There are plenty of people in Taranaki who will never forgive Mayor Andrew Judd for what he did.

His stand over lack of Maori representation on New Plymouth District Council brought the province into national disrepute, they’re saying. Had us labelled a bunch of red-necks.

The pile of papers on his desk in the photograph above are messages of support, he says, from those who applaud him for grasping the hurt Maori feel at being denied an automatic place at the council table.

Judd’s was a brave move, in some people’s eyes; a foolish one, in the eyes of others; an act of treachery for many who backed his coup to unseat one-term mayor Harry Duynhoven at the 2013 local body elections.

What could possibly have made him throw away a promising local political career, turn away after a three-year term that accomplished a number of other gains?

Judd offers an explanation in this interview by JIM TUCKER.
Live: Let’s start with some background about you – are you a Taranaki person?

Judd: No, I was born and bred in Masterton. My wife, Trudi, and I moved here to purchase Selectrix (appliance store) as it was, up on the Devon St hill opposite the Opera House. Retail is a lot of my background.

Prior to that I was a factory cloth-cutter. I came through factory work in the Wairarapa, in Greytown. Moved to Hamilton, met Trudi, got married, lived in Huntly for a while. I was a sales management cadet for Wrightson-NMA, which took me around the Waikato.

I was learning to fly. I wanted to be a pilot. Then I got married, and priorities change, as they do. Long story short, an opportunity came up to purchase a shop I was managing in Cambridge, but Fisher and Paykel said ‘no, there’s a great opportunity in New Plymouth’.

I’d never been here. Drove down for the weekend and thought this is pretty cool, the mountain and everything. Lo and behold, moved here in 1995.

I got into Selectrix. Got into operatic, boots and all. Got entrenched. My wife’s a nurse up at the Base (Hospital). She’s been there ever since we’ve been here. And had our children.

Went from retail into radio. Obviously, the world changed with appliances, so sold it to Brian Mason. Worked there for a little bit, then decided after having worked for 14 or 15 years in appliances I wanted a new challenge.

I was quite intrigued with radio, so became what they called a ‘reptile’, a sales rep, as it were, which got me around the province. So I got to know Taranaki quite well. Did a bit of on-air, making some ads and what-not.

One of our top-spending clients was Michael Browning Optometrists. We went to Australia on a top client trip and he asked if I had ever considered getting into optics. It was becoming more retail-focused, which suited my skills. He said he could put me through the training course to become a dispensing optician.

I was quite intrigued by that, but I had two minds about it. I wasn’t sure that was what I wanted to do. I needed seventh form maths and physics, and I’d left school after school certificate. So to get accepted into the college in Australia I had to get six months’ tuition with a private tutor.

For some reason, that triggered a challenge in me, so yes, proved it and got distinction through the course. Ended up going out on my own. Ended up becoming the national president of our association for two terms.

Michael sold up and went overseas, and one of his optometrists (the ones who write the prescriptions) said he would come and working for me in the shop we had in King St. Away we went. We won a few ‘top shop’ awards.

On one of those awards nights, (Mayor) Peter Tennent came over and gave me a pen, and he says ‘you’re going to wake up tomorrow with this pen and think, that’s right, you’re going to use it to fill out an application form (to stand for the council). I think you could be mayor’. Retrospectively, yes, I think Peter hit my ego and all those buttons. Turns out he says that to everybody, but that’s okay. That’s Pete. But what it did was, it got me intrigued in local council.

It just happened to be when they changed the parking meters, doubled in price, and there was a big furor round here. Back in 2007.
I’d never really thought about the council much, except peripherally – had a house and paid rates. It was just one of those things I hadn’t focused on, particularly local politics. But it intrigued me, so I thought ‘yeah, I’m going to give that a shot’.

**Live: How old were you then?**

**Judd:** I’m 51 now, so 42. And I got second highest-polling candidate. Unbelievable. Behind John McLeod, I think it was.

So I’ve got myself elected, and I’m as keen as mustard. But I’m dumb as a new boy. Peter had said to me I needed to spend the first few months breathing through my nose. But I didn’t.

One of the first things that happened was the minute you come in you’re talking about the annual plan. I’m no Rhodes Scholar, but I thought I knew a bit about budgets, and so I started following things, of course, and I thought maybe with a pair of fresh eyes I could work my way over this budget.

Well, this Sunday I get a phone call: ‘Andrew, it’s Sherrill George (a fellow councillor) here. There’s a few of us down at a coffee shop going through the budget as newbies. Come on down. We can talk you through how it works.’

I go on down and there’s Craig McFarlane, Shaun Biesiek, John McLeod and Sherrill George. We’re there for about an hour, then Gordon Brown (from the Taranaki Daily News) turns up.

Sherrill had arranged for Gordon to turn up. ‘Oh, what are you doing here?’ The headline? ‘Razor Gang’. From that time on, Peter never offered me another pen. So I learned a few lessons very soon, around breathing through your nose.

That’s okay, because what it did was it allowed me to be at the back and observe what I came to realise was a learning ground. I say to people that I had strong views on what it is to be a parent – until I had children.

These places are very unique. And whilst being a businessman is always good, so’s being a factory worker, a bus driver or a journalist or a doctor. What you learn over time is this is true MMP, with 15 individuals, and it’s as basic as saying it’s a numbers game.

If you’ve got the numbers on anyone debate you’re pretty unstoppable, and one day you may agree with somebody and the next day you could be polar opposite.

But what I’ve learned over time is you need to deal with each issue in its entirety, in its own right, and learn to be effective. And learn to be a politician in this particular environment. It’s not party politics, particularly here in New Plymouth. It may be in other areas, but thankfully it’s not here.

For me it was learning how to navigate through… initially, it seemed every time you had an idea there would be a barrier. I say to councillors it’s no good getting grumpy at Barbara (McKerrow, CEO) and the team – that’s like yelling at the ref.

They don’t write these rules. They blow the whistle. We play the game in the sense of the decisions we make. All of what they’re doing is on the back of the decisions before. When we arrive, we pick up on the decisions of those before us.

When we leave, we leave the situation that people have to pick up from our decisions. Depending on how long you’re there will depend your understanding of all those debates and challenges and nuances there are.
In and out, it’s a challenge, because there are different degrees of this. It takes quite a while to get a sense of understanding. There’s a whole jargon. I say that these guys here talk in Cantonese. It just bamboozles you, and some people find it very frustrating.

