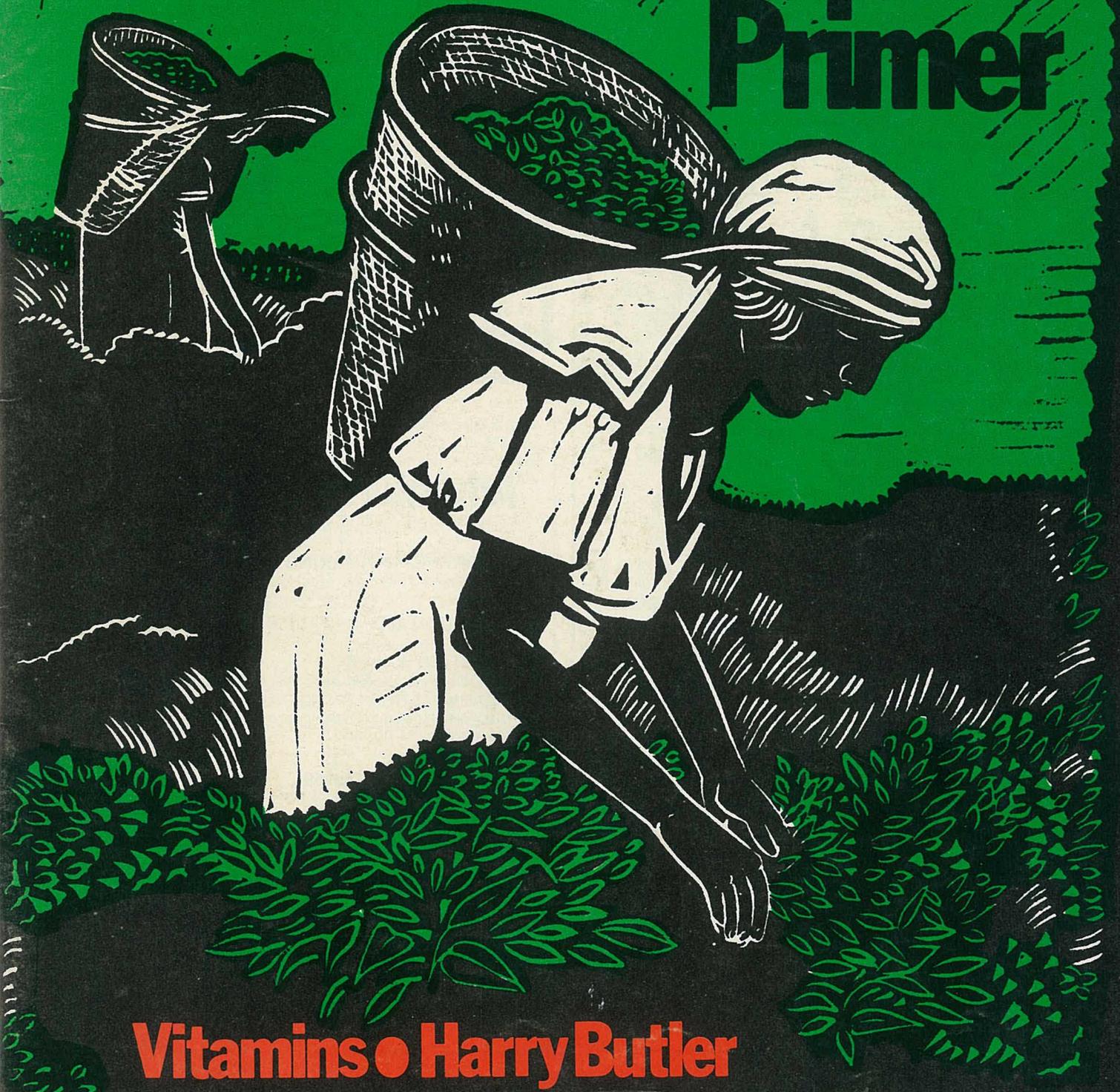


# Chain Reaction

Friends of the Earth Australia

Number 25 Spring 1981 \$1.50\*

## Food Politics Primer

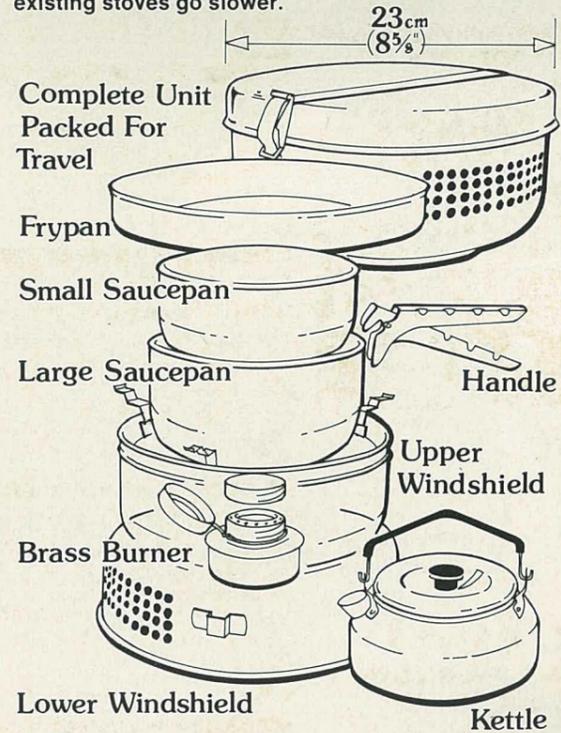


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Models 27 & 27K: 19 cm x 10 cm.

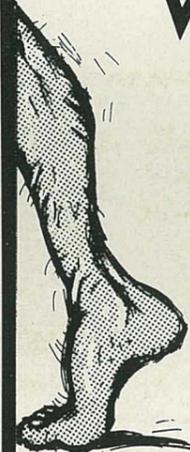
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# Chain Reaction

Established in 1975

Number 25

Spring 1981

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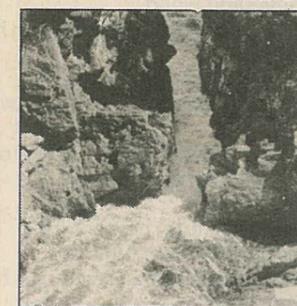
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### RIVERS REFERENDUM



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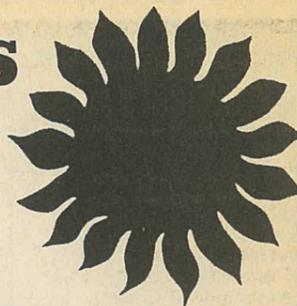
Cover - Women tea pickers. Linocut: Irena Sibley. Design: Mark Carter.

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Contributions to Chain Reaction are invited. Please try to send items typed, on one side of the page, double spaced and with wide margins. Keep a copy. We do not have sufficient resources and people to return manuscripts. These few guidelines help in bringing out the magazine better and faster. The Summer edition will appear in early December 1981.

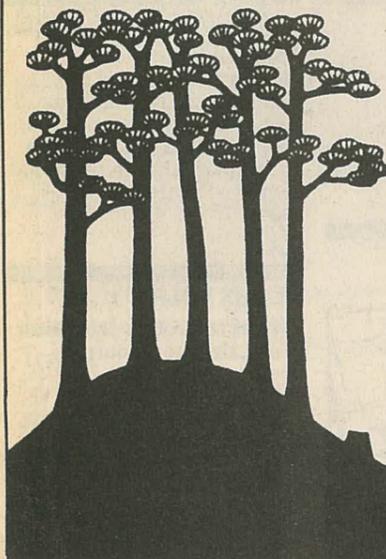
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## BACKSTAGE REACTION

I am a woman who has been involved in the environmental movement and numerous environmental organisations for nearly ten years, and, having just read your piece, 'Women's Reaction', I have to say how absolutely accurate I find it. It really accords closely with the sort of experience I and other women I know have had. I have mainly been involved over the period in producing written material, mainly on forestry and energy issues.

My own particular problem apart from the usual male discouragement, is that I usually work with a particular male co-author, and find that when my name comes first on a piece the work is almost invariably attributed to him. I note that your worst female/male ratio is in the production of written material (the most 'creative' and 'prestigious' area).

Val Routley  
Braidwood, NSW

## COVERING WOMEN

*Chain Reaction*, like many groups and individuals, purports to be doing its bit in the enormous battle against discrimination. But the battle, we're afraid, doesn't just stop at a 20% coverage of the 'social justice' issues (Backstage, *Chain Reaction* No. 24).

If a positive portrayal of women is to be achieved as a recognition of the relationship between social justice and environment issues, then surely some indication of an awareness of stereotypical images of women is necessary.

The cover of *Chain Reaction* No. 24 (Winter 1981) depicted a comic book type woman with plucked eyebrows, cute pet nose, lipsticked lips, and no pimples — in short a plastic Barbie doll type representation of women. That this woman is talking with concern (but note the 'coy' turn of the head) about Alcoa

is just not enough to excuse the use of images that have repressed women for centuries.

If *Chain Reaction* wants credibility with women, then it needs to re-examine its graphic representation of women, as well as their role in its production.

Margie Kay  
Rigmor Berg  
Melbourne

## WOMEN OUT WEST

I am writing to you regards the Food Justice Centre and my book *Women Out West*. My diary will surely list World Food Day on 12 October this year, not only that but I'll be spreading the word (or should I say 'food' politics) to my friends.

The book *Women out West*, which I am editing and compiling is for women residing in the western suburbs of Melbourne.

What I would particularly like to hear from both the Food Justice Centre of Friends of The Earth, and *Chain Reaction's* female readers in the west, is "what would you like to read in a publication such as *Women Out West* regarding food production?"

In fact what do they think about it? Or, how do they feel about it? Women and food production!

I would also like to know more about the Food Justice Centre, and am dying (literally!) to hear from women readers who would like to know more about *Women Out West*.

*Chain Reaction* is a great magazine and I read it every time I get a chance to.

Keep up the better than just 'good' work FOE.

Robyn Brooks  
c/o 11 Inez Court  
Melton, Victoria, 3337

## TAPED SUPPORT

Armidale now has a half hourly, weekly program called *Down to Earth*, on 2ARM — FM Community Radio.

We cover local, Australian and world wide environmental matters, and welcome new

material (we often quote you!), especially in the form of tapes which we can return after using.

We can also use material of more than a half hour duration on the *Thursday Special* spot.

*Chain Reaction* is an excellent magazine. Keep up the good work!

Dale Baker  
Armidale Community Radio  
Co-operative  
P O Box 707  
Armidale, NSW, 2350  
Telephone (067) 72 1486

Editor's note: *Chain Reaction* welcomes the use of its material by other people and groups. All we ask is that you acknowledge your source so as to encourage others to subscribe and help keep us alive.

## NUCLEAR AUSTRALIA

Someone told me recently that he had come to Australia to escape from the fear of living in nuclear Britain: both the civilian and the military nuclear build-up made him decide it was "not fair on the children" to live there. Will he soon be leaving Australia?

Mr Anthony and Senator Carrick have announced legislation that will provide the basis for the development of an Australian nuclear industry. They say that the *Atomic Energy Act (1953)* (which incidentally provided for a maximum fine of \$10,000 or a twelve months gaol sentence for people who oppose any aspect of the nuclear fuel cycle), could not provide such a basis. Let us not pretend to ourselves that the new legislation will relax the aggressive stance of the 1953 act.

So where do we now stand? Will you go to gaol? Will I?

But has it really come to such a serious decline in human rights in Australia?

To see what's coming, look at the smoke rising from the homes of the people who once lived at Mapoon and were moved at gun point. Remember the sounds of Federal silence when the people of Aurukun and Mornington Island called for help. Listen to the clanking of the oil-rigs, moving into Noonkanbah. Think about the present threat to remove Aboriginal people from their

# LETTERS

reserves in Queensland and the coming destruction of a large section of the Kakadu National Park. Take a last loving look at the Great Barrier Reef: the Bureau of Mineral Resources is already drilling there (for scientific research). Remember the arrests of a politician and some trade-unionists in Western Australia, and notice the (deliberate?) inadequacy of the Freedom of Information Act and the withholding of certain Bureau of Statistics figures.

Our first task is to get together and talk about the situation. Together we can build confidence and find a way. We can write letters, visit other groups and exchange views, call public meetings, put articles in newsletters and notices on noticeboards, screen films and slide shows, mount displays etc.

Contrary to popular opinion, even really arrogant politicians don't have concrete in their ears. They worry about public opinion as much as they worry about pressure from the big companies, especially public opinion in the environment movement which includes people of almost every political complexion, every age group and every income group.

In reality, I often feel tired, intimidated and discouraged. But if you can work for health and freedom. I can too.

Rosemary Walters  
Canberra

## LETTERS

You are invited to write letters to *Chain Reaction* with your comments and criticisms of articles, or on other issues of interest to you. We are more able to publish your letter if it is under 250 words. Write today to, The Editors *Chain Reaction*, Room 14, Floor 4, 37 Swanston Street, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, 3000.

# BELBOURIE

I suppose I should be talking about our wine – how good it is, and how you should buy it; but I'd much rather talk about the Hunter Valley and our concern for it; not only for its vineyards and its grapes, but for its air, water, trees – its natural and human resource. How we can save them; augment them; conserve them; enhance them. First, as with all conserving actions, detail the problems, assess their magnitude, and propose solutions. Second, by motivating and activating public awareness and concern. Third, by transposing that awakened or re-vitalised concern into immediate and effective action . . .

In succeeding issues we will detail our assessment and involvement, and YOUR assistance in preserving the quiet and beautiful places of the Valley.

.....  
Jim Roberts

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the environment state

### Chain Reaction



You can still obtain back copies of most editions of Chain Reaction

including

*Winter 1981, No 24* – Alcoa: clearing the Jarrah and buying Portland, lead victory, shrinking Environment Department and Activists Contacts supplement. \$1.50.  
*Summer 1980-81, No 22* – The Great Barrier Reef, food for people . . . or cars, Cliff Dolan interview, and Trees you won't see next year. \$1.50  
*October-November 1980, No 21* – South West Tasmania, How we can now stop uranium mining, The Federal Government and the elections, seeds patenting, Redcliff. \$1.20  
*August-September 1980 Vol 5 No 4 - Dirt Cheap*, new Australian film, Aluminium, Tasmanian Aborigines. \$1.20  
Nineteen back copies of *Chain Reaction* – all those published from Autumn 1976 (except Vol 2 No 3, of which we will supply a reprint of the major stories, and No 23) are available as a set for \$25. Add another \$2 to include this edition (No 25).  
All post free.  
Send orders to: *Chain Reaction*, Room 14 Floor 4, 37 Swanston Street, Melbourne, 3000.

## EARTH NEWS

### Confrontation at sea



Greenpeace's new campaign vessel *Sirius* recently confronted the nuclear waste dumping ship *Gem* in the North Atlantic. On 20 July Greenpeace volunteers aboard *Sirius* mounted two attempts to prevent the disposal of drums of radioactive material. By positioning inflatable dinghies beneath the tipping platform, the Greenpeacers managed to delay the dump for one and a half hours.

The *Gem* was making 12 knots during these actions and high pressure hoses were used from the deck to fend off the protesters and swamp the dinghies. The barrels were dumped the moment the dinghies were fractionally out of position resulting in several barrels hitting the pontoons of the inflatable craft. Several independent witnesses aboard the *Sirius* were of the opinion that the drums were being directly aimed at the occupants of the dinghies.

### The incredible shrinking budget

Expenditure on urban and regional development and the environment will amount to only 0.2% of this year's total federal budget expenditure, just on half the level it was under the McMahon government.

Decentralisation assistance and urban rehabilitation programs have been abandoned, except where previous commitments must be fulfilled. Growth centres will receive only \$5.3 million, all for Albury-Wodonga.

The Australian government will no longer make grants to the states for public transport, despite the income it is accruing from the crude oil levy. Instead states will have to find the money for this and a number of other functions from their already inadequate general grants.

Funding for the National

Estate has fallen in real terms to a third of the 1974-75 level. States will receive only one seventh of their allocation of six years ago. Grants to the National Trusts are down 40% in the same period, and to conservation groups down 60%.

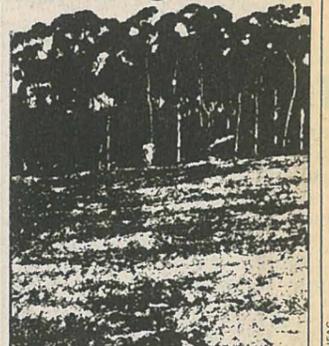
Yet, although we are only seeing a continuation of last year's trends, as the government abandons more and more functions, interestingly we are no longer being offered last year's substitute solution – the so-called resources boom. Tax concessions to mining and oil companies have been cut, and the new budget strategy for minimum federal investment in infrastructure, without which, of course, anything is likely to 'boom'. One result of this will be to force public authorities to raise their own

capital. Thus, we have already seen the State Electricity Commission in Victoria raise its tariffs.

The crude oil and liquid petroleum gas levies remain unchanged and together with royalties from off-shore drilling provide \$4,500 million or 11% of revenue. Yet, petrol freight, LPG and Northern Territory electricity subsidies remain in force.

These subsidies do little for the presumed aim of the federal energy policy of discouraging petrol consumption by high prices. The total cost of these subsidies amount to twice that spent on energy and mineral related programs including the Atomic Energy Commission. Subsidies to rural areas seem dictated by electoral strategy in the absence of a coherent energy and resource policy.

### Land grab



The Victorian State Government has ordered the Victorian Land Conservation Council to find 14,500 hectares of public land in north-eastern Victoria for pine plantations to meet the demands of a private company. This will require the clearing of native forests on public lands for private profit.

# EARTH NEWS

## Scabs load Darwin yellowcake

Eight people were arrested in Darwin on 9 July, 1981, while protesting the loading of 350 tonnes of yellowcake (valued at about \$30 million) onto a Filipino barge.

A Maritime Union's ban on the export of yellowcake has been effective since 22 March, 1981. On 4 July Queensland Mines in a desperate move to ship out yellowcake shifted a consignment to Marine Contractors, a small private concern located in Francis Bay.

The Filipino barge entered Darwin Harbour; without a pilot and in breach of normal customs and quarantine procedures. On its arrival all work ceased on the waterfront and the Marine Contractor's yard was picketed.

Northern Territory police protected scab labour who loaded the barge. Scuffles between police and protestors broke out and eight people were arrested. The barge sailed on 10 July.

## Gippsland woodchip

The forests of East Gippsland and the Otways are being increasingly opened up to the woodchip industry through double takes by the Victorian Forests Commission and the Victorian government. An Environment Effects Statement for the East Gippsland area was condemned as a "disgrace" by the Conservation Council of Victoria. The production of the EES was made more farcical through a decision to allow a "trial" woodchip scheme to go ahead before the EES was released.



Chip mill at Eden, NSW

Action: Contact the Native Forests Action Council, 118 Errol Street, North Melbourne Victoria 3051, or the Conservation Council of Victoria, Victorian Environment Centre, 419 Lonsdale Street, Melbourne Victoria 3001.

## On sacred ground



From the film On Sacred Ground

Minister for Foreign Affairs Mr Street and former Minister for Home Affairs Mr Ellicott have been caught out trying to suppress overseas distribution of the Australian film *On Sacred Ground*. Produced by the Australian Film Commission it shows the conflict between the Texas-based Amax Corporation, the West Australian State Government and Aborigines over Noonkanbah last year.

In a letter to Mr Ellicott in December last year Mr Street said that the film would do harm to Australia's image on Aboriginal affairs.

A spokesperson for the

Department of Foreign Affairs who released sections of the letter in July this year, said there was no doubt that Mr Ellicott had discussed Mr Street's views with the AFC.

A copy of the film was bought last year for distribution in West Germany after an agent from that country had seen it in Sydney. The Australian Embassy in Bonn refused to hand it over saying that changes had been ordered in the editing.

Action: If you can help in distributing the film overseas contact Film Australia, Post Office Box 46, Lindfield, New South Wales, 2070.



## Women's refuges

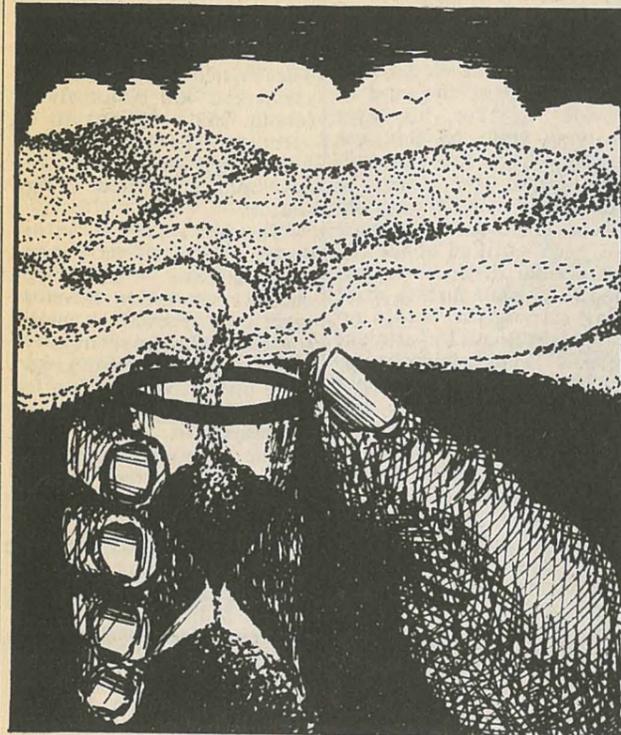
Women's refuges could rapidly be approaching difficult times owing to the Federal Government's restructuring of health funding to the recommendations of the Razor Gang. Initially, under the new arrangements, a block of funds to cover health, the Community Health Programme, and the School Dental Scheme will be available to the States but these will eventually be absorbed into general revenue grants. Hence funds for the women's refuges will not be earmarked at any stage and decisions regarding funding will be left to the individual states. Whilst the refuges in

some states regard the continuation of their funding as relatively safe, serious problems are faced in Western Australia, Queensland and the Northern Territory.

Women protested against the changes through vigils and demonstrations in May and June in Canberra. The women demanded proper

funding for existing services, the extension of such services, the treatment of all women's services as one portfolio by the government and the direct funding of such services by the government. However, failure of the Federal Government to comply with their demands also lobby State governments.

## Sands of our times



The Queensland State Government has approved rutilite sand mining on Moreton Island.

The Cabinet accepted a proposal for 6.4% of the island to be mined, with 91.2% of the island to be proclaimed as national park. It is thought that if mining begins before the national park is proclaimed then a larger area of the island will be in jeopardy.

Action: You could join the Moreton Island Protection Committee to support their efforts to conserve the island. Send \$4 to Moreton Island Protection Committee, Post Office Box 238, North Quay, Queensland 4000. Or you could send donations to either the MIPC or the Queensland Conservation Council's Moreton Island Fund.

## Animal rights



A Voice for the Animals rally was held in Melbourne on Sunday 5 July. Over 300 marchers heard speakers concerned about animals in factory farms, the wild, laboratories and human homes.

This was the first time in

Melbourne that so many groups combined to present a total picture of the cruelty we all allow. A call was made for this spirit of togetherness to continue, in order to have the strength to inform voters of where politicians stand before the state elections.

## Whaling

A psychological victory was scored in July this year at the 33rd meeting of the International Whaling Commission in Brighton, England with total protection being given to sperm whales although with some quota deferrals. The price was an increase in Minke whale

quotas in the Southern Hemisphere of 1030, with other concessions on Fin whales. A resolution was passed urging the Inuit people of Alaska to take immature Bowheads and reduce the number of whales struck and lost to zero as soon as possible.

## Women's choice

The Federal Government's new Health Insurance Act contains an optional exclusion for health funds to refuse to pay medical and hospital benefits for abortions.

Recently it was decided by the Victorian Hospitals Remuneration Tribunal that unfitness for duty due to delivery of a foetus by caesarean section does not make a woman unfit for work due to personal ill-health or injury: a woman is not entitled to sick leave because she "elects" to have a caesarean. The tribunal did concede that a woman could claim sick leave if com-



plications developed prior to or as a result of such a birth. Caesareans occur when a safe vaginal delivery is impossible or when a doctor makes the decision: it seems this is interpreted as a woman 'electing' to have a caesarean.

## Stamp out smelters

New Zealand, pioneer of philatelic exports, has the stamp world agog with a new production - a 40 cent bitter in flight, based on an oil painting by Auckland artist Don Binney.

The stamp comes not from the Springbok-loving NZ government, but from the Independent State of Aramoana. Aramoana is a wedge-shaped area of land near Dunedin, in the South Island; within its boundaries are two villages, a unique wildlife reserve, and several fine beaches and headlands. A peaceful community... until now.

Now a consortium of Fletcher-Challenge (NZ) and Nabalco (Australia-Switzerland), aided and abetted by an eager NZ government, propose to build a large aluminium smelter in the heart of Aramoana, displacing its people and destroying its beauty forever.

To answer this threat,

Aramoana seceded from NZ on 23 December 1980, and now issues passports, citizenships, and maintains embassies throughout NZ. At present the border with NZ remains open; if necessary it will be closed.

Contact: The first stamp of the Independent State of Aramoana was issued on 8 May 1981 and is available in miniature sheets or on first-day covers. Available in Australia from International Development Action, 73 Little George Street, Fitzroy 3065; in NZ from Save Aramoana Campaign, 245 Moray Place, Dunedin, New Zealand.



## Transition

Friends of the Earth groups - see page 40. Changes in Perth, Canberra and Melbourne.

Greenpeace Australia Inc. South Australia's branch is now at 223 Hutt Street, Adelaide South Australia 5000. Telephone (08) 2233578. Their Sydney office and shop is at: 118 Oxford Street, Paddington New South Wales 2021. Telephone (02) 3312797.

The Capricorn Conservation Council and Environment Centre is now at 135 William Street, Rockhampton, Queensland, 4700. (Post Office Box 795).

The North Coast Environment Centre is now at 22 Terania Street, Lismore, New South Wales, 2480.

## EARTH NEWS

### Malaysia muzzled

In January this year as news of Malaysia's environmental crisis, the widening destruction of its rain forests, reached the international community and influential papers like *The New York Times*; the Malaysian government decided to act immediately against its critics in Malaysia.

A new Bill was introduced into Parliament designed to amend the Societies Act of 1966, giving the government wide powers to ban any organisation, remove its office bearers, amend its rules and include certain provisions in its constitution. There would be no right of appeal.

The new Bill was aimed particularly against the activities of the Malaysian Friends of the Earth, the Consumers Association of Penang, the Environment Protection Society of Malaysia and bodies such as Aliran, a group of 55 scientists seeking social and intellectual reforms in Malaysia.

Most Malaysian scientific and environmental organisations take support from international bodies such as the United Nations Environment Programme and UNESCO, but under the new legislation affiliations outside of Malaysia would be banned.

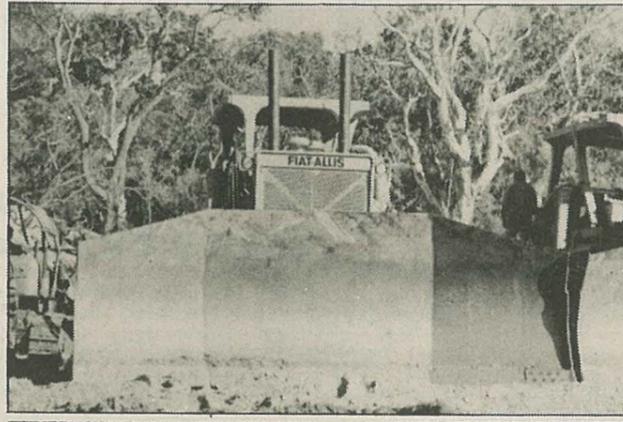
The Bill is the latest of a series of oppressive moves by the Malaysian government to attempt to muzzle all its critics and if passed, it is feared by Opposition politicians this goal would be achieved.

Despite concerted actions of the groups effected, the Bill, according to the Australian Foreign Affairs Department, was passed in May this year.

### Sand nabbed

In an amazing display of environmental vandalism, a developer with property lying just inland from Kemp Beach on the Capricorn Coast near Yeppoon, Queensland, has recently destroyed the dune system in front of his land to supposedly provide better views and thereby increase the value of his proposed development.

Kemp Beach has long been a popular picnic and recreation area for local people and tourists alike and so residents were understandably outraged at the way in which a private developer could take it on himself to modify nearly one kilometre of the frontal dune system, particularly when the land in question was a public reserve under the control of the Main Roads Department of Queens-



### Poland eco win

The Polish Ecological Society has won its first big victory since its formation last year. The Minister for Metallurgy has promised to completely close down the Skawina aluminium smelter near the city of Krakow.

The Ecological Society demanded a report on the pollution from the authorities and that all processes emitting fluorine be closed down until the hazards were removed. The authorities promised modernisation plans totalling \$254 million for Skawina and Nova Huta. The debate was aired on national television.

land. Having destroyed the thick native bush growing on the dunes, the developer then proceeded to use the sand to provide fill for his own low-lying land. As this was carried out on the weekend, little could be done to prevent it via the usual official channels. Once they had been notified about the destruction, the local council tried to prevent further work being carried out but to no avail. Main Roads Department officials were similarly rebuffed as the developer appeared to believe he was a law unto himself.

Although legal action is being investigated, the damage has already been done and it seems likely that even if restoration works were ordered Kemp Beach will be considerably degraded for a long time to come.

### French energy

The French Government has earmarked 400 billion francs (about \$62.5 billion) to be spent over the next ten years on energy saving and the development of new energy sources.

The lion's share — an expected 215 billion francs over 10 years — will be for energy conservation. Development of renewable energy sources, including solar power and fuel produced from vegetable matter, will account for 180 billion francs over the ten years.

The programme is expected to create about 150,000 jobs in the energy conservation industry and 100,000 positions in the renewable energy sources field.

The projects which follow the main lines of the Socialist Party's election promises on energy, form an important part of the Government's plans to develop alternatives to nuclear power.

The aim is to secure 5.5 percent of France's energy needs from so-called 'new' energies by 1990. The savings from energy conservation are planned to reduce France's global energy demands at the end of this decade from an estimated 242 million tonnes of oil to 230 million tonnes.

### Backward reactor

It's just lucky that nothing has happened at the Duane Arnold reactor in Palo, Iowa to trigger the plant's emergency system. During routine inspection in 1980, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission discovered that a major component of the reactor core cooling system had been installed backwards.

The NRC inspectors say the system could not have functioned as designed. However, even worse than this backward piping arrangement was the discovery that the system had actually been installed precisely the way the plant's designers had specified. The problem was in the design specifications.

### NSW subscriptions

Friends of the Earth (New South Wales) members are again getting *Chain Reaction* as part of membership of FOE. This situation was restored at the FOE (NSW) Annual General Meeting on 8 June in Sydney. Welcome back. This represents a major boost in circulation for the magazine. For people there who are subscribers there is a special note in your *CR* about the adjustment period.

In Sydney there is now a *Chain Reaction* Collective working from the Friends of the Earth office, 101 Cleveland Street, Chippendale — telephone (02) 698 4114. Contact Lorraine Jones or Jasmine Payget to help with research, getting radio advertisements to air, bringing the magazine into more community centres and shops, etc. There are unlimited opportunities for you and *CR*.

### Chain Reaction moves

The Melbourne office of *Chain Reaction* is now at Room 14, Floor 4, 37 Swanston Street, Melbourne, 3000 telephone (03) 63 5995. This is just near Flinders Street and Prince's Bridge Stations and on numerous tram routes making it easy to reach. Feel welcome to come and help produce the magazine.

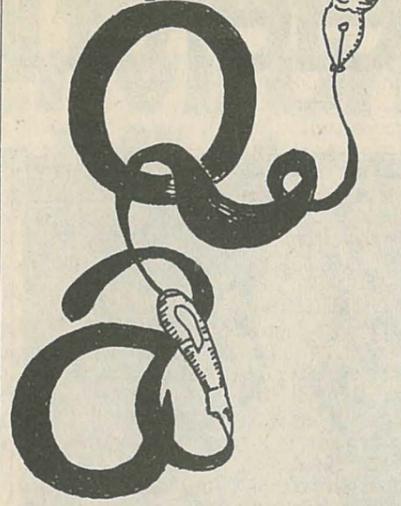
### Donations appeal

Readers have made donations totalling \$973 for the *Chain Reaction* Special Appeal for both the subscriptions campaign and special investigations. Thanks.

Already \$419 has been spent on leaflets and other advertisements to encourage people to subscribe. The number of subscribers has increased from 365 to 610 over the past nine months. As many of these subscribers are schools and libraries this means the editions are reaching a very large number of new readers. But, we are certainly aware that the circulation is still tiny — even at a total of about 5,000 copies and with more than two people reading each one (on average).

**Deadline for Summer *Chain Reaction*.** For both editorial and advertising please send material to *Chain Reaction* by 10 October 1981. Enquiries: Telephone Melbourne (03) 63 5995 or Sydney (02) 698 4114.

### Survey Results



Many readers have been returning to *Chain Reaction* a 'readers survey' form which was included in the Summer 1980 edition (No 22). Broadly, the survey attempted to discover what readers thought of *Chain Reaction*, what they thought of particular stories and sections, how they got their copy, who else read it, and a few questions to work out who our present readers are (no names required!). A preliminary analysis, by Dion Ellis, of the first 130 responses has yielded the following about what you think of us.

Generally most people judged both the magazine and specific sections of it as being OK or better (70%). Articles on energy and nature conservation are the most popular. Both features and Earth News are very popular, being rated 'Great' by over 50% of respondents. Unfortunately, when the survey was undertaken, Backstage did not exist. So we can not tell how many read this.

Interestingly, letters were deemed 'OK' by 60% but only a low 20% thought them 'great'. *Chain Reaction* eagerly awaits your letters to rectify this situation.

Many readers said that they liked *Chain Reaction* because it was informative, honest, concerned and radical. This type of response is encouraging for those of us working on the magazine.

A disappointing finding is the low number of people whose friends buy *Chain Reaction* (approx 20%). One way in which our readers can help *Chain Reaction* grow is by convincing others that they too should be reading about the real world. If all our subscribers persuaded one friend to subscribe, we would obviously double our subs. If everyone convinced two friends... (See the inside back cover for a step you can take.)

## BACKSTAGE

The questions relating to who our readers are showed that 60% are men and 40% are women. The imbalance is not surprising considering the imbalance in representation of women in *Chain Reaction* and the environment movement generally, as outlined in last edition's Backstage. This is a problem we will be working to correct in future editions.

Finally, the survey indicated that about two-thirds of our readership are employed, mainly in white collar professional jobs. Of the others about one half are unemployed and half are students. In particular we discovered that a high proportion of our readers are teachers (35%). Or does it indicate that they get their homework in? Hopefully they are busy recommending a school library subscription or using *Chain Reaction* in classes.

Obviously 130 is not a large sample and further results are being compiled. So if you have still got a survey form hanging around the house send it in and keep watching this column to see what we learn about you and *CR*.

Tim Darling

## REVIEWS EDITOR

We need a person to be the Reviews Editor for *Chain Reaction*: to help select and solicit books and other items for review; to invite people around Australia, with appropriate interests and/or expertise to review such items; and to hassle them until we get the review. Then you help edit those pieces and get them into shape and send out complimentary copies of the magazine to reviewers and publishers.

The Editors, and others at Friends of the Earth, would be wishing to suggest materials for review and people to do the reviews. Reviews also includes previews.

It would take about 1/2 a day a week and can be done either in Sydney or Melbourne.

