



# People vs. polluting coal

Bob Briton

All over the world, the word is out. Coal is on the nose. The enormous health and environmental bill for the resource that fired the industrial revolution is now long overdue and, in many notable cases, the transnationals are looking for a quiet, taxpayer-funded exit. Australia has been a bastion for coal interests but, even here, the dominance of the climate-threatening mineral is under threat.

The fact that communities and environmental treasures are still under threat from the coal and coal seam gas industry in Australia has a simple, but not immediately obvious, explanation. In common with exploiters of other human and natural resources, the coal industry has been careful to cultivate political influence. The head of the NSW Minerals Council is Premier Mike Baird's former chief of staff. The Warkworth mine project threatening the future of Bulga in the Upper Hunter is represented by Endeavour Consulting. One of its principals is Jeff Townsend, a former private secretary to Bob Hawke. Others include Mark Barker, former senior adviser to John Howard and Paul Chamberlain, a former adviser to Nationals leaders John Anderson and Warren Truss. The lobbyists' register in Canberra is peppered with former politicians now serving coal and other resource industries.

Not even the most persuasive advocates for the outdated fossil fuel can argue away realities. The Abbott government will be obliged by a combination of community opposition and international pressure to do something about its emissions record. United Nations climate talks are due in Paris at the end of the year. Potential international embarrassment is said to be behind the revised, extremely modest renewable energy target (RET) agreed recently by the federal government. Five black coal fired power stations will become marginal. Others will run well below capacity.

Pressure has been building for some time to revise Australia's emissions standards. Public concern and activism have broken through and exposed a situation in which, as the National



Sonoma Coal Mine.

Environment Protection Council noted in 2009, current standards simply do not protect health. Residents of Anglesea west of Melbourne have been at the forefront. For 46 years they have lived close to a plant originally built to power the Alcoa aluminium smelter 40 kilometres away at Point Henry. The smelting operation is closing in August but the dirty old power station will simply be plugged into the state's electricity grid.

Parents and teachers pushed to get details of the power station's emissions. The documents were previously exempted from Freedom of Information laws. It has been revealed that in 2013-14, the plant pumped out 43,000 tonnes of toxic sulphur dioxide along with particulate pollution and heavy metals, including mercury. Alcoa refused requests to fit "scrubbers", costing around \$150 million, to bring down the high sulphur dioxide emission levels. Alcoa has tried to sell the plant without success and its future, along with other dirty coal-fired power stations in the state, looks doubtful.

Other developments, including the re-opening of the inquiry into the fire at the Hazelwood mine that threatened the health of the people of Morwell, don't bode well for the coal industry, either. Another issue looming for owners and governments is the cost of repairing coal's toxic legacy. Bonds levied by the state government on miners for the rehabilitation of mine sites are raising concerns.

"The bonds issued are comically low," said Nick Aberle of Environment Victoria. "The three Latrobe Valley mines have bonds of \$15 million. The actual cost of rehab is likely to be \$150 to \$200 billion if not more." Financial risk is adding to coal's worsening image. The public may be left with a huge bill for the long delay in taking timely measures to get out of coal-fired power generation and move to renewables. The public is keen to embrace them. One in six households now have solar panels to help power their homes. That is the highest uptake in the world. Governments and their commitment to the powerful resource sector are to blame.

Internationally, the writing on the wall is even clearer. The Norwegian sovereign wealth fund worth \$1.7 trillion is getting out of its holdings in companies with a heavy exposure to coal. Global insurer Axa is to offload \$710 million of coal assets and tripling "green investments". Axa chief executive Henri de Castries cited climate change as the major reason for the divestment strategy. "The facts are undeniable," he said. "If we think we can live in a world where temperatures would have increased by more than two degrees, we're just fooling ourselves."

There will be no profits on a dead planet. A section of the capitalist ruling class has been dragged kicking and screaming to that conclusion by the actions of the working class and other progressive forces. Some capitalist interests will promote the perilous nuclear industry to keep the (taxpayer subsidised) profits flowing but, it seems, the end of coal is in sight. ✚

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## Guardian

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### Two-tier citizens

Amid the mouthing of meaningless utterances – “The words of citizenship must mean something” “... core values ...” – Tony Abbott announced that there would be changes to the Citizenship Act to give the Immigration Minister the power to strip people of their Australian citizenship. Abbott said the move is “all about combating terrorism.”

As with all foot-in-the-door laws it will not only apply to people with dual citizenship who are accused of fighting with terrorist groups: the net will spread increasingly wider; the law would strip dual-citizens if they are “suspected” of sympathising with, supporting or participating in terrorism.

Citizenship would be removed based on suspicions – no charges; no trial. How “terrorist sympathiser” and “support for terrorism” are to be defined is not stated.

The fact that Immigration Minister Peter Dutton had to come out and say the changes would not allow people to be made stateless, confirms the agenda.

Abbott cited as the reason for this attack on a fundamental human right that “There are a lot of Australians overseas right now – about 100 – fighting with terrorist groups ...”. Australia officially now has 900 troops in the Middle East, including fighter and surveillance aircraft involved in bombing raids.

As Julie Szego, in a comment piece in *The Age* (June 4), puts it succinctly; when the Prime Minister calls for a “conversation about citizenship” and the government’s discussion paper asks whether the “responsibilities of citizenship are well enough known or understood”, and whether eligibility for citizenship should be tightened, it is clear who is being talked about. And that is migrants; those who attain citizenship through bureaucratic act, rather than accident of birth.

To be precise, notes Szego, Muslim migrants, because the citizenship discussion paper is explicitly pegged to security threats in “a world in which terrorists are reaching out to our community”.

The government’s plan to give discretion to the minister to strip away citizenship and for tighter (read exclusionist) tests for becoming a citizen is a move toward the introduction of two classes of citizens. The government is promoting the idea that citizenship is a privilege and not a right.

In that context, it is a small step to making suspected offences other than terrorism to become grounds for the same punishment.

#### Danger – fed compo system

Since an overhaul of workers’ compensation in NSW in 2012, over 5,000 injured workers have had their payments taken away. Changes to the way injured workers are paid led to the termination of income payments and around 20,000 workers with long term injuries have lost their entitlements to medical benefits.

At the moment there is a bill before federal parliament, the Safety, Rehabilitation and Compensation Bill, which is intended to put in place a national compensation scheme Comcare. At the moment the vast majority of Australian employers are regulated through state and territory schemes.

In terms of what is happening in NSW, for example, a national scheme would appear to be an advance.

Dr Joanna Howe, a senior lecturer of law at the University of Adelaide, and a former consultant to the International Labour Organisation, warns that the plan risks cost-shifting from employers to taxpayers, with costs arising from workplace injury falling on the social security, Medicare and NDIS systems.

Dr Howe’s report found that the national workers’ compensation proposals would result in a national scheme that provides the least entitlements, has the least effective regulator, and the lengthiest dispute resolution process of all the workers’ compensation jurisdictions in Australia.

The proposed bill could see nearly 2,000 major businesses move to Comcare’s self-insurance scheme, placing a much higher pressure on the national regulator, as well as putting the lives and well being of many more workers at higher risk.

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, each year one in 20 workers experience and injury or illness in the workplace. Last year 184 lives were lost at work.

#### PRESS FUND

The Abbott government proposes to strip Australian citizenship from terrorist suspects with dual citizenship. Suspects who have Australian citizenship because they were born here could be denied their birthright, and if the other citizenship country has similar laws (like Britain) both governments could insist on their right to kick out the suspect, who would end up stateless. And all this would be done at the whim of the Minister for Immigration, with no trial, opening up the door for persecution of political enemies! In order to bring you stories on this and other major issues, we really need Press Fund contributions, so please send us something for the next issue if you possibly can. Many thanks to this week’s supporters, as follows:

J Ayres \$50, S Cooper \$10, Eric Durston \$10, Brian Hawke \$25, Mark Mannion \$5, “Round Figure” \$10

This week’s total: \$110 Progressive total: \$3,620

# Lowest paid do it tough

Australia’s 1.86 million lowest paid workers will receive a \$16 increase to their weekly pay packets following the Fair Work Commission’s decision in the annual wage case.

This increase is not enough to close the growing gap between average and minimum wages that is putting enormous pressure on the lowest paid.

As a result of this decision the national minimum wage will be just 43.3 percent of average weekly ordinary time earnings, the lowest proportion on record.

The \$16 increase represents an additional 2.5% per week for the national minimum wage. All award rates including those above the C10 tradesperson rate also received a 2.5% increase.

This is below the 2.8% increase in average wages and lower than the 2014 increase of \$18.70 which represented a 3% increase.

The ACTU called for a \$27 per week increase to the minimum wage which would have delivered a \$3.1 billion per year economic stimulus and contributed towards closing the wages gap.

The ACTU also called for

compulsory superannuation to be increased by 0.5 per cent to 10 per cent to compensate Australia’s lowest paid workers for the cut to their retirement savings caused by the Abbott government’s decision to freeze the 0.5 percent increase to compulsory super that was due to come into effect on July 1 under the Superannuation Guarantee.

ABS data proves that low paid workers and their families are under increased financial pressure with health costs having increased by 4.4 percent and education costs by 5.4 percent over the 12 months to the March quarter 2015. Childcare costs have grown on average by 7 percent per annum over the last decade.

Key facts:

- The minimum wage is now \$656.90 per week or \$17.29 per hour
- Two-thirds of all award-only workers are employed in four key industries: Retail trade, in accommodation and food services, in health care and social assistance and in administrative and support services.
- 57.5% of workers reliant on a minimum wage are women
- 18.8% of the workforce (1.86

million Australians) is paid the national minimum wage or an award minimum wage.

Said ACTU secretary Dave Oliver: “A \$16 per week wage increase for Australia’s lowest paid workers isn’t enough to close the gap with average wages. Every year that gap is getting wider and wider and will see Australia head down the path of an entrenched US style working poor.”

“This decision won’t relieve the stress on low income households in the face of increasing healthcare, education and childcare costs. Every year Australian unions fight for a wage increase for our lowest paid workers but every year we’re playing catch up.”

“It’s not good enough when profits are up, productivity is high, executive salaries are up and the Abbott government delivered a small business bonanza in the budget – but once again workers are left with the scraps.”

