose ideas he took home to New Zealand and applied in the tumultuous first decades of the 20th century.

Halker examines the musical legacy of Swedish-American singer-songwriter and Wobbly martyr, Joe Hill. Hill's rabble-rousing numbers like "Preacher and the slave" and "Casey Jones, the union scab" were a hit across Wobbly territory, including Australia and New Zealand, where copies of the *Little Red Songbook* were distributed along with other IWW propaganda. Interest in Joe Hill underwent a brief revival in Australasia

during the 1960s with the tour of American baritone and activist Paul Robeson, who thrilled audiences with the ode "I dreamed I saw Joe Hill."

Part three of the book on "The IWW's Influence and Legacies" had some excellent essays, but overall it felt like a missed opportunity. It would have been worthwhile to include at least one essay that chronicled the activities of present-day Wobblies or examined the union's legacy from a theoretical perspective. As the far right capitalises on the divisions and inequalities wrought by capitalism in its present neoliberal garb, the struggle to regroup the left and rebuild the workers movement is as urgent as ever. With an increased focus in recent decades on issues of race, ethnic and gender oppression, the IWW's history is a real demonstration that organising along class lines does not have to come at the cost of exclusion of women or minorities or the subordination of their concerns to broader economic objectives. The Wobblies are arguably one of the finest examples of labour activism in the 20th century. There are many lessons we can learn from the history of the union. It would have been fruitful to see this connection between past and present discussed in more than a cursory fashion.

But this is a minor reservation about a book that will no doubt serve as the point of departure for future research into the history of the IWW and its legacy worldwide. Given the international character of the union—in principle and in practice—this work is a fitting testament to the Wobbly legacy, not to mention a valuable asset in the ongoing effort to, as the editors put it, "keep the Wobbly flames burning... [in the struggle for] a more just and equitable world."

These Two Hands: A Memoir by Renée
(Wellington: Mākaro Press, 2017)

Reviewed by Emma Jean Kelly

Renée is an old person, and derives satisfaction from saying so. 'The elderly' is a term she finds patronising, but to name oneself as old—she is 88—is for her, accurate and matter of fact. This is also a description of how Renée writes; she recalls in earlier years trying to capture the way in which the working class spoke in the 1930s for a play—she felt as if there were only a certain amount of words to spend without going into debt. Her memoir reads similarly—value the words you use, make the most of them, and don't squander a single one.

"One of the big differences between the middle and the working class is how words are used. Working class are very careful how they're doled out. It's as if we think every word costs and we don't want to end up out of pocket and in debt" (130).

You might assume then that this memoir would make for grim reading, but it does not. Despite leaving school at 12 to work in a factory, Renée has always found the joy and the humour in her circumstances. She notices kindness in times of difficulty. From the neighbour who gave her his used copies of 'John O'London's Weekly' review of books, plays and short stories when she was in her early teens to the Zonta and Cancer Society volunteers who make soft cotton shoulder bags to lighten the load of drainage bottles for patients after her double mastectomy in her eighties, Renée appears never to miss the good in life. This is not to say that she is a sweet-tempered angel by any means; she often refers to herself as irritable and quick tempered.

Best known for her plays which became at times notorious in the 1980s, particularly after the case of playwright and scholar Mervyn Thompson where he was abused by a group of women apparently 'inspired by' a scene in one of her plays *Setting the Table* (1981), Renée has also written novels, short stories and poems. A recent production written upon request was a portrayal of the ten Labour Party prime ministers, performed in Otaki in 2016 with then leader Andrew Little in attendance. Renée's use of song in this production and other stories and plays has always been appealing and continues to remind readers and audiences of the importance of song to community, particularly in earlier times for Pākehā, but also in contemporary times for Māori. Certainly song has been a strong component of the feminist and union based protest movements I have been a part of.