If you can help, please telephone (03) 63 5995 or (02) 698 4114.

# Rivers referendum

By Karen Alexander

Dam builders working for Tasmania's powerful Hydro-Electric Commission have vowed to bring down the State's Labor Government if it does not allow the Gordon-below-Franklin power scheme to go ahead. This scheme would flood 20 km up the Franklin River, and is not favoured by the Lowe government.

The save-the-Franklin camp in labor's caucus, led by Premier Doug Lowe, suffered defeat at the hands of the union-official dominated ALP State Council which met in Burnie in July. The agenda, which included innovative and progressive ideas passed at May's ALP State Conference, was wiped and Lowe was directed to recall Parliament early and to legislate for a referendum. Lowe is not bound by the Council decision, although it is a major policy-making body of the ALP in Tasmania, and has refused to recall Parliament early or commit himself to a referendum.

I understand that the Tasmanian Government is close to a decision on the referendum, but Lowe may wait until the final report from the Legislative Council inquiry into the power needs of Tasmania (a closed and inexpert inquiry) due in early September before making an announcement.

After the historic decision to save the Franklin River in July 1980 the proposed Wild Rivers National Park was finally declared in May 1981, but reduced in area by one third the Labor Government's original proposal; mining and forestry interests had wielded their axe in the intervening year.

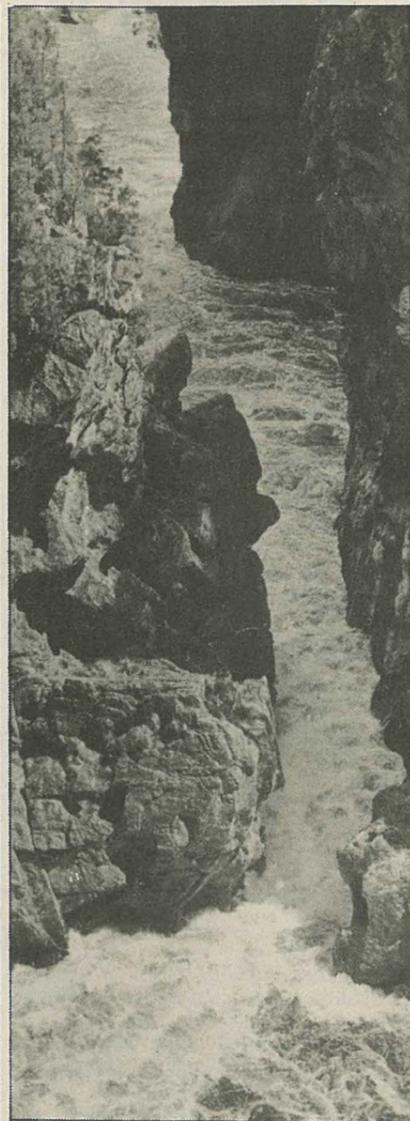
The government's compromise dam, the Gordon-above-Olga, has been knocked back by the Legislative Council which supports the HEC proposed dam, the Gordon-below-Franklin. The government is determined to resolve the conflict by the end of the year.

The referendum would ask the electorate whether they preferred a Gordon-above-Olga dam or Gordon-below-Franklin dam. It is analogous to asking which way you would like to die.

What are the objections to a referendum on the power schemes?

- The questions: what two or three questions summarize all the power options (and there are at least ten) and

*Karen Alexander is an organiser with the Tasmanian Wilderness Society in Victoria.*



Looking down through the First Split on the Gordon River.

their different scenarios for Tasmania's future?

- Mainlanders are disenfranchised though the area is of national importance. As with the Barrier Reef, the federal government should be involved.

- The Legislative Council, which has frustrated the government's legislation for the Gordon-above-Olga scheme,

should not be able to dismiss an elected government and not face the people themselves.

- Seven out of seven opinion polls have shown that the majority of Tasmanians want the Franklin saved. Why waste \$250,000 on a referendum?

- The government could act on its "urgent" energy conservation package which they announced on 28 July 1980 and avoid the Legislative Council altogether.

- Co-generation — the process of using steam already being produced in industrial processes to also produce electricity — has not been fully investigated. It could produce 120 MW in the pulp and paper industry alone (Gordon-above-Olga is 120 MW). The cost would only be \$90 million compared to \$600 million for the Gordon-above-Olga.

- With a Federal inquiry very likely in the near future what nonsense to make a decision before the results are known.

It is not only multinationals such as Comalco, Electrolytic Zinc Industries, Australian Newsprint Mills and Temco (owned by BHP) which are pushing for a quick start to the Franklin scheme but also a small section of the unions. Their narrow view excludes the interest of other workers. These dam builders may well be the well-oiled cog which allows the machine of big business and the Liberal Party to get what they want in Tasmania — the Gordon-below-Franklin dam.

The pro-dams group in Tasmania is powerful and wealthy. But the Tasmanian Wilderness Society has popular support for saving the Franklin and, given time, for saving the Gordon Splits and Denison Rivers as well. Our support is strongest in the under 35 age group — those people suffering most from unemployment — do not see the dams as providing them with jobs. This group will be the majority of the voting population by the time those dams are supposed to be finished.

Over to you

1. Write to Premier Doug Lowe and/or Minister for Energy, Dr Julian Amos, Parliament House, Hobart, Tasmania, 7000.

2. Has a Federal inquiry into the South-West been started? Write to Senator John Button (ALP) or Senator Don Chipp (Australian Democrat) Senate, Parliament House, Canberra 2600 and ask them to get on with one.

3. Contact your nearest Tasmanian Wilderness Society branch — for a local contact phone (004) 34 9366.

# Labor and environment in Victoria

*Opinion polls show that 1982 could see the election of a Labor government in Victoria for the first time in 27 years. Can we expect to see strong environmental policy formulated and enacted? It's worth examining how the Australian Labor Party formulates policy, how policy acceptable to the environment movement can be adopted, and how likely it is that such policy would be implemented.*

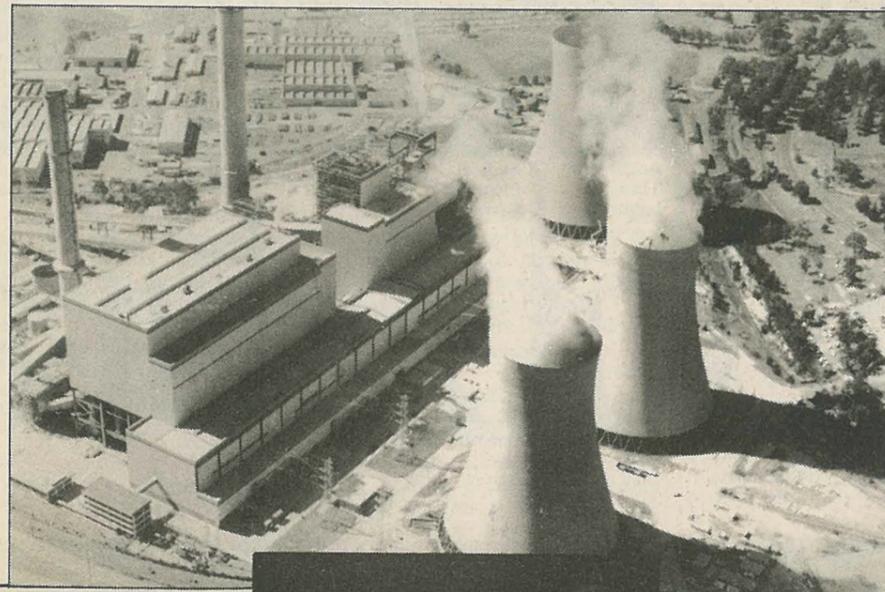
*Current Labor Party policy was adopted at State Conference in June of this year. We look at Land Rights, Transport, Energy, and Forestry, together with a rundown on how the ALP machine makes decisions.*

## ENERGY: GOOD INTENTIONS

By Philip Sutton

March 1981 saw the release by both Liberal and Labor Parties of their energy policies for the next Victorian state election. It also saw the end of a long period of 'me too-ism' by the Labor Party. While the Liberals promise to throw Victoria head first into the resources boom on the strength of its 'vast' brown coal reserves, the Labor policy is firmly based on energy conservation and an eventual transfer to renewable fuels. A typical difference between the parties is in their attitudes to coal liquefaction. In marked contrast to the Liberals, who have been joyfully overseeing the commitment of vast quantities of the state's coal for this technology, the Labor Party has sounded a warning that if they form a government they will put a halt to its commercial development until there has been a full-scale public inquiry. Not the least of the Labor Party's fears is the belief that the full-scale development

*Continued on page 13.*



Yallourn Power Station in the La-Trobe Valley

In Victoria, Labor Party policy is adopted at State Conference in March, June, and September. Trade union representatives, with voting power proportional to the membership of each union, make up 60% of the delegates, while 40% come from federal electorate assemblies - each assembly electing delegates in numbers proportional to party membership in the electorate.

To facilitate the formulation of policy, there are various policy committees which submit reports containing policy recommendations to State Conference. State Conference then debates, amends, adopts, rejects, or pigeonholes these reports. The committees usually consist of nine members elected annually by State Conference and six members elected by policy assemblies open to all party members. Extra members can be co-opted to the committees, which are open to input from anyone in the party.

The diagram shows where people outside the Labor Party machinery, i.e. rank and file members and the general public, can have an active input. The mechanism described is of course an idealised one. In actuality, the Labor Party in Victoria is composed of three factions: right wing (centre unity), the socialist left, and the independents. Most party members are not formally members of any faction and at present no faction has a majority at State Conference. However, the attitudes of the factions to a particular subject can differ widely, e.g. uranium mining, and each faction promotes the policies it would like the ALP to adopt. It is at State Conference that the factions exert

# THE ALP PARTY MACHINE

By Pauline Taylor

their strongest influence, and as State Conference is the policy-deciding body this is very important. In addition, the factions produce, and are then dominated by, powerful and influential individuals such as party officers, parliamentary members, and trade union leaders who derive their power from the strategic positions they hold within the party.

Clearly then, there are various stages in the policy-formulating process at which party members can effect ALP policy. These include representation on policy committees or at State Conference, and lobbying for the election of people with sympathetic views. Branches and unions can also suggest items for discussion at State Conference. However, the success of these tactics may be somewhat limited due to the power of the factions at State Conference. The most direct way

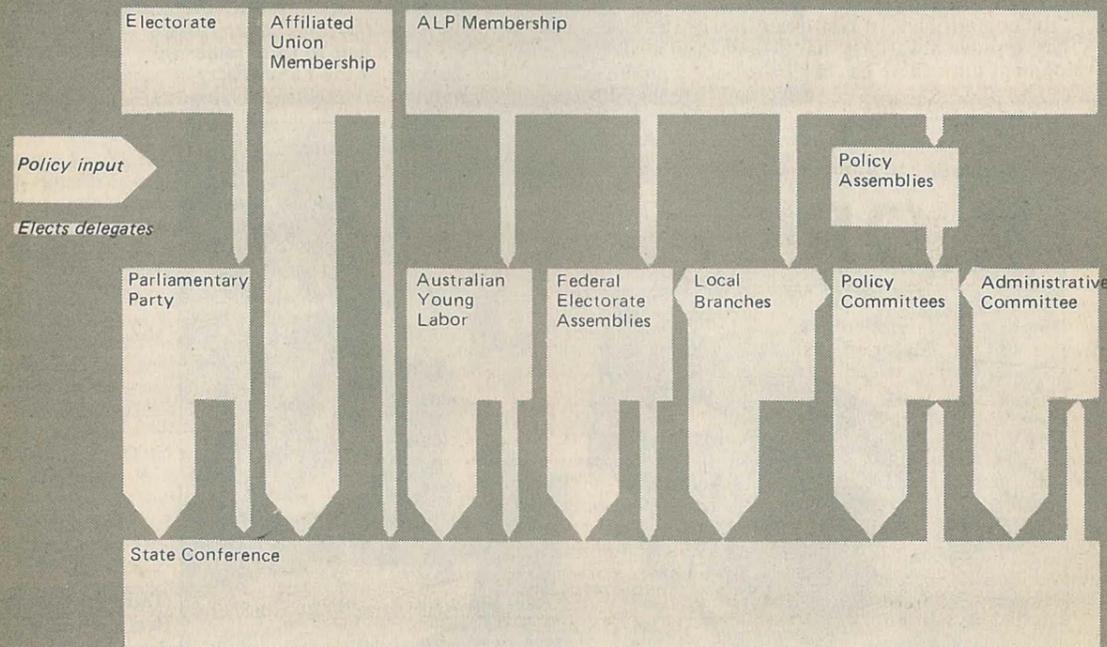
of influencing policy is by joining a faction or by promoting policies within the factions.

Because environmental issues are usually not seen as election issues by the public, policy suggested by the environment policy committee is generally accepted at State Conference. It is only when environment issues are seen from an economic viewpoint (e.g. energy, transport) that they become controversial. Therefore a strong input at the policy committee could result in the ALP adopting further improved policy.

Implementation of policy is another matter altogether. A political party does not give itself power - it depends on the votes of the electorate. Therefore the priorities for implementing policy depend on the mood of the electorate. For example, if a particular aspect of environment policy could be seen as hindering job creation, then it would not be implemented as it would lessen Labor's chance of obtaining or maintaining power. This is where the role of activist groups becomes important. The electorate must be re-educated to realise the importance of environment issues to the quality of life - to realise the tenuous position into which human activity throws the whole ecosystem. These groups can also hope to sway strategically placed party members who can have a strong influence on policy. This work is long and arduous, but vital if community attitudes are to change.

Pauline Taylor works with the Environment Action Centre, Melbourne.

## VICTORIAN STATE ALP STRUCTURE



of the coal-to-oil industry would push the state towards nuclear power.

The first real test for the ALP policy came with the Morwell by-election in June 1981. The electorate is in the heart of the Latrobe Valley, Victoria's coal province, and is to be blessed - according to Liberal plans - with some 21 new power stations and no less than five coal-to-oil plants in the general vicinity over the next 50 years. Such was the support for the Liberal government's plans that, with only a week to go to the election, the Liberal candidate came out supporting the Labor Party policy! On the day Labor won with an increased margin.

At a general level, the ALP energy policy is all that the environment movement could ask for. It is firmly anti-nuclear and would fit happily into any conservator society scheme. But the big question is: Will it be implemented? After many years of high-sounding platitudes about con-

servation and the environment from the state Liberals, none of which have ever been properly carried out, one should perhaps be a little cautious about generalised good intentions. Furthermore the ALP would have to take on the interests of some of the world's biggest corporations to put the policy into effect. So it would not be surprising if the party got cold feet when it finally came to the point.

We will probably get some idea of how seriously the ALP takes its energy policy as its plans for other policy areas, such as economic policy, become clearer in the lead up to the state election. But to my mind the best guide of all will be how the party handles the crunch issues of the Portland Alcoa smelter and the newly proposed Driffield power station. After all, what is really needed is an action strategy, not just pretty words.

Phillip Sutton is a member of the Executive of the Conservation Council of Victoria.



Declaration of the South East Land Council, November 1980, Melbourne.

# LAND RIGHTS

By Bette Moore

The June ALP State Conference unanimously approved a Victorian policy on Aboriginal Affairs which creates a precedent in this state by officially acknowledging the special needs and cultural distinction of Aboriginal people. The new policy rejects those of the past framed on ethnocentric and paternalistic lines, and attempts to create an administration based on the concept of 'self-determination' - i.e. the right of Aboriginal people to determine and administer their own future and their own needs.

To this end the Labor Party will establish a statutory body called the Victorian Aboriginal Commission which will progressively assume direct responsibility for most areas of Aboriginal affairs in this state which are presently the responsibility of the state government. These include housing, health, family child care, welfare services, and some aspects of education. The Commissioners will be elected from a state Aboriginal Assembly which will consist of elected regional representatives. This Assembly will meet at least once a year, and the

Commission will report and be accountable to this forum as well as to a Minister whose portfolio shall be compatible with Aboriginal Affairs.

The Commission will be funded to prepare claims and submissions on land rights, compensation, and the protection of sacred and significant sites for negotiation with the state government. It will delegate appropriate areas of responsibility to specialist Aboriginal organisations and to existing or new regional organisations to ensure decentralised control, local participation, and the efficient delivery of services. The policy statement expands on the specific nature of health, housing, education, community welfare, and cultural needs according to the principle of self-determination.

The new policy states that funding for Aboriginal Affairs is a Commonwealth responsibility but declares that "any deficiency will require State Government action". This is the critical factor in a policy which expresses Aboriginal opinion in this state. In the light of the present socially retrograde economic policies of the Fraser government, the Labor Party must be courageous and committed enough to carry out its promises in this platform. Aborigines have had a history of promises and are consequently cynical about government statements which are not followed through. A contemporary example of this is the New South Wales situation. Commonwealth responsibility is a crucial factor which must be adhered to, but a state Labor Party cannot afford to sit back and leave this issue on the shelf. It must fulfil this platform if it is to have any credibility and to give any credence to its social philosophy of justice and equality. As stated by Dr H C Coombs in his article 'The Proposal for a Treaty between the Commonwealth and Aboriginal Australia' (*Aboriginal News*, vol. 3, no. 8, 1980):

During the last decade there has been a transformation in the morale of Aboriginal Australians; from a people plunged in hopelessness and despair they have become vigorous, socially and politically active, determined to find a way of life which is an amalgam of their own traditional way and selected elements of the lifestyle of white Australians. To achieve this they need land, they need resources, they need knowledge and experience; above all they need a status which can confer again the dignity of a people in command of their own destiny. They need these things, not by the charity of their conquerors but as a matter of right, as an expression of justice.

Bette Moore works with the Aboriginal Research Centre, Monash University.

## UPGRADING PUBLIC TRANSPORT

By Karen Throssell

The principles of the ALP transport policy incorporate a commitment to an upgraded public transport system. Unlike the Liberal government's narrow concentration on financial cost, the ALP is committed to a transport system which also takes environmental, social, and energy costs into account. The Labor policy also reconciles the normally conflicting issues of technology and employment. On the one hand it acknowledges that public transport is an area where employment should be created, but on the other it claims that the adoption of new technology is necessary — not just to improve the efficiency of the service, but also to improve the quality of the jobs in the industry. Although some jobs may eventually be threatened by new technology, the policy does provide for retraining and minimal disruption of workers affected.

There is considerable stress in the policy document on revamped organisation of the Victorian transport system. However, while the details of organisation have been given close attention, the same cannot be said for the implementation of the policy principles. They suffer the fate of most policy statements in that they are like motherhood and apple pie — so broad that they must be universally acceptable. There are three major areas which are crying out for more specific detail.

The most important is the question of fares. Although there is a commitment to a containment of fare rises — with the long-term objective of 'free public transport for all' —

there is no mention of specific immediate concessions for low-income earners, pensioners, the unemployed, or single parents.

The general commitment to 'a blend of all modes of transport' with minimum environmental, social, and energy costs seems to be particularly weak in that no preference for public over private transport is stated at any point. The policy was adopted on 17 August 1980, when figures comparing public and private transport on these criteria possibly were not available. The recently published John Andrews and Geoff Lacey report *Hold the Line* (available from the Australian Railways Union) provides concrete data which show that on each of these criteria — environment, energy, social, and financial costs — public transport is far superior.

The final major gap is on the question of funding. It would seem to be vital for the ALP to incorporate into its 'principles' the point that public transport should be a public service and should not be expected to make a profit. Nevertheless, it should not be expected to make the huge losses Vicrail is famous for — but the NSW experience of the upgrading of service attracting back customers and almost paying for itself shows the answer. Above all the party needs to denounce the kind of 'deficit-fetishism' that has dominated Liberal thinking. ■

*Karen Throssell is Co-ordinator of the Victorian Labor Transport Committee.*

## LITTLE CHANGE FOR FORESTS

By Peter Orchard

In very flowery terms the ALP policy words its way through the whole forestry area, leaving us with the feeling that (with the exception of a few points) a Labor government in Victoria will mean no — or very little — change from the present situation. Conservation of native forests will not be improved, and indeed will only worsen.

The justification given is that forests must be sacrificed for employment. But employment will also suffer — see Section 63:

Incentives should also be provided to encourage workers in the industry to retire or retrain in other fields as mechanisation proceeds.

This is an open acceptance of the

continuing efforts of high capital companies to 'rationalise' the number of small sawmills (thereby decreasing employment) and to gain control over very large areas of native forest for clearfelling.

Sections 55–57 of the policy, which deal with pulpwood and woodchips (key issues in the Otways and East Gippsland; and which threaten the natural existence of Leadbeater's Possum) lack any strength and do not even question the need for the consumer goods, e.g. packaging, which are produced from woodchips — and are just waste. Nor do these sections discuss the highly polluting waste products of pulpmills.

Two acceptable aspects of the policy are:

- Section 43: "... that there be no further clearing of native forests for pine planting." Other sections call for a review of the present scale of softwood planting, the effects of growing softwoods, and incentives for farmers to plant marginal farmland areas and wind-breaks which could be used commercially.
- The Forestry Commission is to be opened to the public and a review made of changes to present royalty structures such that the timber industry pays much more for the privilege of exploiting forest services, plantations and forests.

To be environmentally acceptable, ALP policy must be changed by recognising that

- The remaining native forest areas are small remnants of what was a widely forested state prior to white settlement
- Such forest areas are the necessary strongholds for most of Victoria's native flora and fauna and for them to be conserved their habitat must be protected from all forms of major intervention, e.g. large-scale development, clearfelling.
- Clearfelling of native forests for sawlogs and/or pulpwood should not be further expanded; in fact the aim should be to phase out native forest clearfelling completely by 1990 when large areas of pine plantations will be ready for sawmilling
- Such pine plantations should not be turned over to big companies with large, capital-intensive, high-volume, low-employment sawmills; incentives along with the pines should be made available to the many small sawmills presently facing closure because of current and past forestry policies

Overall, the ALP needs to take a careful look at its forestry policy, and introduce some radical changes as soon as possible. ■

*Peter Orchard works with the Native Forests Action Council, Melbourne.*

# The vitamin pill push

A working party of the National Health and Medical Research Council of Australia (NH&MRC) has recently prepared a draft of proposed legislation relating to the potency, sale and advertising of vitamin and mineral preparations in Australia. This document was prepared in February of this year and has provoked a storm of protest. Before it is possible to debate the pros and cons of this draft, it will be necessary to examine in some detail precisely what is being proposed. Kerin O'Dea puts some facts.

First some definitions.

*Vitamins* are "chemically unrelated organic compounds, essential in minute amounts for the maintenance of normal metabolic functions, which are either not synthesized within the body or are generally not synthesized within the body in adequate amounts, so that exogenous sources of supply are usually necessary".

Although vitamins are "chemically unrelated organic compounds", they can be loosely divided into two groups: those which are water soluble (which includes vitamin C, and the B group vitamins) and those which are fat soluble (vitamins A, D, E and K). Excessive intakes of the water soluble vitamins may not be potentially harmful since the excess will be generally rapidly excreted in the urine, as anyone who has taken a multi-vitamin tablet which contains excessive amounts of riboflavin will be able to attest. However, the fat soluble vitamins accumulate in the body and are potentially dangerous. Toxic effects have been described for both vitamin A and vitamin D when ingested in very high doses.

*Minimum Daily Requirement (MDR)* of a vitamin is the estimated amount that most people would need to prevent illness resulting from deficiency in that vitamin.

*Recommended Daily Allowance (RDA)* of a vitamin usually supplies an amount of a vitamin in excess of that needed to saturate body tissues. The RDA is generally more than three times

*Kerin O'Dea is a research scientist at the Baker Medical Institute in Melbourne.*



higher than the MDR and, in the case of water soluble vitamins, results in significant overflow into the urine. The RDAs for vitamins and minerals have been established in most western countries on the basis of detailed studies in both humans and experimental animals, i.e. they are by no means arbitrarily established levels. They generally include a wide margin of safety and are subject to regular revisions if/when new pertinent information becomes available.

Back to the proposed legislation:

The NH&MRC draft is divided into two sections, the first dealing with vitamin and/or mineral supplements and the second with therapeutic use. The recommendations in both sections relate to three main areas: (i) the maximum and minimum strengths of each substance when used as either a dietary supplement or as a thera-

peutic agent, (ii) quality control as it relates to the manufacture and marketing of these products, (iii) controls on the labelling, advertising and claims made on behalf of these products.

If the draft recommendations are accepted, the strength of each tablet of a vitamin/mineral preparation will be directly related to the RDA for that substance. Hopefully this information will be clearly marked on the label and will allow the consumer to assess his/her supplementary intake in terms of the RDAs. How many people who regularly consume vitamins/minerals have any idea of the size of a normal dose? By a "normal" intake, I mean an amount that one would obtain from a diet derived from a wide variety of fresh, unprocessed, unrefined foods.

One of the major objections which has been raised by the Freedom for Health Campaign, which has orchestrated

**DRAFT RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE NATIONAL HEALTH AND MEDICAL RESEARCH COUNCIL WORKING PARTY. SCHEDULE OF VITAMINS AND MINERALS**

|                  | Minimum in a dosage Unit | Minimum daily dose (RDA for Australia) | Minimum daily dose | (For diagnosed deficiencies) | RDA (USA) |
|------------------|--------------------------|--|--------------------|------------------------------|-----------|
| Vitamin A        | 0.3mg                    | 1mg                                    | 1mg                | 3mg                          | 1.5mg     |
| Biotin           | 40µg                     | 120µg                                  | 360µg              | 360µg                        | 300µg     |
| Thiamin          | 0.5mg                    | 1mg                                    | 5mg                | 50mg                         | 1.5mg     |
| Riboflavin       | 0.5mg                    | 1mg                                    | 5mg                | 25mg                         | 1.7mg     |
| Niacin           | 6mg                      | 18mg                                   | 50mg               | 50mg                         | 20mg      |
| Pantothenic acid | 2mg                      | 5mg                                    | 15mg               | 20mg                         | 10mg      |
| Pyridoxine       | 0.8mg                    | 2mg                                    | 6mg                | 25mg                         | 2mg       |
| Vitamin B12      | 1µg                      | 3µg                                    | 9µg                | 100µg                        | 6µg       |
| Folic acid       | 60µg                     | 200µg                                  | 400µg              | 500µg                        | 400µg     |
| Vitamin C        | 20mg                     | 60mg                                   | 180mg              | 1mg                          | 60mg      |
| Vitamin D        | 3µg                      | 10µg                                   | 10µg               | 25µg                         | 10µg      |
| Vitamin E        | 3mg                      | 10mg                                   | 30mg               | 200mg                        | 30mg      |
| Calcium          | 300mg                    | 1g                                     | 1g                 | 2g                           | 500mg     |
| Copper           | 0.5mg                    | 1.5mg                                  | 2mg                | 2mg                          | 2mg       |
| Magnesium        | 130mg                    | 400mg                                  | 500mg              | 500mg                        | 400mg     |
| Iron             | 5mg                      | 15mg                                   | 45mg               | 60mg                         | 18mg      |
| Potassium        | 160mg                    | 500mg                                  | 1g                 | 3g                           | —         |
| Zinc             | 5mg                      | 15mg                                   | 45mg               | 250mg                        | 15mg      |

and co-ordinated the campaign to reject these draft recommendations, is that if you want to take doses of vitamins and minerals in excess of the RDA you will need a doctor's prescription. Nowhere in the draft is this stated. High dose preparations will continue to be available but they will be clearly marked "For therapeutic use", which seems not unreasonable in view of their relationship to the RDA. Take the case of vitamin C. The RDA is 60 mg, but it will be possible to obtain 1 gram tablets for therapeutic use. These latter tablets should in no way be confused with a normal dietary intake of vitamin C. You would need to eat more than 20 oranges, for example, to get 1 gram of vitamin C. However, as the draft now stands, you will not be prevented from taking these large doses and you will not necessarily need to be under medical supervision. These high dose preparations will not be able to be advertised (in line with the Voluntary (!) Code for Advertising of Therapeutic Use); nor will they be allowed to be described in terms normally used to describe foods, or be promoted as forming part of a meal or as a substitute for a meal.

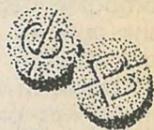
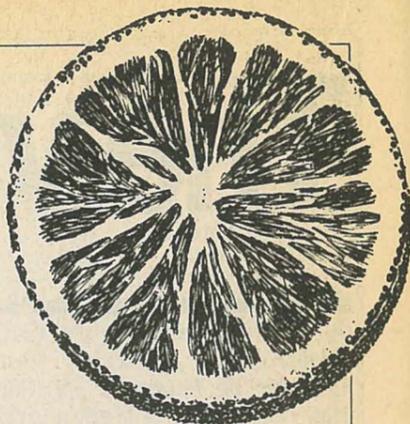
These provisions may well make major inroads into the expanding market in Australia for high dose vitamin and mineral preparations in the sense that people will have to make conscious and, hopefully, informed decisions as to whether they will buy these preparations if their promotion is limited as proposed.

A flier entitled *Why does the Commonwealth Government propose bans on the sale of vitamins?* put out by the National Nutritional Foods Association of Australia describes the draft as "the most draconian, restrictive legislation on vitamins and

minerals anywhere in the world, with very serious implications for our democratic free enterprise system, as well as the basic human right of freedom to choose self help health care by preventative dietary measures before the necessity of seeking medical assistance arises". Strong stuff. It then goes on to state that it will now be necessary to go to a doctor for a prescription for high doses of vitamins and implies that the same will apply to vitamin supplements. Furthermore the flier claims that the sale of such preparations will be restricted to pharmacists which will put many health food shops, "who have pioneered the nutritional approach to health care, entirely out of business" (their emphasis).

The perceived threat to the livelihood of health food shops is probably the main motivation behind this hysterical and inaccurate campaign opposing the recommendations contained in the draft legislation. The draft does not suggest that therapeutic (i.e. high) doses of vitamins and minerals will only be available on doctors' prescriptions or that such preparations will only be available at chemists. To claim that it does is incorrect. By standardizing available vitamin preparations the legislation may well de-mystify megavitamin therapy and thereby reduce the sales of vitamins and profits associated with them. But there will certainly be no "bans on the sale of vitamins".

By promoting vitamins and minerals in the same environment as whole foods in a health food shop, the implication is that these products are somehow "natural". In fact they are chemicals in the same way as drugs are chemicals, and are promoted as "magic bullets" in a similar manner.



Another serious danger associated with the sale of vitamins in a "health food" atmosphere is that the uninformed often believe they are a substitute for the foods from which they come. An orange (the symbol of vitamin C - orange flavoured tablets and drinks) contains much more than vitamin C - fibre and folic acid, for example.

The popularisation of vitamin supplements and therapy over recent years in Australia probably stems from two root causes: the first being related to the "magic bullet" syndrome, i.e. the hope that health problems can be solved by taking a pill rather than looking more deeply into possible sociological or dietary causes. The second is probably related to a deeply felt disillusionment with traditional medicine as it is most commonly practised in Australia. Australian medicine is perceived by a substantial part of the population to be paternalistic and concerned primarily with maintaining the high social and economic status of its practitioners rather than in maintaining the health of the population. Medicine is not generally directed at prevention, but rather at patching up problems after they have arisen.

Many of these criticisms are justified and the response to them understandable. That people want to have a greater role in their own health care is to be encouraged. However, substituting one system of magic bullets for another is not the way out of the dilemma. The reaction of many in rejecting traditional medicine is to unquestioningly embrace the opposition. Far from reducing the power of the individual to control or contribute to his/her own health care, I would suggest that the proposed legislation is a small step in the other direction in the sense that the potency of vitamin preparations will be directly related to established RDAs rather than, as at the present time, determined rather arbitrarily by the

latest fad or sales figures. With this information people will be more able to make informed choices as to the vitamins or minerals they think they require.

Also very important in increasing self help health care in our community is to generally raise the level of nutritional knowledge across the board - from the medical and paramedical people to the consumer. The importance of understanding what is involved in a nutritionally sound, balanced diet and where, how, why and among which segments of the population nutritional deficiencies can arise, cannot be overstressed. Rather than demanding free availability of non-standardized vitamin preparations perhaps we should be asking why they should be necessary.

Is it true to say, as many dietitians and nutritionists do, that most Australians consume diets which are adequate in the micronutrients (vitamins and minerals) and that, as such, vitamin and mineral supplements are unnecessary? Although it is widely accepted that diets containing a variety of unprocessed, unrefined foods from animal and vegetable sources provide more than an adequacy of micronutrients, including vitamins, there are groups in Australia who are vulnerable to nutritional deficiencies: the elderly, particularly those living alone; the unemployed; heavy drinkers, particularly those on low incomes; pregnant women; people on fad diets, particularly when calorie intake is below 1200 kilocalories a day. Why does this come about? Some of the reasons are financial. Others are due to our "democratic free enterprise system" (to quote Freedom for Health Campaign) and its emphasis on providing food for profit rather than nutritional value. Many of the foods consumed in Australia and in other western societies are highly refined and responsible, partly at least, for a long list of "diseases of affluent societies" - including obesity, most diabetes, heart disease, colon cancer, gall stones, high blood pressure, constipation, haemorrhoids and many more. The western diet, as well as being high in fat, salt and refined carbohydrate and depleted of fibre is also depleted to varying degrees of vitamins and minerals. This is where we should be focussing our attention if we want to prevent disease - on the food industry which sets its priorities by the yardstick of profit with little regard for the nutritional consequences, until such time as they may (due to public pressure) become an important determinant of sales. The emphasis of our pressure on the government should be towards improving the health of Australians through influencing their diet and lifestyle generally, rather than fighting for the right to pop more pills in the hope that they will cure our

ills effortlessly. In the meantime, given the variety of factors which may adversely affect the nutritional status of many in our community, (such as stress, refined processed foods, pollution and modern agricultural methods potentially affecting food composition), a case can be made for taking a multi-vitamin supplement equivalent to the RDA. This option will not be affected at all by the proposed legislation, if anything it will be facilitated.

Most of the opposition, however, is not directed at the vitamin supplement provisions, but rather at the second section dealing with the high dose preparations. The people who are most strongly opposed to the adoption of this draft are those who manufacture and sell the vitamin and mineral preparations.

Can the claims made by the proponents of megavitamin therapy be justified? Most are based upon testimonials and anecdotal evidence (a little reminiscent of revivalist meetings) and when they are subjected to rigorous double blind testing they have failed to show significant results. Double blind studies are those in which neither doctor nor subject know whether they are getting the active drug being tested or an inactive placebo. So this cuts out any "placebo effect" in which 30-50 percent of a population will give the reaction they anticipate. Vitamin C will be used as an example here since it is one of the most popular vitamins in orthomolecular medicine. Large doses of vitamin C have been recommended to prevent the common cold, promote wound healing, cure back trouble, protect against heart disease, breast cancer, have antiviral and antibacterial activity, improve mental alertness and to restore low ascorbic acid levels in smokers. Hard evidence is lacking for most if not all of these claims. Most of these claims made for megadoses of vitamin C are based upon its actions in the scorbutic (vitamin C-deficient) state - apparently on the assumption that what vitamin C alleviates in deficiency will be greatly exaggerated by greatly increasing the dose, i.e. if a little does you good, more must do you better. Most recent studies indicate that the effect of vitamin C on the common cold is a minor one, and this minor effect is produced by 200 mg vitamin C daily or less. In vitamin C deficiency wound healing is impaired. However there is no evidence that the healing of wounds is accelerated by massive doses of vitamin C to a person who is not deficient. Tissue saturation with ascorbic acid will provide for normal wound healing and this is usually achieved by consuming the RDA. Vitamin C deficiency can result in elevations in plasma cholesterol, but again there is no evidence that

megadoses lower cholesterol any more than does the RDA. Linus Pauling has claimed that "the destruction of vitamin C by the smoking of cigarettes at the rate of one pack a day is such that a normal concentration of the vitamin in the blood can be achieved only by the ingestion of 1 to 3 grams of the vitamin per day". If this was the case severe scurvy should be endemic among smokers. Recommending that cigarette smokers take large doses of vitamin C might lull them into a false sense of security and encourage them to go on smoking instead of abandoning this deadly habit.