“Unions will continue to try and claw back the Abbott government’s cuts to superannuation.” ✪

## Stop any form of relations with the apartheid Israeli regime

### Statement, South African Communist Party – Eastern Cape

The South African Communist Party (SACP) in the Eastern Cape wishes to register its strongest objection to the building of relations between our provincial government and the apartheid Israel.

The government of the apartheid Israel is directly responsible for the spilling of the blood of the people of Palestine, the killings of the children and women of Palestine and other atrocities. The people of Palestine are being killed by the Israeli government for wanting a

right to determine their destiny and live as free people.

As South Africans we cannot forget the painful road we have traversed under brutal apartheid South Africa and the International Solidarity we have enjoyed in bringing that unjust system to its knees. Apartheid Israel is no different to apartheid South Africa which was declared as a crime against humanity by the United Nations.

It is the same Israel that defied the sanctions imposed upon

apartheid South Africa by the international community, and continued to have strong relations with the puppet regime of Lennox Sebe.

We are calling upon the Eastern Cape government to review the decision to work with apartheid Israel. Our challenges of social inequality, unemployment and poverty cannot make us to forego the principles of justice and solidarity and force us to take side with the brutal oppressors of the people of Palestine. ✪

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# Protesters shut down Port Augusta

Hundreds of protesters blocked the Joy Baluch AM Bridge in Port Augusta last week. Participants were supporting ongoing efforts to “shut down Australia” in opposition to the federal government’s decision to stop funding services to Aboriginal communities. The move has already led to the closure of communities in WA and homelands in SA are similarly threatened. Members of the Port Adelaide and West Adelaide branches of the CPA travelled to Port Augusta for the demonstration. They joined the vocal protest as it headed into town chanting “Always was, always will be Aboriginal land.” ☺



## Playing politics with a child's broken arm

Refugee advocates are maintaining their call for the Immigration Minister to bring the 11 year-old Iranian refugee from Nauru to Australia for an urgent operation to reset his broken arm.

Having dropped sending him to India, the latest proposal is for the government to send a Sydney doctor to Nauru to operate on the boy's arm.

“The government is trying to bully Erfan's parents into agreeing to have the operation on Nauru, even though the equipment and facilities to safely and successfully operate are not available there,” said Ian Rintoul, spokesperson for the Refugee Action Coalition.

Erfan has been in pain since setting his broken arm was botched by doctors at the Nauru hospital on May 5.

“It is time the Minister stopped playing politics with Erfan's arm and brought him to Australia. Immigration officials told Erfan's parents that there was no other option but to operate on Nauru. But that is not true. A female Connect case worker who broke her hand 10 days ago on Nauru was immediately medivacced to Australia for treatment,” said Rintoul.

“If Nauru was unacceptable for the Connect worker, it is unacceptable for Erfan. The only reason Erfan hasn't been brought

to Australia is that he is a refugee. When IHMS thought he was an asylum seeker, Erfan's parents were told that he would be taken to Australia.

“It is a shocking case of the Minister abandoning common sense and trying to score political points at the expense of a boy's arm and the anxiety of the boy's parents. Delaying Erfan's treatment in this way is unforgivable.”

Refugee advocates continue to urge the Immigration Minister to make immediate arrangements to bring Erfan, the 11 year-old with the broken arm, to Australia for urgent surgery.

Even the resident doctor at the

Nauru hospital now recommends offshore treatment, after another cast was placed on Erfan's arm yesterday: “I'd strongly recommend early referral offshore for MRI, assessment by a Paediatric Orthopaedic Surgeon and ORIF.” (ORIF is Open reduction and internal fixation.)

“We are extremely concerned at the conditions in the Nauru hospital. We don't believe that Erfan can be safely operated on, on Nauru,” said Ian Rintoul, spokesperson for the Refugee Action Coalition.

Erfan's mother has also expressed her concerns, “I am very worried about my son to be

operated on in Nauru. The power is gone four or five times a day, almost every day, and the hospital does not have a generator. How can they do it?”

Doctors for Refugees has also expressed their concerns, saying, “We ask that Minister Peter Dutton expedite his transfer to the Australian mainland for urgent surgery to prevent permanent disability.”

Similarly, the Refugee Action Coalition is calling for the Minister to bring Erfan and other refugees who need urgent treatment to the mainland where they can get the medical attention they need. ☺

### Pete's Corner



Sydney

CPA Port Jackson Branch

invites comrades and friends to join us for our

## Port Jackson Discussion Hour

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Something to say?  
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email: [tpearson@cpa.org.au](mailto:tpearson@cpa.org.au)



# More of our kids held in detention

Rudi Maxwell

**Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander kids in NSW are now 44 times more likely than other children to be in detention. The number of juveniles in detention in NSW increased dramatically in the past six months, following changes to bail laws in September last year.**

And more than half of juveniles in detention are Indigenous, according to figures provided by the NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research.

The National Justice Coalition has recently launched the #ChangeTheRecord campaign to try to address the disproportionate number of Indigenous people in jails across the country.

National Justice Coalition co-chair Kirstie Parker told the *Koori*

*Mail* the situation would continue to get worse until politicians showed "more guts and more brains".

"The NSW figures are shocking at a time when we already know that the number of our people, especially kids and women, ending up in jail is increasing over time," she said. "But a rapid increase in such a short time should shock people and has to send a message to the NSW government that they are coming at this the wrong way.

"The ChangeTheRecord campaign is advocating for smarter justice and safer communities by using smarter approaches to dealing with problems in a socially and economically smart way."

NSW Greens MP and Justice spokesperson David Shoebridge said the NSW government should be "hanging its head in shame" at the fact that young Aboriginal people are

44 times more likely to find themselves in jail than other children in the state.

"Late last year the Coalition and Labor joined together to degrade this state's bail laws in response to yet another law-and-order campaign run by radio shock jocks and tabloid newspapers," he said. "They removed the presumption of innocence and greatly expanded the list of offences where bail is automatically refused.

"The main reason the number of Aboriginal young people being jailed has surged is the new bail laws are seeing more and more bail refusals.

"We need to make a collective commitment to addressing this gross discrimination against Aboriginal people in the criminal justice system."

The NSW adult prison population increased by 8.6% between September 2014 and March 2015, reaching a new record high in March of 11,363.

The increase is attributable to an increase in prisoners on remand (unconvicted prisoners awaiting trial or sentence). Between September 2014 and March 2015 the number of adult prisoners on remand increased by 23.3% (from 2,819 to 3,476). Over the same period, the number of sentenced prisoners rose by just 3.2% (from 7,642 to 7,887).

The increase in adult remand numbers since September 2014 was higher for Indigenous prisoners (up



28.9%) than for non-Indigenous prisoners (up 21.6%).

The total number of juveniles in custody rose substantially over the same period (up 23% from 252 to 310). The increase was significantly higher for Indigenous juveniles (up 34.2%) than for non-Indigenous juveniles (up 14.4%).

The number of juveniles on remand rose by 72% (from 93 to 160) between September 2014 and March 2015. Over this same period, the number of juveniles serving a sentence in custody fell slightly (down 5.1%).

Ms Parker said there had been a lack of political leadership on the disproportionate rates of Indigenous incarceration for many years.

"We count on our politicians to

be smart and to be fair, and in this case we know the number of juveniles on remand is too high – it's terrible to think that we are imposing a pre-emptive strike against our kids," she said.

"ChangeTheRecord is about changing the narrative, the historic record but also the legislative record and that includes reactive and stupid policies that put more of our people behind bars, not less.

"No one is questioning that when people have their day in court, if convicted of a serious offence, that they will face a serious penalty, but ruining people's lives, taking people away from families and communities for low-level, low-grade offences is impossible to justify."

*Koori Mail* ☘

## Send letter for justice for child sexual abuse victims

The following is a guide letter for people to write to the federal Attorney General calling for a national redress scheme for victims of child sexual abuse.

Attorney General  
Senator the Hon  
George Brandis QC  
PO Box 6100  
Senate

Parliament House  
Canberra ACT 2600

Dear Attorney General,

**Re: National redress scheme for victims of child sexual abuse:**

**I am alarmed to hear that you and your government have dismissed the proposal from the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse for you to establish and co-ordinate a redress scheme to compensate victims.**

The result of this decision is that the Commission, which your government has supported, is now faced

with the embarrassing prospect that the victims of sexual abuse who risked a lot to speak publicly about their suffering cannot get redress.

As a society we need to take collective responsibility for all the pain and suffering inflicted on innocent children.

Surely a small office with a director and a few administrative assistants is not an unreasonable request and is not beyond the reach of the Federal Government financially.

I strongly urge that you reconsider your approach to this reasonable suggestion by the Royal Commission.

As a recent article (30/3/2015) in the *Sydney Morning Herald* says: "Government inaction heaps further abuse on child-sex victims"

Please show compassion and reverse your earlier decision so the victims receive some measure of justice and compensation.

Yours sincerely, ☘

## Secret trade pact set to rob from the poor

**Classified documents published today by WikiLeaks on the Trade in Services Agreement (TISA) foresee consolidated power for big transport industry players – and threaten the public interest, jobs and a voice for workers, says the International Transport Workers' Federation.**

ITF president Paddy Crumlin said: "This text would supercharge the most powerful companies in the transport industry, giving them preferential treatment. What's missing from this equation is any value at all for workers and citizens. It creates serious barriers for any state wanting to invest in, manage and operate its national infrastructure or – crucially – to defend decent work and decent terms and conditions across transport."

The ITF is concerned that in the three areas covered – maritime transport, air transport and express delivery – deregulation aims to:

Enhance the bargaining power of major shipping lines over port services, and give global port operators further consolidated power

Open up offshore energy services raising potential sustainability and environmental concerns

Allow multimodal transport operators unfettered access to and rights to supply road, rail or inland waterways transport services, generally public infrastructure – and enable them to fast-track their goods through ports

- Undermine the social and safety standards of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), by failing to recognise these as minimum standards subject to continuous improvement
- Create an aviation industry dominated by global giants whilst allowing flags of convenience to become an established practice in the global aviation market
- Shift the aviation system onto a fully liberalised multilateral system in one go, in a way that's unmanageable for many countries and aviation workforces
- See the worst employment conditions at airports and in ground handling mirrored by similar trends in aircraft repair and maintenance
- Remove the economic regulation of international air transport from the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO), leaving aviation policy to be determined by international market forces and by decisions made in boardrooms serving shareholder interests
- Increase potential safety risks, by separating the safety regulation and economic regulation of international air transport and undermining their close interaction under the same regime
- Protect the position of the major, private global courier companies against the growth of those

national or regional operators that are secured through historical or current monopolies in national postal services

- Break open the relationships between the State, post, and the unions especially in the developing world, because the mature world markets do not offer significant longer-term growth opportunities
- Break the unions that exercise power in the sector and maintain the social and economic floor.

