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"The Political Trials and Tribulations of Rockdale City: A History"

2014 Junior Ron Rathbone Local History Prize

A look into some of the political personalities, issues and perspectives that have occurred in Rockdale Ccity in all three tiers of government. This essay attempts to explore some of the lessons which a modern audience can take away from a study into historical local politics. Not only is such history important in order to understand the political decisions which have shaken the people and politicians of Rockdale in a way that has not been documented thematically in such a manner before, it also serves to bring forth the lessons which can be learnt through years of political mistakes and intrigue.

Established in 1871 as the municipality of West Botany, Rockdale City has had a political history which certainly stretches back in time. In all three tiers of government, be it the Local Rockdale City Council², the Rockdale State Electorate³ or the Federal electorate of Barton⁴ (which all encompass roughly the same areas in and around Rockdale city itself), the city has experienced its fair share of political trials and tribulations, affecting the residents and causing scandals involving political representatives. An analysis of some of the key issues facing these various political institutions throughout the history of Australia's democracy, as well as some overarching social trends that have had great influence on Rockdale, reveals a great deal about the reality of political history. Rockdale's rich political history gives modern onlookers a myriad of interesting and sometimes contentious political personalities, areas of dispute that riled and concerned the people of the day and the varying and changing perspectives of the local people and their political representatives on many issues. It is through the study of such history, that Rockdale City (as a geographical area largely encompassing the aforementioned political electorates) serves as a case study of the nature of all politics and its fickle nature that is so reminiscent of the Gillard minority Government and the ensuing Abbott Government. It also serves as an acute reminder of how often history repeats itself in personalities who commit the same mistakes, or issues which continuously appear – one only needs to look at a Leader article which expressed great concern about the changed pension age to sixty-seven in a modern context where the age will rise to seventy. Thus the study of Rockdale's political history provides more than simply

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¹ Rockdale City Council, *About Rockdale*, http://www.rockdale.nsw.gov.au/Pages/Rockdale_History.aspx

² Appendix Source 1

³ Appendix Source 2

⁴ Appendix Source 3

⁵ The St George and Sutherland Shire Leader, 14/5/2009, "Seniors in firing line"

entertainment, but through the eyes of retrospect an acute awareness of the reality that confronts all politics.

Firstly, though, to properly consider the political history of all three tiers of government that governed Rockdale, its political landscape must be considered. In general, Rockdale tends to be a safe Labor seat –with (in its history) seven out of twelve elections in Barton going to the ALP: and five out of seven elections in the Rockdale State electorate going to the ALP. In recent elections Rockdale experienced a swing towards the Liberal Party, with a Liberal member as representative in Barton and Rockdale electorates, as well as a majority of Rockdale city councillors also Liberal Party members (six out of fifteen). It is important to consider this political undertone in an analysis of the community's reactions to particular events within its history, as the political associations of the people bear a reflection and explanation in examining political reactions from Rockdale City residents. In the most recent census (2011) Rockdale was shown to have a high proportion of ethnic minorities (including a significantly higher number of people with parents born overseas). ¹⁰ With that knowledge in consideration (but used with caution – because of the fact that demographic statistics change with time, and 2011 is certainly very recent), Rockdale provides an image of a political landscape involving voters from a large proportion of ethnic minority groups as well as a historically Labor supporting electorate.

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⁶ Australian Electoral Commission, last updated 27/9/2013, *Profile of the electoral division of Barton*, viewed on 19/7/14, http://www.aec.gov.au/profiles/nsw/barton.htm

⁷ Wikipedia, last updated 31/8/2013, *Electoral District of Rockdale*, viewed on 19/7/2014, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Electoral district of Rockdale

⁸ Electoral Commission NSW, last updated 17/02/2014, *Rockdale*, viewed on 19/7/2014, http://www.elections.nsw.gov.au/profiles/district_profiles/rockdale

⁹ Electoral Commission NSW, *Rockdale City Council*, viewed on 19/7/2014, http://www.pastytr.elections.nsw.gov.au/LGE2012/rockdale-city-council.html