And I get that, because it’s legislation. We’re in such a box, and pretty much all we do is legislated by it. And I didn’t know that, and I look back now and I was really green.

I had never attended a council meeting. You think you’re going to come in a shake the world up, and get frustrated by ‘no, you can’t; no, you can’t; no, you can’t’. Or the whistle being blown all the time.

I smile to myself at Keith Allum, whose comment was, ‘yeah, I’m an engineer, it’s simple, just do it’. But it takes so long. It’s like saying ‘I can see with rugby that you just pick up the ball and put it over the line’. For heaven’s sake, there’s knock-ons, there’s scrums and lineouts – how frustrating is that?

It is what it is. What you need to learn, though, is the environment you’re in, how to understand that process, how to interpret it, and how to work within it – because you can’t change it. And if you want to change it, go to Government.

Live: When you came in, what did you want to change?

Judd: Well, as a businessman, the parking thing. They’d doubled the parking fee. They’d changed it for the Grey Power to reduce, as a compromise at the end.

I was taking on all the rhetoric – needs not wants. Let’s get back to basics. All that ideological driving stuff.

Live: What about nil rates rises?

Judd: Ah no, I learned early. No. And where it gets really hard, and you can see the shutters come up, is we talk in percentages rather than dollars. And it takes not only a while to understand this, realise that’s what it is, and to change what you came in on, it’s so easy to say ‘cut rates’. Just as it’s easy to say ‘spend’, I would argue.

You’ve got rating differentials. You’ve got competing pressures on you. You’ve got political pressures on you. You’ve got the people who’ve said things and need to defend those. Do you have the ability to change your mind, because that in itself is quite a thing to do – that’s an individual journey. You get pressure from the outside.

Look at your own life – we all change our minds. The longer you’re here the more you become like a statesman, mature and understand it, and having different points of view.

And the pressures that are on the entity. And that you’re not running a corporation making a profit: we’re in this together as a community.

Live: You should have been going on to another term, and presumably would have been, except for a certain thing.

Judd: Yes, that’s right. And don’t get me wrong – I want to (got on for another term). Today (the closing day for nominations for the next election) would have been one of the hardest days. I looked at the clock at midday, the cut-off, and now it’s done, the decision’s cemented for me.

The first thing within that is nobody around the (council) table particularly chose each other, because it’s dished up through votes. It’s like playing cards – you don’t know what hand you’re going to get dealt, and within that you have to play the challenges as they come.
I’m quite proud of what we’ve achieved as a team, given the diverse views that came in, the rhetoric that came in here.

You know, we didn’t close parks, we didn’t close pools, we didn’t shut the library down, we didn’t sell the housing for the elderly, we didn’t put the rates through the roof, we didn’t stop the progress. We have done things actually, a range of things.

And that’s what I’m proud of. I’ve realised over this time…and it’s another analogy…I feel like I’ve been in the forwards fighting for the ball, I’ve finally got it, and I can pass it out to the winger to dot down. And that to me is a win.

I don’t have to be that person there scoring the tries all the time, because it’s a community and it’s about us together. It seems very utopian, I know, but that’s what I’ve come to learn over the journey, particularly becoming the mayor.

It’s like going from being a teenager to being a parent. When you’re that teenager at the family dinner table, yes, I can have my strong views. But when you’re the parent you’ve got different children with different views.

And one like rugby that I do say is that my son might want to do something I don’t particularly like, but I love them equally. And that’s how I found the role to be.

And with that, though, how long’s a piece of string? Because, you know, how much is it that you can easily make about yourself, as opposed to being there for others to, that cliché, make a difference?

But there are issues that we may get to as to why what’s happened happened…and I wouldn’t actually change anything.

Live: Well, shall we talk about that – how did it happen?

Judd: There’s two strands to that. There’s my personal journey, patini, and there’s the process of local government and the Local Government Act. And what I’ve come to realise is it’s in some ways a nonsense and an unfairness, unworkable. This term the Government changed some of the rules to allows mayors to lead your annual plans and long-term plans; and this time – you couldn’t before – appoint your deputy; and to drive and lead structure of council.

But driving your structure of council and committees still have to be ratified by the councillors. What you don’t want though is to take something where your council tips it up. That would be unhelpful from the get-go.

Yes, we had challenges around that. There were strong points of view about how it should be, based on no experience. Eight new councillors came in with me, a first-time new mayor. A bit of a challenge, if you recall all of the angst that was going on.

Anyway, that aside, we debated that, long and hard. We had 50 workshops over the first year, for people to get to know how to fit into this. So the first period was how to establish these committees, who would chair them, et cetera.

So you template on your experience, so I had the three big main ones - policy, monitoring and regulatory. Decided not to have hearings commissioners, in that I would out-source external commissioners. In dollar terms it was the same, but given all the gas consenting going on and coming inland, I personally felt some neutrality around that would be easier on my councillors around political pressure.
There’s a certain set of skills needed, you’ve got to be trained on that, and we’d lost that through Phil Quinney and other councillors (not re-elected). It would have meant new people doing new training on top of being new councillors.

So, all of that stuff. And the last cab on the rank was Komiti Maori.

In and around that time, I’d been in the office a couple of months and I got a phone call from Hayden Jones (TVNZ reporter). He says ‘I’m out in Waitara. I’ve got Eric Williams protesting about the increase in his leasehold land rental. They’ve got a protest. They know there’s a settlement process going through with Te Atiawa and the Crown. All this stuff. Do you come out and do an interview?’

I was advised here that I shouldn’t do it. Nothing to be gained. Settlement process going through with the Crown. We’ve done our bit.

But I thought ‘no, I can’t lead from the office. I’ve got to front up’. So I did. I went out there. They had a big massive protest, a truck with a megaphone system, about the situation. I listened to the leaseholders. I was angry, saddened for them. Frustration. Still in my old sort of thinking, I think.

Got yelled at, abused. Because you are the mayor, and it doesn’t that you’ve just arrived – you are the guy. It’s all your fault, kind of thing. I get that.

Anyway, driving back to the office I thought ‘I’m going to fix this up. This is unfair. We’ve got to find a way. How much longer?’ All that stuff, about Maori. Enough already.

I got some reading on that – started to discover my epiphany, if you like. In that, what I opened up was Te Atiawa’s story of the past. And I started to pick up some stuff, particularly around Waitara and how the Peka Peka Block got taken. I started reading things I’d never read, and I’m thinking ‘okay, sure’.

