**Index**

Aboriginal self-determination 41
Albanese, Anthony 143
ALP
  - choosing a candidate 6
  - control by members 8
  - control by unions 13, 33, 36, 52–3
  - establishment 1
  - first election 5
  - first party platform 11–12
  - founding decades 6–7
  - governance 7, 8–12, 16–19, 36, 117–18
  - hollowed out from below 55–8
  - organisational reforms 12
  - the Pledge 3, 10, 111
  - position of modern parliamentary leader 84–5, 184
  - preselection of electoral candidates 5–6, 50–2
  - principles of solidarity 2–4, 9
  - restrictions imposed on state premiers 3
  - Rules 3, 133
  - Socialist Objective 11–12
  - split in 1955–57 22
  - votes of workers 33–4
  - see also NSW Labor
ALP membership
  - changing composition 43
  - collapse 47–9
  - control of party 8
  - does it matter? 184–6
  - financial membership in NSW 2002–2009 189–90
  - pointlessness of 2
  - tickets of 8
  - value to members 1–2
ALP policy
  - economic reform 34, 43, 80
  - industrial reform program 33
  - overturning 80
  - on selling public assets 80, 95
  - taxation 34
  - three-mines policy 41–2
  - uranium 41–2
Amery, Richard 155
Aquilina, John 155
Anderson, Peter 29
anti-communism 22
APEC 135
Arbib, Mark 30, 64–5, 69, 70–1, 78, 88, 114, 125, 127–30, 164–5, 170, 171
Askin, Bob 24, 28, 68
Australian Labor Party see ALP
  - headings; NSW Labor headings
Bankstown seat 63–4
Barnard, Lance 153
Bastian, Paul 107, 117
Beazley, Kim 42, 140
belief, loss of 185
Benson, Simon 144
Beverly Hills Branch 61, 62
Bitar–Foley amendment 111
Blair, Tony 56
Bligh, Anna 184
blue collar vote 33–4
branches (ALP)
  - and collapse of membership 47–9
  - Federal intervention in State Branches 14, 136
  - significance of meetings 8–9
  - see also labour leagues; NSW Labor branches
Brereton, Laurie 161
Brogden, John 66
Buchanan, Joe 97
Cahill, Geoff 76
Cahill, Joe 22–3, 67
Cahill government 20
Cameron, Doug 112
Campbell, David 151
Carr government, attempt at electricity privatisation 81–2, 92
Catholic Church, support for NSW Labor 23
Centre Unity faction (NSW Right) 38
Chilley, Ben 11–12, 16
Chilley government 22
Childs, Bruce 143
Clare, Jason 69
Collison, Russ 108
Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Commission 35
conflict, management of 132
conscription 12–14, 18–19
Coombs, Robert 148
corporate donations to political parties 142, 184
Corrigan, Chris 107
Corrigan, Geoff 138, 139
Costa, Michael 66, 78–9, 82, 87, 88, 105–6, 109–11, 114, 116, 117, 121, 127, 140, 143–6, 148, 155, 181
Crean, Simon 31, 85
Curren, Steve 107
Curtin, John 16–19, 38
D'Amore, Angela 138, 139
Debnam, Peter 66–7
Della Bosca, John 77, 88, 95, 105–7, 117, 122, 124, 150, 157, 158, 159, 176
democracy, internal 134
desalination 128–9
donations 129
Ducker, John 37, 74–5, 76, 105
Dunstan government 28
economic reform 43, 44, 80
Egan, Michael 25, 65, 81, 92, 108, 113
electricity privatisation in NSW
lemma’s approach 82–3
lemma’s reasons for
supporting 79–80
in Caucus 115
and Labor policy 78
negotiations and standoff between
lemma government and unions 87–9
opposition by ALP, Unions NSW and NSW Right 85–7
Plan B proposals 145, 183
reasons for 81
factional operatives 50
factions
divisions in NSW Liberal Party 66
see also factions (ALP); NSW Labor Left faction; NSW Labor Right faction
factions (ALP)
control over preselection 51–2
death of the Left 39–47
operation 37–9
professionalisation of leaderships 54
survival of the ‘Left’ 41, 45
see also NSW Labor Left faction; NSW Labor Right faction
Faulkner, John 78, 143, 170
Federal ALP, intervention in State Branches 14
Ferguson, Jack 26–7, 29, 147, 157
Ferguson, Laurie 126
Ferguson, Martin 108
Firth, Verity 125
focus groups 127, 130, 137–8, 164, 165, 185
Foley, Luke 93, 103, 111–13, 117, 120, 125, 129, 132, 133, 138, 139, 140, 143, 146, 154, 170–1
Fraser, Malcolm 41
Frighthcorp 107
Gadiel, Tanya 139
Garrett, Peter 161
Gellatly, Col 68
Georges River seat 62
Georgiou, Petro 41
gesture politics 41
Gibson, Paul 70–1, 99, 107, 138, 139
global financial crisis 44
Greene, Kevin 148
Greens 46, 120
Greiner, Nick 68, 115
Greiner government 62
gurus 57
Hand, Gerry 43
Hasluck, Paul (Sir) 153
Hatzistergos, John 151
Hawke government
industrial reform program 33
privatisation of Qantas and Commonwealth Bank 80