Crumlin continued: "Such ideologically-driven deregulation is not about increasing efficiency. The charade of moving to more open competition offers various ways to give the global majors more clout over newer global entrants. But global economic regulators cannot afford to treat citizens – transport workers, public sector workers – or any of the end-consumers of services simply as another component in the value chain.

"TISA must incorporate an enforceable and binding labour and sustainability chapter. It must not be used as an instrument to further deregulate transport sectors in a race to the bottom on terms and conditions of employment.

"The ITF is working with its sister organisations in the global union movement and will be working with civil society and other allies to oppose the harmful effects of the TISA," he concluded. ☘

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# A triple treat from BBC Films

Peter Mac

Three recent movies currently showing in Australian cinemas deal with real events and the experience of women during war and its aftermath, but in other respects are very different.

In *Royal Night Out*, Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret enjoy a night of release from regal bondage – albeit under military escort – to join in public festivities when World War II ended in Europe at the stroke of midnight on May 8, 1945.

This comedy is the least serious of the three films reviewed here, and the least concerned about historical accuracy. The girls did have a night out, but the account of Margaret helping a brothel owner and his female employees gate-crash a huge party at Chelsea army barracks can be dismissed as pure fantasy.

Nevertheless, the story raises interesting questions. The princesses probably did give their escorts the slip and became separated in the milling crowds. It's also probable that a young air force crewman, named Jack in the film, helped Elizabeth find her sister.

But was he from a working class background, and was he absent without leave, as the film suggests? Did he really hold republican views, and did he and Elizabeth clash fiercely but nevertheless consider slipping away together to Paris?

When reunited, did the girls really enjoy a rest and a cup of tea at Jack's mother's house? Was Margaret really returned to the Palace under military escort, while Jack drove Elizabeth home in his mother's battered little van that she used to cart veggies to the market?

According to the film, Jack and Elizabeth's brief, wistful flirtation ended after she drove him at break-neck speed back to his barracks in time for roll call, saving him from court-martial by ordering the terrified sentry to remain silent about his re-entry.

Elizabeth described her experience as "the most extraordinary night of my life" because she met ordinary people for the first time, while the King is said to have agreed to the girls' release because he wanted to know the public's reaction to his VE Day speech.

*Royal Night Out* pays tribute to the progressive role played by the King during the war. The film undoubtedly obtained royal approval before release, and is certainly no threat to the monarchy. However, it has its funny moments, and has something to say about the extraordinary detachment of members of the royal family from ordinary working people on whom they depend for

their enormous, undeserved incomes and privileges.

*Woman in Gold* describes Maria Altman's struggle to regain Gustav Klimt's famous 1907 painting of her aunt, Adele Bloch-Bauer, which was stolen by the Nazis after they invaded Austria in 1938. Newly-married Maria and her husband Fritz Altman managed a last minute "skin of the teeth" escape from Vienna to Cologne in Germany, then secretly crossed the border into Switzerland before finally reaching the US.

Mrs Altman's family was Jewish, and most of them died in concentration camps. Their looted possessions were transported to Germany, except for Klimt's painting, which was considered too decadent for the refined tastes of the Third Reich and ended up in a Viennese gallery.

In the 1990's the Austrian government passed legislation concerning restitution of stolen property, prompting Mrs Altman to seek legal advice about reclaiming the painting. The task fell to young Los Angeles lawyer, Randol Schoenberg, who located evidence that Maria had legal grounds to lodge a claim.

However, under the legislation Mrs Altman needed millions of dollars to argue her case in Vienna. The case lapsed for several years, but publication in the US of a book on Klimt's paintings provided grounds for Mrs Altman to sue the Austrian government within the US federal court.

The description of the subsequent hearings, including Mrs Altman's dignified and moving address to the court prior to the verdict in her favour, makes great drama.

The Austrian government, which had taken every opportunity to block her claim, then pleaded with her to sell the paintings back to the Viennese gallery because of its great significance as an Austrian work of art. However, she eventually sold the painting to a New York gallery.

That decision raises troubling questions. Part of the astronomical proceeds of sale went to Schoenberg, who subsequently established a thriving business in reclaiming stolen works of art. But was she right to deprive the Austrian people of a nationally significant work of art because of her appalling treatment by the Austrian government?

Surely the real enemy was not the admittedly hostile, grasping and obdurate Austrian government, but rather the Third Reich, which murdered her immediate family.

She could have sold the painting back to the Viennese gallery, providing that when it was displayed it would be accompanied by a description of the Nazis' slaughter of millions of innocent people, the theft



Kit Harington and Alicia Vikander in *Testament of Youth*.

of their property, and Mrs Altman's struggle to regain the painting.

The film begins with a close-up of the artist's hands adding layers of gold leaf to the painting, but says little about it as a work of art. No-one in the film, including Mrs Altman, seems to have noticed that by depicting the painting's subject festooned in gold, with a slender, elegant, little-used hand clasped languorously against her breast, Klimt was satirising the avarice and indolence of the Viennese bourgeoisie.

Nevertheless, *Woman in Gold* is great viewing, with Helen Mirren terrific as the elderly but feisty Maria Altman, while Tatiana Maslany as young Maria rivals Ms Mirren's performance.

The film includes chilling scenes in which the Viennese laugh as the Jews, their fellow citizens, are forced to scrub pro-independence graffiti from pavements, using acid and their bare hands, before being forced into trucks for delivery to concentration camps.

The film also leaves the distinct impression that the Third Reich still has its adherents in Austria, Hitler's beautiful but haunted birthplace.

*Testament of Youth*, based on Vera Brittain's World War I autobiography, contains the most powerful anti-war message of the three films.

Prior to the war Vera gained the reluctant support of her father to study literature at Oxford. When she sat for the entrance exam in 1914 she found to her horror that she was required to write in Latin, for which she was totally unprepared. Maddeningly frustrated, she wrote in German instead, and was astounded when she was accepted.

With war looming, her brother Edward and his friends fell under the spell of phoney romantic military

jingoism and vowed to "teach the Hun a lesson". Edward was under age and her father, a sensitive man with realistic views about the brutality of warfare, refused to let him go, but Vera finally persuaded him to do so.

However, she was horrified by the statistics of thousands of casualties, printed everyday in closely-printed page after page of the broadsheet newspapers, and she became stricken with guilt over her role in Edward's enlistment.

In 1916 she decided to quit Oxford and train as a nurse. Sent to a hospital in France, she treated wounded German prisoners as well as British soldiers. One day she rescued her badly-wounded brother, who had arrived for treatment but had been mistakenly placed among the dead patients. Edward recovered, but was then sent to Italy, where he died after being wounded again.

By the end of the war her brother, fiancée and two best male friends had died. She determined to write a fictional anti-war novel, but the venture failed, and for many years she set the task aside. However, in 1933 she determined to rewrite the work as an autobiography.

This time the manuscript, with its gripping reality and highly personal "first person" detail, was immediately accepted, and the entire 3,000 first edition copies sold out on the first day of publication.

During the struggle against fascism in the Second World War her pacifist views were deemed unpatriotic, even though she was included in Hitler's list of people to be immediately imprisoned if Germany conquered Britain. However, in the 1970s a TV series based on her story proved highly popular.

Like the book, which is still in print and remains one of the most powerful and uplifting anti-war stories ever written, the riveting BBC film is replete with incisive, personal details of life during WWI.

Its depiction of raw, unpainted timber hospital wards housing bloody amputees, while corpses lie in rows in the thick mud outside, is shocking. However, it provides a welcome contrast to recent TV productions which glorify the First World War and depict wartime nurses in beautifully tailored and pressed uniforms treating handsome, clean-shaven wounded soldiers in attractive, immaculately sterile hospital wards.

In one scene Vera takes refuge from London's Armistice Day celebrations in a small, dingy church, but finds it occupied by women silently weeping for their lost ones while the crowds scream and sing in hysterical pandemonium outside.

*Testament of Youth* is well worth seeing, but its adamant anti-war message may be why it has received far less publicity than the other two films reviewed here. ★

Melbourne  
Community Vigil  
Supporting People's Rights in Chile!  
Friday June 12  
5:30pm - 9:30pm  
State Library of Victoria  
328 Swanston Street, Melbourne



We are inviting everyone to a Community Vigil at Melbourne State Library, in protest of the violence and continued repression in Chile by Chilean Police, under the shelter of the Chilean government against students, indigenous and human rights activists in the last weeks.

We call on the Chilean government and their representatives to stop their hypocrisy and respect human rights in Chile. Stop the violence against Mapuche indigenous communities. Stop the repression against students. Protect and fulfill their demands of the former political prisoner of the dictatorship on hunger strike.

In Australia we demand that the Chilean government speeds up the extradition process presented to the Australian government in January 2014 of the terrorist-criminal Adriana Rivas, a former member of Chilean secret police who is living in Sydney without facing justice.



AUSTRALIAN  
SPEAKING TOUR  
BY BESTSELLING  
AUTHOR  
Anne  
Cadwallader

Lethal Allies  
British Collusion in Ireland

PERTH: Saturday June 20,  
2:00pm, Trades Hall,  
Unity House, 77-79 Stirling St

ADELAIDE: Monday June 22,  
6:30pm, Irish Club

SYDNEY: Tuesday June 23,  
7:30pm, Gaelic Club,  
1/64 Devonshire St, Surry Hills

MELBOURNE: Friday June 26,  
4:00pm, Celtic Club,  
Cnr La Trobe and Queen Streets

BRISBANE: Sunday June  
28, 4:00pm, University of  
Queensland (room tbc).