¹⁰ABS, latest issue released 28/03/2013, 2011 Census Quickstats – Rockdale, viewed on 19/7/2014, http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011/quickstat/SED10072?opendocument&navpos=220

Among the most useful ways in which to gauge historical periods and the perceptions of a people at a time is through the personalities (especially those who are elected into their positions of power) prominent during that time. Such a fact is equally true for our understanding of Rockdale's rich political history. These personalities epitomised their time – and were a reflection of a changing political landscape. Perhaps most prominent of all Rockdale politicians in recent history was Robert McClelland, a man who represented not just the people of the Barton electorate but also served in the cabinet as the Labor government's Attorney General. Like many other Labor politicians, McClelland was marred in by his support of then Prime Minister Kevin Rudd in the internal Labor power struggle that characterised the previous Labor government. 11 Having originally thought his demotion from the front bench was temporary, he was soon dumped. The Leader article "Dumped for being a mate" highlights a perspective around a sense of disillusionment regarding the power struggle within Labor which provides a brief insight into the very recent past and an ever existent political cynicism. Under his term, Robert McClelland was also recognised for having introduced reforms for gay couples limited to equality in the treatment of de facto gay partners but no endorsement or support of civil unions or of marriage equality. That decision though, received negative attention from the local newspaper, The Leader, which then drew a cartoon involving two gay men walking down the aisle with a person from the ATO waiting at the end. 12

While not as well known, but arguably with a political story as fraught with challenges as was Robert McClelland's, was that of Barrie Unsworth, another Labor member who represented the state electorate of Rockdale. Criticism over speculation about whether he would even live in the electorate he was representing certainly did not aid his political

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¹¹ The St George and Sutherland Shire Leader, 6/3/2012, "Dumped for being a mate"

¹² The St George and Sutherland Shire Leader, 6/5/2008, "Same sex reforms"

career.¹³It would be an understatement to say that he did not enter parliament with much popular support, considering a large number of traditional Labor voters seemed to desert the candidate in the election, resulting in a victory by an extremely small margin of fifty-four votes.¹⁴ Having attained his seat in 1986 he managed to increase support in Rockdale itself during the next election but led it to a crushing defeat in the state overall. Overall, Mr Unsworth was a political anomaly that dotted upon the surface or Rockdale's long political history – but while his story too may seem only to exist merely for the entertainment of modern onlookers, his politically distraught career yielded a gem in Rockdale's geographic landscape – Rockdale's Bicentennial Park – a physical legacy vastly different from the rubbish tip that existed there before.¹⁵

Perhaps though, while personalities give an insightful shot into the political tribulations engulfing an electorate at a specific point in time, it is reports of major areas of contention within the local community that gives a modern audience a greater understanding of the particularly riling and enraging issues of the day. Rockdale as Barton, Rockdale state electorate or the Rockdale City Council has certainly never been a passive electorate over its past and that is exemplified by the reaction of the community to a variety of issues. One such issue was that of donation money. Great controversy emerged, for example, after revelations that the local state member and planning minister Frank Sartor had granted the approval of a major housing development against the recommendations of his own planning committee, from a company which had coincidentally been a Labor donor but which Mr Sartor incidentally did not recall. This was, as many politically damaging things do, occurring at a

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¹³ The St George and Sutherland Shire Leader, 2010, "Premier's slip led to vote quip"

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ ABC, last updated 28/2/2008, *Iemma*, *Sartor deny favours for another donour*, viewed on 19/7/2014, http://www.abc.net.au/news/2008-02-28/iemma-sartor-deny-favours-for-another-donor/1056614>