Then I was asked to Tui Ora (Maori health provider) to meet the kaumatua as the new mayor. The council Maori liaison people, Aroha (Chamberlain) and Anaru (Wilkie) took me on, and the room is full of all these kaumatua.

I was nervous. My limited range of Maori was ‘kia-ora’, ‘puku’. Hongi’d everyone – had never done that. They were all speaking on Maori. I felt out of my depth. It was one of the first times as mayor I’d felt insecure…didn’t know how I was going to address this. In front of some Rotarians I was okay.

But, actually, what I was getting was support and encouragement. It was ‘welcome to our new mayor – whatever we can do to help’.

So what was starting to happen, I guess, was I was starting to… and I refer to being a recovering racist…those ingrained almost DNA-infused thoughts were clashing with what I was experiencing.

Then we got called in… there was some stuff going down with Rick Barker, who was the Treaty settlement negotiator on behalf of the Crown with Te Atiawa. Went to a meeting in Wellington. Starting to observe how the Crown was in the settlement process. I was quite taken by the attitude, as you do as an observer. I was thinking ‘sorry, but that’s not how you say “sorry”’.

I was starting to discover about Parihaka. And I got talking to some iwi leaders who are the shakers of tomorrow, and I said I was looking to put back Komiti Maori and ‘do you know some people I could approach who may want to get involved, as I’ve been told through iwi here that it had fallen off a bit’. People weren’t turning up.
And they said ‘well, with all due respect, it’s no longer…we’re transitioning from grievance to inclusion.’

I had campaigned on being effective and efficient, so why would I want to waste everybody’s time with something that doesn’t work. So for me it was ‘well, what would work? What would be better?’

They said to me, and rightly so, ‘well, Taranaki Iwi is about to sign off on its settlement, and through its process with Taranaki Regional Council it’s got permanent votes and seats on its standing committees.

‘Auckland has it with its structure through the statutory board. East Coast has a Maori ward seat. We know we won’t get that. But anyway, so they have a permanent voice. And Waikato Regional Council has got a Maori seat, as well.

‘So what we’d like, we’d think would be useful for us, is representation on your standing committees.’

So I check that out. Are we allowed to do that? Of course, you can. You’ll risk an audit; you can bring in an accountant to be the chair of it. You can appoint to your standing committees the experts you don’t or don’t feel you have to fulfill your obligations under the Local Government Act. Because it’s a standing committee. You know, all decisions are at the council.

This was the golden goose. This was the silver bullet. There was a whole big paper on it. And so the process we worked through with Aroha was we’d potentially have two from each hapu on each of those three committees (Policy, Monitoring and Regulatory; those committees are each made up of half the council).

They would go through a voting process through their hapu and iwi, and the mayor would have final ratification as to…all good to go.

*Live: So why didn’t that happen?*

**Judd:** So here’s the thing…this is great. Rotorua have just done it and won a national award for that. (Taranaki) Regional Council has it through settlement forever. Not one letter to a paper or anything. Not one complaint.

But the councillors rejected it. I lost it by a vote. And the argument around that table was you can’t have unelected people having a vote on our sub-committees. That’s undemocratic.

The community boards rejected it. Big hoo-ha. So that was that. Then the (council) officers came to me and said ‘by the way, we’re now in the new cycle of the representation review, which happens every six years. Harry’s council pushed it out to the first year of your term.’

I said, ‘yes, I remember that vaguely’. And what they decided on the question of a Maori ward was they were going to push it out to a referendum during the triennial elections we’d just had, but decided not to because Maori thought it would be too disruptive. Took it out; a compromise on putting the Maori flag up.

The process kicked out. So the officers said that ‘because you have to meet a statutory timeline requirement to be finished by – because everything here is legislated; this is the representation review – you have to ask yourselves whether you want to ask the first question first, which is Maori ward.

‘And if you’re going to take that to the council, you’ve got two weeks to do that. Otherwise the timeline’s gone past the question and you’re into the general question.’
So I thought ‘what’s Maori ward? What did that do?’ Well, Maori ward is under the Electoral Act; it’s a representation question.

This representation review, as I said, happens every six years for councils – a community through it’s council must ask itself ‘how many councillors?’ For here, we can have as many as 30 or as few as six. Go figure. Do you have community boards? And do you have wards, or at large?

I thought ‘well, that’s interesting – what’s happened in the past?’ Well, Pete Tennent’s time removed community boards one year, and got challenged, and the Local Government Commission reinstated it. Before amalgamation, we used to have wards in New Plymouth city. So we have a ward system.

And in that representation review under the Local Electoral Act is the question of whether you have a Maori ward. The reason you have to ask that one first is that if that stays people have to make a choice if you’re Maori, whether you go on the Maori Electoral Roll or the General Roll, the same as the country. If that sticks and they choose to do that, that changes the voting blocks for the other part of what’s left in the carve-up.

So I got it through by a vote. I took the question – let’s have Maori ward.

*Live: What changed?*

**Judd:** The counter-argument was that the other way (representatives on committees) was unelected – this was elected.

*Live: Who changed their mind?*

**Judd:** I can’t remember the numbers. The other dynamic was there was a couple of people standing for the job who didn’t come to any of it. And in the second meeting there was a couple of absentees, as well. My assumption was – and you’d have to ask them - was it was the heat from the first round, the round on standing committees. Because we copped flak.

So this has been my argument to people through this whole journey: look, two things. One, I didn’t harbour some hidden secret around representation. I just didn’t.

Two reasons I didn’t…actually, I’d been a racist and I didn’t even focus on it. I’d been on the council before and I don’t remember even being to any Komiti Maori meetings at all. I hadn’t focused on anything. I can’t even recall how I voted on the flag.

It just wasn’t on my radar. I was focused on the PIF and the farms; that’s where my mind and attention was – the money stuff. Needs, not wants. Business. Living up to my platform, and let’s get honesty back into local politics.

What I didn’t see coming, of course, was representation – but we have to do it.

And alongside that was my epiphany. And I’ll admit that. I’ve never backed away from that. And anyway, the council decided to do it – not Andrew Judd. The council. Yeah, I led it. I’m not going to back away from that. But it was a council resolution to do this.

But here’s the reason I’ve never let it go, as well. And that is this…and this isn’t to do with the community – of course I accept the community had that right to have that say, because the system allows that to happen…my argument is that the system allows that to happen, and no other choice of representation around our table.