Finally, another argument put forward against the proposed legislation is that vitamins (except for A and D) have not been shown to be dangerous in high doses, so why should their sale be restricted when other substances such as alcohol, cigarettes and analgesics which are known to be harmful are freely available. At the risk of being repetitive, this legislation will regulate the sale of vitamins and minerals rather than restrict them. Certainly, the sale and advertising of harmful substances such as alcohol, cigarettes and analgesics should be strictly regulated and restricted. The NH & MRC has attempted to do this, already but has been thwarted by powerful interest groups (the manufacturers) who have successfully lobbied parliamentarians to reject such regulation. Our democratic free enterprise system at work again.

In summary, we should aim to improve our health through changing our diet and lifestyle: i.e. try and tackle the whole problem rather than just parts of it. Nutrition research is a greatly neglected area of medical research in Australia. Increasing the support for nutrition research and teaching in Australia would be an important step in raising the general level of nutritional knowledge in the community, initiating preventative medical programs, and improving the individual's ability to contribute to his/her own health care, as well as providing the base from which to investigate in a rigorous manner many of the claims made by the proponents of orthomolecular medicine.

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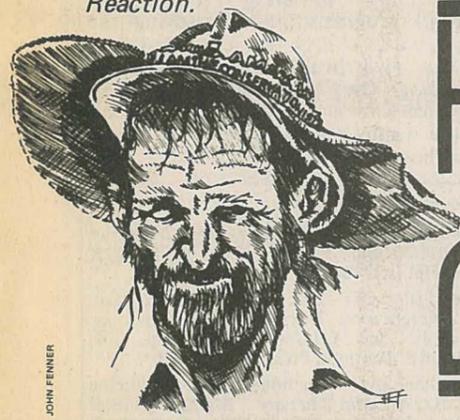
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TELEVISION

viewers and a select group of notable Australians and public servants have given their assessment of Harry Butler. Popular star of the Australian Broadcasting Commission's *In the Wild* and Citizen of the Year 1980, Butler has achieved an extraordinary level of popularity, in a society where conservation is with many people a less than popular issue.

How does Harry maintain this seemingly contradictory position? Does it mean he has 'sold out' to government and business interests? Is he still a real 'conservationist'? To begin to understand Harry's position and influence we must look at what he means by 'conservation', what he actually teaches about living things, how he perceives the structures and needs of Australian society, and how, as a conservationist, he seeks to resolve conflicts.

Sharon Callahan and Rick Grounds have compiled this special report for *Chain Reaction*.



JOHN FEINER

# UP THE CREEK WITH HARRY BUTLER

## HARRY BUTLER

may not have been born a naturalist but certainly his childhood experiences left him with skills and attitudes which make him a master at seeking and handling animals. Travelling with his father, a railway ganger in the Australian outback, Butler spent long periods with Aboriginal children learning their 'games of survival' — knowledge of wildlife through direct experience.<sup>1</sup>

In the post-World War II years, Butler wrote regularly for amateur naturalist magazines and, by the 1960s, he was undertaking fauna surveys for museums and government wildlife departments. He earned a big reputation for his ability to find and bring to hand animals which eluded other field workers. In 1969 Butler did his first survey for a private company — WA Petroleum — which was planning to drill for oil on Barrow Island, an A class reserve off the north-west coast of Western Australia. In 1970, WAPET gave him the job of protecting the island's environment, a position he has held ever since.

The work for WAPET led to other contracts. By 1974, the fauna survey worker had become an environmental consultant to mining companies and large government instrumentalities.

Through the 1970s, Butler also enjoyed a rapid growth of public prestige, particularly after his abilities as a naturalist came to the attention of the ABC. The first series of *In The Wild*, made in 1976, was extremely popular, largely because of Butler's capacity to interest Australians in animals, plants and places they had never visited, possibly never imagined. He made viewers believe that the Australian environment is fascinating. The spectacular individual animal used to clever effect, over-simplification of principles of ecology and evolution, but overall, the positive impact cannot be denied. In Butler's own words 'A lot of people are now aware of the concept of looking at things in the bush, enjoying them and then putting them back. That's a hell of an achievement for anybody.'<sup>2</sup> The problem is that upon this flimsy basis Butler has assumed the position of Australia's most authoritative 'conservationist'. The result has been a dramatic shift in his relationships with corporations, governments and conservationists.

Butler's authoritative views have found a ready market. As his public profile grew, so did business. His clients read like a list of Australia's resource development companies: Harry has done fauna surveys or environmental impact reports for Anaconda Redross Mine Development (1974) Hamersley Iron Pty Ltd (1975), Mt Newman Mining (1975), Texasgulf Australia (1976), Phillips Australian Oil (1977), Amax (1978), Woodside Petroleum (1979). He is consultant, on an ongoing basis to Alcoa, Amax, the Gas and Fuel Corporation (Vic.), Oberon Oil, Woodside and WAPET, to name a few.<sup>3</sup> Recently he has appeared in advertisements as one of the Lend Lease 'team'.

So Harry's views are certainly acceptable

to business interests. But are they still acceptable to environmentalists? Harry's obvious love of the bush and living things gives him at least a superficial identity with the environmental movement, yet Harry always stops short of making any challenge to the status quo.

Assuming that conservation entails a good deal more than sensibility towards the environment viz. a more equitable distribution of natural resources, and the sustainability of resources and environment, then it must also entail a reassessment of the economic modes which now operate, which allow resources and the environment to be manipulated in the interests of a very small minority.

Yet Harry is happy with the way things are. 'I live as an Australian and I like the way of life in which I live as an Australian. That way of life is a compound of conservation and preservation of things such as mining and farming, and cities which are where the people who do the conserving live'.<sup>4</sup>

Harry's way of life is dependant upon the concentration of global wealth in a minority of nations, and on his position within Australia as a successful, Anglo-saxon male. Exploitation by mining and commercial interests is in his interest. If he can help lessen its impact on the environment Harry is happy enough, contented in the bush with his four-wheel drive vehicle and tin rowing boat, or at home with his wife who he describes as 'a very glamorous toy — expensive too'.<sup>5</sup>

Understandably resource development companies welcome Harry Butler with open arms: a popular figure, publicly identified as a conservationist, who can explain and give credibility to their claims.

Butler has a clear understanding of these relationships. 'The edge is they need me. They don't need a biologist, a naturalist or a conservationist. They need me'.<sup>6</sup>

It is not surprising that the volume of such work has grown since Butler's *In The Wild* success. Even if he does insist on a tightening of environmental controls, the potential benefits for a company are considerable. For instance, Butler produced a programme on Burrup Peninsula, the site for the on-shore processing of the gas to be piped in from the North-West Shelf. When it was broadcast by the ABC it struck many viewers as a free advertisement for Woodside Petroleum. According to Harry Robinson, TV critic for *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 'the total effect of the show . . . was to feel totally washed in public-relations pap'.<sup>7</sup>

As usual, Butler's focus was on mining's impact in the immediate area. Larger questions of national energy policy, investment allocation and job creation were ignored. There are many environmental consultants but only by engaging Harry Butler could Woodside, and the mining industry as a whole, hope to obtain such favourable publicity.

Governments, whose responsibilities include the welfare of all people and living things, but who have no intentions of fulfilling such responsibilities, also recognise the value of a popular figure who has the confidence of the public in environmental matters. They know someone like Butler can

mislead the public into thinking decisions relating to the environment are taken carefully and democratically. They welcome Harry Butler because he can convince people that conservation means, pretty much, business as usual.

Butler has held both federal and state appointments as representative of either the general public or conservation interests. He has been a member of the Committee for Understanding the Environment of the Western Australian Environment Protection Authority, and is a member of the federal government's Uranium Advisory Council and the Northern Territory Conservation Commission. He is also a member of the Offshore Operator's Committee in Western Australia. It is unheard of for such positions to be filled by active conservationists, except (and then rarely) during the Whitlam era. These experiences have given Butler a lopsided understanding of environmental decision-making processes. 'Everybody in my field works on two levels. You work on the public level . . . (as) I did with the *In The Wild* series. Then you work on the decision-making level. I go to the people who control the purse-strings or the legislation — the leaders in the business and the politicians'.<sup>8</sup> Everybody?! In an address, on 4 June 1980, organised by the Conservation Council of Victoria Butler presented an idealized version of State and Federal environmental assessment procedures. He concluded 'should there continue to be significant controversy . . . the matter then goes to a public inquiry'.<sup>9</sup>

There have been exceedingly few federal environmental inquiries open to the public. Those set up — into Lake Pedder's flooding, Ranger uranium mining, sand mining of Fraser Island and the Redcliff petro-chemical plant — all came only after massive, national not just significant, national controversy. On a vast number of vital environmental issues, especially at the state level, there are no inquiries.

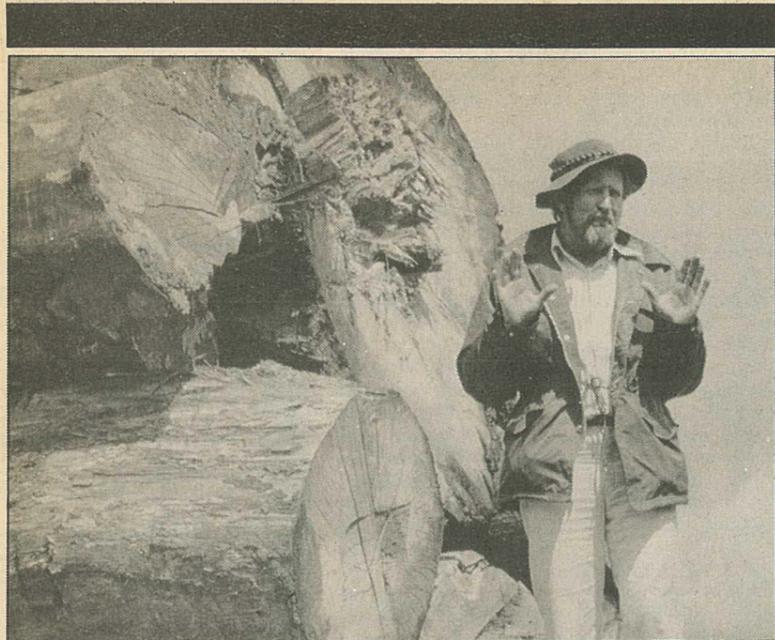
It is hard to believe that, only a few years ago, Butler's conservation views were generally held to be publicly unacceptable, and that relations between him and other conservationists were amicable. Nowadays Harry is in increasing demand as a speaker at gatherings of commercial, industrial and mining representatives, while he portrays 'environmental protesters' as 'basically selfish'.<sup>10</sup> When asked to define a voluntary conservationist Butler once replied 'a person, who works at another job, takes his living, or her living, from that job, then goes out trying to stop someone else earning theirs. That's one interpretation'. He did not put forward any other interpretation.

Butler seems to be convinced that he is committed to balancing the environment with the enhancement of living standards, and environmentalists are not.

Harry appears prepared to reject environmentalism as soon as it challenges some aspect of the existing order. This is apparent in his stances on a number of major environmental issues:

**OIL DRILLING ON THE GREAT BARRIER REEF**  
Butler does not advocate drilling, but does not see that it would create any great problems. Harry reportedly told the 'Man (sic)

'THE EDGE IS THEY NEED ME. THEY DON'T NEED A CONSERVATIONIST. THEY NEED ME'



Harry Butler

and the Sea' conference in Canberra last March, that "oil drilling near the Great Barrier reef could be done safely . . . Experience as an environmental consultant to oil drillers in Western Australia had taught him that oil drilling was environmentally safe".<sup>12</sup> Australia is still relatively well-endowed with oil and oil-substitutes (despite the frantic export policies of some governments), and conservationists have consistently brought to the attention of energy policy-makers the considerable potential for energy conservation in Australia. There is no need to risk despoiling the Reef.

Yet in that address for the CCV Butler argued that the reef will eventually be drilled because "Without oil, Australia's technological developments could falter".<sup>13</sup> Harry seems unable to question any industrial development. He only requires that its effects be minimised — no matter what the "minimum" may be.

**HYDRO-DAMS IN SOUTH-WEST TASMANIA**  
Butler, for the Australian Conservation Foundation, appeared in a pro-wilderness television advertisement above South West Tasmania. The advertisement was scarcely consistent with Butler's views on the damming of the Franklin and Gordon rivers as part of a hydro-electric power scheme. 'My reasoned view is that we need the HEC scheme. We have to choose between our kids living on, or the kangaroos'.<sup>14</sup> Butler's response is emotively pro-exploitation. He takes no account of the various alternative methods proposed to meet Tasmania's employment and end-use energy needs.

**URANIUM MINING AND NUCLEAR POWER**  
Butler has written that 'there is no difference between uranium mining and other mining . . . so far as the inherent dangers to miners and other involved people are concerned'.<sup>15</sup> It is hard to imagine Tony Grey, chief executive of Pan-Continental making a more remarkable statement. Butler

also adheres to the position that nuclear power is needed to replace hydrocarbon fuels, when most of the available evidence shows it to be useless and very costly compared to conservation/renewable energy strategy.<sup>16</sup>

**WOODCHIPPING**

Butler claims that 'the real problem does not lie with the forestry or woodchippers. Our real problem lies with the lack of suitable reserves'.<sup>17</sup> He ignores the fact that forestry department and woodchipping companies have been a major source of resistance to the setting aside of suitable reserves.

**THE JARRAH CLASS ACTION**

When the Conservation Council of Western Australia decided this year to bring a class action suit in a United States of America court against bauxite mining in the Jarrah forests by American-based multinational, Alcoa, Butler was strongly opposed, arguing that this would be giving a USA court jurisdiction in Australia. Alcoa's consultant Butler also claimed that he was favourably impressed by the company's mining and rehabilitation practices and went as far as to resign from the Australian Conservation Foundation and bodies associated with the CCWA in protest at their actions. Butler refused once again to challenge development and thus gave ammunition to critics of the CCWA.

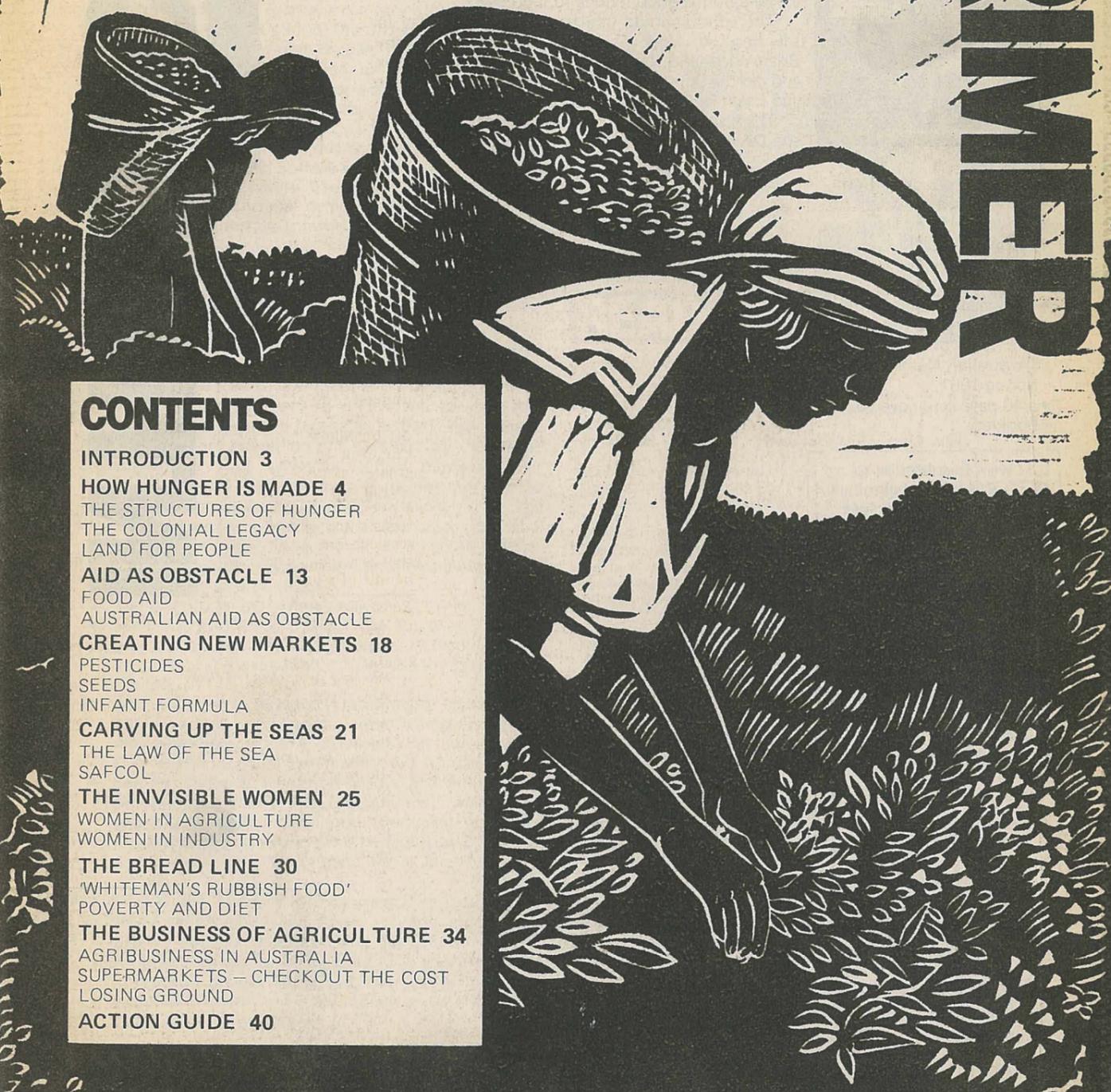
The experience with Harry Butler reaffirms the view that environmentalists must define their overall goals and strategies. They need to explain their position to the public from a broader viewpoint of society and how it works.

Conservation must be more widely understood, not just as the preservation of a species or the struggle to save a slice of bushland. Single issues are important, but even for them to be won, and for any greater struggles to succeed, nature conservation must be part of a wider perspective — a perspective that explains not only why our forests are disappearing, but why our social services are disappearing as well. And when that is widely understood, Harry Butler will be out of a job.

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# FOOD POLITICS PRIMER



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## Chain Reaction

This booklet has been edited by Tony Belcher and Mark Cole, for the Food Justice Centre, and published by *Chain Reaction*, magazine of Friends of the Earth Australia.

The editors invite criticisms and comments, to us, at Food Action, Room 14, Floor 4, 37 Swanston St, Melbourne, 3000. Phone (03) 63 5982.

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The *Food Politics Primer* is available as:

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- a 40 page card covered booklet.

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# INTRODUCTION

Enough food is produced in the world to more than adequately feed everyone. Yet there are hungry people in every country, including Australia. Hunger can exist in the midst of plenty because people are denied access to and control over food and the resources with which to produce food. The answer to hunger does not lie in producing more food, nor in donating food to the hungry. The answer lies in removing the obstacles that stop people getting on with the job of feeding themselves.

The *Food Politics Primer* has been written to introduce Australians to the fact that food is political, and that removing obstacles means taking political action. The stories have been selected to introduce the major issues on which we in Australia can take effective action.

Articles by Mark Cole on *The Structures of Hunger*, Irene Davies on *Land for People*, Linnell Secomb on *Women in Agriculture*, Bill Stent on *Food Aid* and Tony Belcher on *Agribusiness in Australia* provide the theory which puts into perspective the contemporary issues dealt with in the other stories.

An important theme of this booklet is that Australia is not free of hunger, nor are our institutions innocent of contributing to hunger overseas. Helen Cox's article on *Poverty in Australia* demonstrates that hunger is present throughout Australian society. Kerin O'Dea examines the forces that shape the poor diet of Aborigines. Helen Hill's *Australian Aid as Obstacle* looks at how Australian taxes are used to support social structures in the Philippines which are creating poverty. Rod Wenham examines *SAFCOL*, a transnational fishing group engaged in fishing in Asian waters and exploiting Asian labour.

Such stories lead to the question 'What action can we take?' First it is necessary to understand the fact that most countries have the resources to feed their people. Everywhere that people do not have control over those resources we find powerful forces blocking their attempts to gain that control. It is not our job to intervene in other countries and 'set things right'. The task is to examine which obstacles are being built now with our taxes, in our name and by corporations based in our economies. As well we can join direct action being taken on issues all around us.

The steps to taking action are:

- Seek out information about the forces at work in promoting inequalities and hunger. A reading list is included at the end of this article. Use the mass media critically.
- Gain practical experience in working for change. Pick one issue that interests you, either a single issue like seed patenting, or join a group looking more broadly at problems such as a Community Aid Abroad group.
- Support national liberation groups and political organisations overseas that are genuinely working to redistribute power over food producing resources. Remember that starvation and hunger-related illnesses directly attribute to present social structures kill people.
- If you are involved with a church or community group which gives aid, assess its programmes critically. Ask the question 'Aid for whom?' Worthwhile aid works to break down the structures that impoverish people. Make sure that the people being aided have control over the money or materials given to them, to use as they see fit.

- Critically assess the influence of Australian government aid, Australian military deployments, and the activities of Australian companies in the Third World.

The action guide on page 40 lists organisations that are attempting to achieve these goals.



## READING GUIDE

### BOOKS

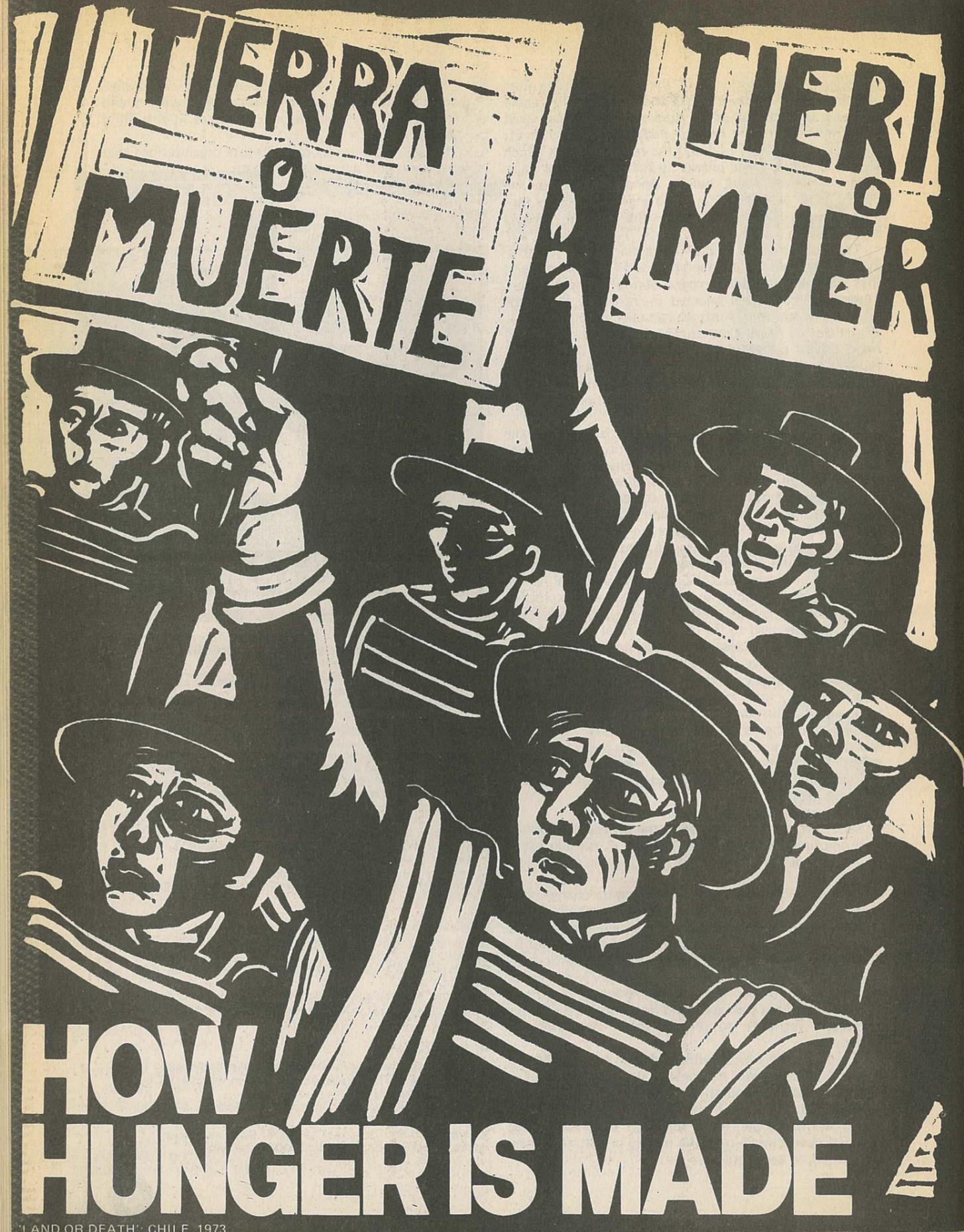
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- \* *Aid as Obstacle* by Moore Lappe, Collins and Kinley, Institute For Food and Development Policy, 1980.
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### TO OBTAIN THE BOOKS:

- \* Friends of the Earth Bookshop, 366 Smith St, Collingwood 3066, (03) 419 8700.
  - † International Bookshop, 17 Elizabeth St, Melbourne, 3000, (03) 61 2859.
- Institute For Food and Development books can be ordered directly from: IFDP, 2588 Mission St, San Francisco, California, USA 94110

### PERIODICALS

- International Coalition for Development Action News*, Floor 4, Bedford Chambers, Covent Garden, London WC2, Britain. £7 per year.
- New Internationalist*, Post Office Box 82, Fitzroy, Victoria, Australia 3065. \$15 per year.
- Chain Reaction*, Room 14, Floor 4, 37 Swanston Street, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia 3000. \$5 per year.



# HOW HUNGER IS MADE

'LAND OR DEATH', CHILE, 1973

## THE STRUCTURES OF HUNGER

CHRONIC MASS HUNGER IS A PHENOMENON OF THE MODERN WORLD. IT EXISTS IN THE MIDST OF OVERWHELMING PLENTY. MARK COLE DESCRIBES HOW AND WHY THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURES THAT CAUSE THIS HUNGER WERE CREATED, AND WHY THOSE STRUCTURES CONTINUE TO EXIST.

Wherever there is inequality in people's access to and control over food producing resources, there is hunger. The unique feature of today's world is the vast difference in the level of hunger in different countries. Attempts to explain this by arguments such as lack of resources or overpopulation fail. In Africa, south of the Sahara, for example, where some of the worst and most chronic hunger in the world is found, there are almost two and one-half *cultivated* acres per person. This is more than in the United States of America. Also, such arguments do not explain why, before contact with European settlers, areas we now regard as 'under-developed' supported prosperous civilisations that were at least the equal to pre-industrial Europe in possessing a social structure that provided sufficient food for their populations.

The explanation is that the mass hunger in today's world has been created by political and economic processes. The *colonial era* is the name given to that time in which these processes were begun and shaped. To understand how and why, it is necessary to look at the economic changes occurring in Europe that gave the impetus to colonialism.

## INDUSTRIALISATION OF EUROPE AND COLONIALISM

First, some definitions. *Wealth* is a necessary ingredient in any process that creates wealth. For example, to produce a crop, a farmer needs not only fertilizer, seed, etc, but money to buy these inputs. Wealth can also be spent on improving productive resources, or *invested*, (e.g. in digging a well to get a more reliable water

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supply) and those productive resources will then yield wealth at a higher rate. The larger the amount of wealth, or *capital*, the greater the improvements that can be made with it.

Capitals can be increased by extracting wealth from a production process, because the thing produced can be sold for more money than was spent producing it. The more the cost of production can be reduced, the more wealth, or *profit* can be extracted. This profit becomes the property of those who own the production process, and can be added to their capital. The cost of materials and labour are two key variables in the cost of production.

As feudalism was overthrown in Europe, a new way of life began to replace it, typified by the growth of cities, and by the production of goods in factories by workers who were paid a wage. Ownership and control of these factories and the goods they produced was in the hands of merchants, bankers and industrialists. This new class, called the *bourgeoisie*, accumulated and invested capital. They organised the growing, often by slaves, of crops such as sugar, spices, tobacco, tea and cocoa, in the new colonies that were being established. These were then shipped back to Europe and sold at a high profit. Capital accumulated from this profit was a major source of investment for the beginning industrialisation of European society.

As the industrial revolution progressed, the European bourgeoisie found that raw materials, such as cotton for textile factories, could be produced much cheaper in the colonies, and so more money was invested there in expanding raw material and food production. This investment yielded high profits, and by lowering the cost of materials, increased profits in the European manufacturing sector.

By the second half of the Nineteenth Century, another major advantage of owning colonies became clear. Industrialisation had progressed in efficiency to the stage where overproduction became a continuing problem. To profit from an item it must be sold. In industrial society, the buyers are those working for a wage. It was the desire of the bourgeoisie to extract as much profit from their production processes as they could and so they were continually attempting to decrease the cost of labour, by decreasing wages. As wages fall, so does the ability to buy; production exceeds consumption and profits fall. But by being able to purchase cheaper food, produced in the colonies, workers could spend a greater proportion of their wages on buying industrial goods and consumption and profits could rise.

The survival of the industrial economies became dependant on the possession and exploitation of other economies, firstly as colonies, then after the end of colonialism, by other techniques that will be discussed later. This dependence, which continues today, is caused by a phenomenon referred to as *imperialism*. Imperialism is defined as that cultural and economic process which occurs when capital is exported to economies peripheral to the major capitalist blocs of Europe, the United States of America and Japan, in order to return higher rates of profit than is obtainable within those blocs.

The volume of capital exported, plus the measures

necessary to maintain control of the fate of that capital, brings about the cultural and economic subordination, of the peripheral countries, to the industrial centre. Colonialism is the first stage of this subordination. The European bourgeoisie found it in their interests to establish a world-wide division of labour: native labour produced food and raw materials in colonies and European labour produced industrial goods in Europe. Creating this division meant not only the alteration of European society, but also the alteration of traditional societies in the colonies.

## CREATING COLONIES

When Europeans first encountered the peoples of Africa, Asia and the Americas, they found many civilisations, differing in structure and degree of equality, but all free of chronic mass hunger. Local food producing resources combined with interdependent networks of trade were able to provide a complete range of food requirements. These civilisations contained great disparities of wealth, but social customs acted as a brake on the ability of dominant groups to accumulate wealth, without regard to the welfare of subordinate groups. For example in South Gujerat, in pre-colonial India, land-controlling rulers employed landless labourers in season, and provided loans in kind, so that the labourers and their families could eat when there was no work. The loan conditions were such that the labourers could never pay back the loans, and so their debts increased, but this was simply to ensure that they would continue to work. Within that society, political power was related to the number of labourers controlled. Land-controlling classes had a vested interest in maintaining these relations with labourers who were also part of their political clientele.

In order to use colonies to produce cheap food and resources, Europeans needed to gain control over land and labour. The strategies they adopted to achieve this resulted in the destruction of much of the society that existed prior to their arrival.

Vast tracts of land were taken over and redistributed in every colony. The British often declared the best areas Crown Land and parcelled them out to white settlers. In South America, Spanish conquerors paid 'peppercorn' rents for the most fertile land, dividing it up into large estates or *latifunda*. Cheap labour to work these new estates was obtained by a variety of means. A common tactic of the British was a combination of introducing taxation, and undercutting the peasant economy. In Africa, peasant farmers were pushed off their land when it was taken over, and settled on poorer quality reserve land. Here they lacked the resources to grow sufficient food; wage labour on plantations or in mines was the only way to gain the money necessary to both eat and pay taxes.

Imposition of a taxation system forced many

farmers to use part of their land for growing cash crops, to obtain money. In Indonesia, peasants were exempted from paying land tax if they grew government owned export crops on one-fifth of their land. Failure to either do so or pay tax meant forfeiture of their land. It all else failed, labour could be imported. The British, in particular, were adept at conscripting people *en masse*. Indian peasants were transported to work tea and coffee plantations in Sri Lanka, and to sugar plantations on Pacific and Caribbean islands.

Not all of the pre-colonial economy was destroyed. The existence of some modified traditional subsistence sectors was a vital feature; it was this that allowed the very low wages to be paid to labourers in plantations and on mines, because those labourers were supported in part by this subordinate economy. Also this sector produced, free of cost, new labourers. Linnell Secomb's article (page 26) looks at the major role women's labour plays in sustaining this sector of the economy.

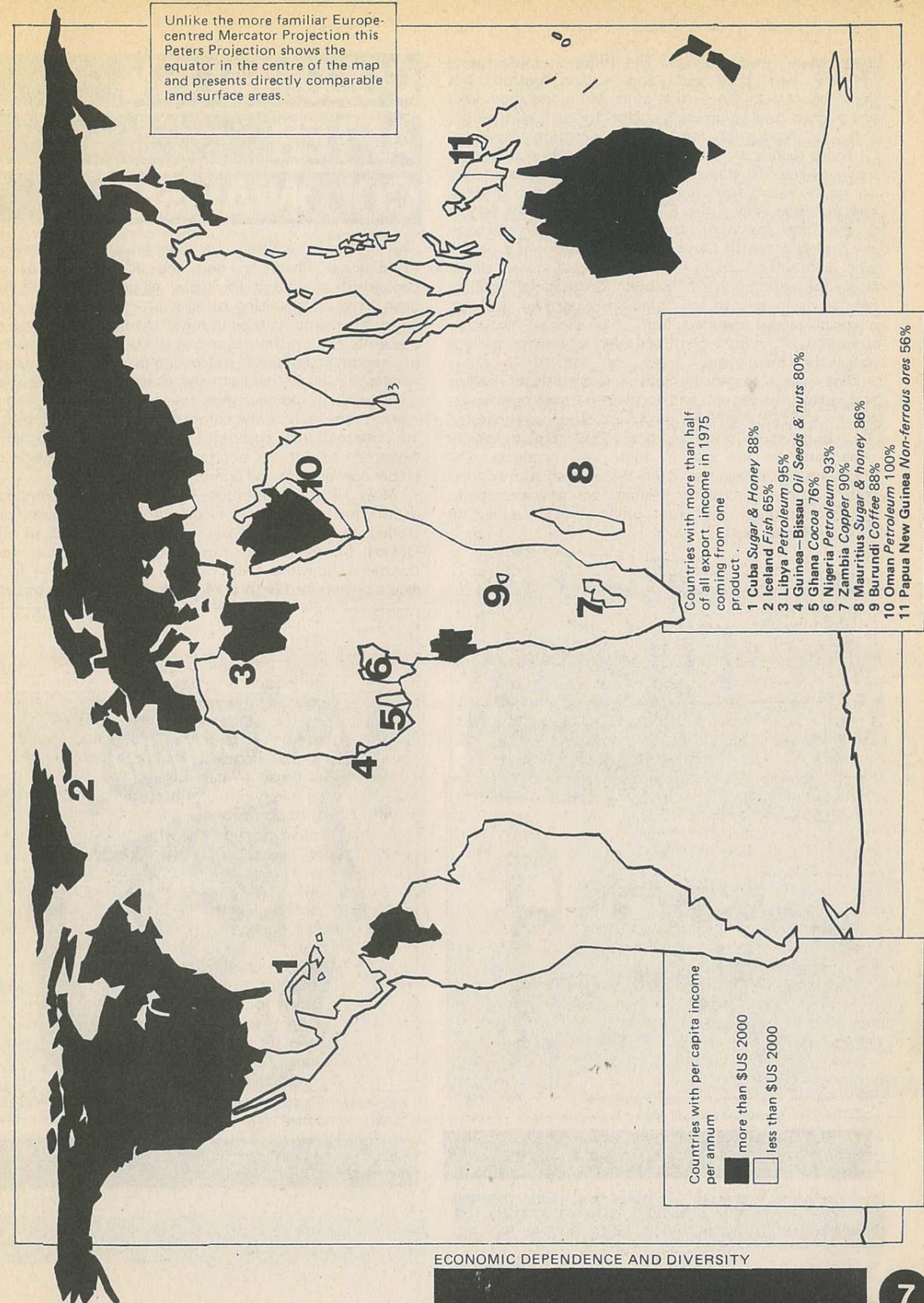
Private ownership of land was the most destructive change imposed on societies in the colonies. When they lacked this principle, the distribution of access to land remained stable: it was impossible to lose access rights through indebtedness. But when land was a commodity to be bought and sold, the position of small land-holders became tenuous. These farmers used their land as collateral for raising loans and paying taxes during lean times. Failure to repay debts now meant forfeiture of the land. As well, colonists vested much power over land in the hands of dominant classes that they co-opted or created, to help run the society.