time where this issue was increasingly being drawn to the public's attention. In an article in the local newspaper only around a week after the revelations surrounding Mr Sartor's misconduct, Rockdale City Council was shown to be the council in NSW which received the tenth most money in donations. ¹⁷ At the same time, there were also issues with election money going on in regards to the local council, where the ALP councillor Bill Saravinovski denied allegations that his fund-raising dinner hosted major developers. ¹⁸ One councillor's response, a Kogarah councillor - Anne Field - who resigned after receiving an attempt to bribe her was that all developer's donations should be banned. ¹⁹ While this was going on, in response to the increasingly contentious issue, the state government (at that time led by Morris Iemma) proposed a raft of reforms that would attempt to make the entire matter more transparent.²⁰ Once passed, several months later, the legislation to some, including the local Leader reporter which was engaged throughout the issue in its coverage found the result to be ultimately unimpressive because of a perceived continued lack of transparency. ²¹ Of course, there are issues in assessing the outcome and the damage dealt by the scandal involving donation money, especially if from a local news perspective much reporting of the government's actions was negative. Perhaps to add more information to build a greater historical image about the convoluted and constantly repetitive nature of political history it would be well worth noting that Sartor (the Rockdale member who allowed a development site from a development company which provided donations go ahead) was, only a month before, embroiled in conflict regarding yet again developers and money. Changes proposed by Sartor would have seen developer's levies funds withheld from local governments and

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¹⁷ The St George and Sutherland Shire Leader, 4/3/2008, "Election Money"

¹⁸ The St George and Sutherland Shire Leader, 24/4/2008, "ALP fund-raiser defended"

¹⁹ The St George and Sutherland Shire Leader, 4/3/2008, "Election Money"

²⁰ The St George and Sutherland Shire Leader, 4/3/2008, "Reforms set for donations"

²¹ The St George and Sutherland Shire Leader, 3/7/2008, "Laws fail to stop pollie donations"

invested and then supposedly returned when it was needed. Many outraged mayors refused to comply and Sartor's response was to threaten to force councils to do so with legislation.²² The issue of donation money was just one among a plethora of other issues which reigned rampant at the time.

Another major issue of contention for the Rockdale community in several instances in its past was centred around the issue of amalgamation – the combination of two or more council areas to form a single council. The consistent reality of Rockdale council's response to amalgamation reveals a great deal, perhaps, not only of the pride that the council had for its city but even more than that, the state of the council and its selfishness. The issue, raised in 1977, received a response to the people of the city from the council about what it thought.²³ The pamphlet issued to the people was against amalgamation simply because Rockdale council was better off than the proposed councils it was meant to merge with: Kogarah and Hurstville. The pamphlet stated: "Neither Hurstville nor Kogarah are so fortunate. So the simple truth of the matter is, in any enlarged super council, we will fall back to **their** level ... either way you can see how amalgamation will cost us dearly." The source reveals a great deal about the interests of the council in maintaining their reputation for well-funded resources and the method in which they appealed to the general public in order to keep things that way. Interestingly, on the same topic, but years later in 2008, the local councils were once again called upon to amalgamate to form super councils. In this instance the Kogarah council mayor discussed how the change would, once again affect their council and their rate payers (seemingly showing that the selfishness and desire to remain separate from poorer councils was not unique to Rockdale) – forcing them to pay more at the expense of others. The Rockdale mayor simply said that his council worked cooperatively with its border

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²² The St George and Sutherland Shire Leader, 5/2/2008, "Sartor threatens rebellious mayors"

²³ Appendix Source 4

councils – a statement which seems, more than anything, a polite rejection at the need for amalgamation.²⁴ Yet again on this major issue, local political history has yielded to the old dictum that history repeats itself.

Finally, one large area in which we can gain a perspective and understanding of the history of politics in Rockdale would be the perspectives of the people and its politicians on certain issues which, because of their changing nature, we can use to gauge and analyse the changing perspectives that Rockdale council has undergone. In fact, a very interesting nugget of a story, which highlights the fickle nature of changing perspectives, and can be found in the annals of Rockdale Library's local history room, is one which describes how violent protests from anti-Vietnam protestors against Harold Holt when he came campaigning in the Rockdale City Hall led to the Liberal take-over of Barton and Hughes electorates, as one Liberal party official had said: "The revival came to a peak at the Rockdale meeting, at which Mr Holt was abused and assaulted."25 Certainly, though, when properly considering differing perspectives within the local history level, one cannot ignore for example the high proportion of independents in the council. Currently there are four independent councillors within the Rockdale City Council, it is therefore not surprising that as a result, when reviewing the election campaign flyers handed out, there are examples of flyers which completely dismiss both major parties, and that some of the disillusionment that people experience had a lot to do with the local government elections. ²⁶ Understandably however, that has also resulted in instances in the past where many independents applied, but not enough of those applicants provided any evidence that they were serious about running because they had not left any

²⁴ The St George and Sutherland Shire Leader, 9/12/2008, "Bigger Councils by Chamber"

²⁵ The St George and Sutherland Shire Leader, 22/7/2010, "Riot helped PM win war election"

²⁶ Appendix Source 5

method with which people could get into contact with them.²⁷ That simple contrast shifting between dislike of the major parties, but at the same time seeing issues within independents because of the number that applied that were not serious also highlights the changing nature of perspectives throughout Rockdale's political history.