Only that decision for Maori ward goes to a petition and a poll.
Two months ago I was with the Minister of Local Government, because I’ve got a petition to Parliament. And I said ‘I’ll say it Minister – racist’ because only that decision can go to a poll – no other ward decision can.

And he says – like Paula Bennett, who was the minister before him, who said it to me as well, in a letter – ‘no, that’s appropriate. That’s a race-based thing.’ And I said ‘well, with all due respect, if it’s race-based, why’s it there?’

They put it there. You put the option there, and when a council triggers it you defend it by saying ‘well, of course there should be a petition – because it’s race-based’. Do you understand?

_Live:_ No, I don’t understand.

**Judd:** Well, why put the option there? Why put the option there, then? You’re (the Ministers) are calling the option race-based. Anything after (a council) puts the ward there is race-based. And the kicker, which riled me no end, is the irony of autonomy.

United Nations Human Rights Commission or committee that deals with the treaty of indigenous people’s rights, that we’ve signed up to, asked the New Zealand government 18 months ago ‘what are you doing to ensure Maori and Pasifika have inclusion on councils, because we’re upset that you ignored the recommendations for the Auckland Super City and went to the statutory board’.

The Government’s answer? ‘It’s great – the community can have a Maori ward.’ Ha – you hypocrites! And here we are…that’s why I agree with the Maori Party defending someone…not that I’m against Helen (Clark)...but as a country and a Crown of today, ignore the very organisation we want one of our own to lead. What kind of a hypocrisy is that?

So people don’t understand. They get mad at me about that. But that’s what I’m fighting – I’m not fighting that you voted…because that’s actually kind of irrelevant. It’s that it’s there in the first place. And imagine being Maori knowing that.

And here’s the other thing around it…sorry, I can hear the emotion getting back to me again…if the shoe was on the other foot…because after the Maori ward vote was lost the same people…because I went around the community to all those meetings to do everything I could to explain this to people – that it’s the same model as you have on government: it’s representation; it’s one seat out of 15.

No, it’s not the silver bullet. I didn’t invent it. But let’s use it as a start, because underneath that we can other structures to support it, like Komiti Maori. At least we’re doing a really good thing, are we not?

But all the people that threw that at me, on the next part of the representation review – which is pretty much urban and rural – they said ‘don’t you lose my rural voice. I have a world view that’s different to you townies’.

And I said ‘don’t you see that’s the same thing? But I don’t see where in the Local Government Act I have to include farmers. I’ve got Maori through the Treaty. If that was reversed, and you had to go to a petition and Maori didn’t, that would be changed overnight and under urgency, and I’d be given a knighthood’.

_Live:_ So Komiti Maori would have continued as well?

**Judd:** I would have under-pinned it. I wanted to see it stick. I wanted to see…and this is what your question comes back to…of course I knew taking the Maori ward seat would be the end. I knew that. But how could I…
**Live:** The end of what?

**Judd:** My mayoralty.

**Live:** Really?

**Judd:** Of course. Because I in my own sense was going through an epiphany, and I thought to myself: ‘would old Andrew vote for new Andrew? No, he wouldn’t. I would have said “get lost!”.

I was conflicted at the time, I must say. Because, ignorance is one thing, but to then see it, understand it, and then look past it is to condone it. And that I couldn’t do. Because, what did my slogan mean, because now that I know, I had to. I had to be authentic and real.

I wasn’t elected the mayor as just for one culture. I was meeting people who didn’t fit the narrative of how I have been raised to think by my country’s main culture. These are loving, intelligent, great people, and I’m going on this journey of realising all the things you have now since read. The denial. All that stuff. Whole different conversation, I know.

But we’re broken. Why do I know we’re broken…not so much the question we’ve put around representation, (but) the reaction to it. Gosh, if we can’t address that, we’ll never fix that. We’ll never fix a model that is inclusive around the table.

**Live:** What do you think the impact of all this will be in the long run? What do you hope will happen?

**Judd:** That’s a good question. I’ve found something I wasn’t even looking for. And for me, I’ve just reflected myself. I can’t accuse anyone of what’s in your heart. I don’t know if you’re a racist. I don’t know that. I’m saying that I am. That’s what I’m saying.

I was born in Masterton, and people say to me ‘you must be embarrassed as the mayor making your district the redneck centre of New Zealand’. And I say ‘no, I will defend that to the enth. I was born in Masterton, and you know, most of the hate that I got wasn’t from New Plymouth, it was from around New Zealand. Actually. It’s true. And I’ve also got a lot of support locally.

But the challenge isn’t about a mayor – this is about who we are as New Zealanders, who we are as human beings. I’ve pivoted away from this to say ‘gosh, we’ve got to have a whole new start, a whole new conversation’.

And I’ve gone further to say ‘Pakeha to Pakeha, actually’, because really, that reaction is so telling of who we are as a culture, as the majority culture. I’ve had some horrendous comments made to me.

So I took this representation unfairness around the process to everyone who would listen that’s in authority, right up to the Prime Minister. I got a chance with the Maori Party to tell him how unfair it is on all of us. You know, ‘you’re addressing the Treaty in different ways. That’s unfair. There’s no sense of consistency”.

You’re going to point to the hospital board. And that iwi (Taranaki) was really clever with its remit – it’s got voices on the (Taranaki) regional council permanently. I mean, how are other iwi supposed to feel? That’s like dividing us all.

And always ‘it’s about local communities deciding what local representation means, Andrew’, is what Paula Bennett said to me. And I said ‘no, the majority will always decide’. It’s so flippant. And it doesn’t fix it. All I’m arguing is that in one level, this is a nonsense and it’s unfair to everyone.
And you the Crown, who signed the Treaty, actually...yes, I get all this, I understand...but by your wording transfers that obligation onto us. We are still a level of government. There is a connection, because it’s mentioned in the Local Government Act, that you must include Maori in your decision-making and you must build capacity. How? ‘Well, you guys decide’. You guys is the majority non-Maori.

So a lot of this is to prove that it doesn’t work, that option. We need more authentic, more permanent solutions, so that when I do pass that ball on from the ruck people have got clearer options.

Live: What do you want the next council to do?

Judd: We’ve been having some workshops with Liana Pouto and Te Atiawa. That council meeting when Grant Knuckey and Harry Nicholson spoke...you’ll discover if you get here there are politics on politics. Maoridom has politics.