This group did the work of controlling the colony and was rewarded accordingly. When monetary indebtedness replaced the complex systems of rights and obligations (as illustrated in the example from Gujerat), possession of land could be made absolute. Where before all had access to land or its produce; now, as access rights began to pass out of the hands of the poor, increasing numbers of people totally isolated from food producing resources began to appear.

No real power passed into the hands of the indigenous ruling classes until the end of colonialism. Colonising powers ensured ultimate control of their new societies by making sure that the colonies could not become economically self-sufficient. This meant increasing the proportion of land used for export production, concentrating on only one or two crops, and ensuring that any attempt at industrialisation failed to compete with that in Europe. Tariffs, trade monopolies and import restrictions were some of the strategies adopted. That they were successful can be seen by the poverty and relative lack of industry in the Third World today.

The Indian cotton industry is a classic case study. Industrialisation in Europe began in the textile sector. In 1840, cotton articles accounted for almost half the total exports from England, and three-quarters of English wage-workers were employed producing textiles. When the British arrived in India, they found a long established cotton textile industry. A series of inland transit duties were devised, forcing internal manufactures to pay tariffs of 6% to 18% on their product. English textiles exported to India were subjected to a 3.5% duty, and so were cheaper in India

Unlike the more familiar Europe-centred Mercator Projection this Peters Projection shows the equator in the centre of the map and presents directly comparable land surface areas.



ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE AND DIVERSITY

than locally made fabrics. The Indian manufacturing industry was destroyed, and Indian cotton was exported raw to the British mills. More and more land was turned over to growing cotton for cash cultivation, and food production for local consumption decreased.

These tactics are the origins of a feature common to many ex-colonial states today: an economic dependency on money raised from the export of one or two crops or raw materials. When the French subjugated the people of the Sahel region of West Africa by military force in the late Nineteenth Century, they confronted a people who were self-reliant in food, with locally grown millet being the main source of protein. So that the Sahelian people could survive the common periods of drought, a social taboo operated that only allowed the consumption of millet which had been stored for periods longer than three years.

The French forced the Sahelians to cultivate peanuts and cotton for export, and to place a lower priority on the growing and storage of millet. The economies of the countries in these regions today remain heavily dependant on the sale of these two products. The uncertain income gained from this is used to buy food from outside the country. Famine has now become as regular as drought, and many inhabitants are reliant on food aid for survival.



TOBACCO LABOURERS IN MALAWI

## COLONIALISM AFTER COLONIALISM

The story of the Sahel is a common one. Despite wars of national liberation and the achievement of independent statehood for many ex-colonies, there has been little re-organising of agricultural production, nor any fundamental change in the structural dependency of these nations on the major capitalist blocs. The process of investing capital and extracting profit continues, but whereas under colonialism the elements in this process were colonial trading companies acting within the framework of the laws of the colonial state, now the elements are transnational corporations in concert with large financial institutions acting within the framework of global conventions and commodity agreements.

Most of the plantation commodities that provide export income for the ex-colonial states are now controlled by a handful of corporations based in the United States of America and Europe. These corporations buy the crop directly, contract with local estate owners or buy through state-run marketing boards.



LABORER LOADS BANANAS FOR EXPORT FROM ECUADOR TO THE USA

They then process and market the commodity. This co-ordination or 'integration' of economic activities in the hands of single companies is the trademark of the modern agribusiness corporation such as Unilever, Nestle, Dole, Gulf and Western, Chiquita, Gill and Duffus, and Del Monte, and is discussed further in Tony Belcher's article (page 35) on agribusiness in Australia.

These agribusiness corporations do not and cannot produce food for the hungry; neither the hungry in the country from which they buy a commodity, nor those in the country in which they sell. They produce foodstuffs to sell, because there is a market and profits to be made. The hungry are precisely those who cannot obtain access to the money required to be in that market. Most plantation products grown by or for agribusiness are destined for consumption in Europe, Japan or the USA and most of the profits from production and sales go to the shareholders in those countries.

The \$2 billion world-wide banana industry is controlled by three corporations. A banana producing country gets eleven cents out of every final retail dollar spent on bananas. Many of the strategies agribusiness adopts look remarkably similar to those of the colonial trading companies that preceded them. In the Philippines, Del Monte has used violence to force peasants from their land so that it can produce pineapples for export to Japan. In the 1970's, Cargill, Anderson-Clayton, Central Soya and the Chase Manhattan Bank invested in soya bean production in Brazil. All the beans grown are either exported, or sold locally as livestock feed. Soya production has displaced the



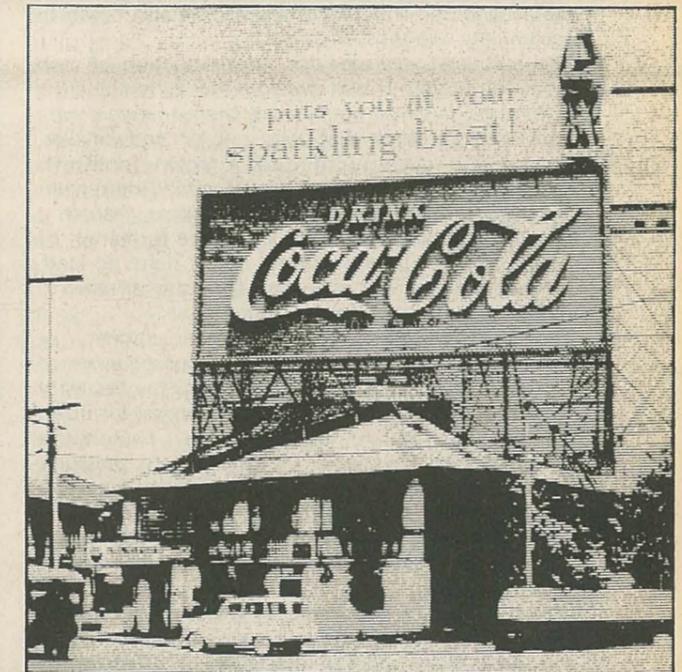
WOMEN IN ZAMBIA. IN THE THIRD WORLD THE UNPAID WORK OF WOMEN IN GARDENS AND DOMESTIC PRODUCTION MAKES POSSIBLE A LOW TOTAL WAGE BILL FOR THAT PART OF THE ECONOMY BASED ON EXPORT PRODUCTION

traditional staple of the majority of people, black beans, resulting in widespread malnutrition.

International commodity agreements and trade conventions have become powerful regulatory mechanisms that govern global production and exchange of foodstuffs. The effect of these agreements is to ensure that ex-colonial states remain economically subordinate to the major capitalist states.

An example is the Lome Agreement reached between the European Economic Community and 22 African, Pacific and Caribbean countries in 1974, and again in 1979. The agreement covers such issues as conditions for transfer of technology, the setting up of a European Development Fund to finance 'development' projects in the signatory countries, and the elaboration of a system of stabilised commodity pricing. Such agreements reinforce economic dependence, as do the many tariff controls and subsidies that are established by industrialised nations. For example, the EEC gets to put a 15% tariff on instant coffee. This is designed to stop coffee growing countries setting up the industry to make instant coffee.

A further indication of the real power relation between the industrial nations and the ex-colonial states is the fact that conditions of trade under international agreements are becoming even more unfavourable for countries of the Third World. On world prices in 1960, three tons of bananas could buy a tractor. By 1970, that same tractor cost 11 tons of bananas.



THE THIRD WORLD EXPORTS MUCH OF ITS RESOURCES TO INDUSTRIALISED NATIONS. CULTURE IS A COMMODITY THEY ARE SOLD IN RETURN. COCA-COLA SIGN, PHILIPPINES.

## WHAT MAKES HUNGER?

Section two of this article dealt with changes made to pre-colonial societies by European colonialists in their endeavour to extract wealth from their colonies. The basic points:

- Pre-colonial societies were to varying degrees exploitative, having dominant classes, peasants, labourers and slaves.
- Complex systems of obligations and duties ensured that everyone maintained some basic ability to gain access to food or food producing resources.
- Colonialists established such practices as taxation and private ownership of land. Now workers could be hired on contract, and their wages set so that that wealth could be extracted from their labour. Power now could be based in owning land and capital, not in the possession of a large labour force.
- Indigenous ruling classes were set up or co-opted by the colonial power to administer the new economy. Their reward was access to power and wealth in that economy. These local bourgeoisie also began to accumulate wealth, such as land.
- The best land was used for the production of cash crops for export. It was owned either by colonialists or local ruling class. Smaller subsistence farmers were transferred to land that was poorer and smaller. Quality and quantity of locally grown foodstuffs declined. Internal markets in food declined in strength.

These factors present to varying degrees, lead to a number of consequences. Their end is the formation of a group of people totally without access rights to land. If, as well, they have no job, even for seasonal reasons, then they cannot obtain food without loans.

The pushing aside of the smaller farmer, or 'marginalisation' is another important consequence of the activities of the ruling class. Taxation, the necessity to obtain loans to pay for inputs such as fertilizer, economic loss due to poor harvests, exploitative practices of local merchants, are examples of pressures on the smaller farmers, already disadvantaged by size or quality of their land. Financial institutions and many 'aid' organisations contribute to the marginalisation process by restricting their assistance to the already successful farmers.

Concentration of ownership of land in Third World countries is continuing, and as a consequence the ranks of the marginalised, and landless grow. In Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, Bolivia, the Philippines, Java and Bangladesh 80% of the rural workforce are landless. In Bangladesh, the number of landless is increasing at about 5% a year. Increasing rural mechanisation means that their hope of finding work in the country is extremely limited. So they often migrate to the cities, living in vast slums, often without sanitation or running water.

These gross inequalities both within and between nations are facts which point to the real cause of hunger and want. Inequalities in access to and control over food producing resources exist because wealth is being extracted from farm labourers and the marginalised rural populations of the ex-colonial states by a local and transnational bourgeoisie which controls and organizes the food producing resources and which is geographically situated in urban areas.

The process of ending hunger is the process of these exploited groups organising politically to win back control over food producing resources.

## THE COLONIAL LEGACY

MANY AID PROGRAMMES GENUINELY INTENDED TO HELP THE POOR OF THE THIRD WORLD END UP HELPING TO WORSEN THE POVERTY, BECAUSE THEIR DESIGNERS FAIL TO UNDERSTAND POWER STRUCTURES WITHIN EX-COLONIAL STATES. AN EXCELLENT EXAMPLE IS THE IMPACT OF THE GREEN REVOLUTION, ON A COUNTRY LIKE MEXICO. FROM RESEARCH BY

HANS SCHNEIDER.



In the early 1960's, under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation, the International Centre for Wheat and Corn Improvement was established in Mexico. Here plant breeders developed new high-yielding varieties of grain crops, suitable for local use. The introduction of such varieties into Third World agriculture has become known as the 'Green Revolution'. At the time, the theory was that widespread hunger in a society was caused by shortages of food; the new varieties would enable production per hectare to be increased, and so not only provide enough food for Mexico's own population, but also bring prosperity to the rural sector by making the country a net exporter of grain.

Yet Mexico is now dependant on massive cereal imports (including the same cereals it used to produce for itself) from countries like the United States of America, to the point where the government sees its national independence threatened. Hunger is widespread, and increasing. In 1979, almost half of Mexico's people were unable to obtain the minimum requirements of protein and calories. In rural areas, the proportion of malnourished people is as high as 90%.

It is true that during this time, Mexico's population has been increasing at a very rapid rate, from 25 million in 1950 to 70 million in 1980, creating enormous

HANS SCHNEIDER LECTURES IN THE SCHOOL OF GEOGRAPHY, UNIVERSITY OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

'WE AREN'T BIRDS THAT LIVE IN THE AIR, NOR FISH THAT LIVE IN THE SEA, WE ARE MEN WHO LIVE OFF THE LAND' NICARAGUA

demands for food. But this is no explanation for why the Green Revolution has failed to produce the expected result. Increasing population potentially means more labour to increase agricultural production. In fact, the opposite is happening. The amount of land being used to grow basic food crops has decreased since 1960, by as much as 15%. Large numbers of people are abandoning rural society and migrating to the cities, even though there is no work for them there, only a marginal existence in slums without sanitation or running water.

The Green Revolution has not only failed to bring prosperity to Mexico, but is actively destroying the existing rural economy, causing a decrease in agricultural production, and threatening the country's food security.

To understand what is happening, it is necessary to look at the structure of the Mexican economy. Like all Latin American countries, Mexico was shaped by the needs of colonialism. One result is extreme inequalities in land distribution, between a few individuals controlling thousands of square kilometres of the best land, and the majority, either with small plots just sufficient for subsistence, or landless sharecroppers or labourers.

The Green Revolution is based on high technology; the seeds developed do give much higher yields per hectare, but only when used in conjunction with fertilisers, herbicides and pesticides and correct amounts of water. The subsistence farmer, with few tools, low levels of formal education, and with poor quality, unirrigated, often isolated land, had no hope of using such technology. Money was made available to purchase the required ingredients, but only to farmers that could already demonstrate some success, that is, only to the owners of the most fertile and largest farms.

Also the Green Revolution technology was less successful with corn, the staple food for the majority of Mexico's people. The most profitable crops proved to be wheat, sorghum and others which could be exported for money, or sold as cattle feed. The success of these crops encouraged foreign corporations and local elites to buy up land to produce these crops. Only the poorer farmers continued to produce corn, and they were pushed onto the poorest land.

Between 1966 and 1976, annual production levels of corn fell by 1.2 million tonnes. These small farmers found their ability to make a living from their farms decreased rapidly, and so began abandoning the rural sector, preferring to take their chance in the cities.

This migration is encouraged by the fact that the chance of obtaining food in the cities is much higher for the poor than in the country. The Mexican government, in an attempt to alleviate hunger now buys corn from the USA, and sells it at a subsidized rate in urban areas. This leads to a vicious circle that is resulting in the destruction of Mexico's ability to produce food for its own people.

This subsidy system is to the advantage of the large land-owners. It does alleviate malnutrition, especially in the cities, and so reduces both the need to use land to grow the less profitable staple grains, and the level of agitation for land redistribution, especially from the urban middle class who might otherwise be hungry too. In recent years, Mexico has begun to profit from its

huge reserves of oil and gas, having the potential in 1981 to earn \$5 billion. Whether this money will be used to tackle the structural causes of poverty by encouraging land redistribution and assisting the poorer farmers, or whether it will be used to maintain the existing rural and urban economies is a question that will be decided by political struggle.

## LAND FOR PEOPLE

LANDLESSNESS AND THE CONCENTRATION OF LAND OWNERSHIP HAVE GROWN IN THE POSTCOLONIAL ERA. **IRENE DAVIES** LOOKS AT 'LAND REFORM' PROGRAMMES AND THE REASONS FOR THEIR SUCCESS OR FAILURE.

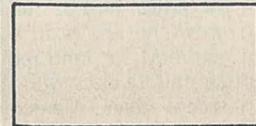
Let us start with the basics. Land is required to produce food. But who controls the land? In Third World countries often the bulk of the fertile land is owned by small minorities, individuals and corporations, both foreign and local. For example, in Latin America, of the 111 million rural inhabitants in 1960, some 100,000 owned 65% of the total agricultural lands, and the situation has not improved since then. In Jamaica, 71% of all farms are under five acres and occupy 12% of the total acreage; the large plantations constitute less than 1% of all farms but occupy 65% of the total acreage.

In the Third World, most of the population must gain a living from the cultivation of land, due to the lack of industry. But where the bulk of the land is controlled by a wealthy minority producing cash crops for export, the majority of rural poor are left landless or with minute plots for individual cultivation. The landless or near landless seek employment on large estates as wage labourers or make arrangements with landlords for sharecropping or tenant farming. Because they depend upon this type of arrangement for their livelihood they must accept the terms the landlord offers, which are usually exploitive.

In Malaysia, two thirds of the rice farmers are share croppers. They farm small plots. For use of the land they are forced to give one third to one half of their crops to the landowner as rent.

In Ethiopia, before the recent overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie, the situation was similar. The

**IRENE DAVIES IS AN AGRICULTURAL ECONOMIST EMPLOYED AS A PROJECT OFFICER WITH AN AUSTRALIAN NON GOVERNMENT AID AGENCY.**



mass starvation in the drought of 1974 was caused not so much by an absolute shortage of food as by the fact that landowners were forcing their tenants to pay up to three quarters of their crop as rent. As crop yields fell due to drought conditions, the peasants were not left with enough to sustain life. It is estimated that at least 100,000 died.

Thus the nature of agriculture and the system of land tenure denied the majority of rural people access to enough land to either produce their own food or to create income. Starvation exists in many Third World countries because their agriculture is geared to export rather than to meeting local demand.

Major changes in the way land is owned and utilised are required. Land must be taken from the control of the elites and more equitably distributed among the rural poor, remembering that 30 to 60% of those employed in agriculture in undeveloped countries are totally without land.

But any assumption that the small farmer is inherently more productive than the larger is equally a mistake. Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins in *Food First* (Ballantine, 1979) have found that the size of the parcel of land matters less than the relationship of the people to it. In Japan, small farmers can be very productive when the people working the land know they will benefit from its productivity. But in situations where credit, debt and tenancy arrangements deny those who work the land the products of their labour, productivity can be very low.

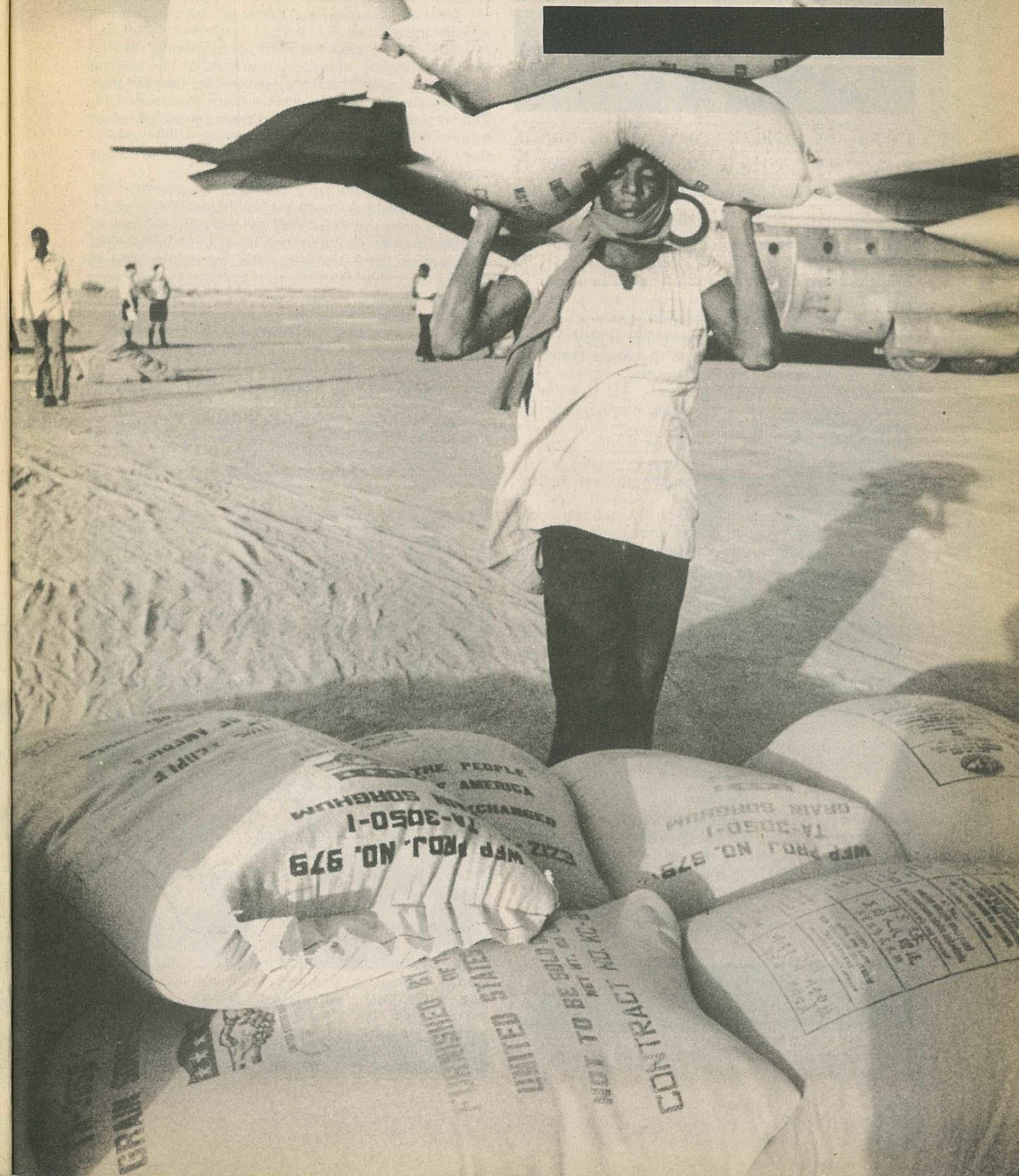
Similarly with large farming units, the inefficiency of privately owned large landowner operations have been well documented. However, if these private landowners are exchanged for anti-democratic bureaucrats, productivity may still remain low. This is evidenced by developments in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics this century. In China, though large land areas are quite productive. The Chinese have developed a system which takes advantage of big farming units while putting the people who work the land in control, through the use of production teams and production brigades.

Greater equality through land redistribution has been associated with the increased production in Japan, China, Taiwan, Egypt, Cuba and Vietnam. But redistribution of land alone does not necessarily result in genuine human development. The rural poor must be consulted and actively involved in any land reform programme. If the people only become passive recipients of land or victims of government reform efforts then old dependency patterns will continue. The reduction of inequality must break this dependency pattern if people are to develop more control over their own lives. Thus the process by which land reform occurs is as important as the land reform itself.

Land reform programmes which place decision making power and land back into the hands of the rural poor are fundamental for achieving self sufficiency in food production and the attainment of self reliance and self respect. Without these human development cannot occur.



# AID AS OBSTACLE



# FOOD AID

THERE ARE HUNGRY PEOPLE IN THE WORLD; WHO COULD OPPOSE GIVING THEM AID? BUT IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO ASK 'WHO IS BEING AIDED?': THE POOR, OR THOSE WHO MAINTAIN THE STRUCTURES THAT CREATE THE POVERTY.

**BILL STENT** LOOKS AT THE DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF FOOD AID.

Aid may be given directly from one country to another, in which case it is called bilateral aid or it may be given through an intermediary, such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, or the World Food Programme, and termed multilateral. Aid is given for many purposes, but while individuals may have humanitarian motives in pressuring their government to give aid to poorer countries, it would be foolish to believe that these motives greatly influence governments.

Indeed Professor Owen Harries, one of Prime Minister Fraser's advisers, has pointed out that while a government must take into account the political power of domestic humanitarian groups and therefore should not too greatly offend them, it should not consider the moral dimension to be of overriding importance in international relations.

Whilst small amounts of aid are handled on a 'people to people' basis by non-government agencies, such as Community Aid Abroad or the Australian Freedom From Hunger Campaign, most aid is given by governments to other governments. They do this to gain political support in international forums, or to maintain a friendly government in power, or to increase trade between the two countries. Aid is often a useful means of disposing of surpluses in the donor country and it can provide an opportunity to employ specialists who cannot be employed at home.

Multilateral aid might seem to be preferable to bilateral aid because it is less likely to involve interference in the political affairs of the recipient country. This is often not the case. Writers such as Teresa Hayter, in her *Aid As Imperialism* (Penguin, 1971), have described how multilateral aid has often been

used in an attempt to build up social and economic systems considered to be durable and resistant to revolutionary change . . . [and also] to secure, by

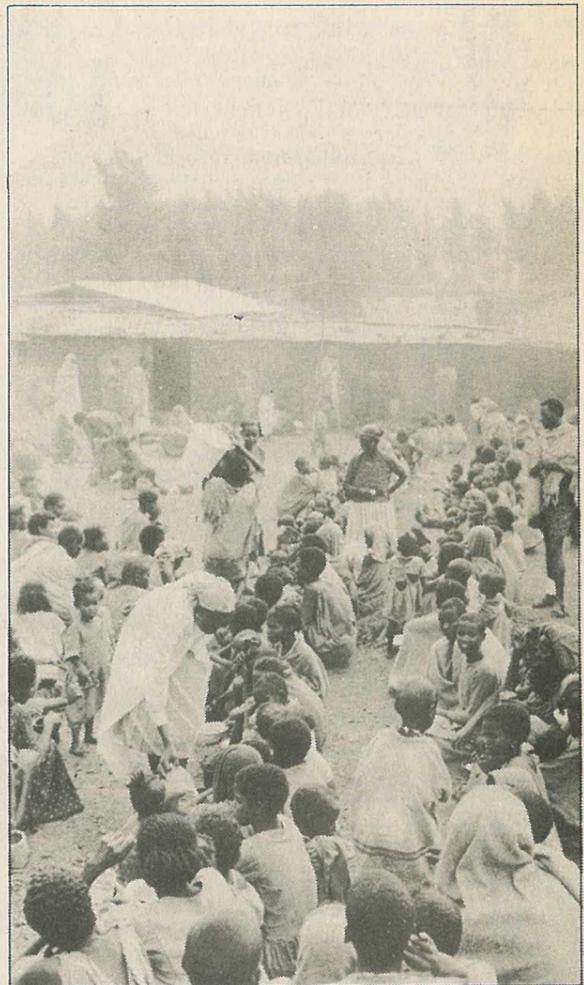
**BILL STENT LECTURES IN DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS AT LA TROBE UNIVERSITY, MELBOURNE.**

AUSTCAR/FAO PAGE 13: A PORTER AT TAHUCA IN CENTRAL NIGER UNLOADS 45 KILO BAGS OF SORGHUM GRAIN DONATED BY THE USA

attaching specific conditions, the smoother functioning of the system, and thus to ensure that debts can be [paid] abroad and that restrictions on imports can be removed; it can also be used to avert disruptive crises.

In the last decade it has become common for donors, whether they be individual countries or multilateral agencies, to claim that they are seeking, through their aid programmes, to help achieve 'Basic Human Needs'. This requires that special emphasis be placed upon helping the poorest members of society. Unfortunately there is no real agreement on how basic human needs can best be met.

Aid is most commonly provided, whether by bilateral or multilateral agreement, as 'Project Aid' in which case it is given for a narrowly defined purpose, such as the construction of a railway line, or the establishment of a land settlement scheme. This aid is often tied to



RURAL WORKERS GATHER AT A RELIEF CAMP IN NORTH-EASTERN ETHIOPIA, WHERE FOOD IS DISTRIBUTED TO THE HUNGRY

material exports from the donor country which then charges higher prices than are available on the competitive world market.

Project aid can have the effect of distorting patterns of economic growth along paths which are suitable for the project packages. For example, it often encourages capital-, rather than labour-intensive methods of production, because donors rarely finance the local costs, which involve labour, of a project but restrict their assistance to the financing of imports such as labour-replacing machinery.

Food aid, like other forms of aid, may be given bilaterally or multilaterally. Thus 80 per cent of Australia's food aid (which is currently pledged to be a minimum of 400,000 tonnes of wheat, or its equivalent, a year) is given bilaterally while the balance is distributed multilaterally through the World Food Programme, an organization established jointly by the United Nations, and the Food and Agriculture Organisation. Food may seem an especially suitable form of aid because it is capable of directly meeting basic needs and, if used in association with 'work for food' projects, would encourage labour intensive methods of production.

However, food aid like all others, has its own advantages and disadvantages. If it is provided to meet a food emergency caused by a natural or socially generated disaster, it is unlikely to have destructive consequences but when it is provided over a long period to help overcome food deficits it becomes a major influence on a nation's economy. In particular, food aid can lead to a country becoming less self-sufficient and more dependent on imports for its food.

This it can do in two ways. Firstly, its provision is likely to reduce the internal political pressures for increasing food production. So, if the food is distributed to civil servants, members of the armed forces and urban populations, there will be less concern shown for increasing agricultural production. Secondly, through keeping the price paid for food in urban areas lower than would otherwise have been the case, food aid reduces the market incentive for farmers to increase their production of food for sale in those areas.

It was because of these problems in Bangladesh that a recently prepared discussion paper for the Science Council of Canada stated:

In 1976, despite record harvests and massive inflows of food aid, 360,000 infants and young children died as a result of malnutrition. Of the 600,000 tons of international food aid shipped to Bangladesh that year, only 10 per cent reached the destitute orphans, widows, refugee camp residents, and rural unemployed. Fully 90 per cent of the total food aid was pumped into the country's food rationing system, which gives first priority to the military, police, and civil service, and then to urban centres. The urban middle class ends up paying low, subsidized prices for food products from abroad (as low as one-third of the local market price), while the country's 22 million peasants pay the going domestic rate for food with an income that is shrinking because of the availability of international foodstuffs.

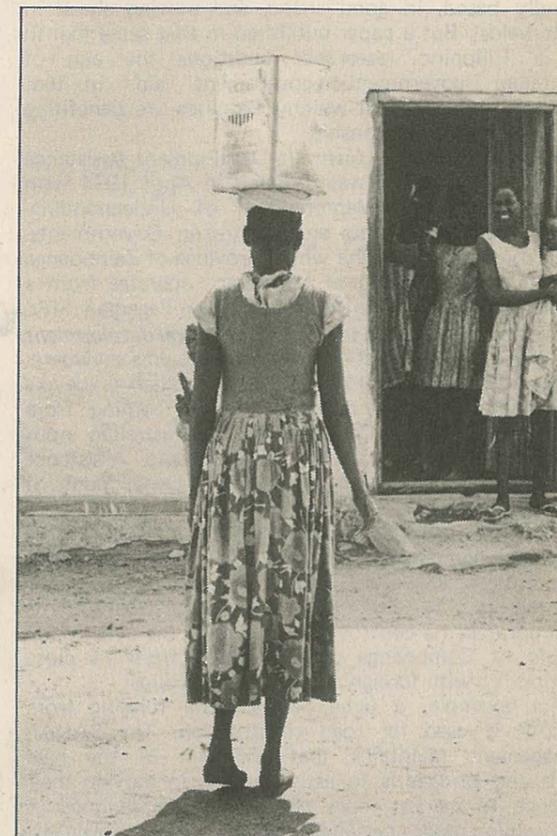
If food aid, other than emergency aid, is not to have undesirable consequences it is essential that it be

provided only as part of a carefully designed project. Not only should emphasis be placed on the aims of the project, but also on the efficiency of its associated delivery system. This requires that the donor country should be prepared to assist the recipient in the planning and the monitoring of its aid programme.

Provided that both the recipient and the donor countries have agreed on the goal of the aid programme this should not constitute an unwarranted invasion of the internal affairs of the recipient country and, provided that the goal is to achieve the real basic human needs, food aid can be of real value to the people of the recipient country.

Christopher Stevens, in concluding his book *Food Aid and the Developing World* (Croom Helm, 1979) has well summed up the situation:

Food aid is unlikely to have a negative effect and may well have a positive impact if supplied in good time and in the form of locally acceptable commodities to a food deficit country with energetic agricultural policies and as part of a broader package of measures designed to assist a poverty-oriented developed strategy.



USA FOOD AID IS A COMMON SIGHT THROUGHOUT THE THIRD WORLD. KAJO KAJI, SOUTH SUDAN

# AUSTRALIAN AID AS OBSTACLE

WHO IS BEING AIDED BY AUSTRALIAN AID? THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT HAS SO FAR SPENT \$25 MILLION ON A MAJOR PROJECT IN THE PHILIPPINES THAT IS BEING HARSHLY CRITICISED BY FILIPPINOS LIVING IN THE PROJECT AREA. HELEN HILL REPORTS...

In November 1980, at the conclusion of a visit to the Philippines, Australian Foreign Affairs Minister Tony Street commented 'I have been encouraged to find that Australia's relations with the Philippines are soundly based, in good shape, and moving ahead in most fields'. But a paper published in that same month by a Filipino researcher questions the aim of Australian government-to-government aid in that country, and asks just which Filipinos are benefiting from Australia's relationship.

The Philippines — Australia Development Assistance Programme (PADAP) was initiated in April 1974 with the signing of a 'Memorandum of Understanding' between the Philippines and Australian Governments. The project, covering the whole province of Zamboanga del Sur on the island of Mindanao, operates from a 64 hectare project centre at Dao, near Pagadian City. The concept is referred to as *integrated rural development* and is one of the largest Australian aid projects anywhere. So far it is estimated to have cost Australian taxpayers \$25 million, with a similar amount coming from Filipino taxpayers. Coordinating the Australian input is ADAB, the Australian Development Assistance Bureau an organization within the Department of Foreign Affairs.

In this project, ADAB works through three Australian companies; the Snowy Mountains Engineering Corporation, and two private companies, Leighton Contractors Pty Ltd and Agricultural Consultants Incorporated. Its controversial nature in the eyes of the people of Zamboanga del Sur stems from its close relationship with foreign and local elite groups.

For example, a large part of the funding from PADAP is used for road construction. The PADAP management maintains that the aim of the new roads and bridges is to assist farmers in moving their produce to market more cheaply and more quickly. But while roads certainly enable faster movement of produce from farm to market, it has not necessarily become cheaper, since the ordinary farmers do not own trucks or jeeps. If they wish to use modern transport and the new road system, they must either

HELEN HILL WORKS AT THE CENTRE FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION, CANBERRA.

pay an exorbitant amount or sell to a person wealthy enough to own a truck. PADAP's own surveys have shown that most farmers continue to use a horse or carabao as their main means of transport.

There is a continuing close relationship between the military and PADAP. An army detachment guards the PADAP headquarters at Dao, and in the construction of new roads the army acts as a vanguard for the construction team. Even the course of the roads has been influenced by military advisors, and priority has been given to roads which venture into rebel areas.