Of course, when considering the changing historical perspectives of Rockdale in all three tiers of its government, there can never be forgotten the constantly shifting perspectives (a phenomenon which was in no way restricted to Rockdale) about greater acceptance of different races and women within the community. For example, only recently there have been ever more pushes for greater female representation in the local councils. ²⁸ This followed a study which revealed that the typical councillor in NSW was male and aged 50-59, and that women only comprised twenty-five percent of the council members. ²⁹ Of course, it was not only in terms of female representation that Rockdale has seen changes within its council leadership. When John Ajaka (now the first Liberal Australian Lebanese Politician in parliament) became a councillor of Rockdale city council he not only represented a change within the Rockdale demography towards a more multicultural place, but also pushed himself to reduce racism within the country – requesting that ethnic descriptors be taken away when discussing alleged perpetrators of crime.³⁰ In these ways, by looking at Rockdale over the recent past, a big change can be seen (aligning with general changes across the nation) for greater multiculturalism and female representation within politics. That observation though, resonates with the idea that we can observe broader historical changes through these local communities and through local history.

²⁷ The St George and Sutherland Shire Leader, 11/3/2004, "57 Mystery candidates don't want you to know"

²⁸ The St George Sutherland Shire Leader, 1/5/2008, "Standing up for equality in local government"

²⁹ The St George and Sutherland Shire Leader, 17/4/2008, "More women for councils"

³⁰ The St George and Sutherland Shire Leader, 31/5/2007, "New MP targets prejudice"

Considering all these observations, however, it is very important to raise some of the historiographical issues surrounding the evaluation of local history. Historians often gain their understanding of areas with a smaller number of previously written histories (such as in instances of local history) from primary sources. In this instance, a closer inspection at the sources from which these stories are told reveals many articles to be by the same journalist named Trembath for the same local newspaper (The Leader). This raises questions of historiography and reliability as to how well we are able to understand the perspectives of ordinary people and the general Rockdale public on the issue of donation money and many others considering this almost inevitable one side reporting of local politics. The reality is that due to the limited nature of primary and secondary source material widely available about Rockdale's local political history, there are inevitably some issues regarding historiography. However in general the facts presented, while potentially non-representative of the general population's views, are quite likely to be correct and such primary sources can be taken as representative of a local media perspective which had in certain circumstances attempted to convey the feelings of local residents (but which is something that cannot be guaranteed). As a result of this, and the general reliability of the facts (if not the representation of perspective), as well as the inevitable historiographical challenges that confront writers of more obscure history, interpretations and historical lessons can still be drawn from this history of Rockdale.

The issues of the Rockdale community have been and still are wide and disparate.

Throughout its history, Rockdale has had constantly shifting perspectives and beliefs, as well as personalities who have come to the forefront of presenting and representing such beliefs.

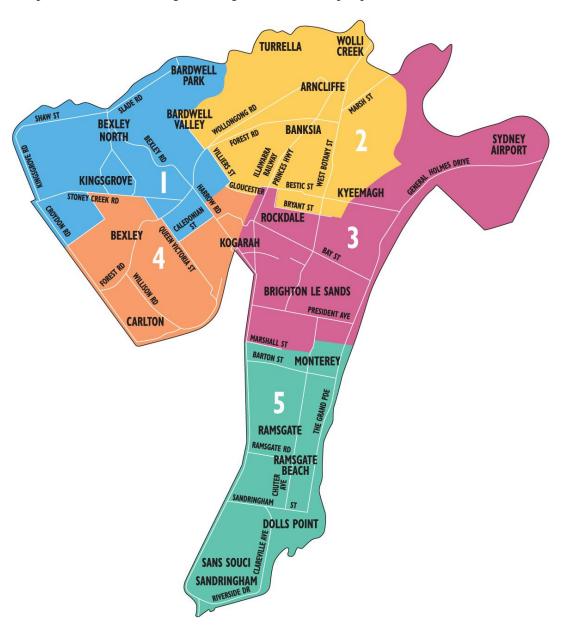
The reality of such a history – that it may be cyclical or repetitive is highlighted to an audience that now reflects upon a very old electorate. However, while the ideas and the stories have not been linear in this area, one linking theme between all of these otherwise