Born in Napier both from Māori and Pākehā stock, her Kahungunu Great Great Great Grandfather, Porohiwi was shot in Wairoa, possibly because of a disagreement over land purchases. Jan Hughes apparently did the research on Porohiwi, but another of Renee's ancestors is Charles Harmer who owned the Wairoa Hotel. Renée has done a certain amount of research on him herself, and found that he was buried the day after he died and "it doesn't sound like there was much of a funeral." But then she asks herself if she wants to explore his story further, and concludes she does not. The 'patch' ends

with her saying she doesn't care enough to continue the search, which I found a little frustrating; why begin a story if you're going to leave it hanging? But maybe it is because Renée is often using her personal stories to consider wider issues and bigger matters; the history of the country in which she lives through observation of others and her own genetics and family dynamics:

"Mā te wahine, mā te whenua, ka ngaro te tangata. By women and land do men perish. So the old whakatauki goes. That proverb was probably created by a man. It's a nicely balanced sentence but it's fairly obvious when one looks at history that it's not land or women the men fight over. With the occasional exception (Helen of Troy perhaps), the reason men fight and kill each other is over land and religion. Look around" (172).

Renée's memoir is not organized chronologically. As she explains in a very short preface (she does not like academic works with long explanatory introductions) the organizing principle is the patches of a crazy quilt rug. Each chapter is numbered for a patch, with the last corresponding to her current age. I like this principle, but I find it makes the titles for each patch rather vague as they are just the first few words of each chapter which do not encapsulate the theme of that 'patch'. Coupled with a lack of index, it means that going back to re-read something is a difficult task since the chapters are not chronological.

There are excerpts from her works, her diaries, her current thoughts and reflections seemingly arranged at random. At first this can seem frustrating to the reader, but as one continues, ideas and events begin to speak to previous moments, and the quilt in all its eccentric glory takes form. I was also reminded of garden patches, particularly working class allotments in England—she is fond of gardening which, like many things in her life, she did not take up until she was in her forties. Each of her gardens is full of layers of ingredients—clay, soil, compost and fertilizer, and as the garden develops, characters appear such as the two Ingrid Bergman roses she refers to as 'girlfriends'. For me, each chapter is a similar patch of elements which shift and change with the seasons and the whims of the gardener/writer. And after all, if "Pruning roses" is "Existentialism among the pricks" (p.409) then what else could this memoir be but vignettes of a life, gardening as archive, patches of colour stitched together because creativity must prevail, despite sometimes extremely difficult circumstances.

Pass It On (1986) is Renée's play about the 1951 Waterfront Lockout, and rather than reproduce it in the memoir, she chooses to present as Patch 78 an excerpt from her talk about it for the fiftieth anniversary of the lockout in 2001 in Wellington. This reveals her desire to tell the story of the women involved in the dispute, over and above the reference to them as 'marvellous' she had heard so often. When she began to research the topic, she had quite a time finding out what they had actually done. Not because they had done nothing, but because the women were often too modest to say. Eventually she discovers that through the Women's Committees, chats with wives who felt alienated, sharing food and other necessities, women did so much to support the workers during the 151 days of the Lockout.

Many of Renée's stories seek to unveil unspoken and forgotten elements of New Zealand history, Māori and Pākehā. They also support a working class sensibility which came to an early understanding of the importance of the unions ("the only ones looking out for us"), the local branch of the Labour Party which hosted annual picnics so that not only were workers' rights supported, but also their need for time out recognised. Feminism, first discovered through the works of overseas writers because no New Zealand feminists were yet being written about in the 1960s was obviously key to much of her understanding of herself and the world around her. Why was it unacceptable for her to voice her thoughts among men who thought she was 'lippy' for having an opinion? Why should she stay in a marriage once her children were raised if she no longer felt it was right for her, and if it stopped her exploring the world in the way she wanted? Taking a university degree in her fifties, despite the fact she had been directing theatre, acting and teaching for many years prior, was still an enormous act of courage for someone who felt she did not fit into the Auckland University student milieu of the day. Graduation "seemed like a miracle for someone who didn't get past primary school."