At present 49.6% of all cultivated areas in Mindanao are planted with basic food crops: rice, corn, non-export bananas, roots and vegetables. This farming is labour intensive and is the main source of livelihood for the people of Mindanao. Many, including both tenants and owner operators are now afraid that their livelihood is being threatened by the policy of President Marcos. His government backs large companies, both foreign and local, in buying out small farmers to create plantations of export crops (e.g. sugar, rubber, coconut, pineapples, coffee) to boost sagging export earnings. Such a shift is most unlikely to



AUSTRALIAN AID GOES INTO A ROADWORKS PROJECT ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF PAGADIAN CITY, PHILIPPINES

benefit the small farmer, given the falling prices being paid for export crops and the miniscule income of landless agricultural labourers in the Philippines.

While PADAP certainly is carrying out some research into crop intensification of a large range of food crops, its own research has shown that given the uncertainty of income, the majority of farmers in Zamboanga del Sur are unwilling to buy the fertilizers and pesticides required by the new high yielding varieties of crops being promoted by PADAP. The farmers, in contrast to the approach of PADAP, see the solution to their

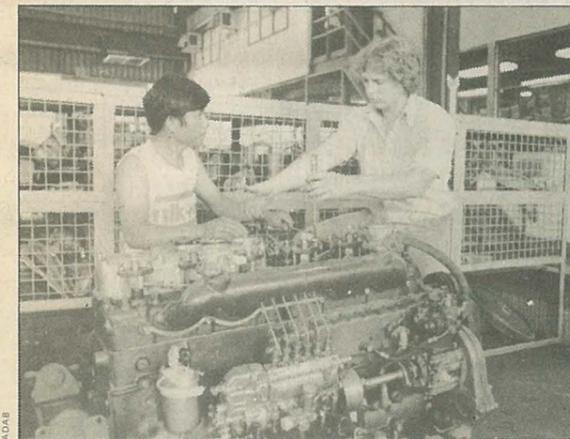


DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN THE PHILIPPINES OCCUR WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE MILITARY

problems not simply in increasing output, but in getting direct access to more of the fruits of their own labour, without having to hand over significant percentages of their earnings to landlords, merchants or companies. In other words they see land reform as a key element in any strategy for their betterment.

Redistribution of land has all but been ignored by the Marcos Government. For example only 328 hectares of land has been 'reformed' in Mindanao during the 8 years of the programme while during the same period 14,374 hectares have been bought from farmers by large companies for the establishment of corporate farms assisted through the government's General Order No. 47.

So, struggles over land are a major part of local opposition to the PADAP project. Tenant farmers who were evicted for the construction of the project



AN AID EXPERT INSTRUCTING AN APPRENTICE IN ENGINE MAINTENANCE AT THE DAO WORK SHOP

centre at Dao were paid only half of their land's value and no compensation is paid for lands acquired for the construction of roads and only part compensation is paid for crops destroyed.

There is considerable dissatisfaction amongst the 1,700 or so Filipinos employed by PADAP with the huge salary differentials between Australians and Filipinos working on the project, in addition to complaints about the late payment of wages, no sick leave and lack of other benefits available to the Australians. It is estimated that about 50% of the ADAB funds in the PADAP project revert to Australian consultants by way of wages, benefits and allowances.

In considering a project like this it is important to ask the question 'Who benefits?' The conclusion is that while the project is ostensibly to benefit the 'backward' farmers, in reality they do not benefit because they have no say in its planning. Instead the real beneficiaries are local businessmen and landlords, foreign corporations, the government and the military and the three Australian companies involved in the project.

# CREATING NEW MARKETS



THE NINETEENTH CENTURY EXPONENT OF COLONIALISM, CECIL RHODES, WAS EXPLICIT IN DESCRIBING HIS GOALS: 'WE MUST FIND NEW LANDS FROM WHICH WE CAN EASILY OBTAIN RAW MATERIALS AND AT THE SAME TIME EXPLOIT THE CHEAP SLAVE LABOUR THAT IS AVAILABLE FROM THE NATIVES OF THE COLONIES. THE COLONIES WOULD ALSO PROVIDE A DUMPING GROUND FOR THE SURPLUS GOODS PRODUCED IN OUR FACTORIES.'

LARGE MANUFACTURING COMPANIES IN THE INDUSTRIALISED NATIONS ARE NOW TAKING THAT LAST PIECE OF ADVICE. THE SALE OF SURPLUS CONSUMER GOODS TO THE THIRD WORLD IS NOT A MAJOR SOURCE OF PROFIT, BECAUSE OF THE LIMITED SIZE OF THE MARKETS. NEVERTHELESS, COMPANIES HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN CARVING OUT MARKETS FOR CERTAIN COMMODITIES, SUCH AS PESTICIDES, SEEDS AND INFANT FORMULA.



## PESTICIDES

BY TONY BELCHER FROM RESEARCH BY MARIA MOLAN.

Large agricultural chemical companies are turning to the Third World not only to expand their markets, but as a place to sell pesticides that have been legislated against in countries in which they are being made. Disposing of products banned in one country by selling them in a country in which they are not banned has become known as 'dumping'. This practice has been adopted by many companies in an attempt to recover money invested in the factories that make the product.

Dumping is possible because environmental protection legislation is nonexistent in about half the world's countries, and because the governments of countries such as the United States of America, West Germany, Japan and Britain refuse to take action to restrain companies. In some cases governments have actively encouraged dumping by supplying pesticides through foreign 'aid' programmes.

Pesticide manufacturing is a profitable, worldwide industry. For example, the USA produces 680 million kilograms per year, but over 40% is sold to other countries. Of this 40%, 25% is composed of chemicals never registered for use in the USA, and 5% (14 million kilograms) is chemicals actually banned by USA law.

In areas of the Third World where pesticides are used, constant contact with the chemicals is all but unavoidable. Farm workers eat, drink and smoke in sprayed fields. No gloves or respirators are provided. Their camps are near the land they work, so they bathe and wash in contaminated drainage ditches. The use of any chemical in such a situation is bound to lead to problems. When that chemical is a pesticide known to cause sterility, cancer, nervous disorders, etc, major health disasters are inevitable. Pesticides poisoning is a major cause of death and incapacitation in most parts of the Third World.

But the damage to health is not confined to the country in which a pesticide is used. Chemical companies defend dumping with the argument that 'the hungry world needs all the pesticides it can get in its fight against hunger'. This argument is misleading. In every Third World country using pesticides, between 50% and 70% is sprayed on farms and

TONY BELCHER IS A CO-ORDINATOR OF THE FOOD JUSTICE CENTRE, MELBOURNE.

MARIA MOLAN WORKS WITH THE FOOD JUSTICE CENTRE IN MELBOURNE.

LEFT: AFRICAN WORKER SPRAYING DDT TO WIPE OUT TSE-TSE FLY

plantations producing food for export. This is how the chemical purchases are paid for. So, a 'circle of poison' is set up, leading back to the consumers in the industrialised nations that exported the pesticide.

The Food and Drug Administration of the USA reports that half the coffee beans, 15% of beans and peppers, and large quantities of meat, imported mainly from Latin America, contain varying levels of pesticides banned in the USA. One famous incident involved mass poisoning of American florists, traced to a pesticide sprayed on flowers grown in Columbia.

The victims of this circle are not passive. Around the world, people are fighting back. A number of governments are drawing up legislation to control pesticide use. Rural workers' organisations in other countries are mobilising opposition amongst farm labourers. In Australia, research is being carried out to determine Australia's involvement in the circle, especially through Australian companies' involvement in South East Asia. People interested in helping in this work should contact the Food Justice Centre, 366 Smith St, Collingwood, 3066. Phone (03) 419 8700.

## SEEDS

BY MARK COLE.

European and USA based seed companies are now attempting to gain control over the marketing of seeds for the major export crops grown in the Third World, Australia and Canada. To ensure market control, they are pressuring these governments to introduce legislation which allows new plant varieties to be patented. Companies who hold plant patents on varieties can determine who sells and produces patented seed and can charge farmers a royalty fee to use the seed.

In European countries and in the USA, where this type of legislation is already in force, resources for plant breeding, seed production and seed sales have become owned by single firms. This structure is called *vertical integration*. When the seed industry became vertically integrated, and hence highly profitable, those seed companies were bought up by large corporations. The seed industry is now dominated by petrochemical corporations such as Royal Dutch/Shell (Shell Oil), Ciba Geigy, and Sandoz. These firms have built up world-wide marketing networks to sell their fertilizers and pesticides that were needed by the Green Revolution. Seeds may be a new product to these firms, but they can be distributed through the same network they use to market their chemicals.

Transnational corporations involved in plant breeding are mainly interested in developing seed for broadacre cash crops. Shell Oil for example is heavily involved in breeding soya bean varieties for Brazilian

plantations. Their interest does not lie in the important task of improving crops such as cassava, chickpeas, lentils, mung beans and black beans, which are the staple foods in many Third World countries.

One of the requirements of seed patenting schemes is that patented varieties be highly uniform genetically (so that they can be clearly identified for legal purposes). Uniform crops are highly susceptible to large scale destruction by pests or diseases. On 12 February 1980 a policy memorandum was circulated within the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation, which listed concerns over seed patenting in the Third World. Part of that memo reads:

Finally, it may be noted that the commercialisation and the subsequent commercial competitiveness resulting from the system of plant breeding encouraged by seed patenting legislation has led to intensive breeding of new varieties on a limited genetic base, resulting on several occasions in widespread disease epidemics...

Because of past geological and climatic influences, most of the world's food crops originate in a limited number of areas of high genetic diversity, all located in what is now the Third World. Scientists from industrialised nations still make regular collection trips to these areas to collect new genetic material to expand their breeding programmes. The nation in which this material is found is not paid for the removal of this resource, yet royalty payments for developed seeds are a multi-million dollar drain on Third World resources. This drain will increase with seed patenting, especially if patenting becomes a reality in Australia. In the period 1977-79, Australia exported \$2,222,000 worth of seed to countries such as Uruguay, Algeria, Libya, Brazil and Malaysia.

Legislation has been introduced into the Australian Parliament which will allow new plant varieties to be patented. A vigorous public campaign to stop the proposed scheme has developed in response, and the bill has been delayed several times. No attempt will be made to pass the bill until at least early 1982. There are groups in each state working on opposing Plant Variety Rights. Their addresses are listed in the action guide.

## INFANT FORMULA

BY GLENNYYS ROMANES

With falling birthrates and stagnant sales in Western countries in the 1960's, the large infant formula companies saw the Third World as the potential repository for their surplus milk products as well as a place to create an expanding market. High pressure advertising

and promotional campaigns were used to wean Third World mothers from traditional breastfeeding and local foods to more 'sophisticated' and 'superior' Western ways such as bottle-feeding and tinned baby foods. Such a drift was often encouraged by health personnel in clinics and hospitals who distributed samples of infant feeding products to mothers.

The social and economic consequences of such a change were not considered and its disastrous effects are disclaimed even in the face of statistics that show increasing gastroenteritis, malnutrition and death caused by bottle-feeding in situations where poor facilities and low wages stop mothers from preparing a hygienic and undiluted product. Infant formula companies continued to stress the quality of their products and their concern to provide help for all those poor mothers who cannot breastfeed. Only 5% of mothers have trouble breastfeeding and in the past, such babies were fed instead by a relative or local wet nurse.

Despite stated concerns by health and United Nations experts throughout the world in the late 1960's and early 1970's it was not until the British agency, War on Want, published a booklet in 1974 called *The Baby Killers*, that the issue captured widespread public attention. Since then community groups all over the world have campaigned to stop the unethical and aggressive promotion of infant products in Third World countries. The highlight of this campaign was the Nestles boycott which became a public relations nightmare for the largest infant formula producer in the world. Present in the campaign were the ingredients for success: support from prominent figures, activities spearheaded by church, consumer and aid groups. Increasing public awareness of the issue meant tremendous pressure for change, particularly in the United States of America.

One success of this campaign was the recent adoption in May 1981 of an International Code of Marketing of Breastmilk Substitutes at the 34th World Health Assembly. The Code recommends strict controls over the promotion and distribution of infant feeding products as well as positive efforts to strengthen breastfeeding practices. The USA, upset that any international body should presume to restrict the free-market activities of transnationals, was the only country to vote against the Code, thereby putting its commercial interests before the interests of millions of babies exposed each year to 'commerciogenic malnutrition'.

However, without legislation or regulations at a national level to give the Code some 'teeth', its recommendations are likely to be largely disregarded. The text of the Code itself calls upon "Non-governmental organisations, professional groups, institutions and individuals concerned" to draw the attention of manufacturers or distributors to activities which are incompatible with the principles and aim of the Code, so that appropriate action can be taken. Such groups have been set up in three Australian states. Their addresses are listed in the action guide.

GLENNYYS ROMANES IS THE CONVENOR OF THE INFANT FORMULA ACTION COMMITTEE OF COMMUNITY AID ABROAD, IN VICTORIA.

# CARVING UP THE

# SEAS



# THE LAW OF THE SEA

A NEW INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT PRESENTLY BEING DRAFTED WILL GIVE NATIONS EXCLUSIVE RIGHT TO MINING AND FISHING THEIR COASTAL SEAS, UP TO 200 NAUTICAL MILES OFFSHORE. NO OTHER MEETING HAS EVER DIVIDED UP AND ALLOCATED SO MUCH OF THE EARTH'S SURFACE. KEITH SUTER HAS BEEN FOLLOWING THE NEGOTIATIONS AND DISCUSSES THE EFFECTS OF THE AGREEMENTS ON THE WORLD'S FISHING NATIONS.

There is a shortage of food presently in the sea and little justice about how the sea itself is divided up. In 1946, world production of fish was about 20 million tonnes. By the late 1960's the figure had risen to about 70 million tonnes. But in 1981 world production still remains at around 70-75 million tonnes.

Fish stocks are being over exploited; the amount of fish caught is constant only because of additional catches of lower valued species.

The price mechanism of conventional market theory contributes to the problem not the solution. Higher prices for fish might induce more fishing activity, but cannot bring about more fish.

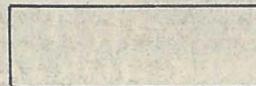
By using fine mesh nets, trawlers can catch young fish before they have had the chance to reproduce. Because fish cannot be paid to reproduce or grow faster over exploited fish stocks are, in a sense, a non-renewable resource.

There are three ways of dealing with the problem of over exploited fish stocks. The first is simply to allow the price of fish to rise, to have the seas over exploited and eventually for people unable to afford the price to go without fish. This leads to conflicts such as the 'cod wars' between Iceland and Britain, in which Iceland accused the British of fishing out Iceland's waters and wrecking the Icelandic economy.

A second option is for fish to be farmed rather than hunted. Fish farming would involve fencing off sections of coastline and growing fish in pens. Fish farms would however, require the investment of very large amounts of money. As well, not all nations have suitable coastlines.

The third option is to change the Law of the Sea so that it becomes a tool for the protection of the world's fish stocks. At present the Law of the Sea is

KEITH SUTER IS DEAN OF STUDENTS AT WESLEY COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY.



being revised. The third United Nations Law of the Sea Conference had its first main session in 1974. It was the largest diplomatic gathering in history. No other international meeting has ever divided up and allocated so much of the Earth's surface.

The new treaty is about 95% complete and some implications for fishing are now clear. Firstly, it has clarified the width of the territorial sea as 12 nautical miles. This strip of sea is, in effect, a liquefied portion of the land and in it all the laws of the land will apply.

Secondly, it has established a new sea category: the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). This stretches for 188 nautical miles beyond the territorial sea and in it the nation has total control over all resources, such as oil drilling, fishing and sea bed mining. At a stroke 70 to 80% of the high seas have come under some form of national control. Normal shipping may still continue but foreign fishing vessels are no longer free to catch fish without permission and payment.

Another implication is that the treaty provides for limitations on marine pollution, notably from ships. But little has been done to stop the main cause of pollution: the muck coming from the land (which is seen as a national problem and outside the scope of the Conference). Finally there are some important measures to prevent overfishing. But it remains to be seen just how these will be respected or, indeed, if any agreement can be reached on how many fish should be caught each year.

The new treaty will probably be finalized this year or in 1982. However the new United States of America government has expressed dissatisfaction with the treaty but has been vague about its specific objections. The Conference is becalmed as long as the USA government equivocates, but with so much of the treaty finalized after complex negotiations the USA will have difficulty in forcing major revisions.

The treaty benefits nations with wide seas around their coast and with the technological advantages to



FINAL TWO OF TEN TRAWLERS PURCHASED BY THE PEOPLES' PEARL AND FISHING CORPORATION OF RANGOON, BURMA FROM THE WESTERN AUSTRALIAN 'K' SHIPYARD CONSTRUCTION COMPANY



exploit what they have. The rich nations and transnational corporations will do well — Australia will do magnificently — but many other nations will derive little or no benefit. All Australian governments represented at negotiations since 1967 have followed the selfish policy of grabbing as much of the sea as possible.

THE LAW OF THE SEA COULD LEAD TO FURTHER TECHNOLOGICAL DEPENDENCE FOR THIRD WORLD FISHING INDUSTRIES. THIS REPORT WAS COMPILED FROM RESEARCH BY INGRID HILMAN.

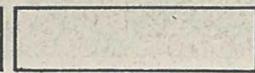
Supporters of the Convention on the Law of the Sea claim that it recognizes the widening gap between poor and rich countries and the problem of continued overfishing by the major sea powers — Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, the USSR and USA. This may prove to be a naive viewpoint. Since the declaration of the 200 mile zones, local fisherpeople in South East Asia have come to realize that the real aim of projects such as the South China Seas Fisheries Development Programme (funded by the United Nations Development Programme and the Canadian International Development Agency) is to use the most advanced technology to fish out their seas, for export, with little benefit to the people of South East Asia.

Because of numerous pressures, including the over-exploitation of their usual fishing grounds, major industrialised nations are keen to establish new fishing industries in the Third World. This is done through aid transfers of high technology fishing boats with the necessary infrastructure all paid for by the donor nation. This influx of equipment often results in the establishment of new patterns of technological and economic dependence and in 'cash-crop' industries such as frozen tuna and fishmeal production for export. Proponents of the new 200 mile zones claim such joint ventures allow poorer countries to share technology, capital and skills. But it is doubtful both that such technology is what is needed by many Third World fisherpeople and that an equitable share of and control over available resources is possible in such joint ventures.

Khor Kok Peng, research director of the Consumers' Association of Penang in Malaysia writes:

'The seas of South East Asia have traditionally provided a livelihood for some six million small scale fisherpeople. But big business has moved in on the traditional fishing grounds and is threatening the fish resources of the entire area. Over the past two decades total fish production from Asian waters have increased dramatically but the small fisherpeople have had no share in this bonanza. Their catches have declined and the basis of their livelihood is threatened. The cause of this change is the introduction in the 1960's of large scale trawling operations. Trawling nets destroy the nets of small

INGRID HILMAN WORKS WITH THE FOOD JUSTICE CENTRE IN MELBOURNE.



fisherpeople and sweep up all the marine life in their path.

'Overfishing has begun to show its effects. In the Gulf of Thailand current catches now average twice the estimated maximum sustainable yield for the gulf. The Straits of Malacca, the scene of violent clashes between small fisherpeople and trawlers, is now one of the world's nine endangered seas. In Malaysia, where the number of licensed trawlers has increased by 30 times since 1966, individual trawlers now produce catches only 5% of their 1966 size.'

Not only is the catch declining in quantity, but in quality as well. Trash fish, unsuitable for human consumption and sold for processing into animal feed or fertilizer make up 57% of the trawler production in Malaysia and 71% in Thailand. While boom conditions exist for the export of fishmeal and shellfish, the marine fish traditionally provided by the small fisherpeople for local consumption are becoming scarce.

The Convention on the Law of the Sea may, despite the egalitarian rhetoric, prove to be yet another international agreement which serves to legitimize the net flow of resources out of Third World countries. One thing is sure, the traditional fisherpeople of the Third World will have to look to methods other than supporting such agreements to protect their livelihood and access to fishing resources.

## SAFCOL

THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN FISHERMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE LIMITED (SAFCOL) HAS BEEN TRANSFORMED INTO A TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATION, OPERATING THROUGHOUT SOUTH EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC. ROD WENHAM DESCRIBES WHAT THIS MEANS FOR FISHERPEOPLE IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA AND FOR SAFCOL'S NEW LABOUR FORCE OVERSEAS.

The South Australian Fisherman's Co-operative Limited (SAFCOL) was created in 1945 so that members of the co-operative would be able to obtain good prices for fish, share decision making in the fishing industry and receive an equal share of the profits of the co-operative. These aims were abandoned long ago. SAFCOL is now an expanding and diversifying group of companies operating in the Philippines, Thailand, Hong Kong, Vanuatu, Victoria, New South Wales and Tasmania

ROD WENHAM IS STATE SECRETARY OF COMMUNITY AID ABROAD, SOUTH AUSTRALIA.



as well as in South Australia. (See diagram).

Over the years, SAFCOL has been subjected to corporate raiders such as Ron Brierly whose company Industrial Equity, through Southern Farmers Holdings, now controls a large part of the SAFCOL group. A British based company Cold-Storage Holdings is now putting further pressure on SAFCOL to consider a merger, and by arrangement, to turn the co-operative into a public company. The 800 fisherpeople in the co-operative now hold an equity of at least \$11 million in SAFCOL and its subsidiaries. If this merger survives predicted court action by the South Australian Corporate Affairs Commission the co-operative members stand to lose \$5 million in lost equity in the new company.

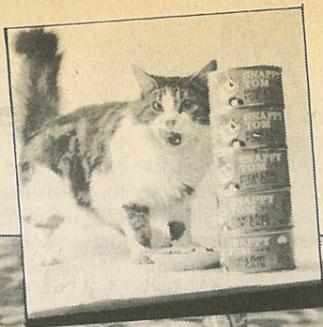
The directors of SAFCOL claim that the legal controls on a co-operative make it unwieldy and decision making cumbersome. Others argue that the co-operative structure should be retained and although member participation in decision making takes time it is worth the effort. This debate is no longer relevant. The co-operative and its workings have been overshadowed by the mammoth Safcol Holdings Pty Ltd. This holding company now owns and controls all of the SAFCOL group other than the basic co-operative in South Australia and one cannot help surmise that this holding company set up in 1976 is being used to bleed the co-operative of its powers. A close examination of SAFCOL operations overseas suggests a similar disregard for the small person.

SAFCOL operations in the Philippines and Thailand are being channelled through Safcol Hong Kong Pty Ltd where Richard Fowler Junior is manager. Mr Fowler is the son of Richard Fowler Senior who is managing Safcol Holdings Pty Ltd in South Australia. Richard Fowler Jr. owns 80% of the Philippine canning company Judric Canning Corporation. The remaining 20% is owned by Safcol Holdings Pty Ltd.

In the Philippines recent discontent among the workers illustrates the workings of SAFCOL in Asia. No staff are employed on a permanent or even permanent part-time basis; all work is casual. If there are no fish the workers receive no pay. Work is scheduled to begin at 6 am but because of the first come-first served basis of employment workers start queueing at about 1 am to try to get work.

In September 1979 the workers went on strike to demand regularization of work and some guarantee that the 500 most senior workers would be given work when there were fish. An agreement was reached with the management accepting workers' demands. However, the company did not honour the agreement and a further strike resulted. The workers took their case to the Supreme Court and won. A subsequent appeal from the management was not upheld. But to this date Judric have not honoured the Supreme Court orders.

Together with many other international fishing companies, SAFCOL has contributed to a situation where the government of Thailand warns that Thai waters are virtually fished out and that an estimated 8,000 of Thailand's 26,000 fisherpeople have been laid off. Just ten years ago the Gulf of Siam was the source of most of South East Asia's protein. The final indignity for Asian people who have had their

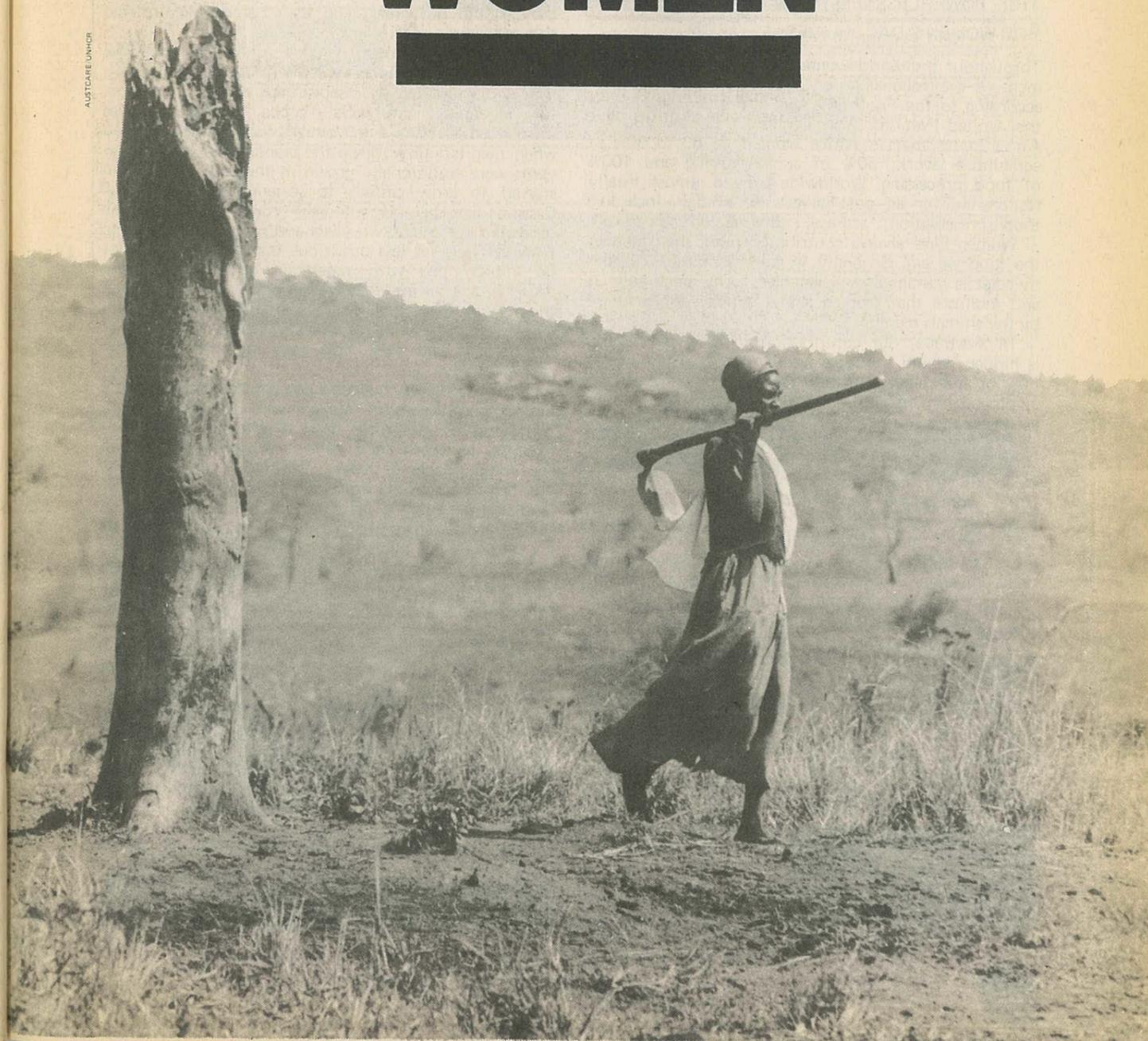


SAFCOL FISHING WORKERS. INSET: MOST OF THE FISH PROCESSED BY SAFCOL'S ASIAN WORKERS GOES INTO CANNED PET FOOD FOR EXPORT

source of livelihood and major source of protein taken away is that most of that food processed by SAFCOL's Asian workers goes into the manufacture of canned pet food for export to the rich countries.

Where does this leave the voice of the small fisherperson in South Australia? From its small beginnings as a genuine co-operative SAFCOL is now a corporate giant, spreading all over Asia. But South Australian fishing workers still have a say in SAFCOL's future. They must now decide whether to fight to preserve what remains of the co-operative structure or give in further to the dictates of big business.

# THE INVISIBLE WOMEN



# WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE

WOMEN DO THE MAJORITY OF WORK IN THE PRODUCTION AND PREPARATION OF FOOD WORLDWIDE, YET THEY HAVE NO POWER OVER THESE PROCESSES. THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS GO UNRECOGNISED. LINNELL SECOMB LOOKS AT THIS POWERLESSNESS, AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR WOMEN'S DAILY LIVES.

Throughout the world women work longer hours than men. We are responsible for 50% of all food production according to the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. The Economic Commission for Africa states that in Africa women do 60 to 80% of agricultural work, 50% of animal raising and 100% of food processing. Worldwide we are almost totally responsible for all post-harvest technology, including food preservation, storage, cooking and nutrition.

Women have always contributed more than men to the food we eat. Generally, in gatherer-hunter societies the diet is sustained by vegetables, roots, small animals and molluscs that women gather and is supplemented by the animals men hunt.

In Australia, our contribution to food production is hidden behind the male farmer image. In fact nearly 50% of Australian farms are partnerships. 17% of self-employed farmers and farmers who employ farm labour are women.

It is often argued that women remain unequal because they are less educated. This myth is quickly dispelled by looking at the situation of rural women in Australia. Rural women are better educated than rural men. Boys often leave school to work on their families' farms while their sisters, who are less pressured to return to the farm, go on to teaching, business school or to university. Rural women are frequently responsible for farm book-keeping and accounts. We contribute to the physical work, often working as long as men.

Yet despite our enormous contribution to Australian agriculture, women are not represented in agricultural organisation. There are no women on the Wheat Board, the Dairy Corporation, the Meat and Livestock Corporation or the executive of the National Farmers' Federation. There are no women Ministers of Agriculture or Directors of Agriculture.

The substantial contribution made by women to food production is undervalued and largely unrecognised.

LINNELL SECOMB IS A RESEARCHER AT INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACTION, WORKING ON THE WOMEN AND IMPERIALISM PROJECT.

Women receive only 5% of the world's income according to International Labor Organisation figures. We own 1% of all property. In the Third World, women are mainly involved in subsistence farming while men produce cash crops. Men's work is recognised in gross national product figures and other statistics.

Women's work is not.

As consumers, women are manipulated by food advertisers. In industrialised countries we are given double messages which require us to provide food (and by implication love and nurturing) for others but not to eat too much of it ourselves. We are told to cope with the problem of overeating by eating more supposedly 'low energy' foods. Food companies create demand for, and sell, synthetic diet products, and so reinforce the slim body image. In the Third World enormous pressure and deceitful tactics are used by infant formula companies to convince women they should not breast-feed their babies. Malnutrition and unnecessary deaths are the results.

In the Third World, colonialism has set up social and economic structures which still determine people's lives and which mostly disadvantage women. In Ghana, for example, commercial cocoa production was introduced in 1879 and women's work loads increased when men left to work on the plantations. Up till then yams were traditionally grown in the area but women started to grow cassava to lessen their work load. Cassava can be planted year round, need not be harvested for up to two years and needs little weeding. However it is far less nutritious than yam, and cannot be intercropped with vegetables because it rapidly depletes soil nutrients. As a result women have had their work load increased, and their energy, protein, and vitamin intake decreased. Women's land has deteriorated and they have been excluded from the cash economy.

In many cases women's access to land is being undermined by policy makers who put emphasis on ownership by the male head of the household. For example a recent land reform programme involving the Joluo people of Kenya, finalised in the mid 70's, has been responsible for women losing control over land use, despite the fact that women of the Joluo do the far greater share of agricultural labour. (See table 1).

Traditionally Joluo land was inherited through the male line. Women were allocated use of land, upon marriage, from either their husband and/or father-in-law and/or mother-in-law. An unmarried woman had the right to use her father's land. Most women had access to sufficient land to produce enough for her own and her family's needs. The customary emphasis on user rights meant that once land was allocated to women, men did not have the power to take it away.

The effect of the land reform programme has been to transfer the final right to dispose of land from a communal basis to an individual basis. Land is now registered almost exclusively in the names of individual males. (See table 2). Under this new system men buy and sell land and there are now no provisions concerning women's access rights to land. Access to and control over the land underpins power relations in rural communities. Wherever women lose access rights to land they effectively lose power.

|                              | Husband alone | Husband and wife jointly | Wife alone | Wife and hired labor | Wife and children | Children Alone   | No response |
|------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|------------|----------------------|-------------------|--|-------------|
| Clearing bush                | 37            | 10                       | 28*        | 15                   | 4                 | 4  | 2           |
| Ploughing                    | 32            | 4.5                      | 3          | 52                   | 2                 | 4.5  | 2           |
| Hand digging                 | 2             | 26                       | 63*        | 5                    | 3                 | 2  |             |
| Planting                     | 24            | 60*                      | 10         | 6                    |                   |  |             |
| Weeding                      | 18            | 55*                      | 18         | 7                    | 1                 |  |             |
| Scaring birds                | 16            | 4                        | 10         | 27                   | 1                 | 39 percent of respondents said that the question is not applicable because they no longer have to scare birds. |             |
| Harvesting                   | 6             | 11                       | 62*        | 9                    | 7                 | 1  | 4           |
| Building granaries           | 55            | 4                        | 7          | 21                   | 4                 | 3  | 6           |
| Transport from farm to house | 4             | 16                       | 50*        | 20                   | 9                 | 1  |             |
| Storage                      | 83            |                          |            |                      |                   | 15   | 2           |

TABLE 1: WHO DOES THE WORK: FARM TASK ALLOCATION AMONG JOLUO

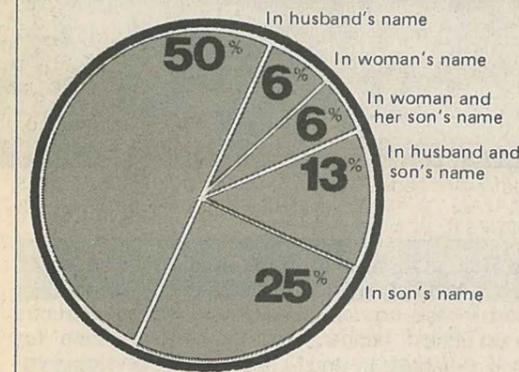
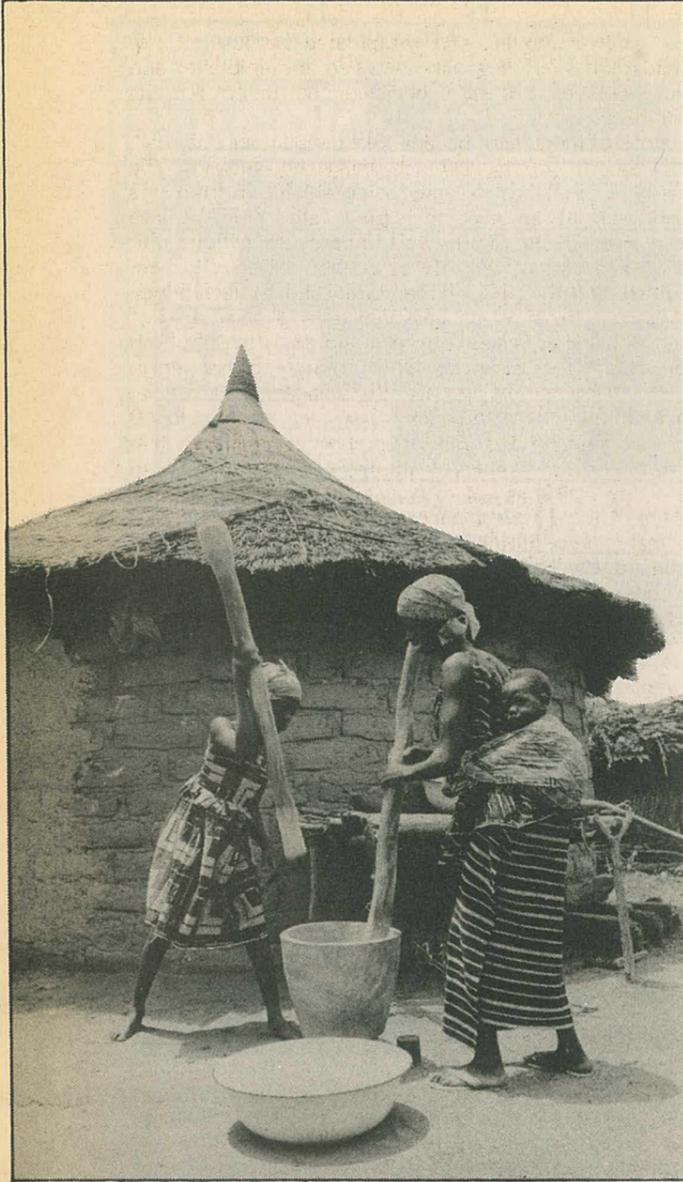


TABLE 2: LAND REGISTRATION AMONG JOLUO WOMEN WORKERS

Mechanization also favours men. Aid agencies supply men with tractors so they can plough more land. Women don't get mechanized weeding equipment but they do end up with larger tracts of land to weed. Men are consulted about well construction and siting. Women carry the water.