individual and separate events are the physical geographical characteristics of such history and the people of Rockdale City – thus combining them, in a way, into a coherent history. Political decisions in our time have often sparked outrage in many forms and a simple peer back into our past can reveal that that has always been the case. What the study of local history speaks most clearly to us, however, as a modern audience, is a poignant reminder of how inseparable our politics are from historical phenomena, scrutiny from the people and media at the time of events, as well as a continuing scrutiny of the legacy left behind for years to come afterwards.

Rockdale History Prize Appendix:

NB: There must be an understanding that because of poor documentation of the history of Rockdale as well as little historical research into the nature of politics within the electorates, specifically in most recent years, it must be noted that great efforts and lengths have gone into ensuring the accuracy of and corroboration of sources of the research that is presented in this essay.

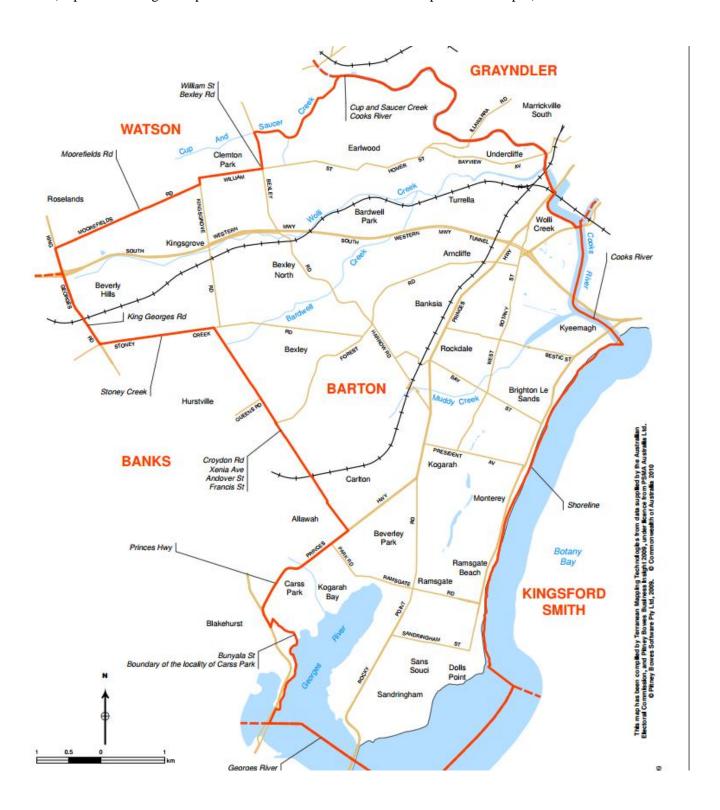
Source 1 – A map of the Rockdale City Council and all of its wards (http://www.rockdale.nsw.gov.au/Pages/Rockdale_Map.aspx)



Source 2 – A map of the Rockdale State Electorate: (http://www.elections.nsw.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0016/74221/rockdale_a3_nl.pdf)



Source 3 – a map of the Federal electorate of Barton (http://www.aec.gov.au/profiles/nsw/files/2009/2009-aec-a4-map-nsw-barton.pdf)





The services threatened by amalgamation.