Hawke–Keating governments
economic reforms 43, 44, 80
tax changes 34
Hayden, Bill 75
Heffron, Bob 16, 19, 22, 23, 67
Hills, Patrick Darcy 24, 25, 26, 27–9, 74, 156
Holman, William 11, 15
Howard government
attack on trade unions 53
privatisation 80
Howe, Brian 43
Howe–Hand strategy 43, 46
Hughes, William Morris 12–13
humanitarianism 41
Hurstville seat 62
Hutchins, Steve 78
Iemma, Morris
announces resignation from
leadership 151
approach to electricity privatisation 82–3
background 59–61
decline in popularity 125, 138, 139
and electricity bills 123–4
enters Cabinet 64
falling out with party
machine 127–31
friendship with Arbib and Bitar 78, 127–30, 132
gains leadership of NSW Labor
intentions at Conference 133
inability to get agreement over
electricity privatisation 83–4
life after politics 153, 180–1
loyalty to Rees 155
moving into Parliament 61–4
positioned as enemy of party
tradition and principle 84
reaction to Conference
rejection 116
reason for supporting electricity
privatisation 79–80
support of Right 30, 61, 64–5
victory in 2007 election 66, 67–70
Iemma government
change of leadership 150–3
claims it would pre-empt Conference
over electricity privatisation 87
cost of focus on electricity
privatisation 83–4
defeat of electricity bills in
Legislative Council 142–4, 145
defiance of the Pledge 3–4, 87, 98, 116, 134
defies Conference 126
falling out between premier and
machine 69, 127–31
impossibility of compromise over
electricity privatisation 133–5
negotiations and standoff with unions
over electricity privatisation 87–9
opposition to electricity bills 141
Plan B proposals for electricity
sale 145, 183
plot to depose Iemma 135–8
possibility of Federal
intervention 136
rejection of Iemma’s
reshuffle 148–9
succession settled in favour of
Rees 131–3
trigger for decision on lemma
leadership 147
undermining of lemma’s
leadership 138–40
industrial reform 33
industrial reporters 96–7
Industrialists 13
‘intervention of 1973’ 29
Jensen, Harry 25
Kaiser, Mike 69, 83, 163
Keating, Paul 27, 37, 75, 90, 146–7
Kelly, Paul 135
Kelly, Tony 144, 148, 149
Keneally, Kristina 106, 109, 140, 161, 176, 178, 179, 180
Knowles, Craig 64, 65–6, 126
Kruk, Robyn 68
Labor Electoral League NSW Annual
Conference
control by unions 14–15
control over ALP 14–15
function of 9
see also ALP Annual National
Conference
Labor lawyers 34–5
Laborism 10–11
labour leagues
Annual Conference 9
establishment 1
operation 9
selection of electoral candidates 1
see also ALP branches
Lakemba seat 63–4
Lampe, Amanda 125
Lang, Jack 14–16, 19
Langism 23
Latham, Mark 161
Lee, John
Left see factions (ALP); NSW Labor Left
faction
Liberal Party
blue collar vote 34
factional divisions 66
leadership 70
opposition to Iemma government’s
electricity bills 143–4
position on electricity bills 118, 121–3
selection of candidates 51, 55
see also NSW Liberal Party
Loosley, Stephen 77
McBride, Grant 107
Macdonald, Ian 88, 107–8, 147–8
McGirr, James 22
McKell, William John 16–17, 19, 22
McKell model 19–22, 58, 98, 132
McKenzie, Kirk 104, 112
McKew, Maxine, 77
McLeay, Paul 139
mandatory sentencing 128
Mannix, Jack 25
Martin, Clarrie 22
Martin, Gerard, 107
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meagher, Reba</td>
<td>107, 109, 127, 140, 148, 155, 181–2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>media</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coverage of NSW state politics and privatisation issue</td>
<td>95–9, 114, 117, 119, 120–2, 125, 127, 132, 133, 137–8, 139, 145, 169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hostility to legitimacy of Labor’s internal governance</td>
<td>117–18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>industrial reporters</td>
<td>96–7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and undermining of Rees</td>
<td>159, 169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menzies, Robert Gordon</td>
<td>24, 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ministerial selection</td>
<td>169, 173–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ministerial staff</td>
<td>49–50, 142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murphy, Lionel</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairn, Bede</td>