Projects designed to stimulate economic growth often make women's lives harder. The Mwea irrigation scheme in Kenya is typical. When families moved from their traditional villages to Mwea, women found they had less land for raising traditional subsistence foods and that they were principal workers in the rice fields. As members of the scheme, their husbands received cash earnings, and women were forced to ask their husbands for money to buy supplementary foods. They had no access to free firewood, which they had been able to gather from around their villages before the move to Mwea, and so they needed money for fuel to cook and wash. Women's work increased and they had less control over what was produced.

Since International Women's Year, aid agencies have spoken of the need to 'integrate women into development'. This talk is often ill conceived. It assumes that



CHILDREN VIRTUALLY LIVE ON THEIR MOTHERS' BACKS FOR THE FIRST TWO OR THREE YEARS OF LIFE WHETHER SHE'S WASHING CLOTHES OR WEILDING A HOE

women are not already fully involved in economic activity, for instance food production and preparation. But it is women's subsistence agriculture and housework that enables the 'developed' sectors of a country's economy to function. Women's labour enables male wage-labourers to be paid below livable incomes and yet survive because women can feed them from their gardens, cook for them, clean for them and raise the next generation of workers for free.

'Integrating women into development' is not aimed at addressing women's needs but is only seen as important in that it allows women to be more fully



MECHANISATION FAVOURS MEN. WOMEN DO NOT GET MECHANISED WEEDING EQUIPMENT BUT DO END UP WITH LARGER TRACTS OF LAND TO WEED



THESE POWER TILLERS WERE OBTAINED FROM BERRS FROM JAPAN TO ASSIST IN THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF RICE CROPS IN BANGLADESH

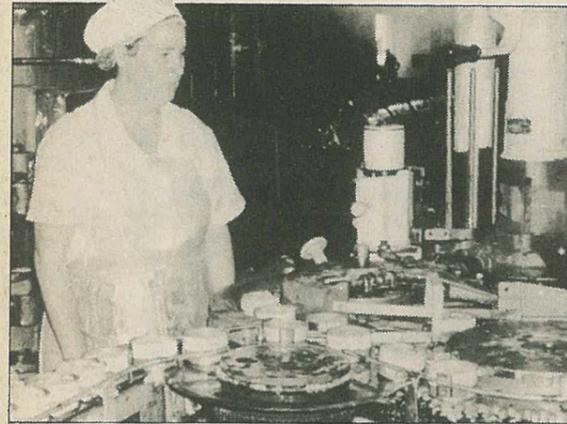
exploited in the economic system as willing labourers in the so called 'modern sectors'. The problem for women is not that we aren't involved in development, but that we are powerless participants.

Throughout the world women contribute enormously to food production and preparation and yet we are powerless. Women will not gain control of any aspect of our lives until we organise to take the power men refuse to give us.

## WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

'EQUAL OPPORTUNITY' HAS NOT MEANT EQUALITY FOR WOMEN WORKING IN THE FOOD INDUSTRY. GAIL COTTON REPORTS.

The food industry in Australia is covered by twelve trade unions. There is a very high degree of trade union organization within the industry and it is now only the small factory that employs non-union labour. There are 185,200 people employed in the food, beverages and tobacco industries. Of these 70% are female. But it is males that become apprenticed as chefs, employed as cooks and enjoy the more interesting and technical jobs in the manufacturing side of the food industry.



PROCESS WORKER FILLING TUNA CANS AT A SAFCOL FACTORY

Females are generally employed on the processing lines. They are used on the repetitive and uninteresting jobs of packing, inspection and assembly. Women in the food industry are the 'unskilled'. As a result they are the lowest paid. The principle of equal pay for work of equal value has not given women the opportunity to progress from jobs at the very bottom rung of the industrial ladder.

Amongst the female work force, there is a high proportion of migrant workers, often speaking little or no English. More work needs to be done by unions to communicate effectively with these workers, especially in the areas of occupational health and safety and in ensuring that migrant workers understand their rights as employees. The migrant worker remains

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the most exploited and intimidated because of the language barrier, not only between the employer and the employee but also between the union and its members.

Before there can be any real 'equal opportunity', attitudes of employers must change enormously. The reality is that women are being squeezed from the workforce at an ever increasing rate. Women have been shamed out of the workforce by allegations that they are taking the jobs of school leavers or men. Women are the first to be retrenched as technology takes over the dull and unskilled tasks. Women are not seen as being as versatile as men and are often not even considered for vacancies which require heavy work.

One large employer recently rang a union official to enquire if he could sack 22 women and employ 9 men because he was 'nine men short'. He said he had a surplus of 22 women on the production line, but the company was short of men in a section of the factory where the cooking was done, and which was traditionally a 'male' area of the factory. The union official was adamant that the women would have to be retrained to occupy the vacancies. These women were lucky because the union was notified but there is no telling how many women are sacked because employers are too sexist and ignorant to understand that women, rather than be sacked, must be retrained.

When women are retrenched or dismissed often the only work that can be found is part time or casual. This type of work can be exploitative in nature and the worker has no choice of hours or days on which to work. Split shifts (i.e. where a worker may work three hours in the morning, not be required for the next two hours, and then work for three hours in the afternoon) and lack of pro rata entitlements are the worst aspects of this type of employment. Part time and casual work is rife in the hotel, restaurant and catering industries and in shop assistants work. Once again women predominate in these industries.

If women are to improve their position in the workforce, if opportunities are to be created and if women are to be assured of the right to work, social attitudes will have to be changed. To this end the Australian Council of Trade Unions is conducting a major campaign during 1981 to increase the involvement of women in the trade union movement. A Working Women's Charter acts as policy for the ACTU in relation to women's issues, and arising out of the charter, a Women's Committee of the ACTU has been in operation for three years. In June 1981 a conference held by the ACTU in Melbourne attended by working women from all over Australia discussed the problems confronting women in the workforce. The 1981 ACTU Congress (7-11 September) will discuss and review the Charter and establish a programme of action for the next two years. This programme will assist in the organisation of working women into their trade unions, assist in eradicating the exploitation of women in the workforce and be a constructive step along the road to achieving what so far has escaped the vast majority of women - 'equal opportunity'.

# THE BREAD LINE

## 'WHITEMAN'S RUBBISH FOOD'

THE DESTRUCTION BY WHITE INVADERS OF ABORIGINAL CULTURE HAS LED TO DISASTROUS CHANGES IN THEIR LIFESTYLES. KERIN O'DEA DESCRIBES THE IMPACT OF THESE CHANGES ON ABORIGINAL DIET.

Over the past 200 years Aborigines in Australia have been subjected to drastic changes in lifestyle which have seriously compromised both their health and general wellbeing.

As nomadic gather-hunters, they were physically active and fit. Their diet was derived from a rich variety of animal and vegetable foods. Its precise composition depended on numerous factors including geographical location (coastal, inland, desert), season and tribal customs. It was, however, generally rich in essential vitamins and minerals, high in protein and unrefined carbohydrate and relatively low in fat, since wild animals always have less carcass fat than domesticated animals. Traditional cooking methods ensured maximum preservation of the nutritional content of foods. Large animals and certain vegetables were baked whole in pits while small animals and other vegetable foods were cooked directly on the coals.

The present day diet and lifestyle of most Aborigines is virtually the exact opposite. With the destruction of their traditional lifestyle has come poverty and high unemployment. The associated boredom and loss of self-esteem means that many Aborigines are generally physically inactive and their alcohol consumption is high. Their diet is high in refined carbohydrate and fat but depleted of protein, essential vitamins, minerals and fibre. A standard meal for many Aborigines even today is damper made from unenriched white flour washed down with extremely sweet tea. Economic historical and cultural factors have led to this type of diet being adopted:

- 1) Poverty has many direct effects:
  - (a) Flour and sugar are relatively cheap and filling.
  - (b) Nutritious western foods (lean meats, fresh fruit and vegetables) are often not readily available in local stores, and if they are then they are prohibitively expensive for a person on a pension with numerous dependents.
  - (c) Lack of food storage facilities such as refrigerators is a particularly serious problem in tropical areas

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LEFT: LOW INCOME EARNERS ARE FORCED TO BUY 'FILL-UP' FOODS: BREAD, SPAGHETTI SUPPLEMENTED BY BAKED BEANS, CEREAL AND WHITE FLOUR

- of Australia where most of the Aboriginal population now live.
  - 2) When Aborigines worked on cattle stations they were usually not paid in cash but were given subsistence rations of flour, sugar, tea, salt and meat. For this reason these items have assumed the status of currency and as a consequence continue to be highly valued.
  - 3) Lack of knowledge of western foods and their relation to health or chronic disease is a serious problem which is only now beginning to be overcome. (The Kimberley Aborigines commonly refer to 'white man's rubbish food'.) Traditional Aboriginal foods were unrefined and highly nutritious and, as a result, *nutritional* deficiencies did not arise in the absence of outright *food* deficiency (i.e. famine). Many foods had ritual rather than nutritional significance. Any treatment of foods prior to their consumption, apart from cooking, was related to removal of potential toxins or poisons (e.g. the complex preparation of certain yams and cycad nuts). It was not within their frame of reference to think that food processing may render food potentially dangerous to health; that refinement of food may involve removal, not of poisons, but of components essential to long-term health such as vitamins.
- Many chronic diseases including obesity, diabetes, heart disease and high blood pressure are much more common among Aborigines in Australia than among Europeans. This can be attributed directly to their diet



A STANDARD MEAL FOR MANY ABORIGINES, EVEN TODAY, IS DAMPER MADE FROM UNENRICHED WHITE FLOUR WASHED DOWN WITH EXTREMELY SWEET TEA

and lifestyle. Aborigines also suffer disproportionately from other diseases related to poverty and close living. Chronic infections of the ear, nose, throat and chest, trachoma leading to blindness and vitamin and trace metal deficiencies are also much more prevalent among Aborigines than among Europeans in Australia.

There are no simple solutions to these serious health problems. However, an obvious first step is to return to the Aborigines the power over their own destiny, rather than continuing to paternalistically impose inappropriate programs on them without consultation. A crucial

component of regaining control over their own lives, and with it their self-esteem and all the benefits which will accrue from that, is Land Rights. In addition to the over-riding spiritual importance of the land to Aborigines are the more practical considerations related to diet and lifestyle. Access to land could help reverse some of the destructive changes in Aboriginal lifestyle which have had such devastating consequences on their health.

## POVERTY AND DIET

AS IN EVERY OTHER COUNTRY, LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE IN AUSTRALIA DO NOT HAVE ACCESS TO SUFFICIENT MONEY TO PROVIDE THEMSELVES WITH A NUTRITIOUS AND ENJOYABLE DIET. HELEN COX AND MARK COLE EXAMINE THE OPTIONS OPEN TO PEOPLE BELOW THE POVERTY LINE IN THEIR EFFORTS TO OBTAIN FOOD.

Two million Australians live below the poverty line. According to Professor Ronald Henderson, 'most of the poor are those unable to earn an income. These are the old, the sick, the disabled, single parents with young children, the unemployed, especially those unemployed for three months or more. Families with a single earner on a low wage and several children are also in poverty. (See Table 1).

There are three major constraints placed on the efforts of Australians living below the poverty line to gain dignified access to a healthy and attractive diet. These are financial, the methods that relief agencies use to distribute food aid and the aims and methods of the food manufacturing and advertising industries.

Financial constraints have greatly increased over the past five years. The Consumer Price Index quarterly cost of living figures for the period 1975-80 show a 60% increase in the cost of buying food. Pensions and benefits have not kept pace with rising prices, to the severe detriment of low income families. At the beginning of 1980, the difference between the national average wage and the basic pension (married rate) was \$147.

Because of this, people on low wages, pensions and benefits are now seeking material assistance from non-government relief organizations more frequently. The role these agencies are forced to play has changed from that of occasional crisis support to a form of ongoing

HELEN COX STUDIES AT THE UNITED FACULTY OF THEOLOGY, MELBOURNE.

supplementary assistance, as the gap between income and the cost of basic necessities continues to widen.

Statistics from the Smith Family relief agency in Sydney show that it is mostly people who find it impossible to live on meagre pensions and benefits who are forced to seek assistance from non-government organizations: In March 1981, 28.4% of clients received unemployment benefits, 27.9% received supporting parents benefits, 20.4% received invalid or sickness benefits and 7.2% received aged pensions.

The Victorian Council of Social Service (VCOSS) has monitored the increased demand for emergency relief in Victoria over the past 5 years. Their figures indicate that demand has risen 50% to 150% depending on the agency involved. Non government relief agencies do not have the resources to cope with this increased demand for assistance and are being forced to reduce the amount of aid distributed per person, to cut out some service functions, or to continue to assist as normal but when weekly or monthly funds ran out to cease distributing aid.

Food vouchers are one of the most common forms of emergency relief available. A food voucher is a cash slip which can be exchanged at specific supermarkets for food supplies. Helen Gow, Project Officer at VCOSS is concerned that food vouchers are a totally unacceptable solution to poverty in Australia. 'People front up to relief agencies because of an inadequate income which is basically related to either inadequate social security pensions and benefits and/or huge living costs such as



FIVE AND TEN DOLLAR FOOD VOUCHERS CALLED 'GIFT' VOUCHERS TO REDUCE THE STIGMA ASSOCIATED WITH THEIR USE

high rents and bonds, gas and electricity connection fees and payments. The only response relief agencies have got at the moment is to give inadequate assistance such as a food voucher of say \$10 to \$15 for a family of four or five which is meant to last a week. The solution is no solution at all and has nothing to do with changing the life chances of a person.'

The response of many agencies to the increased demand for food vouchers has been to decrease the money

value of each voucher. A person seeking assistance for a family of four at the Salvation Army Spring Street centre in Melbourne six months ago would have received a voucher worth \$25, for one weeks supplies. In August 1981 that family would receive a voucher worth \$10. 'In our dilemma,' says Captain Colin Berris, 'we decided it was better to give people a pittance and remain open for the whole year rather than give them aid at the previous rate for five months of the year, run out of our 81/82 funds, and have nothing to give for the remaining seven.'

Although food vouchers help by providing needed foodstuffs, users of vouchers are highly critical of them. That agencies have to use vouchers demonstrates a lack of trust on their part of the people they are assisting. Because food vouchers are only valid for particular supermarkets choice is limited and people often don't get the best value for the money on the voucher. For example, use of vouchers at local shops or food co-operatives is impossible. Using a food voucher can be a degrading experience, which only reinforces the feelings of inadequacy which are imposed upon the poor and from which they are always struggling to free themselves. The Smith Family relief agency in Sydney stopped distributing vouchers after a public meeting of its clients, when there was a unanimous feeling that vouchers were an unnecessarily degrading way to distribute aid. Now cash payments are made.

Carmen Zarb tells of her experiences obtaining and using food vouchers, 'It's almost impossible to feed a husband and four children on an invalid pension and we

| Poverty line for families with head not in work force | Single person | Unemployed adult | Unemployed junior | Couple with two children | Couple with four children | Single parent with two children |
|---|---------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 186.20  | 64.10         | 67.70            | 53.45             | 141.10                   | 146.80                    | 114.00                          |
|   |               |                  | 36.00             | 126.80                   |                           | 84.10                           |
|   |               |                  |                   |                          |                           |                                 |

POVERTY: CURRENT FACTS AND FIGURES

often are forced to approach agencies for a food voucher when we have run out of money. I've cried so often when I've had to go and ask for a food voucher. They [the agency] practically ask you your life story. You have no privacy. If a cheque doesn't arrive and no organization will help you that means you have a debt to pay off and you end up having to book up at the local milk bar. It's hard because that means you have a debt

to pay off . . . We are given three vouchers, one for vegetables, one for meat and one for groceries. Many of the vouchers list what you can buy. If the kids don't like it it's just too bad. And there is no soap or toilet paper on the list. I suppose they think that's a luxury for us . . . I feel embarrassed with the voucher when everyone else is handling cash. And you always feel you've got to ask the supervisor before you go to the checkout, otherwise you get told off.'

The popular conception of the poor being inadequate and unskilled money handlers is just an insulting myth. In order to survive on such little money, those below the poverty line need to do intricate financial juggling, involving comparatively long term planning and requiring an ability to understand future consequences of today's spending. Their poverty is not caused by incompetence or inability but by their position in the Australian social structure which gives them inadequate access to and command over those resources which are essential for their well being. Other explanations of poverty are only used to hide the fact that poverty springs from powerlessness.

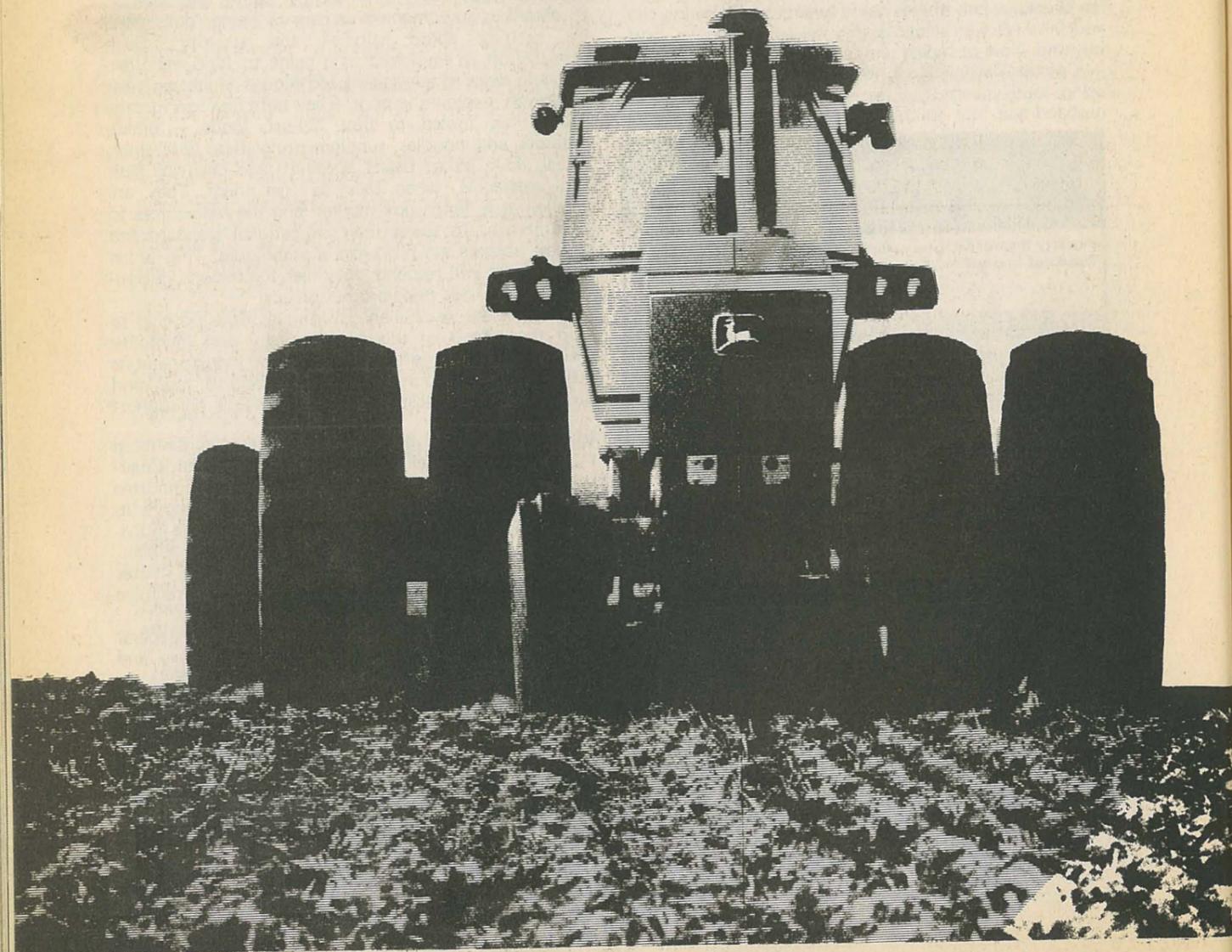
The attitude of the food manufacturing industry is revealed in a recent report published in Melbourne by the prestigious advertising agency Ogilvy and Mather. It describes low income earners as being 'dominated by worries about survival and security'. Such information is employed as a guide to food manufacturers in devising advertising techniques which can most effectively exploit the poor. They note that low income earners are forced to buy 'fill-up' foods - bread, potatoes and noodles, supplementing these with soup, cereal, milk, baked beans, spaghetti and over-ripe fruit and vegetables, when they can get them. They are labelled as a 'lunch box market' and the report goes to great lengths to assess their educational standard and suggest appropriate propaganda techniques. This 'lunch box' market will respond, they feel, to coupons, guarantees, and crowded price-promotion ads.

The present Australian government does nothing to stop the effects of this profit at any cost mentality which is so clearly reflected in the food industry and its attitude to the poor. There is no national food and nutrition policy. Most importantly there is no support

from the present government for a guaranteed minimum income scheme for all Australians. Meri Mitchell, Chairperson of the Victorian Emergency Relief Committee puts the case clearly. 'We shouldn't be forcing people to beg. Food vouchers take away the dignity of the individual and lower still further the individual's self esteem. People must be assured of their rights of food, shelter and clothing. This can only be guaranteed by some form of minimum income scheme.'

Such a scheme would cost less than the Federal Government is raising from the current oil levy and would be a first step towards redistributing power in Australian society so that there is more equitable distribution of and control over the resources needed to fulfil basic human needs.

# THE BUSINESS OF AGRICULTURE



## AGRIBUSINESS IN AUSTRALIA

CONCENTRATION OF OWNERSHIP, AND INCREASING LINKAGES BETWEEN FARMS, FACTORIES AND FOOD RETAILERS ARE TRANSFORMING AUSTRALIAN AGRICULTURE INTO AGRIBUSINESS. TONY BELCHER REPORTS ON RECENT RESEARCH BY GEOFF LAWRENCE AND PAUL NANKIVELL ON THIS TRANSFORMATION AND ITS POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS.

'The only way to solve the so-called 'farm problem' once and for all, and avoid cumbersome government programs is to progress . . . from agriculture to agribusiness.' This is the way John H Davis began a famous and influential article in the 1956 *Harvard Business Review*. He acknowledged many problems which continue to face agriculture — farmers caught in a cost-price squeeze where the cost of growing a crop exceeded the price being paid for it, consumers forced to pay high prices for their food, lack of co-ordination between production and consumption of agricultural products. Davis dreamt of a structured, mechanised, nationwide food production and distribution system created and run by private enterprise to 'provide food for the further improvement of our own living standards and the implementation of our aims abroad.'

Unfortunately this is another American dream that has turned out to more closely resemble a nightmare. Pressures on farmers have increased — more are leaving the land now than ever before — food prices have soared, food quality has decreased and farming has increasingly come to rely on energy inefficient machinery and environmentally destructive techniques.

What is agribusiness? Simply a way of organising food production in which the components of the process of getting food from farm to consumer are run purely on business principles, and are linked together without competitive forces. The basic units of agriculture have been large numbers of small, competing entrepreneurs — family-owned farms selling their produce to a chain of separate companies that store, process and distribute the food, and buying from other companies their inputs: seed, chemicals and machinery.

Companies that attempt to set up an agribusiness system take over one or more of each component of this chain. The ultimate result is a corporation such as Tenneco in the United States, which farms its own land, using its own machines, fuel and labour. Crops are sprayed with Tenneco insecticides and pesticides. The food produced is processed in its own plants, using Tenneco chemical colours, flavours and preservatives. The food is then packed into containers made by

Tenneco and taken to Tenneco warehouses by Tenneco trucks, and finally to supermarkets and stores.

In a developed agribusiness system, a few companies own the vast majority of productive resources. This situation is called *oligarchy*, and companies can try to achieve oligarchy (to 'integrate') in two directions: vertically and horizontally. Look at figure 1. Horizontal integration, where two or three fertilizer companies, say, might rise out of twenty or more has been going on for decades. Only recently have large companies begun to integrate vertically, especially down to include the farm.

Corporations catch farmers in their vertical integration schemes in two ways. A food processing company may contract with a farmer for the production of a certain type of agricultural commodity at a certain time for a predetermined price. The contracting company can insist that its own inputs be used, and it may or may not be involved in all of the storage-processing-distribution operations. In the second case the farmers are eliminated altogether. The company owns the land and employs management and labour, supplies the inputs and co-ordinates production with its own storage-processing-distribution operations.

Private enterprise is so keen to become involved in agribusiness because it is in their interests to do so. Corporations vertically integrate to eliminate middle-people, reduce risks by controlling all aspects of production, mechanize wherever possible to save labour costs and minimise disruption from industrial action, and receive higher profits from lack of competition. Ken Bardolph's article, following this, on supermarkets shows how the oligarchy that exists in that field means that supermarket produce can be over 20% dearer than wholesale price.

As well, the large-scale mechanised farming system adopted by agribusiness is seen by government and academia as the most efficient. Research becomes directed to supplying the needs of this system; for example, genetic breeding research works to develop crops able to withstand mechanical harvesting. Government agricultural support services encourage and advertise agribusiness techniques. Subsidies become directed only to the larger farms. So, corporations win in agribusiness.

The losers are the farmer and the consumer.

Over 100,000 farms are abandoned each year in the United States of America, and of the remaining 3 million, half provide their owners with incomes below the poverty line. Those who remain on the land in order to compete, must 'get big or get out.' 'Getting big' means raising the productivity of the farm by increasing the amount of land under cultivation, and using high inputs of chemicals to make that land produce as much as possible.

So the farmer is caught in the vicious circle of using expensive inputs to raise production, and counting on raised production to pay for the inputs. Unfortunately, whilst the price of inputs always rises, the price paid for agricultural produce fluctuates, and often falls. Agribusiness controlled farms have the backing to survive such changes, that if family farming is the most efficient it will survive; if not, then the nation will gain from the emergence of corporate farming'

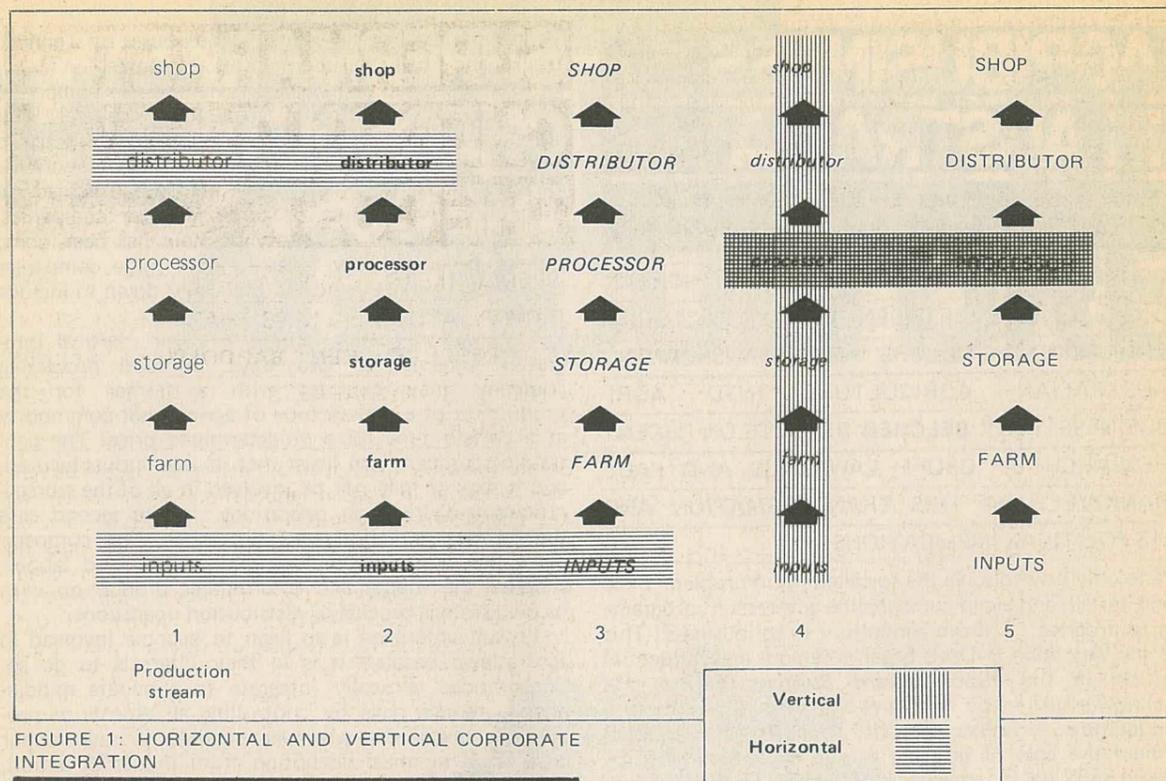


FIGURE 1: HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL CORPORATE INTEGRATION

Individual farmers do not.

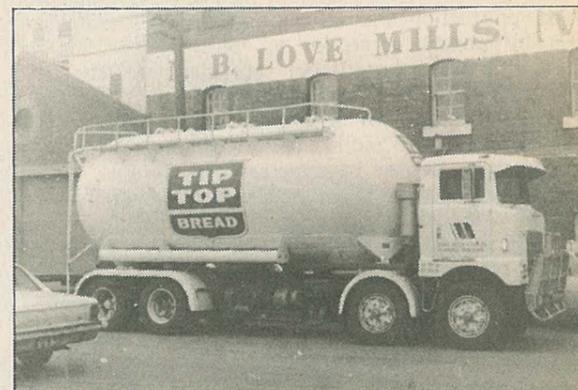
The consumer suffers most at the hands of agribusiness. Food corporations are concerned with maximising food sales, and increasing returns to shareholders. In an oligarchy, the best strategy to achieve this is to induce consumers to purchase products tailored to industry needs — ease of production, storage and marketing — rather than cater to the consumers' requirements for taste, value and nutrition.

The more a food is processed, the more profitable it is to sell. Compare the cost and contents of a packet of potato chips with a potato. As well food research is directed to making food easier to process. Tomatoes are bred with hard skins so they can be mechanically harvested, chickens are fed chemical colours to improve their skin colour when packaged, fruit is picked unripe, then chemically ripened for market.

Agribusiness is an USA concept that is being exported worldwide. Many of its principles are applied by companies operating in the Third World, and many a government views with pride its country's fledgling agribusiness network. Australia is such a country.

A Green Paper prepared for the Federal Labor Government in 1974, considered to be one of the most significant documents on agricultural policy in Australia, contains the following statements:

- 'Australian agriculture is becoming increasingly more capital intensive and therefore more energy intensive. We think this trend should continue.'
- 'the family farm will only survive . . . if it is flexible



60% OF BREAD MANUFACTURED IN AUSTRALIA IS CONTROLLED BY 3 CORPORATIONS

and if it is able to take advantage of improved and more capital intensive technology'

- 'one of the problems of rural policies is that actions taken to improve the welfare of particular groups may conflict with the needs of economic efficiency'
- 'from the point of view of income distribution it is normally better to allow the market to work and to compensate for any adverse consequences'
- 'whichever is the most efficient — the family farm or the company farm — will be the one that eventuates'

It is clear from statistics such as those assembled by Paul Nankivell (*Journal of Australian Political Economy*, July 1979) that in many sectors of Australian agriculture it is agribusiness that is surviving, and expanding. Statistics quoted included the following:

- 3 transnational companies control 98% of Australia's biscuit industry
- 3 transnationals control 95% of our cereal market
- 60% of bread manufactured in Australia is controlled by 3 corporations
- transnational companies control 40% of Australia's flour mills and 50% of our gristing capacity
- 3 companies control 90% of Australia's chicken meat
- transnational corporations have unofficially exported substantial sums of money to parent companies overseas
- 12 companies control 65% of Australia's red meat throughput.

The size of Australia's agricultural workforce has declined from 25% in 1940 to 6.5% in 1974. Since 1970 the number of Australian farmers has been decreasing at the rate of 2% per year. As well smaller farms are becoming less profitable. In 1971, only the largest 8% of Australia's 178,000 farms had a cash return in excess of \$25,000; 45% made less than the basic wage (\$5,000) and a third of that 45% made no profit at all. 30% of Australian farmers seek off-farm work to supplement their incomes. Such farms are ripe for takeover by agribusiness. As in the USA, research and government services and subsidies such as those provided by state departments of agriculture are beginning to aid the requirements of agribusiness.

The future shape of Australian agriculture is being determined by struggles between a number of conflicting groups in society. Agribusiness will continue to expand in fields such as vegetable, chicken, egg and cotton production, but may find that in other areas like sheep and wheat growing, the opposition from independent farmers is too great. Consumers' associations and food co-operatives represent ways in which consumers are organising to oppose agribusiness.

Independent farmers have powerful lobby groups, and have been more than adequately represented in Parliament, through the National-Country Party. Now, as rural populations decline, the NCP is looking to represent other sections of society, such as the mining industry, in order to maintain a power base. So the lobby groups, such as the National Farmers Federation are becoming increasingly more outspoken on issues such as tariffs, publicly disagreeing with the NCP and the Federal Government.

Within the Liberal Party, there is opposition to the amount of power given to the NCP in the coalition. Reduction of this power would mean an increasingly free-enterprise approach to agriculture, and many of the 'socialist' components of agricultural organisation, such as the marketing boards, would be dismantled. These have been the mainstay of independent farmers' profiting; their removal would hasten the collapse of the family farm, and the rise of agribusiness.

Geoff Lawrence's article *Agribusiness: The American Example and its Implications for Australia* appeared in the *Journal of Australian Political Economy*, April 1980.

## SUPERMARKETS: CHECKOUT THE COST

SUPERMARKETS HAVE A REPUTATION FOR VARIETY AND CHEAPNESS THAT THEY JUST DO NOT DESERVE. **KEN BARDOLPH** EXAMINES WHAT SUPERMARKETS REALLY COST CONSUMERS.