Grant has been pushed down the pipeline for whatever reason...I don’t know. Grant used to chair Komiti Maori, and is bruised. I respect his mana around this. People say it was ineffective and useless, which is a bit of an affront. ‘When I had it, it worked well,’ (he is saying).

What’s got lost in that is, yes it did at that time; but the leaders are saying ‘we are moving on from that. That model no longer fits’. The words to me were ‘we are transitioning from grievance to participation. We are about to get a lot of money, and a lot of land...’ It’s a no-brainer – we want to work together in an authentic, real way.

All of this (including the street naming controversy at Waitara) has been a reflective journey for us all. Because I never lobbied anybody to support any of this. It’s a conscience vote. You decide. I’ll debate you in the chamber, and if you want to come and talk to me, then I will.

But none of this stuff, in fact none of what I’ve done, has been through trying to trade off anything. I’ve never done that, because if you do that you end up owing something to someone else.

We’re not a party. We’re individuals. So that’s just been my style, whereby the issue is the point. I’ve always argued that the issue stands in its own right, because that’s truest democracy by people elected as individuals. Because what am I going to trade off on? Mostly you don’t know what’s around the corner, and do I have a sense of ‘do I owe you now?’ That’s horrible, I would argue. It would be a horrible place to be.

Prior to being the mayor, yes, of course you do as councillors, you talk issues. I mean, we talk issues and we have views. But I’ve never said to somebody ‘well, if you vote for that I’ll support you’. Never.

Live: So when the vote was taken on the Maori ward, there was no pressure from you?

Judd: No. we had a quick workshop prior to it, and I laid out the facts as I believed them to be. So, I led it, that’s the mayor’s job. And I led our decision. But of course part of the end game has been around...as it turned out, I said let’s go over the top - and I was on my own. Oops. I ended up getting flak from in front and from behind.

Live: There was some criticism of you that you went off on the hikoi to Parihaka instead of chairing the Waitara meeting on leasehold land.

Judd: How long’s a piece of string around the sense that the hikoi was put in for the dates, and booked in at the same time was the hearing. I asked them to move the hearing and they said they couldn’t. They said ‘move the hikoi’. I said ‘I can’t’.

Andrew Judd interview – Live magazine October/November 2016 - JT
The compromise was…and I got legal advice on this…if I was to watch the video screening of the hearings at Waitara, we could move the final debate out to the following week, which is what happened. That was sad, but I’d already announced I wasn’t standing.

And the hikoi had nothing to do with Waitara or Maori ward. It had everything to do with the reaction to those questions. The hikoi was about peace, it was about finding a way to sort these differences out. For me, it was a sense of actually expressing from myself and the community – let’s come together and find a tolerant…because that reaction needs fixing.

And I never invited anyone from council or government on that hikoi. It was open for whoever felt they wanted to come.

**Live:** But councillors felt you’d suggested they didn’t care.

**Judd:** Not my words. It’s obviously what’s coming from themselves.

**Live:** TV may have used words to that effect.

**Judd:** I recall once hearing Rodney Hide say to the media, ‘thanks for reporting what I said, rather than what I meant’. So, I guess that’s just what it is. At the end of the day, it was the councillors by a majority – albeit small – who supported a Maori ward. You know, they did. But where were they when the flak started?

And in summing up – and this is blunt, but I’ll say it – if anyone’s got hurt feelings, it’s Maori. Who do we think we are? It’s not poor Andrew Judd or poor councillors. Where’s Maori in all of this? That’s what I’ve been standing for.

So what I’m hearing from such a long journey that we went to, doesn’t cut it with me. It’s a bit of a ‘poor me’ statement, because the victim is Maoridom. Which actually ends up being a victim for all of us. None of us win. And we are elected as leaders, and leading is what I did.

Can I talk now about…and I don’t like the word ‘legacy’…but I’m proud of…I wouldn’t change that for anything. The journey continues. Just because I’m not sitting in the job doesn’t mean I…the challenge still remains. In fact, the questions about representation are only going to get louder.

But the question of Maori ward can’t be asked again for six years, so my message isn’t for the next immediate council, it’s for the one beyond that.

**Live:** But representation hasn’t been resolved, has it?

**Judd:** You can’t ask it again for six years. But there’s two aspects here. At our last meeting in September, there will be a model for representation I will be passing over to the next council and saying ‘here is a solution’. We’ve worked with iwi leaders, we’ve come together…

**Live:** But if this council doesn’t agree, you won’t have met your obligations.

**Judd:** You’re right, although Barbara (McKerrow, CEO) would argue that we do have some form of representation through our iwi liaison and with hapu. But to me, all of that combines to say none of it is serious.

**Live:** But it hasn’t actually been fixed, has it?

**Judd:** No. Gosh, no. Not really.

**Live:** So is the council going to get into some sort of strife over that?
Judd: I don’t know the answer to that. You’d have to ask lawyers about that. And there have been cases in New Zealand where councils have because they didn’t include Maori in the decision-making.

And there has been pushback through the politicians, who just recently, through the Maori Party, have pushed through more requirements through the Resource Management Act to include...yet again: how?

It’s all very well for the Government to tell us to do this stuff, but you’re actually potentially us. What is we make a decision for land use through our district plan that hasn’t included…and nobody can change that. We’re dealing with the consequences of our ancestors.

There’s more and more...water use. All coming this way. For example, the beach usage through Ngaruhine. There’s another layer of it coming, folks.

And the population’s changing. Look at the birth-rates, the comparisons between Maori and Pakeha. I think by 2040 the population of New Zealand is going to be Maori-Pasifika, Asian, European. So the world’s changing anyway.

What better way to control our future than by being together. It was a representation question. You know, one vote-one person, that applied. This has gone through the courts. The Crown put this up as an option for representation.

So understand, there two Acts at play here – there’s the Local Government Act 2002 and there’s the Local Electoral Act. The first drives all that we do – it says we must include Maori in all our decision-making and grow their capacity to be part of the process of decision-making. How do you do that? Every community decides.

We also have the Local Electoral Act, which is a representation review – who has a right to be at the table? Just like the Government.

And the other thing I argue with a lot of MPs when they push back at me, is ‘I find it a bit ironic – the Government of the country address this through MMP, but we are still first past the post’.

(New Plymouth MP) Jonathan Young says to me ‘look at us – we’ve got a great mix’, and I say ‘well, of course you have – you have a list and you can stack it with what you think you need’. Let’s be honest – it’s tokenistic Indian…come on, be honest, and they’re all on lists; but at least there’s representation.