Renée believes revolutions are usually started by middle-class women or men because they "have the money and time to effect change—working-class women are too busy working" (p.369). Some Marxists would perhaps take issue with her analysis. As someone who is also from the working-class, this gives me much food for thought (fertilizer for the garden perhaps). Those of us who "make it" (as Renée too has done) via education and luck (and often in Pākehā circles due to inherent priv-

ilege) into a precarious middle class existence often feel such a debt to our working class origins that it can at times be paralyzing. I think Renée proves that this doesn't need to be so—finding one's voice and a platform from which to have an informed and creative conversation about working class experience is possible, and can be filled with joy and laughter as well as lamentation.

I recently attended a table reading of Renée's play *Dancing* (1983) produced by a queer production group called 'Brackets' at Bats Theatre in Wellington. It was fascinating seeing people in their twenties and thirties deeply enjoy and relate to a text written before some of them were born. The tale of women supporting each other through difficulties and generations clearly resonated with performers and actors. Like that performance, *These Two Hands* is a brilliant introduction to Renée's work and a motivator to read and hear more of her oeuvre.

Ragnar Redbeard: the Antipodean origins of radical fabulist Arthur Desmond by Mark Derby
(Wellington: Steele Roberts Aotearoa, 2017)

Reviewed by Ciaran Doolin

This easily digestible book offers a window into the life of New Zealander Arthur Desmond, a one-time utopian socialist and promising poet, turned bilious misanthrope. I say "window" because the book cannot be called a biography. This however is not the fault of the author, but the subject himself: Desmond assumed numerous aliases during his lifetime and spread all manner of fantastic rumours about his origins and activities. Sorting fact from fiction therefore is not an easy task for a historian. Derby does a fine job of reconstructing the real Arthur Desmond, and keeps the reader informed where there are unavoidable lacunae in the narrative.

Raised in New Zealand during the late 19th century, Desmond came to public prominence as a vocal supporter of the former guerrilla turned religious leader, Te Kooti. In 1889, Te Kooti planned to make a visit to followers at Te Karaka and was met with vituperative opposition by the local Pākehā community. An ad hoc militia was formed, and the affair became a national incident, prompting government intervention. Desmond, then about 30 years old, was virtually alone in voicing his support for Te Kooti. Enamoured of Te Kooti's communalist religious vision of land held in common, he

used the incident as an opportunity to agitate against the alienation of Māori land by local settlers.

Desmond read voraciously and had grandiose literary ambitions, having a particular talent for poetry. From its formation, he bombarded the literary journal *Zealandia* with contributions. Partly in an effort to advance these ambitions, he ended up in Auckland at the end of 1889. Immediately he threw himself into labour movement agitation as well as writing propaganda of a Christian socialist character. He boisterously spoke out in favour of the workers during the 1890 Maritime Strike, and launched a broadsheet called *Tribune*, which he modestly declared to be “New Zealand’s National Newspaper”. In the pages of the *Tribune* he continued to support iwi who were resisting Crown encroachment on their land, and wrote numerous articles promoting the utopian/ agrarian socialist doctrines of Edward Bellamy and Henry George. However, after slandering several Liberal-Labour parliamentary candidates—claiming they were surreptitiously funded by the Employers’ Association—Desmond’s credibility evaporated and he decided to leave New Zealand for Australia.

In Australia, Desmond quickly found his footing, becoming a permanent fixture of the flourishing radical working-class culture in East Sydney. He mixed with Billy Hughes and Alfred Deakin, future Labor Prime Ministers, Harry Holland, future leader of the Labor Party, William Holman and Jack Lang, future New South Wales Premiers, and the “bush poet” Henry Lawson. In 1893 Sydney was in the grips of a financial crisis, and Desmond launched a muckraking financial journal named *Hard Cash*—a magazine of finance and politics. The journal mixed libel with commercial insight, and soon became required reading for traders. *Hard Cash* however marked a break in Desmond’s intellectual development. On its pages he denounced his erstwhile socialism and espoused an unalloyed Nietzscheanism. He also infused his commentary with rabid anti-Semitism. After an article in *Hard Cash* questioning the solvency of the Savings Bank of New South Wales led to a run on deposits, the police ordered the arrest of Desmond for defamation of the Bank’s trustees. Thus Desmond departed for America.