<td>11–12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Conference (ALP) control of 2009 conference by Rudd</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>critics of</td>
<td>90–1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>implications of control of conference</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proportion of union delegates reduced</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>union control of conference</td>
<td>floor 31–2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see also</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Electoral League NSW Annual Conference; NSW Labor Annual Conference – May 2008; NSW Labor Annual Conference – November 2009</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSW Labor branches closures</td>
<td>47, 187–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>financial membership</td>
<td>2002–2009 189–90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>membership</td>
<td>47–8, 189–90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSW Labor Left faction death of</td>
<td>39–47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>face test in Parliament</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opposition to electricity privatisation</td>
<td>85, 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Socialist Left’</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sub-groups</td>
<td>147–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>support for Unsworth</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSW Labor Right faction and appointment of ministers 171–3</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balkanises</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic-based</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre Unity</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>challenge to Rees</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>control of Caucus</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>management</td>
<td>72–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meeting to ‘execute’</td>
<td>Lemma 149, 150–1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moves to depose Rees</td>
<td>176–9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myth regarding Wran’s leadership</td>
<td>25–30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opposition to electricity privatisation</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and role of general secretary</td>
<td>76, 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Trogs’ and ‘Terrigals’</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undermining of Rees</td>
<td>158–60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

conference calls lemma government to account 116–18
contest over electricity 58
convened at Sydney Convention Centre 94–5
critics of 90–1
debate on privatisation 103–14
delegates 191–2
formalities and rituals 99–100
Premier’s address by Iemma 100–3
presidential address 99–100
Robertson amendment 105, 111–14
Rudd’s address 114, 115
Thistlethwaite amendment 103–4, 105
union control of conference 85
unrepresentative nature of conference 85, 134
vote on Robertson amendment 113–14
NSW Labor Annual Conference – November 2009
authority granted to parliamentary leader to select ministers 175
convened at Sydney Entertainment Centre 171–5
meeting of Right faction 172
premier’s address 172, 173–4
NSW Labor Left faction death of 39–47
face test in Parliament 122
opposition to electricity privatisation 85, 93
‘Socialist Left’ 45
sub-groups 147–8
support for Unsworth 29
NSW Labor Right faction and appointment of ministers 171–3
balkanises 158
Catholic-based 47
Centre Unity 38
challenge to Rees 176
control of Caucus 181
management 72–4
meeting to ‘execute’ Lemma 149, 150–1
moves to depose Rees 176–9
myth regarding Wran’s leadership 25–30
opposition to electricity privatisation 85
and role of general secretary 76, 77
‘Trogs’ and ‘Terrigals’ 158
undermining of Rees 158–60
Obeid, Eddie 120, 141, 145, 149, 151, 178, 180–1
O’Farrell, Barry 66, 67–70, 116, 137–8, 144
One Nation see Pauline Hanson’s One Nation Party
Orkopoulos, Milton 99
Owen Inquiry 82, 135
Pauline Hanson’s One Nation Party, blue collar vote 34