At least the hospital board has STV (single transferrable vote), and that’s another way you could have done it.

But back to the other things. In and around all that, we’ve been doing heaps.

For instance, the royal visit (of Prince Charles and Camilla). We hadn’t had a royal visit for decades - last time was the Queen. So they were doing the rounds of the country to see why would they come to your region, what would be the benefit, et cetera.

What I was the most proudest around that was the push from my office to include those (not usually with the ability to be in) the tent, who were community-based only. I had big pressure to have business and people that were friends of council, but I focused on community groups.

Another thing is, we’re doing an upgrade of the airport terminal. There was a lot of politics around that stuff. Jetstar was doing the rounds to see why they would come to various places. They were seeing what they could get out of every region. And we got them here.

Andrew Judd interview – Live magazine October/November 2016 - JT

13
NEW

There was the local bill for Waitara – probably the biggest, hardest thing, because that has meant taking the grief from those leaseholders. The pain, the angst. There’s no easy answer. This is a compromised position.

But we’ve worked together with Te Atiawa to have a partnership model to move forward. The bill that’s gone to government is completely different to what past councils have taken, whereby the council got the money. This is staying in the township. It’s also a more shared arrangement with iwi, a 50-50 partnership.

Live: What about the leaseholders?

Judd: I’m going to lobby hard for them. We’re trapped as councillors, just as much as the leaseholders are and the iwi is. It’s historic. If we try to do anything other than market value, the regional council can sue us, because we have to act in the most cost-effective way under the Local Government Act for households and business.

And how long is a piece of string with that? At what point is hardship? We’re not a social government agency. What I’m saying, though, is we’ve got it to a state that we all agree. Because (Attorney-General) Christopher Finlayson said to me ‘don’t you bring me anything the iwi don’t agree with’. And those things can be debated where the real decision are made, and that’s the Crown, because it’s a law change.

We can’t change the law. There’s this perception that council can change the law – no, we can’t. We can make the odd bylaw, but even those are hard.

Another of our achievements this term was political support for re-alignment. I know Barbara might say depending on when it may or may not started, but in reality I take the fact that this council allowed the political support for that to happen.

Realignment has transformed this council like never before. We haven’t felt the fruits of it as yet. It’s about to come. We release our digital strategy in the next few days…

Live: Realignment? What are you talking about?

Judd: Realignment of council through the management process of what Barbara…

Live: You mean restructuring…

Judd: …Of the whole guts of council. That’s been a long journey. That’s meant I’ve needed to allow Barbara time to do what she needs to do, which has meant just working hard. It needed political support – the ability to allow Barbara to do what she needed to do.

Because previously councillors would probably have put pressure on (not to make people redundant). What happens is people have been here a long time, and you get used to certain things, you have deep-seated friendships if you’re a councillor. Which is why I get that.

But does it still allow you truly and honestly look at yourself as an institution. What we needed was a whole new page. Politically, we’ve had to stay out of what Barbara and her team do. It has been tough.

Part of what we did was the CEO recruitment, and we re-appointed her. I had a lot of councillors at the get-go who wanted to make change, but we’ve re-appointed and we’ve made realignment work through.

Which again, brings in the digital strategy. We’re about to become digitally friendly, finally. More user friendly, able to do more stuff online. So the website is about to be released.
Obviously, the pa site is another thing. Te Kohia Pa. The potential for learning, healing. It’s 10 acres, get a bit of traditional Maori farming. It’s a big step for healing, coming together to understand each other better.

It’s pretty significant not only for the province, but also the country, and I would argue for humanity. The English took detailed drawings of it, and some of it was used for trench warfare design leading on to the great wars.

When people say to me ‘we need tourism’...and I have said through all of this, ‘well, what kind of tourism?’ We don’t have hot pools, gondolas. You have to come here...we’re not on the main highway. We don’t have a big lake.

But we’ve got our stories. We’ve got who we are, and that’s our story. It’s just down the road from airport. It’s on the main highway through. The Government’s about to invest in the new motorway north.

You’ll remember where the old (DOC) Maori sign (Te Kohia Pa) was (at Brixton). That’s council land. That was up for first right of refusal to the hapu, which wasn’t in a position, I guess, to do that. It was as close as they could get to the site. So we bought the site, and we can move that house to the land at Brixton, sell that off.

It’s fantastic. I’m hopeful the next council moves (it) on through Puke Ariki. What a great thing for us. It’s tourism, education, our stories, it’s who we are, coming together, learning. So that was a big one for me.

Then there’s the Venture Taranaki review. I drove that around, not so much how VT were operating, just the whole time since the decade we hadn’t really...we went through: oil and gas is down, dairy’s down, where are we? What’s our strategy? What’s our economic driver? What are we building?

We were in two different silos, really, talking across each other. At one of the early stages of this council they went to de-fund them, so our challenge was not actually understanding what VT does, and VT perhaps not knowing what we were wanting.

So we’ve had a great review that’s brought out new direction. It dovetails in with the Government and regionally what our strategy is.

So, the Blueprint (30-year plan) was the other thing. We had all these new councillors wanting to close parks, libraries, pools, going through line by line. So the best way to bring that down was to go out to the community and actually ask ‘what are our values? What is important to us? Where do we want to grow? How do we want to grow? How are we going to fund and manage that?’

We’ve put to the side stadium increase, netball courts – they haven’t gone away, we’ve put them to the side, so that we can catch our breath from all the previous successes. In 08, the crash came and put us in a bind...let’s take a breath and have a look, allow that fund to recover while we work on selling the farms. Let’s go around and actually ask the community. Not what we were elected on, but let’s go and ask them ‘what is important?’

One of the challenges I saw was how hard it was for community boards to get what they were wanting through the long-term (planning) process. They were pretty much deputising like the man off the street, in the sense that...and these are elected people.

So, what’s fallen out is a strategy around growth, and it had eight key directions. Blueprint strategy. What I wanted was direct input to the brains, so that community boards could be effective. Because we were having debates around whether they should be at the table for
pre-meeting meetings around technical stuff. Councillors feeling they had a higher status than community board. A little bit dysfunctional.

And it was also on the back of the requirement of the Crown to have a 30-year infrastructure plan. We also have another 30-year growth plan. Because, what we don’t want is situations where we have bottlenecks because of The Valley…it was a reactionary…regional…because the RMA’s coming up, too. Sign off next year.