Desmond ended up in Chicago—where he remained until his death—and again threw himself into the radical scene. In 1896 he published a noxious screed under the nom de plume Ragnar Redbeard entitled *Might is Right*

which espoused a vulgar Nietzscheanism and Stirnerism, replete with virulent anti-Semitism, racism and misogyny. This book was to be his principal legacy. The work has been discussed in many countries, with even Leo Tolstoy deeming it worthy of a horrified response. It remains a source of inspiration to zealots on the margins of the margins—from Satanists to the Alt-Right.

The story of Arthur Desmond is an extraordinary one, perhaps unique in New Zealand history. From an early age Desmond was an iconoclast, one of tremendous talent and courage. However, he was also a deeply egotistical man with delusions of grandeur. It was this personality trait which undoubtedly contributed to his philosophical inversion, the end result of which leaves nothing to be salvaged. Derby speculates as to what may have precipitated this transformation:

“Across the English-speaking world, a series of crushing political defeats for the militant labour movement in the early 20th century led some deeply disillusioned radicals to move so far to the left that they dropped off the edge. These embittered intransigents came to regard the mass union movement with the contempt shown by their most extreme opponents” (p.54).

However, one wonders if it wasn’t earlier, in Desmond’s youth, witnessing the bigotry and injustice of a deferential and insular settler society, where the seed of his later misanthropic Nietzscheanism was sown. Derby does not say whether Desmond had been exposed to Nietzsche in his youth. However, he does note that Desmond later said *Might is Right* began to take shape in the aftermath of a failed 1887 parliamentary bid in the Hawke’s Bay. In *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, Nietzsche delivered his prophecy of the Last Man:

“I tell you: one must have chaos in one, to give birth to a dancing star. I tell you: you still have chaos in you. Alas! The time is coming when man will give birth to no more stars. Alas! The time of the most contemptible man is coming, the man who can no longer despise himself. Behold! I shall show you the [Last Man]. “What is love? What is creation? What is longing? What is a star?” thus asks the [Last Man] and blinks.... “We have discovered happiness,” say the [Last Men] and blink.”

Did Desmond see the Last Man in the eyes of his fellow rural Pākehā? Although Nietzsche was hostile to social-

ism and even democracy, many writers who adhered to Marxist or other socialist philosophies admired his work and attempted to incorporate his ideas in their critiques of capitalist modernity. It is not out of the question, therefore, that the young Desmond followed suit. Establishing the extent to which Nietzsche influenced Desmond's early intellectual development would make for an interesting expansion of Derby's work.

Desmond's early experiences and the perspectives it endowed him with, are rather typical of those who go against the grain in this country. The works of other New Zealand iconoclasts, such as the late Bruce Jesson, reflect this. Jesson adroitly characterised contemporary New Zealand as a "hollow society", in which we no longer aspire to anything of significance at all. We now live in a society that is thoroughly commercial, where no one aspires to anything noble or worthwhile, or if they do they are ridiculed by the cynics of the free market.

The task for radicals today is to face the unpleasant truths of our age, without being turned to stone by that vision. The old Labour tradition of progress, for Jesson, "lives on as a critique of the present." Where Jesson's life stands as a shining example of principled critique, Arthur Desmond's serves as cautionary tale: "He who fights with monsters might take care lest he thereby become a monster. And when you gaze long into an abyss the abyss also gazes into you."

1. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (London: Penguin, 2003), 46. It's unlikely that Desmond had read *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* by 1887, as it was serialised between 1885 and 1891. However, he may well have been familiar with Nietzsche's earlier works where these themes were expounded in a similar form.

2. Bruce Jesson, *Only Their Purpose is Mad* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1999).

3. Ibid.

4. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil* (London: Penguin, 2003), Aphorism 146.