## Food under commodified agriculture (Part 2)

# The modern food system

Gunnar Rundgren

**The modern food system is simultaneously moving towards uniformity and diversity. Globalisation gives many people access to many more kinds of foods than before, but at the same time the differences between regional cuisines are diminishing. We are easily duped by the bright colours of marketing messages and packaging. A supermarket may carry some 50,000 food items, but a very large part of them are variations made out of the “Big Five” – wheat, maize, palm oil, sugar and soybeans – spiced, coloured, preserved and texturised with additives.**

Globally our farming system is still based on a few grains, root crops and oil crops supplemented with animals. Most meat is also produced from the same staples. Almost no new plants or animals have been domesticated in the last centuries, so in that regard our food system is still determined by the choices of generations of ancient farmers. The balance between the staples has changed and instead of being bound to one or two staples, we can now eat rice, pasta, potatoes, cornflakes, meat, milk, cheese etc.

Armies provided a development field for logistics, food processing and, not least, mass catering, which also served the masses in the rapidly growing cities. World War II reshaped the food preferences of American citizens, both those who were drafted into the armed forces and civilians at home.

This transformation of diet was influenced by the food industry and government alike. It also helped American food industries to conquer new markets. The President of Coca-Cola, Robert Woodruff, ordered that every man in uniform should be able to get a bottle of the beverage for 5 cents wherever he was and whatever it cost the company. In 1943, General Dwight D Eisenhower sent an urgent cablegram to Coca-Cola requesting shipment of materials for 10 bottling plants. “During the war, many people enjoyed their first taste of the beverage, and when peace finally came, the foundations were laid for Coca-Cola to do business overseas”, is how the Coca-Cola Company describes the effect on its website.

### Monopoly

In the United States, four companies control 80% of the meat market, three companies control 80% of maize exports and 65% of soy exports, and four companies control 60% of the domestic grain market. The top 10 food and beverage firms (the three largest are Nestle, Pepsico and Kraft) control an estimated 28% of the global market. The top five breweries have around 50% of the market while the top 10 wine marketers have around 16% of the market. And if you cannot beat your competition, you can just buy them out.

Increasingly, huge multinationals have bought up pioneer organic companies or other premium brands. Many companies integrate “upstream” production (i.e. farmers and other suppliers) and “downstream” sales (outlets, agents), which allows them to extend their control of the chain. Most of the transnational companies in the food sector are from the United States or Western Europe, but times are changing. Brazil-based JBS SA is now bigger than Unilever, Cargill and Danone, and slaughters 85,000 heads of cattle, 70,000 pigs and 12 million birds each day. In September 2013, China’s Shuanghui International Holdings Ltd. bought US-based Smithfield, the world’s biggest pork producer.

The production and supply of inputs to farms is also highly concentrated. The global commercial seed market in 2009 was worth US\$27 billion, with the top 10 companies having three-quarters of the market. Three of them controlled more than half of the market and one, Monsanto, now controls more than one-quarter of the commercial seed market. The concentration in the agrochemical market is even higher, with the top 10 having 90% of the global market. Five of the top six

agrochemical companies are also on the list of the world’s biggest seed companies. Monsanto is the world’s largest seed company and fourth-largest pesticide company. Monsanto’s seeds that are genetically modified to work together with the company’s flagship herbicide, Roundup, constitute a clear example of a successful strategy.

### Retailers

The most spectacular development in the food chain in recent decades, however, is not the might of Coca-Cola or Nestle, but the increased influence of retailers. In 2008, Walmart recorded sales of US\$436 billion from 7,657 stores (this corresponded to the GDP of Sweden), Carrefour US\$161 billion, Metro Group US\$116 billion and Tesco US\$109 billion. In 1992, the top five supermarket chains in the United States had a market share of less than 20%; by 1999, that share had increased to one-third and in 2012 the four largest retailers sold more than half of the groceries. In Australia, the two giants Coles and Woolworths now control about 80% of grocery sales, and in Sweden, ICA alone has half the retail market.

The power of the supermarkets is also strengthened by the spread of retailer-owned brands and private labels. The retail share of private labels among food products has reached almost 60% in Switzerland and between 20% and 40% in most other Western European countries. The retailers try to uphold the idea that we have choices by introducing many different private brands.

The biggest retailer in Britain, Tesco, has many own brands: Value, Standard, Finest, Discount, Light Choices, Organic, Free From, Whole Foods and finally Disney Kids, which was introduced in 2007 “to help parents by providing a range of nutritionally balanced food that children will engage with and enjoy”. This range includes a Mickey Mouse-shaped pizza.

Cooking and eating were for a long time social and cultural activities done within the household or in the community, with the work being done without pay and for no costs. Gradually, cooking and eating have become commercialised and acquired a totally different meaning and role in society.

In the supermarkets we find a large supply of fully prepared meals, including ready meals of all types and takeaway food for consumption at home. In any week, 45% of Europeans and Americans consume such meals. The habit is also spreading rapidly to emerging economies where the consumption of convenience foods is increasing, partly due to increasing urbanisation: retail sales of ready meals in India and China grew by 26.9% and 11.8% respectively from 2003 to 2008.

We have seen how food processing and retail follow an industrial logic. The same is true of the production of convenience foods. The web of suppliers to these operations is so complex that it proved very difficult to pin down the point at which horsemeat became beef in the European horsemeat scandal in early 2013. The factory that supplied Tesco with its “horseburgers” was using “multiple ingredients from some 40 suppliers in production batches, and the mixture could vary every half hour”, according to the Irish department of agriculture.

### The tragedy of the market

Earlier, trade in foods was very limited and determined by needs or ecological adaptation. For example, farmers in plains traded grain for meat or yoghurt from pastoralists in mountains or deserts. In most cultures there existed “markets” for exchange, but there were few cases where farmers oriented their production fully to sales in the market, and when they did so the market was mostly the town close by.

With the total integration of farms in national and global markets, the market, initially just a tool for distributing surpluses, has become the conductor of the whole food system, from farm to fork, determining how we farm, the whole social fabric and how, where and what we eat.

As farmers become integrated into the market economy, they no longer reproduce and



regenerate their production system. The commercialisation of farming also leads us to view land, water and nature as private property and the life of the land, our symbionts, as commodities. It is this process that is the real tragedy for food. It also makes a large contribution to obesity because when food becomes a commodity its main purpose is to be consumed.

The challenge of feeding a growing population is formidable, but managing the planet’s ecosystem is an even bigger challenge. Considering that farmed landscapes dominate more than half of the terrestrial area of the Earth, it is clear that the way we farm has an enormous impact on the planet’s ecosystems; that human agricultural ecosystems must be seen as planetary ecosystems. Yet, the food and farming system is increasingly managed by signals from “the market”, which do not include the signals from these ecosystems: of the species threatened by extinction and the loss of biodiversity, of pollution and of greenhouse gas emissions. The market signals also don’t include the feelings of the animals brutalised in our service. The system is simply not geared towards stewardship of the planet and living beings but to the maximisation of marketable output and profit.

### Monoculture

The straight rows of endless monocultures in Mato Grosso are reflected in the aisles of the supermarket and the lanes of the highways full of trucks bringing goods into them and cars transporting food to people’s homes. But the food system is a life support system and should be based on the principles of living systems, not on the perceived efficiency of the industrial model. Linear thinking and linear processes are fundamentally at odds with the cycles of nature, and, ultimately, nature still rules.

The food system is not a smorgasbord where we can pick out the bits we like and keep those we don’t like. What we eat, how we eat and how we farm are all interdependent. There is no way to produce good foods and biologically diverse landscapes in a containerised, standardised and monopolistic food system. We can’t combine animal welfare with the view of animals as commodities. And we can’t produce healthy foods with the use of chemicals.

It is no longer very controversial to question the direction our food system has taken. Today, expert bodies, such as the International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development, clarify that “business as usual is not an option”. We simply have to find new ways, whether we want to or not. But we will only be able to find new ways if we understand the factors that

determine how we farm, what we grow and what we eat.

Most commentaries focus on the technical aspects of food production and farming, such as use of genetically modified organisms and chemical fertilisers, their benefits and drawbacks. But these technical aspects of farming are only parts of the problem or the solution. The food system is a social, ecological and economic system and needs to be viewed as such.

### Towards a regenerative food system

Food and farming remain, together with energy, labour and housing, one of the most regulated parts of the economy, even before we consider all the cultural norms surrounding them. This is a recognition that the free market doesn’t work. Or rather, that it does indeed work according to the textbooks, but we don’t like the result of its workings.

Access to food should be an inalienable right. An equitable world will have the potential to feed everybody. It will certainly ensure that the food is distributed more fairly among the world’s population. But distribution by the market is the antithesis of equitable sharing. We can still see in times of disaster, war or disturbance that societies rapidly shun the market as the main mechanism for distribution and public or community control over food are the preferred ways of ensuring proper sharing.

Instead of trying to squeeze more of the commons, such as land, water and seeds, into the market, we should rebalance food towards public goods. In this way ecosystem services and food production can be balanced within the same framework. The rethinking of food as a right, of farming as a management system of the planet and the food system as a commons will lead us to develop new institutions that complement the roles of the market and the state.

There are ample opportunities to produce more foods with regenerative methods, such as organic farming and agroecology. Regenerative methods need nature and humans to be productive, but can’t use the shortcuts introduced by linear methods, externalisation of costs and massive external energy use. For example, global plant production can be sustained on a high level with a combination of biological nitrogen fixation by leguminous plants in the fields, reduced losses, integration of animals and plants, and recycling of waste and human sewage (which has to be source separated).

We can still feed as many persons as with chemical fertilisers, but under current economic



## Film Review by Richard Titelius

# Frackman the Movie



conditions the cost will be higher as we need to use some of the resources to regenerate and reproduce the means of production. With regenerative food systems we will also need a higher share of the population engaged in food production. This in turn affects how many people can be engaged in producing iPhones and cars or serving us coffee. By and large, I think such a shift will only be good for society, culture and nature.

### New relationships

We need to build new relationships in the food system, new relationships that can gradually take over most of the food system. Those relationships should be based on food and farming as joint common activities. There should not be “producers” and “consumers”, but co-production. Initiatives such as community-supported agriculture have the seeds for this. Consumption as a separate category should wither and we would cook and eat in harmony with production. There will most likely be markets in the future, but not “the market” that we know today, the globalised market with unlimited competition.