- kdale has the second lowest rates in Sydney! he lowest administration costs in St. George
- d abnost as much on roads as Hurstville and ogarah combined. (Without upping the rates.)
- and contract work where that leads to major economies to offer five Senior Citizens' Centres. Four Youth entres. Five Saby Health Centres. Two Women's Rest entres Fully staffed.
- We provide six miles of clean, healthy beachfront recreation areas, with free parking for residents, proper and control and five fully netted beachfront pools.
- In addition to our very own Olympic Pool complex
- in fact, in sport, we offer no less than 60% of the sports elds, in the whole St. George area Imagine the cost of duplication for Hurstville and
- We have two golf courses and more than 200 parks.

 And we spend more than \$200,000 a year to purchase and for further beautification of Rockdale.
- We plant more than 4 000 trees annually. We offer a free Tree Advisory Service. (Even free trees during Tree
- Garden refuse removal service.
- We care about local values. So, we've always taken the leed in defending our area against Port Botany, or Airport and accessfully We've ensured Airport Noise Abatement. (Would any
- Super Council care? Would they listen?)
- We take the lead in supporting residents' cultural activities, too. We're justifiably proud of the Rockdale Opera Company. The Rockdale Orchestra.

 The Historical Society.

- · We cherish our historic past and we're actively restoring, and exhibiting, our area's pioneering heritage.
- We have an Annual Crafts Exhibition. No fewer than five libraries. And a bookmobile!
- We have the staff, already, to do the things you take for granted from the Council Our Pest Control Survey and Advisory Service is free. We have a Dog Control Officer. We dispose of unwanted vehicles at no cost, to owners. Our Park Rangers patrol 7 days a week.
- Every Council Department is available to residents after hours, on the emergency numbers. Even on weekends.
- We have a policy of encouraging self help in local organizations.
- An example. The only 24 hours a day. 7 day a week
 Mobile Nursing Service. This service offered residents
 more than 46,000 calls last year. (And. a Social Worker.)
- Rockdale Council is the only council in the area ever to have earned the coveted Bluett Award for municipal achievement.

These are the bonus services threatened by amalgamation.

How to vote.

When you receive your ballot paper for the election of aldermen you will also be handed a poll paper on the amalgamation question. Here is how to mark the poll paper.

YES 2

For further information call 597 1666 or your Ward Aldermen

*The Government was asked to put forward a case in favour of amalgamation. But they declined the opportunity.

The Council of the Municipality of Rockdale

"At the present time, the Rockdale Municipality is being investigated by "Commission, with a view to it being amalgamated with the Municipality Hurstville and Kogarah;—

Do you favour this amalgamation proposal?"

Before you make up your mind...

Source 5 – A flyer criticising both major parties and encouraging voters to vote independents instead.



The shame is from Liberal & Labor only

The Independent Commission Against Corruption found that a Liberal and a Labor Councillor, plus two developers and two "Bag Men" had acted corruptly and referred the matter to the Director of Public Prosecutions to consider laying criminal charges against them.

At the time of writing we await the criminal charges and you may be as confused as us, as to why it has been delayed.

Liberal Councillor Kaloudis
(now calling himself an independent) was convicted in Court for sending threatening anonymous fax messages to three other
Councillors in relation to a matter before Council. Because he was only fined, and not given a prison sentence, he was permitted to continue on Council.

How unfair to ratepayers.

He did represent 1st ward but has now moved to contest 5th ward. He has also been a Liberal Candidate for State.parliament.

The high rise is from Liberal & Labor only

In this election, Labor & Liberal claim to be opposed to high rise—but all attempts to increase high-rise have come from the Labor & Liberal, combining with each other (strange "bedfellows") against the Independents.

They tried a major rezoning in Princess St against the wishes of the residents and a Commission of Inquiry. Indeed, one of the owners in Princess St and a proponent of rezoning, is the Liberal candidate for 5th Ward. Will he revive it in the new Council???

Two of the three present
Liberal Councillors vote with
the Labor Councillors on a
regularly basis.

Rockdale had an excellent reputation under Independent control but a shameful reputation when power shited to the political parties.

Don't trust a Labor or Liberal candidate

vote for an independent-

But only the independents who don't give their preferences to a political party

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 $Rockdale\ City\ Council,\ About\ Rockdale,\ \ < \underline{http://www.rockdale.nsw.gov.au/Pages/Rockdale_History.aspx}>$