Call for papers

Feminist Engagements in Aotearoa: 125 years of Suffrage and Beyond

WSA(NZ) - Pae Akoranga Wahine - Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies

Victoria University of Wellington, 21-23 September 2018

To mark 40 years of WSA/PAW conferences and 125 years of women's suffrage in Aotearoa/New Zealand, WSA/PAW joins with the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies in presenting a conference promoting feminist scholarship and activism. The conference will be an opportunity to advance current feminist engagements, while acknowledging and understanding the challenges of the past. We are committed to supporting many perspectives including those of Māori, Pasifika, Tauīwi, Pākehā and ethnic minority women.

This conference will provide a forum for enduring feminist concerns including gendered violence, equal pay, reproduction, race, ethnicity, sexuality and class. It will also provide an opportunity to consider contemporary perspectives that emphasise intersectionality including issues around environmental sustainability, new reproductive technologies, transgender and women's rights in work places.

This two and a half day conference is part of a longer conversation in New Zealand about women's rights and feminist activism in the community and academia. We hope for new insight and vigorous debate into the current state of feminism in New Zealand. To this end, we invite papers from academics, community, practitioners, and activists that address the conference themes, as indicated above.

The Conference Programme Committee extends a general invitation for individual papers, workshops, panel discussions, performances and artistic displays addressing other themes relevant to the work of the association. We also strongly encourage proposals from community-based women's groups and senior secondary school, graduate, and postgraduate students.

Registration commences in July. Details will be made available on the Association website www.wsanz.org.nz and the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies website www.victoria.ac.nz/stout-centre.

How to submit a proposal:

Proposals are due June 30th 2018. Please email abstracts

(not more than 200 words) and a brief bio to deborah.levy@vuw.ac.nz. For panels, present a description of its theme and purpose and submit abstracts for the individual contributions. Please nominate a contact person for the panel.

In all cases please also provide:

- Full name and affiliation (where relevant) of presenters
- Full contact details (including email address and phone number)
- Title of your presentation
- An indication of the format: a 20-minute paper (15 minutes plus 5 minutes for questions), 60-minute workshop or panel, or a performance, art display, or poster presentation.

Who can present at the Conference?

Anyone is welcome to attend the conference subject to registration. We hope that presenters will also join the Women's Studies Association, New Zealand (WSANZ). Details of membership can be found on www.wsanz.org.nz/membership. Note that WSANZ members receive a discount on conference registration equivalent to the membership fee.

Conference Convenors

Professor Ann Weatherall

Associate Professor Kate Hunter

"Te Waha Kairongorongo e":

The Voice in Time and Space

National Oral History Association of New Zealand
Biennial Conference 2018

27-29 November, Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato.

The National Oral History Association of New Zealand (NOHANZ) invites abstract submissions for our biennial conference to be held at the University of Waikato, Hamilton, Wednesday 28 and Thursday 29 of November 2018. This year the theme of our conference focuses on the sweet sound of the voice, the singers of tales (te waha kairongorongo), storytellers, and the resonance of the voice through time and space. How is oral history transient through time and space? How do the voices of our participants travel through, or resonate in, time and

space as a vehicle for memory? What significance do we find in the spaces we use to access, listen to, co-create, and present voices that give meaning and memory to the past? How is the notion of "time" apparent in the transmission of memory across generations of voices? We invite presenters to submit abstracts that engage with the broad variety of oral history work, from memory and narrative, to myth, storytelling, methodologies, presentations of oral history, and oral history theories. We would love to hear about your projects, your interviewees, and the ways in which you have engaged with the voices of the past. We invite attendees to submit abstracts for either a panel or roundtable (90 mins in length), a 20 minute individual paper, a workshop, or a 5-minute lightning project presentation. Individual papers will be 20 mins in length.

Please submit your abstract to Dr Nēpia Mahuika

at nmahuika@waikato.ac.nz or Lynette Shum

at atnohanzconference2018@gmail.com by 29 June 2018.