Political actions of many kinds are needed. Some should be oriented to limiting the harm produced by the current system, such as bans on pesticides and harmful practices. We also need to throw sand or gravel in the machinery of unfettered global trade, as unlimited competition forces farmers and food industries into externalising costs.

This includes opposition to privatisation of common resources, including fighting intellectual property rights; we need to expand the commons again. Other political actions should promote the development of alternatives. This can range from reallocating research funds from industrial farming models to regenerative farming, to revising tax codes to stimulate the numbers of people engaged in farming and facilitating emerging new economic relations.

Ultimately, it is about us as human beings. Are we ready for the great leap into an unknown future, based on new insights? Do we prefer the sterile and cheap ready-to-eat meal wrapped in plastic from the supermarket to the earthy smells and tastes of nature, combined with more sweat and toil? In the long term I don't think we have much choice. An increasing scarcity of key resources will make the choice for us. But the ride will be easier if we halt the depletion of resources and of nature and build a regenerative food system now, before we are faced with the possibility of worrying whether we will get any food at all before going to bed.

*Third World Resurgence* ✱

**In the rural hinterland 270 kilometres west of Brisbane in the localities of Chinchilla and Tara increasing numbers of people are taking a stand against fracking for the coal seam gas which lies below the surface in abundance. The unconventional gas is needed to stoke the fires of the mills of capitalism, not in Australia but for use overseas. The fracking in this part of Queensland is mostly done by foreign multinationals such as Halliburton and Schlumberger. Smaller Australian companies Arrow Energy, Origin Energy and Queensland Gas Company are also in the hunt for profits from exploiting this dirty and non-renewable form of energy.**

The first that the film's protagonist Dayne Pratsky learns about fracking is when a representative from the Queensland Gas Company came to his home near Tara and said they were going to put a well on his place and if he didn't like it there was nothing they could do about it.

The representative from QGC waived documents around showing that he owned only the top six inches while the minerals which included the coal seam gas was owned by the Queensland state which was only to happy to flog it off to these corporations so that they could fill their coffers with huge profits exploiting this filthy resource. Halliburton in particular has an appalling record around the world for exploitation of oil and gas which came to prominence after the naked greed they showed in Iraq when trying to rip those people off of their oil and gas.

However, Dave Pratsky did not take this lying down and life was worth more to him than surrendering to the values of the industrial apparatus.

Pratsky started to talk with his neighbours some of whom had children and found out that they all suffered regular

headaches, nosebleeds and other sicknesses which left them weak and tired. The small sums that are offered as compensation mean little to Pratsky and his neighbours when the costs of losing their quality of life start to mount; the air quality, the noise from the constant trucks and machinery and the poisoning of their water supply both above and below ground.

Pratsky soon learns that the authorities who are supposed to monitor and be accountable for these problems cannot and will not act to stop it, such as the Health Department and Environmental Protection, as they are made subordinate to the money-making of these giant energy corporations. Or the Queensland government which is making money from the exploitation of this dirty and unhealthy energy source.

With other concerned locals he grabs testing equipment and a camera and goes off to record the dirty activities of these energy corporations even when necessary going incognito in a white plastic overalls and gas mask as the Frackman.

We see activists help to fire up ordinary people to take control back of their communities and their lives and though it is hard and many a battle is lost they are persistent as a just and worthy cause propels them.

Sick children, dead frogs, skin burning chemicals which are used in the fracturing process, ponds and streams that bubble with gas which catches fire with a gas lighter, are all on show in this film which goes further than the US film *Gaslands* and its iconic scene of the water catching fire when a tap is turned on.

To Pratsky the coal seam gas industry “is like an old car screaming down the highway with bad breaks and no reverse!”

While the gas companies and the Queensland government say that the industry brings

jobs they are few and short term and the gas from fracking is mostly destined for export.

Pratsky makes the point that two to three times as many jobs could be created by renewable energy and the health and environmental costs would be far less.

In the movie farmers demonstrate why it is so important to lock their gates.

There is a poignant love story woven into the film which takes our protagonist to the US state of Pennsylvania renowned for its own battles with the fracking interests of coal seam gas. But in the US the state governments are one step ahead of progressive local governments that ban fracking, as state governments in Texas, Oklahoma, Colorado and New Mexico have introduced laws prohibiting local bans.

There is no sanitised script in *Frackman* as there was in the 2013 movie on fracking, “Promised Land” starring Matt Damon. It is raw, real, heart racing and often heart breaking.

At the community screening held in Midland east of Perth, Western Australia both the co-director Richard Todd who also hails from Margaret River on the south west coast, and Dayne Pratsky were present for a Q&A following the well attended screening.

Todd and a representative from the Conservation Council of WA said that Western Australia is sitting on large reserves of shale gas – one and half times more than the entire coal seam gas reserves of the eastern states and the destruction that this could cause to farmers and water resources if allowed to proceed is frightening. This is partly because shale gas is found deeper in the earth than coal seam gas and therefore requires drilling and fracturing below the water table, causing the fracking chemicals to percolate through the underground water resources. ✱



***The small sums that are offered as compensation mean little when the costs of losing quality of life start to mount; the air quality, the noise from the constant trucks and machinery and the poisoning of their water supply both above and below ground.***



# Statement, Guatemalan Party of Labour (PGT)

## Dismantle criminal political structure

The political crisis arising from the actions of the International Commission Against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG) and the Public Ministry (MP) to dismantle the criminal structure known as La Linea (The Line) and subsequently the network operating in the Guatemalan Social Security Institute (IGSS) reveals that the state has entered into and been held captive by these kinds of mafia organisations from the highest levels of political power. Both arose about four decades ago, as part of the counterinsurgency alliance of the oligarchy and the military leadership, with the strong support of the United States.

In this context, the military leadership and middle rank army officers created criminal structures of drug, arms and human trafficking, tax fraud and smuggling. The army became, gradually, a real factor of political and economic power through the accumulation of illicit capital. These are the foundations of the bourgeois, militarised counter-insurgency state, controlled by the oligarchy, the military leaders and their gangs of organised crime.

The political transition that began in 1985 reconfigured the state. The counter-insurgency-Mafia state was transformed into a neo-liberal, Mafia and repressive state, whose political control would dispute the oligarchy and the "modernising bourgeoisie" to the leading positions and counterinsurgency military Officer Corp and organised crime. The actions of former President Alvaro Arzu against the "Moreno Network" and Grupo Salvavidas (Lifeguard Group) in 1996 were an expression of that dispute, but were truncated as the main beneficiaries of this network were financiers of the National Advancement Party (PAN), through which Arzu became President of the Republic.

The function of this converted state is to ensure the development of neo-liberal capitalism and the expansion of transnational capital in the country. To do this, counterinsurgency structures (especially intelligence) aim to repress – in partnership with businesses, private security and intelligence apparatus – any manifestations of struggle against neo-liberal capitalism, the plunder and the trans-nationalisation of resources and assets held by the public.

The political crisis arising from the dismantling of some of these criminal networks is an expression of the deep structural crisis to be found within the neo-liberal-Mafia state, controlled by large corporate groups and organised crime. It is a manifestation of the struggle between power groups that control it. The crisis of neo-liberal capitalism in Guatemala is deepening and, as a result of its disastrous effects, popular mobilisation against this predatory model is increasing daily.

The key question is how to solve it. So far, they have clearly revealed two proposals: a "controlled exit" by the ruling class in alliance with the US, and an exit which allows at least the reorganisation and democratisation of the state and its institutions. However, on the horizon one begins



to glimpse the demand for a radical refounding of the State, expressed by a cross-class, ethnic and social formation that consolidates its features in the current situation.

With the resignation of vice-president Roxana Baldetti and the subsequent appointment of Alejandro Maldonado Aguirre (a character with a dark past, from the right and the defunct National Liberation Movement (MLN) linked to death squads in the '60s-'70s), the US Embassy and the Guatemalan Business Council sought to impose its "controlled exit". In this solution to the crisis, CICIG has played a vital role since the revelation of "The Line". This manoeuvre has the fundamental aim of ensuring the continuity of the neo-liberal project and hegemony and domination of the bourgeoisie, the leadership of the military and the US.

Another proposal suggests the consolidation of institutions, including political parties, in addition to the requirement to prosecute those linked to these criminal structures. It focuses on the need to reform the Electoral Law and Political Parties and the convening of a National Constituent Assembly, within the current parameters. Among these proposals there is a range of approaches to moving towards or away from the demand for radical re-foundation of the State.

From our perspective, neither of the first two ways out of the crisis offer the solution to the great problems of the country. On the one hand, the "controlled exit" only guarantees the continuation of the neo-liberal project of big business, the plunder of public assets and resources and communities; it ensures state control by the traditional economic power, the emerging one and the Mafias. Furthermore, the second proposal reduces the reform of the rules of the political game and the Constitution to institutional reorganisation.

The Guatemalan Party of Labour expresses its full support for the large mobilisations carried out by the urban middle class in the capital city and several departments and the major demonstrations that have also featured support from the peasant, Indigenous and popular movement; demanding clean lawsuits, seeking new institutions, reform of the state and prosecution of all those involved in the criminal structures formed by

businessmen, politicians, civil servants, officers and demobilised former military officers, civil institutions throughout the state during the current government, the contemporary expression of the counterinsurgency policy of militarism.

At the same time, the PGT raises the need to deepen these demonstrations; turn them into a broad popular movement, in the city and countryside, of workers, communities and peoples, employees, students of all levels and middle class people. This situation opens up the possibility of promoting a thorough review and parallel elimination of corrupt practices that have contaminated the trade union, peasant and popular movement, and the electoral left itself.

It also proposes to make the crisis a turning point and fight for measures that direct the country towards a deep transformation of the state as well as the promotion of a development model that favours the population, which has hitherto been excluded. In that sense, our demands should be directed to:

1. The demilitarisation of the State, the total dismantling of all criminal structures within it, from national to municipal and local; judicial prosecution of their members (entrepreneurs, politicians, military and former military, civil servants and lawyers) and the dismantling of the structural mechanisms of corruption.

2. The end to the criminalisation of social struggles and repression against the people, social leaders, advocates and human rights defenders, community leaders in the struggle of resistance and defence of the territory.