It was a kind of like a free-for-all district plan. That’s why you’ve got kindergartens next to factories, because it was pretty much ‘if anywhere, do it’.

It allowed for the CBD to sprawl out. There’s been a lot of capital investment over time from ratepayers to have the CBD – why would you allow them to sprawl out when you’ve got these buildings where you’ve got the first floor empty. You’ve got to fund that now. And then you’ve got retailers complaining that they’re empty.

Yet we’re also investing in art galleries and libraries, so we have skin in the game as a community. So what’s our strategy around this. So, anyway, a long story. So let’s plan it. Because the Waiwhakaiho (Valley) and the road through there isn’t new, it’s catch up. This is catch up stuff. We’re already under pressure with the traffic, if you look at it, the growth. It’s great, but I don’t want to be like Auckland, whereby they’ve left it so long no-one knows what to do through their plan.

We’re already talking about putting a second bridge crossing over the Waiwhakaiho. Let’s do it now; let’s do it long-term strategy. Because 10-year plans are progressed only every three years. What you’re doing, was my argument, was politically arguing about previous decisions – you’re not strategising for tomorrow.

Ten years on anyone’s life’s short, and it only gets to be debated every three. So every three you have these ideological swings – spend, save, spend, save. But where are we going with this?

So, in other words, if we’re going to do stadium, if we’re going to do netball courts, let’s have a proper strategy about what’s the true purpose for the future, so that if we do one, we do it properly.

Live: Are you getting anywhere with this?

Judd: Yes, we are, but what comes behind that is political will to then fund this stuff. It’s all very well to have a list, but it’s better to have a plan that we’ve had community buy-in to, and regional ideas of their priorities.

I don’t particularly know what a priority is for Inglewood. I don’t live there. If you live there, you know. But I want a plan so we can factor it into our overall…and it’s over 30 years. So from that, you’d work it back.

So within that, for the next council, ‘what are the ones we’re going to do? What do we all agree on? What is the priority within it? And how are we going to fund that? What’s that going to do?’

Because everything you do has a counter consequence, whether it be a rates rise, or you’ve lost the opportunity of low debt to do it now. Because when you go to do it, maybe the debt’s gone up.

Behind that (the Blueprint) is my next one – the rebalancing of the PIF (perpetual investment fund), and that comes back to the motivation for me to be the mayor. We had a fund that used
to deliver $21 million-odd. We have to be honest about the fact we don’t know how long it’s going to take to recover. We’re lucky the farms sold – we could still be holding them today. That aside, we still had these projects on the books, so we were doing internal borrowings to artificially keep the rates down. So that’s not a plan. That’s reactionary, to hope things come right. Let’s be honest enough…this is what I mean about rebalancing PIF…take those things off, the netball courts and so on, let’s put them to the side, they haven’t gone away…I get that.

Let’s look at us internally. Are we effective and efficient? Are we best fit for purpose? There’s some digital investor/save strategies we can do, a bit of upfront investment. Let’s give ourselves some political space to sell these farms. Let’s work on that and the politics around that. It happened, and now that fund is rebalanced, so its percentage of its return is going to take you back up closer…it’s even go up, right, because it’s a percentage of a bigger amount.

So, I’m happy about that, because one of the things is ‘did you make a difference?’ For me, we’ve passed on more choice. What we’ve done is separate the politicians from the fund managers – in direct line there is risk.

Go back to when (former mayor) Peter Tennent and (former chief executive) Roger Kerr-Newell set it up, Roger was the CEO of the fund. It was a bit like going to the races with your mate, who says ‘put it all on number 9’.

This is something I’m the most proud of. That’s why I ran for mayor. It’s going to give the next council a safe place to be, with more choice. You come in with what choices have been, then you leave and give over what choice you’ve made.

The next council could potentially come in and, depending on what it decides to do, either bring those projects back, or really make a reduction in the rates. We had to reduce it without the fund money.

The fact is, councils world-wide are bastards in that regard (rates). You’ll never win that. It comes in the form of a quarterly bill. Local Government NZ does their head in trying to get across ‘what you pay for what you get…’ Ask Sky TV to provide all of what you get, for the same amount.

And, of course we’re talking in percentages rather than real nominal dollars, and the CPI (Consumer Price Index) one is the hardest to get across, particularly to new councillors, because over-arching all of this is the Auditor-General.

If you’re going to use CPI…I went through this with the eight new guys…if you want to use CPI as your reference for your rates increase, you have to prove to us, the accountants, how you’re going to do that.

To do that, we would have had to walk away from so many things, because the cost of delivery…and you may have heard this before and thought ‘oh yeah, sounds like a corporate lie’…but councils don’t make roads out of milk and cheese and bread.

So the CPI measure for a household is a different CPI measure to councils, and the Auditor-General says unless you use that to get the books signed off…you’re going to use that? Sure. You going to have to also prove how you’re going to do that, and then you have to consult on doing that.
You can’t just come in and do it. And if you’re going to start doing that stuff, what hangs over all of us is the Local Government Commission, which will say ‘you’re out of control – goodbye. Commissioners’.

So you have to breathe through your nose, and understand that if indeed that is what you want …and that can depend on the hand you get dealt at the time in the three-year window…if the majority what to do that, then you have to have that political fortitude to give stuff up.

Or, you say let’s just see, let’s be strategic, let’s not just throw the baby out with the bathwater. Let’s look at this engine and see if we can make it run better. What other things can we do?

There are some cuts that have hurt, and one at least that I would think probably went too far, the community development cuts, but you can come back to that. What that’s allowed us to do is rebalance the PIF. We didn’t take the payments out, we left them in, and by doing so it’s allowed us to recover.

We were living off our investment income. That’s the reality of where we came in. We fixed that. The capital is safe. Great result. Number 9 came in. So it’s back to its nominal value, plus some. Percentage-wise, it’s going to be a bigger amount than what we’ve been living on for the past three years.

It’s just like any household budget…if you were paying for your holidays off your overtime, and your overtime went, what are you going to do? You could go into overdraft – that’s what we were doing to keep that stuff. Or you could say ‘no holiday this year’ until the overtime comes back.

The other thing, of course, is age-friendly city. My casting vote got that across the line.

_Live: Why did (deputy-mayor) Heather Dodunski vote against that?_

**Judd:** Well, she wants to be the mayor, ask her. The reality is…and you’ve seen the stats…we’ve got to address this. We’re already behind the eight-ball, I would argue. Rates is a blunt instrument to fund growth when you have an aging population. Why? Well, how on earth do you expect a retired person, who will be asset-rich and cash-poor, to fund these increases?