Pell, George (Cardinal) 41
Perkins, Charles 41
Perry, Barbara 151
Pledge, the, 10, 100
Iemma governments defiance of 3–4, 87, 98, 116, 134
nature of 3, 111
political class 43, 49–54, 73, 109, 119, 142, 184
political parties
corporate donations 142
persuasion, lost capacity for 185
prior to 1890 7–8
public funding 142
Premier’s Department,
director-general’s position 162
preselection of electoral candidates
battles 5–6
factional control 51–2
localised nature 50–1
privatisation
of electricity and water 80–1
of state-owned operations 80
see also electricity privatisation in NSW
public funding of election campaigns 142, 184
public service, advice to government 57–8
racism 41
rating agencies 168
Rees government
end of honeymoon 164, 165–9
focus group findings 164–5
inexperience of Cabinet and Caucus 156
internal division 169
leadership spill 180, 181
mini-budget of 11 November 2008, 165–8
ministerial reshuffle following conference 175–6
plan to seek changes to ALP Rules on ministerial selection 169
polling results 165, 168–9
problems from day one 157
Rees’ inexperience in Parliament 157
selection of front bench 154–5
swearing in 156
undermining of Rees by the Right 158–60
Rees, Nathan
and appointment of ministers 169–75
attempts to build relationships 158
challenge to 176–80
decision he would succeed Iemma as leader 131–3
dismissal of Tripodi and Macdonald 175
elected leader 152
emergence 125–7
inexperience as premier 157
leadership potential 125
loss of props of support from outside Parliament 160–62
loyalty to staff 162–3
need for ongoing protection from outside Parliament 157
poor management of senior public service personnel 162
reliance on Bitar 155, 160
removal of 179–81
since loss of leadership 182
support for his leadership 125
sworn in as leader 153
Thistlethwaite abandons 178–9
undermining of 158–60, 169
waiting to assume leadership 138, 140–1, 143, 147, 150, 151
Refshauge, Andrew 65, 126, 157
refugees 40
Renshaw, Jack 23, 24–5, 156
republicanism 41
Richardson, Graham 61–2, 64, 75, 76–7
Right
see ALP factions; NSW Labor Right faction
Riordan, Joe 105
Roozendaal, Eric 77–8, 107, 108–9, 165–6
Rudd, Kevin 108, 114, 115, 135, 136–7, 140, 171, 184
Rudd government 167, 184
Saluszinsky, Imre 144
Santamaria, BA 10
Sartor, Frank 127, 129, 157, 176, 178, 180, 181
Scully, Carl 30, 64–5
Secord, Walt 125
Sheldon, Tony 104
Simpson, Jack 97
socialism and the ALP 11–12, 39–40
death of 42
solidarity principle 2–4, 9
Spigelman, Jim 153
State Corporations Act 114
state governments privatisation 80
restrictions imposed on Labor premiers 3
Stewart, Kevin 28
Stewart, Tony 63–4
Storey, John 15
Swancott, Neal 97
tax reform 34
Tebbutt, Carmel 125, 127, 147, 153
Theodore, Ted 14, 16
Thistlethwaite, Matt 92, 103–4, 105, 160–1, 164, 170–1, 175, 176–9, 182–3
three mines policy (uranium) 41–2
trade unions amalgamations 53
death of union culture in the workplace 33
lose of social relevance 34–7
unaffiliated to the ALP 35–6
trade unions (affiliated with ALP) control of ALP 13, 33, 36, 52–3, 58
control of ALP Conference 31–2, 85
decline 53
formation of ALP 1
host body of political class 52–4
membership 32–3
and political operatives 52–3
private baronies 73
representation at ALP Conference 14–15, 31
sense of possession of the ALP 6
spoils culture at ALP conferences 31–2
Transport Workers’ Union 73
Tripodi, Joe 65, 127, 141, 145, 146, 149, 151, 155, 156, 165–6, 178, 180, 181
Trotskists 10
Turnbull, Malcolm 41
Turner, Ray 97
Union of Australian Workers 73
Unions NSW negotiations over electricity privatisation 82
opposition to electricity privatisation 85–6
universal manhood suffrage 29
Unsworth, Barbie 29, 75, 83, 90, 93, 103–6, 108, 147, 157
Unsworth Committee 83–4
uranium policy 41
Usher, Lorraine 105
Veitch, Mike 142
Voltz, Lynda 120
Watkins, John 99, 106, 107, 146–7, 180–1
Wedderburn, Graeme 125, 163–5, 170–1, 177, 182
Wells, Fred 96
Wentworth, Billy 41
West, Graham 148–9
West, Ian 120
Westervan, Peter 76
Whelan, Paul 155
Whitlam, Gough 48, 60, 74–5, 153
Whitlam government 25, 48
Williams, Michael 104
workplace culture death of union culture 33
and union membership prior to 1970s 32–3
Wran, Neville 21, 25–9, 64, 68, 74, 101, 103, 112, 155, 156–7
Wran government 112