3. Suspension of the general elections and adoption of a new Electoral Law and Political Parties to ensure: a) participation in conditions of equality of women and of Maya, Xinka and Garifuna peoples with candidacies defined according to their gender and their own norms, independent of political parties' regulations; b) change of the current electoral districts to others that take into account the territoriality of the Maya, Garifuna and Xinka peoples to ensure their representation; c) the prohibition of private funding to political parties and the establishment of effective supervisory mechanisms; d) strengthening the

enforcement capacity of the Electoral Commission, TSE in relation to crimes and offences in electoral matters.

4. Resignation of the Executive in full and the establishment of a transitional government, emanating from the consensus of all social and political forces.

5. The call for a National Constituent Popular Assembly to drive the process of reorganising the state to build one social, plural-national, democratic and participatory, anti-patriarchal one, respectful of nature and ensuring self-determination of the peoples who are integrated.

6. The repeal of all harmful

legislation that enables theft of public goods and resources and communities, and that damages the interests of the working class, Indigenous people and mestizos. Also, suspension of the Congress of the Republic.

Finally, the PGT calls on workers in the countryside and in the city, peasants, workers, students, professionals, urban middle class and people in general, to redouble and intensify the struggle for their specific demands, and to join the political struggle against the crisis.

**For Guatemala,  
the Revolution and Socialism  
Guatemalan Party of Labour  
Guatemala, May 2015**

Perth **SATURDAY JULY 25**

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# TPP's evil twin advances

Emile Schepers

**On May 28, the International Trade Committee of the European Parliament (the legislative arm of the European Union) approved, by a vote of 28 to 13, a position statement backing, with modifications, the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) which is currently being negotiated between the United States and the European Union.**

The TTIP is a companion deal for the Transpacific Partnership (TPP) which is the focus of such controversy in the United States right now. The “fast track” authorisation for the TPP, passed by the US Senate last week and is now headed for consideration in the House of Representatives, covers the process for approving the TTIP as well. The two trade pacts together would bring most international trade under their auspices, especially since the United States is already linked to many other countries by other, similar pacts.

As labour, environmental and other people's organisations in the United States have raised extremely serious concerns about the TPP, many in Europe have also done so about the TTIP. High on the list of worries for European labour and the left is the Investor State Dispute Settlement mechanism.

As originally proposed for both the TPP and the TTIP, foreign corporations who felt that national or even local laws were inhibiting the maximisation of their profits would be able to sue the governments concerned, and the dispute would not be decided in local or national courts by regularly appointed judges, but by special tribunals dominated by transnational corporations.

The political left, labour unions and others in Europe who are already at a high level of mobilisation against austerity programs being imposed against the working class by national governments and by the “troika” of the International Monetary Fund, European Commission and European Central Bank, are strongly opposed to many aspects of the TTIP, and some are against the pact entirely.

There are other serious worries. There are complaints that US-based

transnationals are exerting pressure to eliminate many hard-won safeguards for the population of the European countries, and will be able to do this even more effectively under the terms of the TTIP, which, like the TPP, is being negotiated in secret.

In the United Kingdom there is a specific worry that transnational corporations will use the mechanisms of the TTIP to take over and privatise the British National Health Service.

Another issue is very intricate European Union rules on product naming: As it stands, for example, nothing can be sold in Europe as “mozzarella cheese” unless it is certified that the milk from which it is made came from genuine water buffaloes and not a cow. Multinational corporations could use the TTIP to trash standards.

While the debate about the TPP in the United States includes worry about other countries in the pact pulling US labour, environmental and product safety standards down, in Europe there is worry that their own labour, environmental and product safety standards will be pulled down by lower US standards. For example, there is fear that efforts to exclude genetically modified crops in Europe will be knocked down by pressure from US corporations.

The measure in the European parliament committee was passed on a motion by Bernd Lange of the German Social Democratic Party, with the support of the bloc of social democratic and liberal centrist parties. They achieved the insertion of language that would change the nature of the Investor State Dispute Settlement mechanism.

It would be taken away from the corporate-dominated “tribunals” and given to national tribunals appointed by the governments. However, the language of this compromise solution is exceedingly vague, and when the whole European Parliament votes on this as early as June 10, the International Trade Committee's recommendation could be simply tossed aside.

There is also language in the measure as passed that would exclude services such as schools, health care, postal services and other things from the TTIP.

In contrast to the social



democratic, centrist and right wing parties, the bloc in the European Parliament of communist and other left-wing parties strongly opposed the approval vote, and denounces the TTIP in its entirety. An essay in the British communist newspaper *Morning Star* put the case succinctly: “MEP's [members of the European Parliament] should be told by individuals and representative bodies that they have no mandate for this treacherous act.”

But although the left bloc in the European parliament (the European United Left-Nordic Green Left, or GUE/NGL) picked up seats in last year's elections, and is buoyed by advances of the left in the recent elections in Spain, it does not have the votes to defeat the TTIP right now. Its current membership includes MEPs from the Communist parties of Cyprus, the Czech Republic, France and Portugal, the Refounded Communist Party of Italy and the United Left in Spain which includes the Spanish Communist Party, as well as left-socialists such as SYRIZA in Greece, PODEMOS in Spain, die Linke in Germany and a number of others, for a total of 52 of the 751 members of the European Parliament.

To block the TTIP will require a massive, working-class led mobilisation of opposition at the grassroots. The same is the case for our struggle against the TPP in the United States. And they are essentially the same struggle, with the same enemy, the international corporate behemoths.

*People's World* ✪



## Region Briefs

People's Committee Chairman of Ho Chi Minh City, Le Hoang Quan, hosted a reception for Cuba's visiting Vice President of the Council of State to Vietnam. Quan said that the visit would further strengthen the two countries' close relations that had been maintained over 55 years. He also pointed to Vietnam's socialist achievements and expressed willingness to increase cooperation. The Vice President replied that the friendship will continually develop and pass on from generation to generation.

Myanmar planned to deport 935 migrants to their home country. The country will soon send back 608 male, 74 female and 45 children migrants to Bangladesh, after the Myanmar navy found the migrants' small fishing boat drifting on the sea. The boat sailed to Malaysian waters, and they waited 45 days for a Malaysian human-trafficking boat to take them into the country, but the boat never turned up and the migrants were left there to die. The Myanmar government said that migrants became the victim of human trafficking and slavery.

Japanese Communist Party Chair Shii Kazuo questioned Prime Minister Abe Shinzo's policy during a recent parliament question time. Shii asked Abe's view on the Potsdam Declaration. Abe said that he had never read the declaration (avoiding commenting on the country's past war aggression). The declaration was issued jointly by world leaders demanding Japan surrender unconditionally at the end of WW2, which the Japanese emperor accepted. Shii demanded the government withdraw bills changing the constitution to allow Japan to participate in foreign military actions.

Over 600 young people attended a meeting held by Democratic Youth League of Japan. At the meeting, former Japanese Communist Party Chair and the Party Social Science Institute Director, Fuwa Tetsuzo, called on the youth to make friends with Karl Marx, learning scientific socialism. He explained the multiple problems in today's society and argued that “the root causes – the problem – is capital's profit-oriented nature”. One participant said youth should be united and contribute to progressive social change.

According to a statement from China's Ministry of Education, more than four million students benefited from a national project that planned to improve teaching conditions of poorly equipped primary schools in rural areas. New technology was sent to 64,000 primary schools in rural areas, and now the students have access to teaching resources just like top schools in cities. Chinese President Xi Jinping said “don't let the kids lose at the starting line”. He stressed the importance of education to the development of rural areas. The central government allocated more than A\$15 billion in 2014 to support education in rural areas, a 6.1 percent increase compared to the year before although the number of students kept dropping (due to population growth slow down).

## Lorena Pizarro

Australian Speaking Tour

June 2015 – Human Rights In Chile

Lorena Pizarro is human rights activist and currently President of the Association of Families of the Detained and Disappeared in Chile. She will be speaking in Australia in June 2015 to highlight the importance of seeking justice for human rights abuses in Chile and to lend her support to the campaign for the extradition of Adriana Rivas who is accused of the aggravated kidnapping of seven people in Chile during the Pinochet dictatorship as well as fleeing Chile whilst on bail.

### TOUR DATES

Sydney June 11 - June 13  
Canberra June 14 - June 17  
Melbourne June 18 - June 21

For tour information or media interviews contact

Pilar Aguilera: 0404 165 331

nctruthandjusticechileau@gmail.com

www.truthandjusticeforchile.com

Tour organized by the National Campaign for Truth and Justice in Chile



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### Sharing the anthrax

**The US military has really done it this time. They have sent samples of live anthrax culture to numerous places in the United States and overseas. Nobody knows how many labs have received it, it is still under investigation. At present, they are talking about 51 labs in the United States and three countries involved – including a commercial lab in Australia. The other two countries are Canada and a military base in South Korea.**

Every government under the sun is beating up the terrorist threat and how we should all be “alert but not

alarmed”. It is precisely the failure of those responsible for biohazards and other nasties to be alert makes us, the innocent bystanders, very alarmed. It seems to be a spectacular lack of proper procedures dealing with biohazards.

The labs working with anthrax could have sent out the samples to subcontractors without informing the US Defence Department. Is it not a massive security breach? Biosafety expert Richard Ebright at Rutgers University called it “gross negligence”. And we are supposed to trust these people with our security and protection from terrorist threats?

I want to know why so many places really needed anthrax in the first place. I want to know who was responsible for spreading anthrax across the world, I want to know whether there will soon be a campaign accusing somebody of using it against “us”; I want to know why so much money is being spent on anti-terrorism and yet the US military gets away with it.

**Mati English  
Sydney**

### She is not a criminal: The impact of Ireland’s abortion law

**On June 9, 2015, Amnesty International will launch a major new report on the impact of the Republic of Ireland’s abortion law, one of the most restrictive in the world, on the lives and health of women and girls.**

The report documents cases of women and girls forced to either continue with pregnancies or travel abroad to access abortions, even in cases of rape, risk to their health or where the foetus has no chance of survival. It shows how Ireland, by banning abortion on these grounds, violates the human rights of women and girls on a daily basis and puts their health and lives at risk.