Before the advent of supermarkets, most people bought their groceries in small neighbourhood shops. Shopping was characterised by friendly personal service and an absence of sophisticated marketing technique, ensuring that people bought only the goods that they needed. In 1916 this changed when Clarence Thornders in Memphis, Tennessee, developed the concept of self-service. People entered his shop through a turnstile and had to pass through a kind of maze displaying his wares, before emerging at the only exit by the cash register. The idea was that the packaging and goods would sell themselves. This concept of self-service has developed



CHECKOUT THE PRICE: 15% DEARER IN SUPERMARKETS THAN IN SMALL STORES

greatly since then, and even more so in the last 20 years, and has had a very profound and adverse impact on our society in both a social and environmental as well as in the economic sense.

There has been a growing trend towards monopoli-

**KEN BARDOLPH IS THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE CONSUMERS' ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.**

sation of major supermarket chains which has resulted in the destruction of thousands of small businesses. For example, in South Australia, 6,341 small businesses were de-registered in 1979 alone. This is further illustrated by the fact that in our present low-growth economy, Woolworths announced that their national half-yearly sales in 1980, were up 14.6% to 1,060 million dollars. G J Coles for a twelve month period to July 1980 showed a 20% lift to 2,662 million dollars. A report by the Prices Justification Tribunal in 1979 stated that the 'four largest businesses in the food industry account for more than 50% of the Australian domestic market.' Within some states the concentration is even higher as the following figures show: New South Wales 74.4%, Victoria 60.5%, South Australia 96.4%.

Nationally in 1978, Woolworths had 20% of the estimated share of the grocery market with Coles having 17.3%, and the indications are that these percentages are increasing. Besides the social and economic costs involved in the destruction of thousands of small businesses, this growing monopolisation is disadvantageous to the consumer, and is reflected in a diminished variety of goods, down to 'good selling' lines, reduced quality and higher prices.

The PJT report goes on to remind us that 'concentration of this order is significant in that it may result in discretionary price setting not possible in more fragmented markets.' The large chain stores have the ability to woo consumers to newly opened branches with rock bottom prices, in order to eliminate local competition before their prices begin to rise. In the event of another large competitor being close by, some mutual 'understanding' is arrived at with regard to price cutting. Further, their desire to have extended shopping hours would put more strain on the ability of the local shops to survive, since most business is done outside normal trading hours.

Clearly a concentration in the market means that three or four operators can control prices. With control of prime selling locations and lack of competition it is inevitable that there will be an upward movement in prices. In New South Wales a survey conducted over 18 months showed that prices of meat, fruit and vegetables were 15% dearer in supermarkets, than in small shops. Similarly, in a survey undertaken by the Consumers' Association of South Australia in March 1980, the prices of those commodities were 9% dearer at small stores than at the Central Market, and a staggering 23% dearer at supermarkets.

In addition to these high prices in the guise of cheap one-stop shopping, and the trend to monopolisation, is the proposed introduction of the Australian Product Number System (APN) — a computerised check-out system — claimed by the supermarkets to speed up check-out, analyse sales and reduce costs. However, the disadvantages to the consumer are considerable. They include:

1. Individual pricing will disappear, making it harder for people to compare prices of comparable goods within and between stores.
2. Faster check-out times may mean a reduction in check-out lanes, thereby reducing employment.
3. The possibility of windfall profits being made by the

- stores, as stocks will carry similar prices although they have been ordered at different times and at varying costs.
4. Shelf prices may not tally with prices being charged by the computer at check-outs.
  5. Labelling information on products may decline.
  6. Specials and discounting under the one consumer-price system may be difficult for consumers to follow, and check on.
  7. Sales docket information, while admirable, is an advantage only *after* goods have been bought, and not available at the important time of choosing items.

The billion dollar industry of supermarkets with its image of cheapness, convenience and range of products reinforced by sophisticated advertising techniques, deserves much more public scrutiny. It is through groups such as Consumers' Associations, that the public can be better informed, and the rights of the consumer can be defended.

## LOSING GROUND

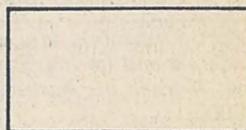
PRODUCTIVITY OF AUSTRALIAN FARMS IS THREATENED BY DEGRADATION OF THE SOIL. EROSION AND SALINITY ARE THE TWO MAIN ENEMIES, BUT IT IS POOR LAND USE PRACTICES THAT ALLOW THEM TO BE SO DESTRUCTIVE.

### DAVID ALLWORTH REPORTS.

The topsoil of the Australian continent may no longer be blowing to New Zealand but ground is still being lost. The CSIRO Journal *ECOS* (August 1980) said of the problem 'Man is eroding the land far faster than it is forming . . . In effect, the soil is being mined.' Destruction of Australian soil is part of an international trend; in the next 20 years one third of the world's arable land will be unusable.

In some parts of Australia the soil has been completely depleted, in others it is being lost at an alarming rate. It is estimated that 51% (2.7 million square kilometres) of Australia's agricultural and pastoral estate is in need of some kind of treatment for land degradation. Approximately half this area needs treatment involving physical work rather than just management reform. The cost of a programme to save Australia's soil was estimated in 1975 to be \$675 million, while today it would probably cost over one billion dollars. Additional to this \$75 million to \$100 million required

DAVID ALLWORTH IS THE CONVENOR OF THE FORESTRY AND LAND MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE OF THE AUSTRALIAN CONSERVATION FOUNDATION.



for annual maintenance costs.

The *Land Half Won* is steadily being lost. What are the implications for Australia's rural industry? Much work needs to be done to estimate the loss resulting from the degraded state of the soil. The Soil Conservation Service of New South Wales found that, on the black soils of the Namoi Valley in a season following bad erosion, a fall of 30% in wheat yields is common. The after effect of erosion can last a long time. An experiment removing 75mm of soil from an experimental plot resulted in wheat yield being reduced by an average of 9% and the grain's protein content by 21% over 13 years.

In Australia, salinity and erosion are the two major causes of soil destruction.

Dryland salting has caused the loss of 263,000 hectares of farmland in Western Australia. The rate of loss is continuing at 19,000 hectares per year.

Clearing of land causes dryland salting. Because there are fewer plants after clearing, less water is taken up. This allows salt to move into the surface soil, particularly through a raised watertable. A perfect example of destruction of land due to dryland salting can be found in the wheatbelt of Western Australia, which was subject to the 'million acres a year' releases two decades ago, when Crown land was made available for private use. Yet further releases are being proposed by the Western Australian government, although not on such a scale.

Salinity is also a very serious problem in irrigation areas. Salinity causes the loss of productive land and raises the level of salt in watercourses, in some cases to dangerous levels. The River Murray, and surrounding areas, suffer badly from salinity. The South Australian Government is concerned that the Adelaide water supply is in jeopardy. At one stage the Premier of South Australia threatened to cut off gas supplies to New South Wales if steps were not taken by the NSW Government to restrict salt producing irrigation schemes.

K F Walker, of the Department of Zoology, at the University of Adelaide states, "The dangerous salt limit for grape vines and citrus crops is about 600 parts per million. Average salinities in the Riverland of South Australia are now approaching this level, assisted by drought conditions prevailing in the upper river catchments. The water frequently is unsuitable for irrigation, and pumps must be closed down to avoid irreversible damage to crops."

Erosion by wind or water is a major problem in Australia. In Queensland one third of the non-arid land has been so degraded that it needs remedial treatment if it is to go on yielding crops and pasture at its present rate. Water is the main cause of erosion; it is responsible for 98% of the degradation suffered by cultivated land and 75% of that on grazing land. In a season after suffering erosion, sixteen properties at Narrabri lost an average of \$2,800 each. Examples of such financial loss are common throughout Australia.

Political and economic problems rather than technical ones are the main obstacle to achieving a solution to soil degradation. The Senate Standing Committee on Science and Environment, stated in a report to Parliament in 1980:

. . . there have been a number of studies which have put forward technical solutions to the serious

problems of the Murray Valley [salinity]. What is still lacking is co-ordinated and effective implementation. The Committee is concerned that unless the four Governments can provide the River Murray Commission with appropriate powers to co-ordinate the necessary corrective action, the problems will remain, with increasing pressures on the River Murray, will get steadily worse.

Generally lack of funds is a key problem. Farmers, under the thumb of their bank and with high overheads,



WATER IS THE MAIN CAUSE OF EROSION; IT IS RESPONSIBLE FOR 98% OF THE DEGRADATION SUFFERED BY CULTIVATED LAND AND 75% OF THAT ON GRAZING LAND

often push the land beyond sensible limits, over-cropping and overstocking. Studies have shown that soil conservation programmes can be economically viable for farmers over time. However the initial outlay is an inhibiting factor. This is where government assistance would be useful.

Government financial support to date has been low. For 1981-82 the Federal Government has committed only \$3.2 million to soil conservation programmes. The National Farmers Federation, the NSW Minister for Agriculture, Jack Hallam, and conservationists have all voiced protest at this low level of funding.

The Review of Commonwealth Functions (Razor Gang) has worsened the situation by passing back responsibility for soil conservation programmes to the states, and recommending that funds be made available through the general revenue grants from the Federal Government. Jack Hallam has stated that NSW did not have confidence that the soil conservation schemes would progress beyond the next financial year.

The Federal Government is also stepping back from any financial responsibility for policy co-ordination and consolidation. Without a strong government lead particularly from the Federal Government, Australia's productive land will continue to be lost.

# ACTION GUIDE

THE FOLLOWING ORGANISATIONS ARE WORKING ON ISSUES RAISED IN THIS BOOK. PLEASE CONTACT THEM FOR MORE INFORMATION, AND FOR DETAILS ABOUT HOW YOU CAN BECOME INVOLVED IN THEIR WORK.

## FOOD ACTION GROUPS

### VICTORIA

Food Justice Centre (Melbourne), 366 Smith St, Collingwood, 3066. (03) 419 8700.

### Food Action

Room 14, Floor 4, 37 Swanston St, Melbourne, 3000. (03) 63 5982.

### NEW SOUTH WALES

Food Justice Centre (Sydney), 101 Cleveland St, Chippendale, 2008. (02) 698 4114.

### SOUTH AUSTRALIA

World Workshop, 1st Floor, 155 Pirie St, Adelaide, 5000. (08) 223 5795.

## OVERSEAS AID ORGANISATIONS

### NATIONAL

Australian Freedom From Hunger Campaign, 120 Bunda St, Canberra City, 2601. (062) 48 0555 (State offices in each capital city)

### VICTORIA

Community Aid Abroad, 75 Brunswick St, Fitzroy, 3065. (03) 419 7055.

### NEW SOUTH WALES

Ideas Centre of the Australian Freedom From Hunger Campaign, 6th Floor, Norgate House, 321 Kent St, Sydney, 2000. (02) 29 5797.

Community Aid Abroad, PO Box 1000, Sydney, 2001. (02) 264 7663.

### SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Community Aid Abroad, 19 Austin St, Adelaide, 5000. (08) 223 3369.

### WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Community Aid Abroad, 306 Murray St, Perth, 6000. (09) 321 5043.

## ACTION FOR WORLD DEVELOPMENT

### VICTORIA

183 Gertrude St, Fitzroy, 3065. (03) 419 5588.

### NEW SOUTH WALES

262 Pitt St, Sydney, 2000. (02) 267 2462

### SOUTH AUSTRALIA

60 Henley Beach Rd, Mile End, 5031. (08) 43 5310.

### QUEENSLAND

9th floor, Canberra Hotel, Cnr Ann and Edward Sts, Brisbane, 4000. (07) 221 9398.

## WOMEN'S GROUPS

### VICTORIA

International Development Action, Women and Imperialism Project, 73 Little George St, Fitzroy, 3065. (03) 41 6898.

Working Women's Centre, 258 Flinders Lane, Melbourne, 3000. (03) 654 1228.

### NEW SOUTH WALES

Women's Advisory Council, 8th Floor, 151 MacQuarie St, Sydney, 2000. (02) 27 9541.

Hunter Region Working Women's Centre, Cnr Industrial Drive and Avon St, Mayfield, 2304.

### SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Working Women's Centre, Top floor, 31 Gilbert Place, Adelaide, 5000. (08) 212 3722.

## CONSUMER ORGANISATIONS

### VICTORIA

Victorian Consumer Action, Room 14, Floor 4, 37 Swanston St, Melbourne, 3000. (03) 63 5982.

### NEW SOUTH WALES

Australian Consumers Association, 28 Queen St, Chippendale, 2008. (02) 698 9200.

### SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Consumers Association of South Australia, 117 Gouger St, Adelaide, 5000. (08) 212 2757.

## SEED PATENTING ACTION GROUPS

### VICTORIA

Free Access to Seeds Committee, Room 14 Floor 4, 37 Swanston St, Melbourne, 3000. (03) 63 5982.

### NEW SOUTH WALES

Plant Diversity Protection Committee, 18 Argyle St, Sydney, 2000. (02) 27 4714.

### SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Seeds Action Group, 60 Henley Beach Rd, Mile End, 5031. (08) 43 5310.

### WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Organic Growers Association of Western Australia, PO Box 213, Wembley, 6014.

### QUEENSLAND

Seeds Action Group, GPO Box 1474, Brisbane, 4001. (07) 221 9398.

### TASMANIA

Organic Farming Group, c/- Joan Bell, The Valley, Derby, 7254. (003) 54 2617.

## ABORIGINAL HEALTH

National Aboriginal and Islander Health Organisation, 36 Turner St, Redfern, 2016. (02) 699 8891.

## INFANT FORMULA ACTION GROUPS

### VICTORIA

Community Aid Abroad Infant Formula Action Committee, Glenyys Romanes (03) 419 7055.

### NEW SOUTH WALES

Infant Formula Action Coalition (INFAC) Rob Atkinson (02) 349 4691.

### SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Baby Foods Action Group, Fiona Lumb (08) 272 3219.

### WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Community Aid Abroad, Joan Carlin (09) 321 5043.

## OVERSEAS SUPPORT GROUPS

Australia Asia Worker Links, PO Box 94, Fitzroy, 3065.

### Philippines Action Support Group,

PO Box 94, Fitzroy, 3065.  
Box A63 Sydney South, 2000.  
124 West St, Brompton, 5007.  
PO Box 1474, Brisbane, 4000.

### Committee In Solidarity with Central American Countries.

GPO Box 5421cc Melbourne, 3000. (03) 67 1551.  
GPO Box A431 Sydney South, 2000. (02) 211 4764.

## WORLD DEVELOPMENT TEA SUPPLIERS

### VICTORIA.

Maurice Crehan, 85 Helene St, Bulleen, 3105. (03) 850 7348.

### NEW SOUTH WALES

World Development Tea Co-operative Ltd. Tom Whelan, 4th Floor, 262 Pitt St, Sydney, 2000. (02) 267 9188.

### SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Bob Rabbitt, 59 Park Av, Rosslyn Park, (08) 31 6258.

### QUEENSLAND.

C/- Action for World Development.

# Fuelling dissent

By Stephanie Bunbury

Conflict is growing over who is taking major decisions regarding the future of Victoria's Latrobe Valley.

The Valley is a prime agricultural region, mainly servicing dairy, beef and sheep, with an important potato growing district in Thorpdale and an increasing number of hobby farms. But it also sits on top of the largest brown coal deposit in the world. This coal has been mined since the 1920's for the purposes of production of electricity for the state's needs, and the Valley currently provides 85% of Victoria's power supply.

The State Electricity Commission of Victoria is seeking approval at the moment for a conceptual plan for use of coal in the Valley. This plan involves building 21 power stations by the year 2030, producing ten times as much

*Stephanie Bunbury is Brown Coal Campaign coordinator for Friends of the Earth Collingwood. She can be contacted at 366 Smith Street, Collingwood 3066 on telephone (03) 4198700.*

power as at present, as well as allowing for four oil-from-coal plants to be built on non-SEC coal seams by Nippon, Mitsui, Rheinische and others.

Much of this activity is being sold to the Valley residents in the guise of "decentralisation", but expansion of employment opportunities is unlikely. Skilled workers are sought from other areas, even overseas. The construction of the Loy Yang power station has led to an influx of workers, sending house rental costs up significantly. Over 3,000 people in the Latrobe Valley now live in caravans.

Until now the sometimes rapid expansion of the SECV has been accepted as an inevitable price of progress. Little community-based opposition was likely to develop in what was virtually a series of SECV company towns, with little collective identity. However, local residents are now becoming concerned over issues such as farmers' loss of land, inadequate compensation, growing air pollution, the use of water in the Valley, and the lack of overall communication and effective participation of the residents

in decision-making.

Lack of communication between the SEC State Rivers and Water Supply Commission and the Latrobe Valley Water and Sewerage Board, for example, is likely to result in severe water shortages for agricultural and domestic use, given the huge amounts of water required for cooling systems in power stations, and in the new oil-from-coal plants which will each use up to 30 gegalitres of water a year.

More urgently, the diversion of the Morwell River for the Driffield power station, due to start being constructed in 1993, will speed up the flow of the river at the same time as more thermally polluted water is being injected into the system, which will mean that the river is no longer able to support organic life. Ultimately, this spells problems for the Gippsland Lakes, the destination of this overused river system, as sterile silt deposits upset their own ecological balance, damaging fishing and tourist industries.

Amongst the rural landholders, and other residents of the area, is a growing concern that the Valley should speak as one voice when demanding compensation, water management control, and the return to the area of a fair proportion of the wealth it generates. What locals oppose is the spread of power stations all over the Valley, the siting of power stations very close to major population centres and the threat of extremely rapid development, which will throw hitherto tranquil country towns into turmoil.

This concern found formal expression at a Public Meeting in Morwell on 23 July. Representatives of more than 15 local organisations voted to form a community lobby group, similar in style to the Hunter Valley Community forum. A general resentment that bureaucrats in Melbourne had such a hold over the future of their area coloured the business of this emotional meeting.

Many Latrobe Valley people, who would never have conceived of themselves as dissidents before their land or rural lifestyle were threatened, are now taking up an opposing position to government institutions like the SEC and the Latrobe Valley Ministerial Council.

*For further information: Fuel for Unrest is a useful book @ \$3.55 from the Conservation Council of Victoria, GPO Box 845J, Melbourne, 3001.*



Site of Loy Yang Power Station before construction commenced.

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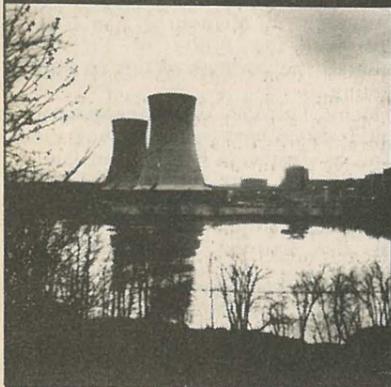
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# Even when you win you lose



LOCATION OF TIMBER RIGHTS PURCHASE (TRP) AREAS

By Rob James

Over the last ten years the people of the Trans-Gogol area in Madang Province of Papua New Guinea have seen their trees slashed in a massive clearfelling operation by the JANT company, a wholly owned subsidiary of Honshu Seishi of Japan. Since April, 1974, it has consumed nine hundred and forty cubic metres of wood chip a day from JANT's Madang operation.

The area around the Gogol and Naru rivers — called the Trans-Gogol — has a fifty thousand year history of human occupation. In those areas untouched by logging it remains a strikingly beautiful, tropical environment. The flora and fauna of the area are very diverse. Some 2,600 species of orchids alone have been identified and JANT converts more than 200 species of trees into chip at its Madang Mill.

Rob James is a student of anthropology at La Trobe, Melbourne.

The people of the Trans-Gogol mirror the diversity of their environment. Among the 4,500 people of the region, some twenty-one languages are spoken. The area is in general sparsely populated, with many small villages, sometimes of only twenty to forty people.

Since the 1870's capitalist economic expansion has impinged upon the local people, and gradually, capitalist forms of social relationship have become entwined with more traditional forms.

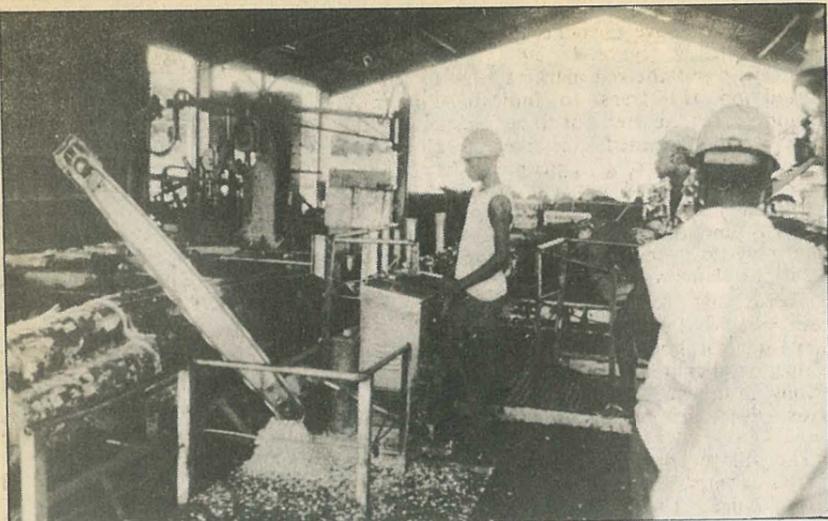
First the Germans came bringing a plantation economy geared to producing agricultural produce for export. As well the Germans introduced the idea of labour and land as a commodity. To work their plantations they conscripted indentured labour and many villages lost nearly all their able-bodied men to the plantations. The Australians replaced the Germans as colonial masters in New Guinea.

After World War II the pace of change was slow. In a number of places local people attempted to enter the

capitalist market economy on their own terms but these attempts usually failed because of lack of support from the colonial administration. The villagers living around Jobto and Bemal for instance started a co-operative rice growing enterprise in the 1950's but because of problems with transport the scheme collapsed. The local Australian Patrol Officers were busy hatching bigger plans for the area — large scale exploitation by foreign capitalists was what they wanted.

But it wasn't until the mid 1960's that a method was developed for processing for paper production the mixed tropical hardwoods characteristic of Papua New Guinean forests.

T. Okumura of the Japanese company Nomura Securities visited Madang in June 1968 and saw the potential of Gogol forests. On his return to Tokyo he rushed to his friend Matsuburo Kinoshita, president of Honshu Seisha, one of Japan's large paper manufacturers, with a magnificent vision regarding comprehensive development



Inside the chip mill at Madang.

in Papua New Guinea. Nomura Securities applied for timber rights in the area, but were not, at first, accepted by the then Australian administration in Papua New Guinea. At the time, the Australian Government required foreign investors to find local majority shareholders for any venture, but Nomura could find no such partner. The next day the policy on the primacy of local equity was conveniently changed and Nomura re-entered negotiations. They formed a consortium with Honshu Seishi and for the next three years negotiated with the Australian Government. On 11 August 1971 an agreement was signed by representatives of the Tokyo consortium, known as Japan and New Guinea Timbers Co Ltd (JANT), and the Australian administration.

Japan's paper manufacturing industry is dominated by three large companies - Oji Seishi, Jujo Seishi and Honshu Seishi.

Two major problems face Japanese paper manufacturers. Wood pulp supply problems began soon after World War II; by the early 1970's the companies were dependent on overseas supplies of wood pulp. Sources include North America, South East Asia, and Australia.

At home, the group faced problems at its production facilities. Jujo and Honshu paper mills were clustered around Tokyo, and faced with the chance to expand their facilities rapidly, they found it expedient to neglect pollution control considerations. In places like Suruga Bay in Shizuoka Prefecture the problems are enormous. In Suruga Bay's Tonoura Port the sea bed rose four metres as sludge from the surrounding paper mills flowed in unchecked for years. In July 1970 ten workers employed on dredging the port to keep it open, collapsed after inhaling hydrogen sulphide gas produced by the sludge. A year later

thirty-three workers on a nearby rail line succumbed to the gas.

Oji Seishi's President, Tanaka, summed up the supply and production problems facing the industry 'Since pulp resources in Japan are exhausted and the factories pollute, we cannot construct or enlarge any more in Japan'. The rush overseas was inevitable if the industry was to survive.

In Papua New Guinea, the first priority of Honshu Seishi's subsidiary, JANT, was to ensure that as little money in royalties and tax as possible was paid to the government. Royalties after Papua New Guinean independence continue to be paid on the basis of cost and volume figures supplied by the company. In seven years of full operation JANT has only once declared a profit; it has consequently paid no company tax and accumulated considerable tax credits.

A second damaging aspect of the royalties agreement has been its effect on local landowners. Early in the 1960's surveys were begun to determine and register the land holding groups of the area so that they could receive a share of the royalties. The formula by which the royalty split was determined, the number and composition of the recognised land-holding groups, and the timing of the payments were all varied arbitrarily at various times.

Local people and the Papua New Guinea government have always seen the logging as an ongoing operation. There has been talk of large-scale tree farming on cleared land in association with cattle farming or agricultural production.

JANT was supposed to implement a reforestation programme of 2,000 hectares a year. It has cut enormous swathes into the 63,000 hectares of the forest it intends to cut, but by 1980 barely 1,400 hectares had been

replanted.

As early as June 1973, JANT talked about 'a limited 20,000 hectare programme' and 'sincerely hoped' that the reforestation would occur. In August 1974 the JANT Director wrote to the Director of Forests - 'Your assumption that reforestation is a normal part of the logging operation and should be costed to the logging is totally unacceptable'. In January this year a Honshu Seishi spokesperson in Tokyo made clear the JANT parent company view - reforestation is a government problem. It remains very reluctant to commit itself to long-term tree-farming schemes. It seems the company may want access to a low cost virgin resource only until more attractive resource areas become available. Such an area is now being developed in Brazil.

Employment of local people is one thing JANT points to as a benefit deriving from its operations. A figure of 1,500 possible employees was touted by company representatives during negotiations in 1970. In January 1980 some 393 people were employed, plus 84 casual labourers. The highest total ever reached was 739 employees in 1975. Only one Papua New Guinean has been promoted above the level of Assistant Supervisor.

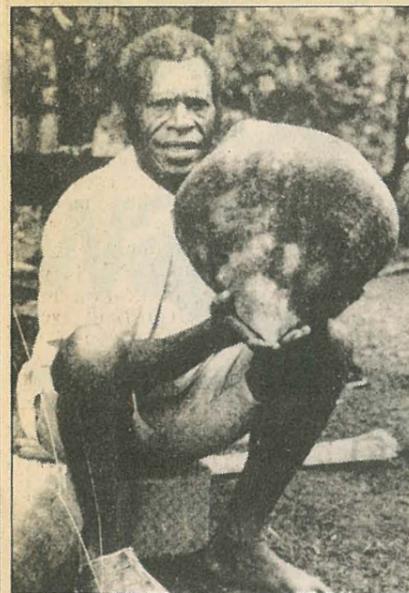
As a result JANT's dealings with Papua New Guineans have been stormy.

To push their demands for a fair wage and decent working conditions JANT's workers have often had to resort to strikes and stop work meetings. JANT's Director admonished one such stop work meeting 'So we all, employer and employees alike, should be conscious of and have pride in being joined together in the formation of a typical industry of Papua New Guinea. I hope you employees will show good sense and never carry out a rash act which will destroy the company.'

Wezip Aloloum is not a young man. His balding head is tinged with grey and his lean shoulders are slightly stooped. He lives in the village of Jobto No. 1 but the village itself is really a fiction. The people of Jobto No. 1 have decided that they no longer want to live in the villages that colonial administrations have imposed on them for most of the 20th Century. Instead they now live in hamlets on the lands of their clans.

Wezip is a "big man" by PNG standards. His clan land is about 55km from Madang in the heartland of the Gogol timber purchases area. All around him trees which measure more than 20cm around their trunks are being cut down.

Wezip argues that if he went to Australia or Japan and cut down a lot of trees he would have to pay a high price for them. No-one would give them to him for nothing. If he stole them and



Jobto clan leader Wezip Aloloum showing example of local pottery

infringed people's property rights the courts would deal with him very quickly.

In November of 1975 Wezip and his kin stopped logging-road work on his land with a sign forbidding entry. The first reason given for this closure was JANT's employment policies. The Jobto people thought that JANT was not employing enough local people to log their own land and that those who were employed did not have job security. The government showed its concern about the situation by sending some of its top foreign officers to negotiate with Wezip. Discussions began to center on other issues as well - the royalty payments and the reasons why the villagers of Bemal and Jobto were refusing to accept them.

Eventually Wezip backed down and accepted the royalty payments. A legal opinion received by local officials in Madang indicated that Wezip was not committing an offence by preventing the company from building a road on his land.

In July 1976 there was a stopwork action which brought all work for the company in the field to a halt. The reason given for the stopwork was that food was not being provided for JANT casual employees but was provided for other workers at lunch time. A Department of Labour officer told Wezip and others that their efforts to inspire the stopwork had been misplaced and because they had not followed the correct strike procedures they had broken the law.

A further crisis occurred in November of 1976. This came after Wezip had been advised that an extra 25 percent of the royalty payments, paid by JANT to the government, would be passed on to his people. He then allowed JANT

bulldozers to move onto his land, but he says they ignored his verbal instructions and the red markers he had painted on the trees to indicate a forbidden area, an area not to be logged because it contained resources that were important to the people. The bulldozers destroyed deposits of clay traditionally used for making pots. This clay and the pots into which it is made play an immeasurably significant role in the clan's way of life.

To say that Wezip and his clan were upset would be an understatement. They did not however react violently. Although alienated by outside institutions, in this instance the clan decided to use them and act according to the law.

The village court convened to hear Wezip's complaint met at Jobto in early January 1977. The government and JANT were both represented. After details of the complaint were heard the Court handed down a decision which awarded K10,000 damages to Wezip, as the Jobto clan agent, to be paid equally by JANT and the PNG Government.

This decision somewhat shocked the company and the government and they refused to pay. JANT's Director wrote to the Office of Forests in Port Moresby, seeking exemption from the Village Courts Act.

Wezip says he was advised by the Public Solicitor's Office that he could take his case to a higher court. The question of accepting a lesser amount in compensation does not seem to have been fully discussed at this time. In any event Wezip says that he is only interested in the K10,000 because the guardian spirit of the pots, Kepial, has fled the clay area and will never return. Because she is gone people will not be able to make pots from the clay ever again.

Government officers again contacted Wezip and suggested that he settle out of court. The idea of a small community trade store was brought up as compensation. The JANT Company offered labour to straighten out the ground at the clay deposits. Wezip did not accept the offer and the attitude of the Japanese forestry manager and the company in general hardened.

But Wezip is pushing ahead with his claim. As recently as May this year he was writing to supporters seeking help in the Jobto people's struggle. He appealed to the Ombudsman in Port Moresby, and is seeking financial assistance to take his appeal to a higher court. He has no intention of letting the matter rest.

*Action: International Development Action, 73 Little George Street, Fitzroy, Victoria, 3065 - telephone (03) 416898 - are working in support of the Jobto people, and welcome assistance.*

## Chain Reaction

### EDITORS and ADVERTISING MANAGER

Applications/proposals are invited for the positions of Editors\* and Advertising Manager of *Chain Reaction*, the national magazine of Friends of the Earth Australia. (\* Currently there are two people working as Editors, one of whom handles advertising. Other arrangements may be proposed by the applicants.)

The magazine, published quarterly, goes to all members of Friends of the Earth in Australia, other subscribers (including schools, unions, community groups, libraries and individuals) and is on sale at community centres and various retail outlets. *Chain Reaction* covers a wide range of environmental, energy and food issues in Australia - emphasising the work of community groups.

The Editors work with Collective of volunteers in Melbourne and Sydney, with FOE and other community groups around Australia. The magazine has been based in Melbourne since it was established in 1975. The Editors' responsibilities include ensuring continued operation of the Collectives, encouraging people to work on the magazine, determining content of the editions, organisation of production, managing the finances of CR, distribution and promotion of the magazine. The present Editors have had a two year appointment.

The Advertising Manager sells advertising space in the magazine. Remuneration - negotiable. Applications close on 31 December 1981.

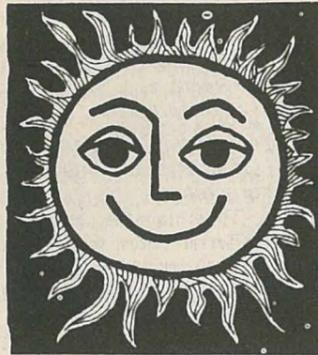
Applicants may be required to attend interviews in mid or late January 1982 at a Friends of the Earth Australia meeting in Victoria.

The new Editors and Advertising Manager would commence work on 1 April 1982.

Applicants are welcome to discuss the magazine and obtain further information from the present Editors and Melbourne and Sydney Collectives - telephone (03) 63 5995 or (02) 698 4114.

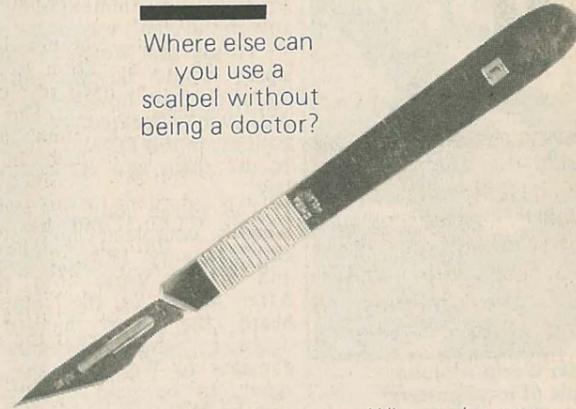
Send written applications/proposals and enquiries to the Selection Committee, C/- *Chain Reaction*, Room 14 Floor 4, 37 Swanston Street, Melbourne, 3000.

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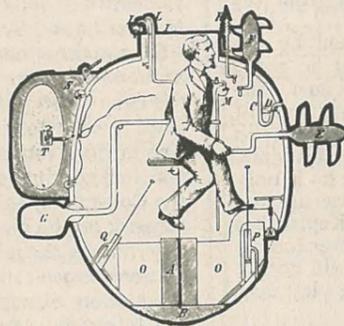


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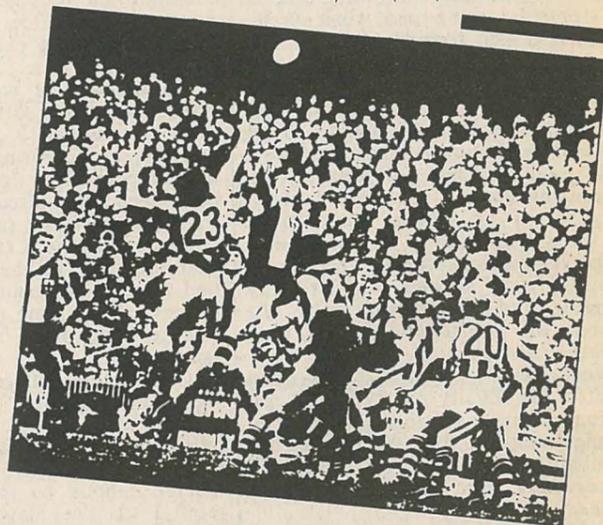
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# Class war

The fact that the District Court Judge in Pennsylvania ruled against the complaint lodged by the Conservation Council of Western Australia against the mining of bauxite, the refining of alumina and the smelting of aluminium in the Jarrah forest of Western Australia, by two huge American companies, the Aluminium Company of America (ALCOA) and Reynolds Metals Co, is now history. However, the Jarrah Class Action (as it came to be known) has not yet been finally shelved. Jane Hutchison of the Campaign to Save Native Forests reports that the fight for the preservation of the unique Jarrah forest ecosystem of the Darling Range is most certainly not over.