If you are submitting an abstract for a paper be sure to include the following:

- Title of Paper
- Abstract of no more than 250 words
- Name of Presenter
- Institutional affiliations if any
- Email address
- Preference for panel/roundtable/individual/workshop/lightning

Panels should include abstracts for each presenter (20 min per paper) and an overall panel abstract as well. Roundtables can just include one abstract for the roundtable and a list of speakers (no more than four in a 60 min session). Workshops ideas can be discussed with the conference organisers, please email above. Lightning project presentations should be no more than 5 minutes with no AV content.

Abstracts will be accepted on the condition that presenters register for the conference.

Join the conversation: [#nohanz2018](https://twitter.com/nohanz2018)



Obituary: Jim Anderton

Matt Robson's Eulogy (abridged) for former deputy Prime Minister Jim Anderton, NZOM—Sacred Heart Church Christchurch, 11 January 2018.

Ka tangi te titi, Ka tangi hoki ahau,
Tihei Mauri Ora.
Te whare tapu e tu ne,
Nga iwi e tau nei,
Tena Kotou katoa.

Jim Anderton was my, and so many others, political leader and teacher. He was also our friend. The tributes to him this week reflect the political giant he was, and will remain.

My first acquaintance

Every single person here today knows Jim in their own way. I can only provide what I hope is a further insight into the man and the leader. On turning on the radio in 1980, just returned from overseas, I heard an unfamiliar voice. The voice outlined that the Labour Party would campaign vigorously against apartheid and for a society of fairness and equality and that the speaker and his Labour Party colleagues were building a party machine to do just that. It was one of those annoying interviews where you come in part way through and Kim Hill does not tell you for 20 minutes or so who is the interviewee. Finally, when informed the speaker was Jim Anderton and he was President of the Labour Party, I just about fell off my chair. I probably did.

I had attended Labour Party conferences in the past and the presidents, if I could remember their names at all, gave platitudinous speeches, never mentioned policies, the sacred territory of MPs, and announced the time for morning tea. This was a different political beast. I asked Helen Clark, soon to be Labour MP for Mt Albert and a fellow student when at university, if Jim was the genuine article. As his close colleague and Labour Party activist Helen assured me he was. I immediately joined the Labour Party. With the thousands who were now joining a revitalised Labour led by Jim, Helen and Margaret Wilson, we campaigned vigorously in 1981 with Bill Rowling as leader and Jim by his side as President. That was the year of an all-white Springbok tour. Jim with a few brave Labour MPs around Helen defied a caucus ban to be on the mass marches. So, began a more than 30-year friendship with Jim and the privilege in joining in government the man whose achievements and leadership have been recounted all this week and here today.

Apart from Helen and a small group of MPs including Opposition Leader Bill Rowling, there was no welcome mat from the Labour Caucus for President Jim with his plans to revitalise the organisation and involve the membership in developing progressive policies. They thought they'd seen the back of him after driving him out of the 1967 Conference where he had made an unsuccessful attempt to break the power of Union grandees who had rubber stamped conservative policies and conservative selections in concert with the Caucus. Now, over a decade later he was back, as President and supporting policies from the base for progressive taxation to reduce disparities in wealth, using state resources to develop the mixed economy, severely limiting user pay provisions in health and education and a progressive and an independent internationalist policy which would also make New Zealand nuclear weapon free.

For old and new Labour members alike in the refashioned mass party, Jim provided a clear set of principles based on recognition that wealth was created collectively and should be used for the collective good and based on that old fashioned socialist and Christian ideal of national and international solidarity of the peoples. His political experience spanned his years from 1965 as young Auckland City Councillor with the chutzpah to challenge that Auckland mayoral colossus, Dove Meyer Robinson, becoming Labour President in 1979, leading the formulation of the 1984 Labour policy platform programme, expelled in 1989 from the Labour caucus for opposition to state asset sales to being the leader of the New Labour Party, then the Alliance and deputy PM and senior cabinet minister in the coalition government led by Helen Clark.