The report launch marks the start of the first ever global Amnesty International campaign on a human rights issue in Ireland, which will see the organisation’s members from around the world calling for the decriminalisation of abortion in the country.

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The report was launched at a press conference in Dublin by Amnesty International Secretary General Salil Shetty, Amnesty International Ireland Director Colm O’Gorman and report author Christina Zampas, legal advisor at Amnesty International.

Other spokespeople at the press

conference included a woman who had to travel abroad for an abortion, a health professional and Amnesty International experts who compared the situation in Ireland to Europe and Latin America.

**Amnesty International  
Australia**

# Culture & Life

by  
**Kelvin Hopkins**

## The EU: Anti-socialism, anti-democratic



**There should be no doubt that the European Union is anti-working class, anti-socialist and anti-democratic. This has been the case since its first incarnation as the European Common Market in 1957, and the evidence is now overwhelming.**

One in four workers are now unemployed in Greece and Spain, with youth unemployment at double that. Living standards have been cut as economies have contracted under the lash of austerity and thousands have been forced to move abroad to look for work.

Unemployment in Spain has been the equivalent of over seven million without jobs in Britain.

Three-hundred thousand Irish working people have left their homes to look for work overseas since the 2008 banking crisis, the equivalent of over four million in Britain.

Membership of the euro has acted as an economic vice on these economies, fixing them at unsustainable currency parities above all with Germany.

Only when the euro is dismantled so that those EU members in severe economic difficulties can begin to manage and rebuild their own economies again will the sufferings of their peoples be reversed.

Gordon Brown’s 1997 decision to resist British membership of the euro saved Britain from economic catastrophe after 2008.

Larry Elliott, writing in the British *Guardian*, rightly suggested that if Britain had joined the euro at the then prevailing parity, and had

been unable to depreciate after 2008, the economy would have been wrecked.

Britain would have been the first to crash out of the euro and the whole edifice would have collapsed.

As it is, sterling depreciated by 27 per cent against the euro after the crisis and gave a degree of protection from the savage economic storms which have devastated other EU economies.

But the anti-socialist and anti-democratic nature of the EU were long ago recognised by the left and it is the left which threatens it today. The virtual disappearance of Pasok, the formerly socialist Greek political party, which chose to walk into a deadly embrace with the Conservative New Democracy Party to inflict austerity on Greek workers, has been a modern Greek tragedy.

Other pro-EU social democratic parties elsewhere in the EU are suffering too.

Syriza in Greece and Podemos in Spain have grown quickly to fill vacuums on the left.

But to return to the nature of the EU and what it is for. It is of course a branch of global neo-liberalism, of laissez-faire capitalism, constructed to raise up the power of the market and progressively dismantle the socialist and social democratic structures which were established and were so successful in the immediate post-war decades.

The EU political class does have a serious problem, however, because working people have a strong attachment to these post-war structures – welfare states, public services,

redistributive taxation and the public ownership and democratic accountability of public utilities and other sectors.

The reactionary Thatcherite government inflicted on Britain has pushed the neo-liberal agenda far beyond that of Continental Europe, but the direction and objectives are the same.

It is of significance that the neo-liberal push in the European Union was actually initiated quietly by Thatcherite ideologues in Britain, including the then deputy governor of the Bank of England in the mid-1980s.

The so-called Single European Act was the first major step on that road.

However, on the Continent, it is fear of the likely political reaction by millions of workers which has held back the neo-liberal thrust.

The left and the working class resisted the attempt to impose a “European constitution” on the EU, voting against in referendums in France and the Netherlands, despite pressure from allegedly socialist parties to vote in favour.

The Swedish elite failed to persuade the Swedish people to join the euro and the Norwegian political class twice failed to get Norwegians to vote to join the EU.

Euro-scepticism is indeed growing right across the EU, and an early Greek exit from the euro remains a probability. The EU is in trouble and it is the working class which poses the real threat to its future.

It is time for democratic governments across the EU to reclaim power from Brussels and begin again to represent the real interests of their peoples and move in a socialist direction.

The EU economy is failing, and it is not just the southern fringe where problems exist. The elephant in the room, so to speak, is in fact France, and as France finds it increasingly difficult to sustain its membership of the eurozone, a seismic change really is in prospect.

It is the EU which has in effect derailed President Francois Hollande’s initial progressive agenda promised before his election. The French, like other members of the eurozone, need to be able to adjust the value of their currency, against Germany in particular, which means re-establishing the franc and beginning once again to manage their economy at a national level with appropriate monetary and fiscal policies and direct state intervention to generate full employment and long-term economic stability.

The whole EU economic strategy has proved a failure, and while a useful level of co-operation between economies on a voluntary and mutually beneficial basis is appropriate, bureaucratic control and economic dictats from the EU institutions do not work.

It is time for the EU to recognise its failure and leave the countries of Europe to reconstruct the democratic socialist/social democratic post-war world which worked so well.

**Kelvin Hopkins is Labour MP for Luton North. He has recently written *The European Union – A View From the Left* (published by Labour Euro Safeguards Campaign).**

**Morning Star** ☼

**Rob Gowland is on leave**



# Controversial Aloha

Ed Rampell

A lynch mob is attacking writer/director Cameron Crowe's new movie *Aloha*, which opened on May 29. The 2014 leaking of confidential messages after Sony Pictures Entertainment executives' email accounts were hacked (allegedly by North Koreans angered by *The Interview*) revealed critical comments of *Aloha* by anxious execs. The Media Action Network for Asian Americans observed that *Aloha*'s cast is too white for a movie shot in Hawaii, where Caucasians are a minority. The 50th state's film commissioner complained *Aloha*'s title misappropriated the spiritual meaning of that word, which translates as "love," "hello" and "farewell." Even panellists on Fox News' *The Five* – a program specialising in aggressive imbecility – debated *Aloha*.

Introducing a May 26 advance screening at a Los Angeles theatre, Crowe seemed to dismiss his detractors, pithily saying, "Lots has been heard from people who have never seen the movie." In any case, the most controversial thing about *Aloha* may be Crowe's casting of Hawaiian independence leader Dennis "Bumpy" Kanahele. Despite the typical Hollywood disclaimer during the closing credits about the motion picture's characters being fictitious, Kanahele is very much a real person and the non-actor plays an on-screen version of himself bearing the same name.

In *Aloha* military contractor Brian Gilcrest (Bradley Cooper) and Air Force Captain Allison Ng (Emma Stone, who's identified as part-Hawaiian, Chinese and Swedish) visit the Pu'uhonua o Waimanalo village on Oahu. Although Gilcrest and Ng are initially coolly received by Hawaiians there, Bumpy warmly welcomes them, fist bumping Gilcrest, whom he clearly knows. The duo has come to ask Kanahele and his group to perform a blessing at a new project's gate. This leads to wheeling and dealing, with Kanahele negotiating a land swap – and cell phone service – in exchange for performing the traditional ceremony.

Marketing masterminds are ballyhooing *Aloha* as a romantic comedy, but it is also arguably the best Hollywood feature ever made about the Hawaiian sovereignty movement. Pu'uhonua o Waimanalo, which Natives won through a beach occupation, is introduced as a mystic, misty place that, as Ng says, has lots of "mana," which Gilcrest translates as "power" and "spirit." At the mountainous site Kanahele and his Indigenous supporters have established

what appears to be an embryonic sovereign Hawaiian nation.

But during a contentious exchange Gilcrest reminds Kanahele that Hawaii is now part of America, prompting the nationalist to retort that in 1893 Washington backed the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and that the so-called "Aloha State" became US-ruled only through military occupation of the islands. Kanahele wears a T-shirt proclaiming: "Hawaiian By Birth, American By Force."

Earlier in the movie, Tracy Woodside's (Rachel McAdams) son Mitchell (Jaeden Lieberher) calls Cooper's character "Lono," reputedly a white god of Hawaiian mythology. In the 18th century some Polynesians mistook explorer Captain Cook for Lono, while some likened him to Jesus Christ – which the name Gilcrest suggests. In *Aloha*'s opening montage, archival footage of a rocket blowing up on a launching pad is briefly seen. This may be at Johnston Atoll, located 700 miles south of Hawaii, a nuclear test site from 1958-1963. A 1962 atmospheric thermonuclear blast produced a fireball visible in Honolulu, where it knocked out traffic lights.

The title sequence's aborted launch foreshadows a key *Aloha* plot point: Touched by Hawaii's much-vaunted "Aloha spirit," Cooper's character evolves from a murderous "American Sniper" into a Lono-like saviour heroically halting the weaponisation of space.

Crowe met Kanahele in Oahu around 2005, and the sovereignty advocate educated the director (of 1996's *Jerry Maguire* and 2000's *Almost Famous*) about Hawaiians' history and ongoing struggle for land, water, spiritual and political rights. Kanahele and the Nation of Hawaii group he leads support independence from the US and restoration of the Kingdom of Hawaii.

In *Aloha* Kanahele is identified as being descended from Hawaii's Kamehameha royal dynasty and is repeatedly called "king." However, in a phone call to Oahu, Kanahele insisted Nation adherents don't call him "king," although Kanahele claims he traces his lineage to King Kamehameha the Great, the kingdom's first monarch.

Over the years Kanahele has endorsed militancy. In 1987, when I covered the Hawaiian Sovereignty movement for *Radio Australia*, *Pacific Islands Monthly*, *Radio New Zealand*, etc, I was introduced to Kanahele by activist attorney Mililani Trask.

Kanahele was on trial in connection to the occupation of Makapuu lighthouse by Hawaiians, which was similar to the 1969-1971 Alcatraz



Bradley Cooper as military contractor Brian Gilcrest in Cameron Crowe's new movie *Aloha*.

reclamation by American Indians. Kanahele said he'd been armed and standing guard when police arrived to evict the so-called "squatters." According to Kanahele he spun around holding his carbine ready to shoot at authorities when he saw children and ohana (family) members in the line of fire. So he dropped his weapon, was apprehended without firing a shot, and served almost a year behind bars.

During the 1990s, to observe the anniversary of the 1893 toppling of Queen Liliuokalani, Kanahele and supporters demonstrated with the widow of Malcolm X's mentor, Elijah Muhammad, and other Nation of Islam members. The Nation of Hawaii also staged a protest march in Waikiki, nerve center of Hawaii's tourism industry.