There’s snapping points, right. We can’t ignore it (the demographic change). It’s not going to go away. So let’s get into it. That’s one of the things I’m proud of.

Another is establishing an audit risk committee with a risk register. Obviously, the representation review and the CEO recruitment…we went through all of that. CBD parking, the free trial period. We’ve been brave enough to do that.

One of the things I can never truly get through to the ratepayer is this: your rates do not subsidise people who own shops in the CBD – those people subsidise your rates. The trap councils have got into is they use it as an income source to offset rates increases.

The trap with that is, well, people say “I’ll go out to the Valley because it’s free”, but that’s another cut. Because if that struggles and the income drops, it’s going to come to you anyway. So we need to wean ourselves off that, because true cost recovery is a fraction of what we earn from it. So if your argument is it should just be self-funding, your rates would go up. So it’s not a strategy.

And you know that the Government is moving to a new model for councils. There’s a huge change coming this way potentially through CCOs (council-controlled organisations). Because amalgamations didn’t happen, what the Government’s doing now is they’re saying
we want you to have shared service models. So your roading, Taranaki, would be a shared CCO.

**Live:** Don’t we have that to some extent now?

**Judd:** It’s very peripheral, because you’ve got quite a lot of...and I understand it and respect it...but a lot of parochialism. Not to the extent I take from the message from the Local Government Commission and the Prime Minster.

And in part I agree. I would argue this – what is our regional plan? We’ve got four logos. If you’re coming in as a tourist, are they going to see...we could be so strong. You’ve got a port that runs a certain way for a regional council. You’ve got an airport run by one part of the district. What is our plan? I’m not talking about takeover.

There was also the by-election. I’m only just saying this as someone who had to be a leader...it’s not against anyone who left or who came...but what it does is it changes the team. Unlike a coach of the All Blacks, I don’t pick and choose who’s here, the community does. So, personalities change dynamics. It changed things, right.

I’m proud that we got these things done. I’m proud of how much effort everyone’s put in. And I suppose this sounds like a thumb-up, but I’m blessed and I’m honoured...it’s been a privilege to have been given this opportunity. I truly love where I live, and I just love my community.

You know, we will always have differences, and I always say this to councillors: ‘It’s not that we disagree – that is healthy. It’s just how we manage disagreeing can become unhealthy.

And at every meeting, I’ve always said that we play the issue, not the person.

I’m not their boss. There’s misconceptions around what mayors can do – it’s not an executive position. I am also only one vote. I have no executive power. And officers are like the referee. So if you’re going to be coming in here, breathe through your nose, like I was told.

**Live:** What are you going to do now? Are you going to stay in New Plymouth?

**Judd:** Oh yeah, of course. I’ll go back to the practice.

**Live:** Politically, are there any plans?

**Judd:** No, no. I’ve got...that big pile of paper over there. Those are all emails of support from around the country. I want to write a book, because there’s so much I want to share, that I haven’t got out. The story of a recovering racist, and the journey not only personally but through here. There’s so much more than I can share with you. I could talk for hours.

I have been approached by some political things. I’ll be up front about that, but I’m in no way in a space to think about that at Government level. Through my life I’ve voted for three political parties. What I would say is, I started off working in a factory and ended up owning a business, so that gives you an indication of how my colour changed. As I got older I went from liberal to conservative.

**Live:** Are you leaving with any sense of bitterness about what’s happened?

**Judd:** No, no. Look, I’ve still got an ego. It still resonates in my mind ‘you could be the mayor one day’. Let’s be honest – I’m a person, too. A Kiwi bloke who never anticipated only being here one term. I’m saddened that we’ve done all this work and I’m not going to be there to do things.

We’ve gone from shaping it. Now it would be to shaping our future together. Working with Maori, working in that space around the collaboration, around where they’re going to invest,
how they’re going to work together. Working with DOC around Pouakai, working with Air
NZ still with tourism, it’s just exciting.

So why not? The thing is, I just know it’s been so divisive, and I know it cuts deep, and
nobody changes from that. It just separates us, and it’s not a good way to do it. I guess I’d
sum up saying I saw when to stand up and I’m also seeing when to sit down.

**Live: How much did it hurt, some of that?**

**Judd:** It cut deep.

**Live: How did you deal with that?**

**Judd:** Ah, well I’m human and sensitive like anyone else. Because it’s not just what I might
have read, national and all that stuff, but it’s friends and family. In all of that, though, I’m not
the victim – we all are. That’s what hurts. That we’re better than this. We have to be.

But actually, we do have an inconvenient truth, and we need to address it to truly move
forward. Because that’s what I discovered in myself.

**Live: You presumably lost some friends and gained some new ones?**

**Judd:** Gained more than I lost, and I discovered a world so rich and caring that I’m just
blessed beyond belief.

**Live: They call you Anaru now.**

**Judd:** They do call me Anaru, and I’m very…I can’t find the words to explain it. And the
peace walk was a crescendo of all of that. And it was just to say, ‘hey come on, New
Zealand’ really. There’s so many ways we need to start from square one. Pakeha – we need to
have a different conversation with ourselves.

Just as an aside, this year is the 175th anniversary of the arrival of the first settler ships. At
150 years, this council and community gave $100,000, five staff and an office, had 600
community events, and a community ball, to commemorate the arrival of the ships.

It’s 175 years, and I was asked what were we going to do, ‘we need to do something’. And
for me, though, at the 150th I would have been right behind that, and I’m still right behind it
in a lot of ways.

But hang on, 21 years after they arrive we were killing each other. We need to commemorate
our whole history, not just pick what’s convenient. It’s a challenge, I get all that. But we
made an impact on a culture that’s still living with those consequences today. We should
always acknowledge everything.

I get thrown at me ‘that’s ancient history, move on, forget it. You’re bringing out the past’.
Well, based on that, in a few years we shouldn’t acknowledge Word Wars I and II. I mean,
whose past are we trying to forget and whose are we trying to ignore? It doesn’t bring us
together.

That’s why the pa site is so important to me. It’s not to name, shame or blame – it’s to learn,
it’s to understand, so we don’t repeat. And in going, I say again to people, ‘I don’t ask for
your vote. I ask that you ask the questions that I asked of myself, because only you can be
honest with you’.

I did consider standing again. But what if I’d failed – thin of the damage that would have
done.