In these years Jim would use the telling analogy of opposition to the American war in Vietnam, in which millions of Vietnamese died, to show that principle will win out in politics. At the beginning of that war, and during the Cold War, Labour MPs were nervous of outright condemnation of the War and New Zealand's military commitment from 1965. Their nervousness became panic when they lost the 1969 election and attributed that to opposition to the war. They became even more invisible than usual on the subject. Then as the truth about the war emerged a clear majority of New Zealanders supported an immediate end to New Zealand's involvement. Labour 1972 victory was boosted by joining that demand.

Jim used this example to demonstrate that it was crucial to take the right moral and political position even when public opinion was not on your side. When the truth emerged, he would say, people will remember those who took the principled stand and gave leadership. And taking the principled stand was his hallmark. He would tell us—do what is right, not what is politically expedient.

The watershed years

The campaigning enthusiasm of 1981 carried over into 1984. President Jim became Sydenham's Labour MP. But the Labour election manifesto was side-lined by the new cabinet. The new government did not have a mandate to lower taxes on the wealthiest and begin the programme of public asset sales. Jim rallied the Labour ranks against these policies. At the 1988 Labour conference he came close to winning the presidency. If he had, history would have been different.

Jim stood by the policies that Labour had gone to the electorate on even when it meant no cabinet post, no committee chairs, no overseas trips and famously, expulsion from the Labour caucus in 1989. He led the formation of the New Labour Party and fought the 1990 elections without the material resources of a large party but with the respect and admiration and support of thousands who turned their back on a bitterly divided Labour Party. It is hard to encapsulate in any pithy way those heady days when droves of the activists of the Labour Party turned to the new Party.

At the 1990 election Jim retained his Sydenham seat, against any historical precedent, and the fledgling New Labour Party was launched as a political force.

National too was to lose the trust of New Zealanders when after their 1990 landslide election win they continued asset sales and placed the greatest burdens on the least well off. It was the combined mistrust of Labour and National which probably tipped the balance for MMP in the 1993 referendum, a cause Jim campaigned for enthusiastically.

In 1991 the New Labour Party, under Jim's guidance, joined with 4 other small parties, the Greens, Liberals, Democrats and Mana Motuhake, in 1991, to form an Alliance around a common programme. In the last First Past the Post election in 1993, and with 18 % of the popular vote for the Alliance, Sandra Lee, leader of Mana Motuhake defeated Labour heavyweight Richard Prebble

in Auckland Central and joined Jim in Parliament. Now we were two. Jim always paid tribute to Sandra's role at his side in the good times and the bad times. Alliance policies for progressive taxation, regional and economic development, an end to asset sales, return to free public health and education, greater resourcing of the Waitangi Tribunal, strong environmental measures and an independent foreign policy and of course Kiwibank, Paid Parental Leave and Four Weeks Annual Leave became our hallmark. The 1996 manifesto set these policies out with each one costed down to the last cent. Jim's imprint was evident. The result in the first MMP election—9 more Alliance MPs to join Jim and Sandra.

In that 1996 election I well remember that Jim drew a line in the sand against using migrants as a punching bag to gain votes. The anti-immigrant campaign blaming, in particular Chinese immigrants, for every social ill possible (there is nothing new under the sun!) caused our high polling vote to drop dramatically. I was the immigration spokesperson. There was pressure to put arbitrary numbers on immigration figures from within the Alliance. I refused to blame our contributing migrant community for the country's woes. Jim backed me 100 percent. It was not the right thing to do, votes or no votes, so we were not doing it.

Alliance with Labour

But although neither Labour nor the Alliance was in government in 1996, the Alliance had arrived. Then in 1998 Jim showed his political vision and commitment to achieving the implementation of progressive policies by joining with Helen Clark and Labour to campaign for a Labour-Alliance government in 1999, not without a lot of grumbling from many of us who were not so quick to see that it was time to leave our separate camps and strike at the political enemy together. Jim, older than most of us, was quicker off the mark. Helen Clark showed her political leadership as well and both rose above any of the political friction that had gone before and put the needs to rebuild a fairer and more just New Zealand above anything else.