In a phone interview Kanahele noted that while Bill Murray's amiably evil billionaire character Carson Welch in *Aloha* is fictitious, a real-life Silicon Valley billionaire backs construction of a huge telescope atop Big Island's Mauna Kea, which Hawaiian activists oppose.

According to a crew member speaking on condition of anonymity, *Aloha*'s original screenplay, then called "Dark Tiki," focused more on Hawaiian issues and culture, although this was cut back for the final Hollywood production.

Nevertheless, Hollywood is creating more culturally authentic, nuanced portrayals of Hawaii and its Indigenous people than its old celluloid South Seas stereotypes of happy-go-lucky grass skirt-clad Natives. Just as Black-themed movies such as *Selma* are a major trend, Hawaiians are increasingly – if not always – being depicted accurately with dignity.

The 1970 epic *The Hawaiians*,

starring planter Charlton Heston married to a troubled Hawaiian nationalist played by Geraldine Chaplin, was the first studio movie depicting – albeit briefly – the Kingdom of Hawaii's overthrow.

This coup against Hawaiian royalty took centre stage in 2009's indie *Princess Ka'iulani*. 2004's *The Big Bounce* opened with Hawaiians demonstrating against developers. George Clooney's depiction of a part-Hawaiian heir foiling development of a pristine beach in Alexander Payne's 2011 *The Descendants* earned Clooney an Oscar nomination.

When Cameron Crowe introduced the private screening of *Aloha*

he referred to it as his "love letter to Hawaii." Bradley Cooper's portrayal of a prince of peace thwarting militarism may win him the Academy Award that eluded him for 2014's biopic about the "American Sniper" who shot 150 people. And who knows? Perhaps Bumpy Kanahele will receive a Best Supporting Actor Oscar nomination?

Ex-Hawaii resident Ed Rampell co-authored *Made In Paradise, Hollywood's Films of Hawaii and the South Seas, Pearl Harbor in the Movies and The Hawaii Movie and Television Book*.

*People's World* ☺  
Rob Gowland is on leave.

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# Moses Havini 1947-2015

## Committed Revolutionary

Anna Pha

Moses Havini was born on June 5, 1947, or so he was told by a local missionary. He was from the Nakas clan and son of the paramount chief of the Naboin clan on Buka Island, the northern tip of Bougainville. Along with his soul mate and wife Marilyn (née Miller), he devoted his life to the struggle of the Bougainvillean people for independence and control over their own land.

Anyone who has known or worked alongside Moses will remember a humble, extremely intelligent and committed revolutionary, who worked incredible hours for the preservation of his people's heritage – their culture, ancestral lands, communal structures, languages, traditions and values. They will also recall his passion for justice, commitment to peace, sense of humour and an inner strength.

Marilyn, a passionate Christian, was an integral part of all that Moses did. She first became aware of Moses at a Christian Conference held at Melbourne's Monash University in early 1971 when he was 20. He was there as the editor of University of PNG's Christian student newspaper.

Marilyn described their first encounter: "We didn't get a chance to talk but glances were exchanged. Their group then flew to Sydney and visited my place. We spoke, briefly, before they left. Later I went to the airport to see them off and at the last moment Moses ran over, jumped the fence and asked for my address. We became instant pen pals.

"Then I was selected by Australian Girl Guide Association as a Sea Ranger on a service project to Port Moresby where Moses was studying. We met, fell in love quickly, Moses asked both our fathers for permission to marry. Both agreed, while Moses' father said that he could not speak for his people unless they met me."

So during Moses' mid-semester break, they travelled to Buka, where Marilyn was adopted into the clan and married in July 1971.

Their experiences with bureaucracy that followed are indicative of the racist and sexist colonial attitudes that prevailed at the time. While white men had been known to marry black women, the marriage of a white woman to a black man was unheard of.

Not long after the wedding Moses received notice that as his wife was now paid as a lecturer at Port Moresby Teachers' College, his university scholarship was cancelled.

Simultaneously Marilyn received a dismissal notice saying that because she was married, it was her husband's job to support her. Both letters were signed by the same Australian colonial head of the Education Department!

Moses continued his studies at the University of Papua New Guinea as a private student and graduated in record time in 1972 with a BA. He was Bougainville's third graduate.

Geographically Bougainville is part of the Solomon Islands archipelago of islands and 1,000 kilometres to the east of Papua New Guinea. It became a province of PNG in the mid-1890s as Britain, Germany and the US exchanged various possessions in the region.

It became part of German New Guinea and was taken over by Australia at the start of World War I. Then it was the turn of the Japanese at beginning of the Second World War, followed by the US which handed it back to Australia as a UN Trust Territory.



Bougainville Freedom Movement banner.

In 1971 and '72, Moses made several trips to Port Moresby, returning with strategies and recommendations for a localised transition towards district government. He replaced an Australian as the adult education officer for Bougainville and established many literacy and correspondence courses.

He famously "captured" PNG's education minister, Sir Ebia Olewale, to take him up the Buka road to meet the local Hahalis Welfare Society, which was demanding a local school. Sir Ebia returned to PNG Parliament and carried through on a promise of a school.

### Dissent and mobilisation

In 1972, with the approval of the Australian government, Bougainville Copper Ltd (20% owned by PNG government and 53% by Conzinc Rio Tinto subsidiary CRA) opened the Panguna copper and gold mine on Bougainville. This followed years of struggle by the local Indigenous landowners against the mine, including an unsuccessful attempt to halt it in the Australian High Court.

The land had been communally owned and cultivated for thousands of years. The landowners were not consulted. No one sought permission to enter their land, let alone force them off it or destroy their gardens and poison their rivers – their means of subsistence. They fought tooth and nail to stop the mine.

"The villagers, women, men and children, were not armed but were confronted by armed police carrying rifles, batons, shields and gas masks. They were fired upon with tear gas and charged with batons. Women threw themselves in front of company bulldozers, prepared to sacrifice their lives for their ancestral land." (*"Bougainville – The long struggle for freedom"*, by Moses and Rikha Havini\*)

By 1975 the PNG government relied on the mine for 40 percent of its income which satisfied the Whitlam government that PNG was ready for independence.

In January 1975, Moses, on a Fulbright Scholarship, visited America in January studying government and administration. He returned to the tightening tensions between PNG and Bougainville. After 17 years of unsuccessful attempts to negotiate with the PNG government and CRA, the Panguna Landowners Association decided to mobilise their forces with demonstrations, petitions, etc.

On May 28, 1975, the Interim Provincial

Government in Bougainville agreed to secede from PNG. On September 1, 1975, a month before PNG's planned Independence Day, Moses carried the Bougainville flag to Wakunai (North Bougainville) and a Universal Declaration of Independence (UDI) was proclaimed. Similar ceremonies were conducted around the island.

In January 1976, at Hutjena, the PNG police fired rubber bullets and tear gas canisters into the crowd. Moses, a man committed to non-violence, was hit in the back with a canister, causing a wound that took months to heal and left a large scar.

Bougainville was unable to get other countries to recognise its UDI. So a negotiated settlement for "provincial" status led to Moses' appointment as Clerk of the Assembly, 1977-81, then Speaker of the Provincial Parliament Assembly, 1982-85.

In 1988 the villagers blew up two power pylons carrying electricity to the Panguna mine. Further conflict followed and within months the mine was closed and is still closed, but perhaps not for much longer. New moves are afoot to re-open it.

In January 1990, Moses, Marilyn and their four children came to Australia. Blocked by PNG from returning to Bougainville, Moses lived in Sydney for the next 15 years, as the representative of the Interim Government of Bougainville for the region and the world.

PNG imposed an Australia-supported blockade of Bougainville, denying it imports of food, fuel, medicines (such as to treat malaria) and other essential goods. The PNG Defence Force used Australian-supplied helicopters and patrol boats to support the blockade and take part in what became a long and bloody war.

The ingenuity of the people was incredible, producing soap and fuel from coconuts, reviving traditional medicines, making guns from pieces of metal from the closed mine, etc. At the same time the cost in lives and hardship was enormous, with an estimated 12,000 to 15,000 lives lost.

Moses quickly developed the necessary diplomatic skills for the UN, how to handle the media and approach Australian and regional politicians. He and Marilyn successfully built political support in Australia resulting in the formation of the Bougainville Freedom Movement and also a women's group.

A decade later it was obvious that PNG

could not win the war, that the Bougainvilleans had won. However, the new Autonomous Bougainville Government (ABG) was not recognised by the international community. There was still the question of reconciliation between those Bougainvilleans who had fought for independence and those who had been conscripted to fight with PNG forces and a peace settlement with PNG.

Foreign Minister Alexander Downer backed a New Zealand initiative to hold peace talks in New Zealand. Moses played an important role in the peace process, focusing on a just peace between Bougainville and PNG. He made representations to the United Nations Human Rights Council, supported by Bougainvillean delegations.

Marilyn had assisted in creating women's groups who also participated in the peace process.

The talks led to the Bougainville Peace Agreement, which provided for the withdrawal of all armed personnel from the island by December 2002 and contained provisions for a referendum that must be held within the five-year time period of 2015-2020.

By 2005 the Havinis had moved back to Buka, as negotiations between PNG and the ABG had obtained a large degree of autonomy on Bougainville. Moses became an adviser to the ABG as director of parliamentary committees. Marilyn said Moses' aim throughout his life was to see "Papua New Guinea as a friendly neighbour, rather than their ruler".

In August 2013, Moses was diagnosed with multiple myeloma and returned to Sydney for treatment. He fought a courageous battle, never acknowledging his pain, which he lost on May 2, 2015.

Moses was held in high regard by all who met and worked with him. The head of New Zealand police's Bougainville Peace Team, the clerk of the NSW Parliament and PNG's High Commissioner to Australia were amongst those who attended and spoke at his Sydney memorial service before his body was taken to Bougainville for a state funeral.

Moses Havini is survived by Marilyn, their children Rikha, Torohin, Solomon and Taloi, four grandchildren and adopted children Patrick, Maria, Sissi, Justin, Judith, Genevieve and Jennitha.

Vale Moses Havini

\* [www.eco-action.org/dt/bvstory.html](http://www.eco-action.org/dt/bvstory.html) \*



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