Labour-Alliance in government 1999-2002

The rest, as someone famously said, is history, and the Labour-Alliance government was formed in 1999. Many Alliance key policies were implemented. But Michael Cullen has pointed out that although the Kiwibank is rightly credited to Jim and the Alliance it was Jim's determination to have a ministry for economic, industry

and regional development that was perhaps his most remarkable achievement. This helped to underpin economic growth for every single region in New Zealand. and the retreat from extreme market policies. Jim was also, as Michael has attested this week, a co-architect of the Kiwi Saver policy. And later, the Fast Forward Fund for the primary industry sector.

The 2002-2005 Labour-Progressive government

Between 2002 and 2005 Jim and I were the only surviving MPs from the Alliance. But not to despair. He worked even harder, if that was possible, to complete the Alliance programme. I campaigned with him for measures to reduce alcohol harm and introduced, as a backbencher, the eventually successful bill for 4 weeks annual leave. He was unremitting in his advocacy of effective measures for suicide prevention and resources for mental health.

Man Alone—2005 to 2011

Now he was back to a one-man party, but still in coalition. As Number 3 in the cabinet he was placed in the hot seat as Minister of Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries and Biosecurity. It was his responsibility to put the farming sector back at the centre of government economic strategy. He created the Fast Forward Fund for the primary industry sector which saw a \$700 million research and development fund, planned to grow to 2000 million dollars fund over 10 years. Jim regretted the axing of this important initiative for our most important industry by the incoming Key government.

Back in opposition 2008 to 2011

Whether you can keep a good man down or not you certainly couldn't squash the spirit of Jim. During this last term in Opposition 2008-2011, he developed a workable model for affordable dental treatment for all New Zealanders and campaigned on the reform of our alcohol legislation.

Retirement from Parliament—Look out Christchurch

In retirement from Parliament in 2011, he continued with voluntary work in post-earthquake Christchurch, campaigning for the conservation of the Christchurch Cathedral with the Greater Christchurch Building Trust, fundraising for the new AMI Sports Stadium and chairing the stadium committee and was on the board of the low-cost housing group, Habitat for Humanity NZ. Oh and of course apart from that little episode of an earthquake in his beloved Christchurch in 2010, before

his retirement from Parliament, he would have added Mayor of this city to his CV. His Christchurch years after Parliament were not your normal retirement set of activities.

Working with Jim—or at least running to try and catch up

He stressed Organisation, organisation, organisation. Detail, detail, detail. Do sweat the small stuff or the big stuff will fall on you. Get the scaffolding right.

Did Jim feel political pressure from the ever present daily crises of politics and personal issues? Of course. But he would breathe deeply, focus on what is to be done and do it. He liked to get things in perspective and would have loved the advice of Australian cricket great and World War Two bomber pilot Keith Miller who when asked about pressure in an Ashes test replied: Pressure! What pressure? Pressure is a Messerschmitt up your arse.

I recently looked at Tony Benn's book "Arguments for Socialism" and I believe that Jim would agree with the following sentiments:

"The real history of any popular movement is made by those, almost always anonymously, who throughout history have fought for what they believe in, organised others to join them, and have done so against immense odds and with nothing to gain for themselves, learning from their experience and leaving others to distil that experience and to use it again to advance the cause."

Now we say good bye to a remarkable New Zealand figure who truly built his footpaths where the people walked.

Haere ra e rangitira

Haere ra e hoa

Moe mai, Moe mai, Moe mai.

The struggles of working people have a long and significant history in Aotearoa New Zealand. The Labour History Project (formerly the Trade Union History Project) is an organisation dedicated to researching, recording, preserving and promoting this working-class history.

Interested in becoming a member? By joining the Labour History Project you will be supporting the promotion of working-class history, receive the LHP Bulletin three times a year, and keep up-to-date with the latest news, reviews and events. Membership is \$30 for individual members or \$75 for corporates or institutions. If you'd like to join please visit www.lhp.org.nz.



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