There were primarily two major reasons put forward by the Judge for rejecting the Conservation Council's legal complaint. Firstly, he considered that the USA Courts did not in fact have jurisdiction over the activities of the two companies' operations in Australia. Secondly, he considered that the complaint failed to cite a specific piece of legislation which would enable him to rule against the two companies on environmental grounds.

The Conservation Council's complaint was based upon USA anti-trust legislation, the spirit of which is designed to protect USA trade and commerce against (among other things) the monopolistic powers of a company or companies. The Judge considered that the complaint did not satisfactorily demonstrate in what way the *United States of America's* trade and commerce was harmed. Therefore, although there is a precedent in the application of anti-trust laws beyond simply commercial interests, in this case the argument over USA commercial interests was a key one which the legal complaint failed to satisfy.

After this decision was handed down, the Conservation Council was given the opportunity to ask for a reconsideration of the argument by the same Judge, without any alterations being made to the original legal complaint.

On the basis of legal advice, this option was not taken up, and now, the Conservation Council has until 28 August to lodge an appeal after altering the legal complaint in light of the earlier ruling.

In deciding whether to appeal or not, the Conservation Council cannot merely confine itself to a consideration of the legal aspects. The cost to the Council in both human and financial terms has been high in taking the Class Action this far. Since its launching in late February of this year, the Jarrah Class Action Fund has raised some \$50,000 through public donations, however already that sum has been spent and the Conservation Council may need to raise a further \$5,000 to cover final expenses if the case were to be dropped now.

The coverage of the Class Action by the overseas media was very good, both in the USA and in Britain. At the same time, the case served to re-ignite public, media and government interest in the Jarrah forest debate locally.

In addition, Neil Bartholomaeus, the President of the Conservation Council, on his trips to the USA to assist with the preparation of the legal complaint, was able to establish valuable personal contacts with large environmental groups such as the Sierra Club and the Natural

Resources Defence Council. Both groups were enthusiastic and keen to assist the action. In the future we hope to be able to utilize these contacts.

If the Conservation Council decides against an appeal, the fight for the preservation of the Jarrah forest will not be abandoned. Indeed, the next few months will provide an excellent opportunity for the Council and the Campaign to Save Native Forests to consolidate the gains made by the movement as a result of launching the Class Action. One obvious area will be renewed lobbying for the establishment of a A-class reserve in the Northern Jarrah Forest, 77,000 ha in size. At the same time the campaign against the activities of the alumina companies in the Jarrah forest will be continued.

Just recently there have been indications that the aluminium industry will not expand in the next few years at the galloping pace predicted at the beginning of this year. Recent press reports have indicated that ALCOA and Reynolds Metals Co may not in fact be going ahead with proposals to construct two aluminium smelters in the south-west of this state and already the construction of the fourth ALCOA alumina refinery at Wagerup has been slowed down because of a down turn in world demand for aluminium.

*Copies of the legal complaint are available from the Conservation Council of WA, 537 Wellington Street, Perth, 6000. A cost of \$4.00 has been placed on them to cover postage and production expenses.*



Bauxite mining at Del-Park, Western Australia.

# Land rights in Scandinavia

From information received by *Chain Reaction* from the Movement Against the Damming of the Alta/Kautokeino Watercourse in Norway Fiona Kyle has compiled this report of the Sami people's struggle for land rights.

In the northern part of Scandinavia, in the area called by its original inhabitants "Samiland", live a people who have very little in common with the population of the rest of Scandinavia. The Samis, currently estimated to number approximately 100,000, can trace their lineage back to about 8,000 BC.

Like the Pitjanjatjaras in central Australia, the Sami people were, and remain, subjected to the political divisions that followed Scandinavian colonisation, creating the borders of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. Many were forced to choose which country they would live in, which "nationality" they would bear, and to which sovereign they would pay taxes!

Destruction of natural resources was a dominant feature of this early colonisation, and a sharp contrast to the Samis ecologically-rooted lifestyle.

Traditionally, the Samis lived in groups of three or four families up to a couple of hundred people, each group living, hunting and harvesting on a roughly delineated area of land. This kind of collective ownership was not recognised by the colonial powers, which appropriated Sami land as unowned and opened it up to southerners.

Since then, Sami culture has been further undermined by missionaries, "social Darwinism" (which defined the Sami semi-nomadic culture as "inferior"), and contemporary western schooling. These days, there are no longer any directly discriminatory laws existent in the Nordic countries. But there are also no laws in Norway or Sweden specifically protecting the historical rights of the Samis, nor even giving them official status as indigenous people.

Norway has stood out in international forums as one of the most vehement champions of the rights of indigenous peoples. At the 1978 United Nations World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, it was Norway's delegates who brought forward the question of native people's rights. Norway proposed that states should recognise the official status and representation of indigenous peoples. Its stated platform included support for the maintenance of original languages for administration and education, and for land rights, with protection for traditional structures of economy and

way of life.

In the same year, the Norwegian Government gave the green light to its state power authority (NVE) to regulate the Alta/Kautokeino watercourse in the heart of Sami territory, against the will of Sami organisations. If successful, this extraordinary move will not only be a clear breach of UN principles, but will damage Sami culture and livelihood. Norway has itself undermined the very principles it proposed at the UN conference, and this will ultimately jeopardise all indigenous populations seeking support for their rights at this international level.



Chain Reaction Map by Fiona Kyle

The Alta/Kautokeino is a long, beautiful river flowing through populated districts and unique uninhabited wilderness in northern Norway. The river mouth is at Alta, one of the biggest towns and most important agricultural areas in Finnmark country. The 46km stretch upstream is an excellent spawning ground for river and coastal salmon, for which the Alta River is world famous.

The river flows through the Chauth Canyon, the largest in northern Europe. Above and below, the Alta weaves through fertile valleys which are rich in plant and animal life, in sharp contrast with the surrounding plateau. So the Alta serves as the nerve of an area with an unusual number of geological, zoological and botanical rarities.

For thousands of years, the Alta River has been allowed to exist naturally, undisturbed by the developments of "civilisation". The ecological impact of the Sami people has been miniscule, confined mainly to reindeer husbandry since the 1600's or 1700's.

Traditionally, the river and its surrounding wilderness has had a major impact on the Samis, giving rich cultural associations as well as instilling a sense of collective responsibility in the minds

of the Samis to preserve and protect the Alta in its natural state.

Now the Alta is in danger. Its proposed damming by Norway's state power corporation (NVE) has become a focus for Sami rights and ethnic recognition.

The hydro-electric project was approved by the Norwegian National Assembly (Stortinget) in 1968. But despite the fact that the case was taken to court and was still under scrutiny, the Government and NVE attempted to start construction. The local population of Alta founded a movement against the regulation just before the case was treated in Stortinget, and has since built up a nation-wide network of support.

This movement has expressed many objections to the Alta dam project as well as the, perhaps less tangible, damaging repercussions for the Sami people.

The power plant would produce so little hydro-electric power, (only 0.5% of Norway's total production), that an equivalent output could easily be obtained elsewhere in Norway.

The salmon stock will be harmed because the river will be polluted during the powerhouse construction, and ther-

mally polluted thereafter. The dam will cut off part of the salmon's food supply, which will wipe out a major source of food for the local people, and jeopardise the livelihoods of coastal fishers.

Reindeer herding, the livelihood of almost three thousand Samis, will be further compressed into an already cramped migratory area. All available land in the Samis traditional territory is used for reindeer breeding, and there is no more unalienated land left to them.

Other animals of the wilderness will be frightened away by the traffic on the proposed new service road, leading inevitably to decreasing natural animal populations.

Agriculture in Alta and the Sami village of Masi will suffer damage. The regulation of the river will increase the risks of floods, ice-masses, and climatic extremes.

Early this year, preliminary road construction was started, but only by consigning a force of six hundred police from all over Norway, to remove eight hundred demonstrators from the site.

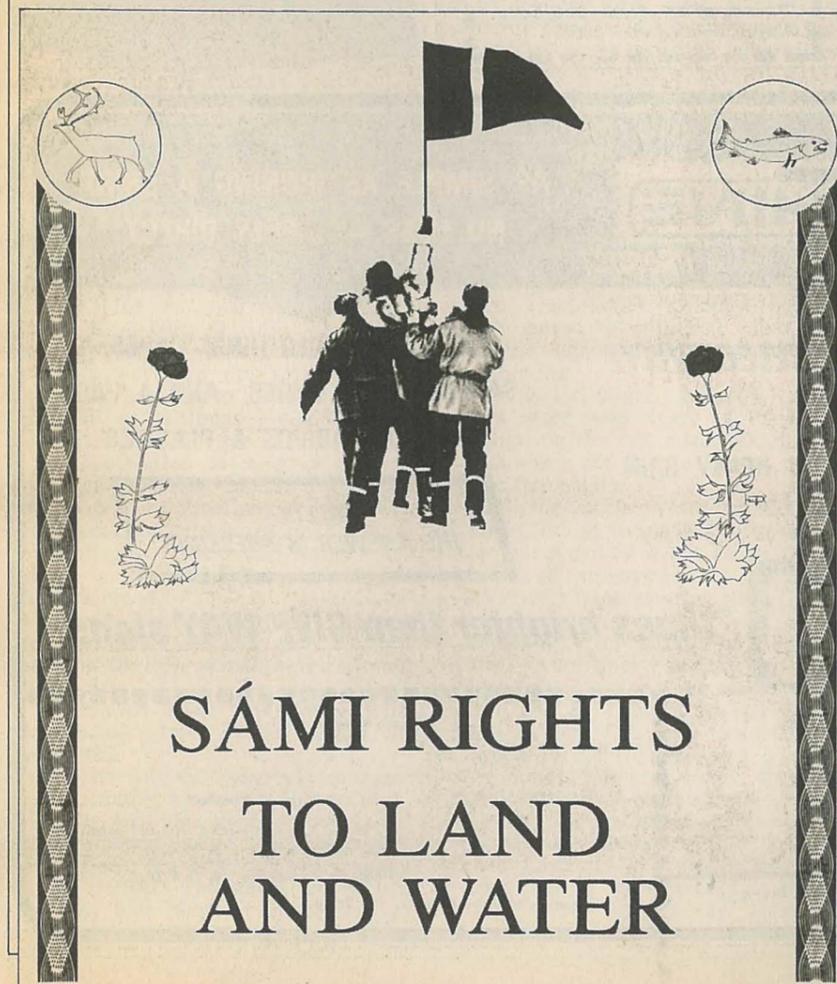
This unprecedented show of strength soon failed though, when it became clear that the NVE had transgressed Norwegian law requiring archaeological investigation on land being encroached.

Farmers, reindeer-owning Samis, salmon fishers, and Norway's Association for the Preservation of Nature, have joined forces to present a legal case against the NVE and Stortinget, and to give an impetus to a full investigation into the harmful effects of the Alta dam project.

The many errors on the part of the NVE, and the opposition organised by the Movement Against the Damming of the Alta/Kautokeino Watercourse, have led to an extensive and complicated game, with which Australian blacks will readily identify. As in Australia, the Norwegian Government has face-saving legislation to quote as evidence of its willingness to protect the rights of the people involved, but the legislation alone is not enough. Support for the Sami people, from groups, organisations, and individuals, especially from the international community, will add to the pressure on the Stortinget to withdraw its hypocritical involvement in the NVE Alta dam project.

Action: Letters and telegrams of protest can be sent to: The Norwegian Government, c/- The Prime Minister, Oslo 1, Norway.

Please send a copy of your protest letter, with those of support, to: The Movement Against the Damming of the Alta/Kautokeino Watercourse, Grensen 8, Oslo 1, Norway. The movement will gladly send you more information on request.



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## Which way for Australia and the Alice?

A two hour program prepared from the Alice Springs Peace Conference held over Easter 1981. Isabelle Rosenberg from radio 3CR's Combined Trade Union Program *Stick Together* has compiled two one-hour feature programs from conference speeches and interviews. The program provides an informative insight into the reasons why Australia should adopt a non-aligned foreign profile, the implications of our current military alliance, why our position could help defuse the arms race and consequently avert the military propulsion towards inevitable nuclear war. If you missed the conference this excellent presentation is a must!

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# Nuclear action

By Peter Browne

Representatives of 32 action groups around Australia met in Sydney in July to form the Coalition for a Nuclear Free Australia. The broadly based coalition will co-ordinate the efforts of organisations working against uranium mining in Australia.

Members of the coalition are committed to 'a nuclear free Australia from which uranium mining, all other stages of the nuclear fuel cycle and all weapons systems are excluded' with an energy policy based on 'energy conservation measures and environmentally acceptable renewable energy sources'. The CNFA's secretariat will be based for one year in a particular state; for 1981-2 the Campaign Against Nuclear Energy in Western Australia will take this responsibility. *Chain Reaction* is to be used by the coalition as a major medium for transmitting information.

The formation meeting in Sydney set in motion one of the coalition's most important functions - improving communication between groups throughout Australia. Present and future campaigns in all states were discussed. These included:

- Protests - in small boats - against the continued docking in Western Australia of USA warships and atomic submarines.
- A planned Peace Mobilisation with the nuclear free Pacific theme in April 1982.
- Action in the current uranium mining trouble spots. At Honeymoon, in South Australia, mining is scheduled to commence using the extremely dirty *in situ* leaching method, banned in the USA. Taskforces in South Australia and New South Wales are co-ordinating activist and union action.



*Pacific Peacemaker* leaves Sydney this December to oppose the USA Tridents, submarines which will each carry warheads with a destructive capacity over 2000 times the Hiroshima bomb. 13 are to operate in the Pacific by 1985 - of an eventual fleet of 31 world-wide. Inset: Fremantle during visit of USS *Kitty Hawk*.

The Barrier Environment Group in Broken Hill and Friends of the Earth in Melbourne plan supporting action.

In the Northern Territory the boundaries of the Kakadu National Park have been shifted - the Koongarra uranium mine is now outside the Park. The Australian Conservation Foundation (NSW branch) and FOE Darwin are preparing for the World Heritage Committee's October meeting where the nomination of Kakadu to the World Heritage List will be discussed. Labor Against Uranium in NSW is looking at the movement of yellow cake after it leaves Australia.

The Ben Lomond mine in Queensland is the subject of Townsville Regional Conservation Council action. Union bans on shipment of yellow cake through Brisbane continue with partial success. Joint action with the relevant French union is proposed over the Minatome company's involvement at Ben Lomond.

In early December the *Pacific Peacemakers* boat will leave Sydney to campaign on the east coast of America and amongst the Pacific Islands for a nuclear free Pacific.

Lobbying of the Australian Council of Trade Unions to maintain its present anti-uranium policy needs to continue. Individual unions need to be assisted in effectively implementing the ACTU's policy.

Particular effort should be made to involve Aboriginal people in the coalition. The National Aboriginal Conference and all Land Councils will be invited to join. The Land Councils will be asked to declare their area Nuclear Free Zones. The findings of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies Committee report on the social effects of uranium mining in and around Arnhem Land should be publicised.

The Federal Government recently handed power over many areas of uranium mining regulation to the state

governments. Research is needed to clarify the implications of this move, and to monitor enforcement of the required 75% Australian equity in uranium projects and the thoroughness of current environmental impact statements on planned mining activities.

The creation of the CNFA comes amid predictions of redoubled attempts by mining companies to exploit Australia's uranium deposits. Present estimates give Australia in excess of 20% of the 'free' world's uranium, with the potential to be the non-communist world's biggest exporter by 1990. 'This means,' according to *Australian Business*, 'that Australia has the potential to become the Saudi Arabia of uranium - the new energy sheiks...'

This optimism in pro-nuclear circles, voiced by mining company executives such as Tony Grey of Pancontinental, is at odds with recent studies suggesting a dramatic drop in demand for uranium. The Australian Atomic Energy Commission forecast in 1975 that the western world's nuclear generation capacity would reach 820 gigawatts by 1990; it now estimates 320 gigawatts by that date. The International Energy Studies programme at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology predicts that the supply of uranium will be double the industry's requirements by 1985.

Worldwide, the nuclear industry is in a state of uncertainty. Now, perhaps more than ever before, we have an opportunity to dramatically limit the spread of nuclear reactors and their attendant dangers. The formation of the CNFA is an important step towards this goal. It needs your active support.

The addresses of most founding groups of the CNFA were listed in the *Activist Contacts* guide in the last issue of *Chain Reaction*. They are also available from the CNFA Secretariat, 537 Wellington Street, Perth, 6000. Telephone (09) 3212269.

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# Euro U talks

By Lin Pugh

In a far corner of southern West Germany, close to the Czech border, the second European Stop Uranium Mining Conference was held from 12-14 June 1981. 65 people, from 7 European countries (plus Jane Gunn from the Campaign Against Nuclear Energy in Adelaide) came together in the beautiful Fichtelgebirge mountains.

The idea of international cooperation against uranium mining, and of coordinated international actions, is new for Europe. Each country has its own language publications - and not many people speak more than two languages well. Local people in uranium areas are mostly traditional people, farmers or small industry people. Their horizons are also local: they are traditionally not nationally oriented, certainly not internationally oriented. Therefore most uranium campaigns in

Lin Pugh is on the staff of the World Information Service on Energy, Blainsstraat 90, 1091 CW Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Telephone (20) 924264.



Europe are either locally based (as in France) or nationally based focussed on the local level (as in Sweden).

Last year, the first European anti uranium mining conference was held in Limousin in France. That meeting served as an introduction, a forum for exchange. It also very much helped bring together isolated groups in France and out of this the national Reseau Uranium was born. Stimulated by the concept of exchange at that meeting, Spanish and Portuguese groups now regularly meet together to work in co-operation.

Limousin was an introduction and Fichtelgebirge was a consolidation on the level of international cooperation.

Most of all I was impressed by Olov Holmström, a grass roots scientist from Chalmers University in Sweden. In a well documented presentation on the state of the game of uranium mining in Sweden, his most important conclusion was that uranium mining companies usually have a large number of very weak points which, when found by the local campaigners, can put barriers in the way of uranium development. It seems that many companies do not know much about what they do, are slap dash in their methods, and are often plain dumb. On the other hand the public and the government have been, over the past 10 years, forced to understand that radiation is dangerous. It is not hard to prove that a mine's waste management is ineffective, and, as not all governments are evil, it is not impossible to force the various commissions to reject mining project plans. His conclusion was that companies will try and get away with anything, so it is important for activists to study the company proposals and bring to light its miscalculations and lies.

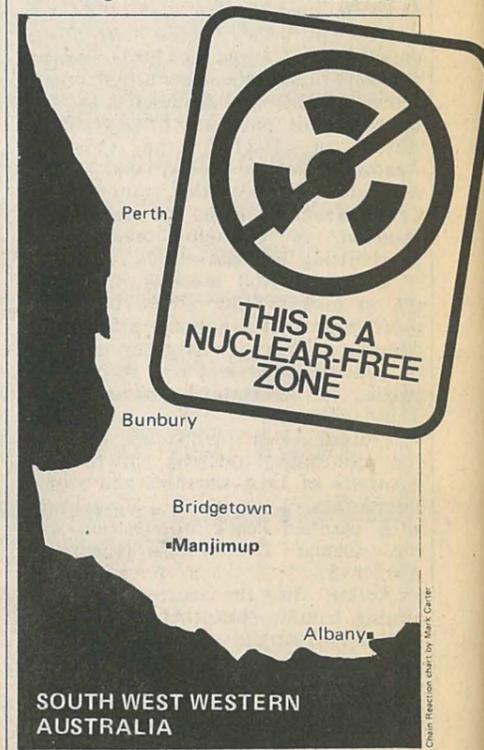
The Conference sent a letter to the European Parliament, in which it protested against the expansion of the European Economic Community's uranium programme. The EEC plans to double, perhaps even quadruple, its present expenditure on uranium prospecting and extraction, in the name of uranium self-sufficiency. The Conference demanded that the EEC cut all its uranium mining subsidies, and that the funds already set aside be used in renewable energy systems, "energy systems which not only offer maximum security to supply but also avoid the massive problems which are inseparable from the nuclear option."

Next year the European conference will be held in Stockholm, Sweden. That meeting will take place at the same time as the United Nations Environment Conference, also in Stockholm. The UN Conference will be of little value, but many environmentalists from all over the world will participate in the Alternative Conference, and the Swedish anti uranium groups hope to be able to cooperate with the organisers of the Alternative Conference.

# First steps

To date in Western Australia, four shires have been declared Nuclear Free Zones. Campaigns to have another four declared have failed, and other campaigns are forming. Since there is little dialogue between the groups, each has to learn, by trial and error, which strategies are successful and which should have been avoided. 'If we had known of other groups' mistakes, we may have been more successful in our attempt' write Diane Shirrer and Steve Fry of Friends of the Earth (Manjimup). By outlining their campaign they hope to help create a forum for groups to learn from each other.

In August 1980 in the weeks follow-



ing a lively well-attended public forum on nuclear power organised by the local Jaycees, a conservation and anti-nuclear group aligned with Friends of the Earth was formed in Manjimup shire.

We decided that the first step towards having the shire declared a nuclear free zone was petitioning, so we took petitions to dances, etc., left them in shops and hotels, and doorknocked the towns. We inundated the local newspaper with articles and letters - local papers have amazingly high readership compared to the big dailies. We asked local businesses to declare themselves NFZs, with good response. The local councillors were given kits on the nuclear issue, which included a list of 400 accidents and incidents drawn up by Senator Ruth Coleman.

The councillors were our major problem. They would not believe that they could make a statement about nuclear power on behalf of the shire - to them it was a state or federal matter and no business of local government. One councillor in particular, Mavis Daubney, was against us and, despite more than 50% of her ward being on the petition, she still voted against the motion when it came before council - so much for the democratic process!

Believing that the ALP has an anti-nuclear policy, we asked the local MLA, deputy leader of the Labor opposition Dave Evans, to support us, but he refused. We approached Ron Davies, ALP leader in WA, but he was non-committal.

When going before council it is wise to know procedures well in advance - they are intricate, and there are many avenues for stalling. It actually took us two months to get our motion before council. A particular incident is instructive. Our delegation spoke before lunch. Normally the agenda is laid aside and the matter discussed immediately, but no councillor moved to suspend standing orders, which meant a 3-hour lunch break. The councillors had time to forget the arguments and the petition: it was a lost cause. It is a mistake to assume that councillors know what they are doing - make sure the sympathetic ones are aware.

Another mistake was not having people present during the council vote. A few who knew it was on were there, but we let down all those who had supported us by not letting them know - we should have advertised in the local paper. And that confirmed the councillors' prejudice that the whole thing was organised by a bunch of hippies, and that people will sign anything.

We had 90% of the community behind us, but we lost that vote. We are feeling angry and frustrated: but that was just the beginning.

Friends of the Earth (Manjimup)'s address is Post Office Box 132, Manjimup, Western Australia, 6258.

# Rad readings

Radiation measurement is a complex subject. The terms used, although familiar to most of us in name, denote difficult concepts to grasp. Just how radiation affects our health depends on four basic variables: the kind of radiation, the quantity of radiation, the length of exposure, and the mode of exposure.

Radiation is divided into two basic categories, ionizing and non-ionizing radiation. The first is any atomic particle or electromagnetic wave which is capable of changing the atoms, and hence the chemical balance of a cell. Non-ionizing radiation cannot do this, yet is still capable of causing adverse health effects. Non-ionizing radiation is produced by electricity transmission lines, microwave ovens and ultra-violet lamps.

There are three basic kinds of ionizing radiation. Alpha radiation: although incapable of penetrating the body through the skin, alpha particles when ingested can irradiate the tissues around them causing cancer, miscarriage, and birth defects, and genetic damage. Beta radiation: is comprised of particles small enough to penetrate the body through the skin and having done so can cause cancers of the thyroid, liver, skin, muscle and bone. Gamma radiation: these particles are capable of deep penetration into the body and are used in X-rays; they are capable of causing changes to cell chemistry leading to cancers and genetic change.

A curie is the amount of radiation given off by a radioactive substance. A rad is the amount of radiation received by an organism. A rem measures



# REMS

the amount of biologically damaging energy contained in the rads received by the organism.

Until recently it was believed, or rather the view was propagated, that there is a certain amount of radiation below which no harm is done to an organism. This belief did much to help in the legitimisation of the nuclear industry, because it meant that workers could be exposed up to a certain amount of radiation, with supposedly no ill-effects to their health.

However, epidemiological studies have proved this assumption to be false. In fact, some researchers believe that the inverse may be true. That is, that 'lower' doses of radiation causing cell damage (e.g. mutations such as cancer) are potentially more harmful than higher doses which cause cell death. By 'lower' is meant the levels to which workers would be occupationally exposed.

Thus it is difficult to categorise the resultant health effects of exposure to a given level of radiation because of the imprecise nature of the dose-disease relationship, the problems of studying the effects of low doses because of the latency period, and the differences in human responses to a certain dose.

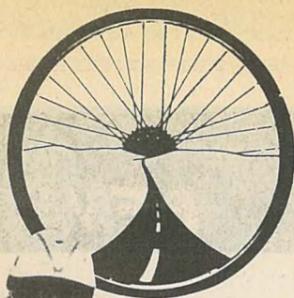
A paper written by Physicians for Social Responsibility in the USA has the following to say about the plethora of studies and opinions on radiation and health:

"There have been more studies performed on the health hazards of radiation than on the health hazards of any other environmental factor. To date, there is no perfect double-blind, controlled trial which certainly would clarify some issues. However . . . there is certainly a solid correlation between radiation exposure and disease. No level is so low that it is free of risks." So why risk it?

Judy Wilks

Reference: Radiation and Health Information Service, Radiation - Your Health at Risk, (Cambridge, 1980) Physicians for Social Responsibility, Health Effects of Nuclear Power and Nuclear Weapons, (Massachusetts, 1980)

The Rems column is a project of Friends of the Earth/Doctors Reform Society Radiation Working Group. This Chain Reaction series aims to give information on how radiation and x-rays affect our everyday lives and health.



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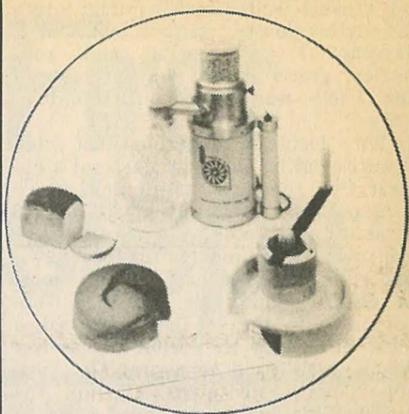
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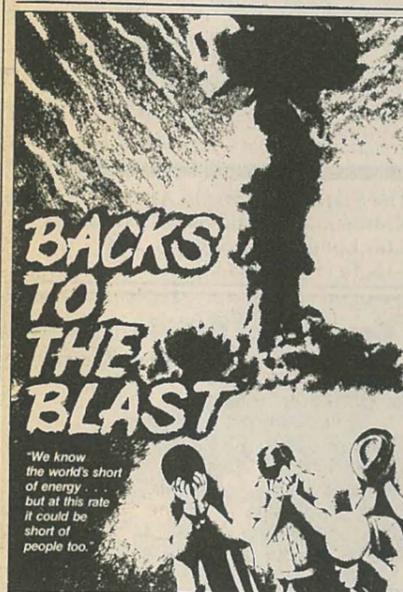
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## Film

**Backs to the Blast, An Australian Nuclear Story**, narrated by Martin Vaughan, produced and directed by Harry Bardwell, Composite Films, PO Box 283, Goodwood, South Australia, 1981, 50 minutes, colour 16mm, prints available from Composite, hire (\$50) from Sydney Film-makers' Co-operative, PO Box 217, Kings Cross, New South Wales, 2011 — telephone (02) 33 0721.



*Backs to the Blast* is a concise historical documentary dealing with South Australia's uranium industry from 1910 to 1980. It provides a detailed examination of the nuclear industry at:

- Radium Hill — one of the first uranium mines in the world, reopened after World War II when Britain entered the nuclear arms race.
- Port Pirie — Radium Hill ore was refined at a uranium oxide plant built less than 1 km from the centre of Port Pirie. (For 20 years children played in this plant's radioactive tailings.)
- Maralinga — The British atomic weapons test site in north western South Australia where over 20 nuclear explosions have taken place.
- Thebarton — An inner suburb of Adelaide where radioactive materials

## REVIEWS

have been handled carelessly, affecting workers and contaminating the environment.

Most Australians know very little about the past and present damage caused by the nuclear industry in South Australia. Harry Bardwell has spent two years scanning vast amounts of archival material related to Radium Hill, Thebarton, Port Pirie and Maralinga and put together a telling collage of historical press clippings, film footage, radio reports and early photographs.

With this background the film outlines the uranium projects planned for the 1980s and 1990s. Comments from SA Mines and Energy Minister Goldsworthy, Mayor Jones from Port Pirie and anti-nuclear activist Ally Fricker from Friends of the Earth Port Pirie give an indication of the attitudes and determination of both pro and anti-nuclear forces which are preparing for the big struggle ahead as the uranium industry attempts to make profits out of Roxby Downs, Honeymoon, Beverley uranium deposits and possibly a uranium conversion plant and enrichment plant.

The timing of the release of the film could not have been better. Almost immediately after the South Australian Government announced a \$½ million feasibility study into uranium conversion plant for Port Pirie the Campaign Against Nuclear Energy held a large public meeting where Cliff Dolan talked and *Backs to the Blast* was shown. Goldsworthy, Mayor Jones and the management at Australian Mineral Development Laboratories (AMDEL) at Thebarton all responded with strong accusations against the film. However, Bardwell had no trouble in defending *Backs to the Blast* because of all the thorough research involved and skilled presentation.

Some of the fallout from the Maralinga explosions was blown across South Australia's border. The proposed new developments in the nuclear industry would also affect many people throughout Australia.

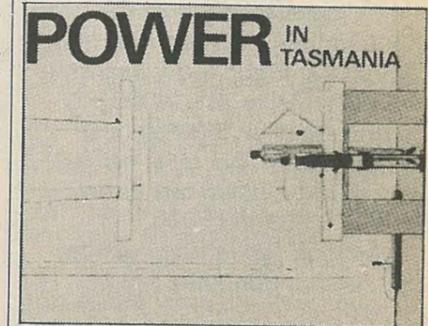
*Backs to the Blast* should be seen by all Australians who want to become more informed about the effects of the nuclear industry in Australia. It shows what is happening right here on our doorstep.

The film is very suitable for group screenings for unions, environmental groups and history and social studies classes.

Ashley Campbell

## Books

**Power in Tasmania** by Peter Thompson. Australian Conservation Foundation, Melbourne, October 1981, 192 pages, \$13.95 (soft cover), \$19.95 (hard cover).



Power in any democracy ultimately resides with the people who temporarily vest it in their elected political representatives. The people also employ bureaucrats to implement the will of elected government.

In his well researched, illustrated and timely contribution Peter Thompson has revealed Tasmania and its autonomous, semi-government Hydro-Electric Commission as notable exceptions on both counts.

He shows how the HEC has acquired and exercised political power to entrench itself as a state within the state. *Power* is a book of historical and factual quality with 1981 currency. I recommend it to MPs, thinking adults and students.

It is the first chronological 'nuts and bolts' analysis of what occurred in the HEC, political and government decision making processes that for nine months have left the state's parliament deadlocked over future energy development and South West Tasmania's wilderness.

*Power* has exposed the subversion of government, submission of Opposition, subjugation of parliament and manipulation of public thinking by unelected bureaucrats. It also gives fresh insight into Tasmania's wilderness, energy demands, job concepts and resource waste and rip-off.

*Power* is not another emotive or coffee table rehash aimed at saving this wilderness.

Angus Downie

## PSSST...

How often in your job have you thought 'the public really ought to know about this'?

*Chain Reaction* hereby volunteers to serve as an outlet for information — a Leak Bureau. Informants will be guaranteed anonymity and utmost discretion. Any information received will be responsibly used and shared with other groups (preserving the anonymity of the informant) which might make good use of it.

Our address is: *Chain Reaction*, Room 13, Floor 4, 37 Swanston St, Melbourne, 3000.

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## REVIEWS

**Energy to Burn? A guide to saving energy and money around the home.** Conservation Council of Victoria, Melbourne, 1981, 52 pages, \$3.00 (soft cover).



In a situation of changing pricing structures for sources of energy there is no doubt that this recent publication by the Conservation Council of Victoria fills a gap on newsagent and bookshop shelves. Changes in liquid fuel pricing in particular have made everyone more willing to consider the information contained in the 52 pages of well presented material in this publication.

Sections on energy saving at home, in transportation, at work and through political action provide numerous suggestions as to how the individual tenant as well as home owner, public transport user as well as private motorist, may save energy. Though most of the material presented is available in other publications its compilation into one readable and modestly priced book is welcome. While most of the information presented is of use to the individual energy consumer, impacts of public policy and directions for political action are not ignored.

As with all worthwhile publications the preferences of the authors (e.g. in favour of energy conservation) are made plain. However, for the individual

who does not hold a strongly felt commitment to the values of energy conservation, the inclusion of some tables indicating probable long term financial disadvantages of using oil, electric or even gas for water and space heating, as opposed to solar, might have allowed an interested individual to make a decision on an intended heating system without much further literature searching.

As with any book that attempts to consider aspects of energy use, presentation of material on a subject with so many diverse impacts is, almost inevitably, a little scattered. Therefore it is important for readers only interested in a particular aspect of energy saving to read the book as a whole. Read as a whole however, this book provides many indicators for those concerned about energy conservation for the future as well as cost savings.

So, if you or a friend want a good thought starter on the subject of energy conservation this could be the publication to get. Once the individual has had his/her appetite stimulated by this book greater progress towards energy efficient homes and lifestyles might be expected; here's hoping anyway.

David Liversidge

**The State of the World Atlas** by Michael Kidron and Ronald Segal. Pan Books Ltd, London and Sydney, 1981, \$16.95 (soft cover).



This atlas is not like those ones back at school, the maps of which were covered in pink thanks to British imperialism. Remember how the back pages included futuristic panoramas of how western farms would look by the end of the century... shiny automated machinery harvesting acre on acre of wheat with

not a human in sight. This atlas is different.

In 65 (Winkel's 'Tripel' Projection) world maps this atlas presents information ranging from the standing of each nation's nuclear capacity to the proportion of each nation's population without a safe water supply. Did you know that over three times as much is spent in the advertising industry in Australia compared to France, as a proportion of the value of industrial output?

The people who brought us our *Big Red Diaries*, Pluto Press, now present information not generally available elsewhere, accessible at a glance — countries are ranked by the degree of sexual discrimination in jobs. The presentation of data is visually appealing and the maps well designed. Few people would wade through a publication with the same information in writing.

But the maps are often only a guide to trends and useful in general comparisons between nations. Differences, for example, in abortion legislation between states of Australia aren't shown. Instead the map shows that across Australia abortions are 'legal on social or social/medical grounds'. Up the back are notes on each map explaining sources used, discrepancies acknowledged and the authors' judgements. No struggles for independence in any Pacific nations are recognised.

The strikes, serious battles with the police and demonstrations occurring around Australia as protests against nuclear power and mining and transport of nuclear material to early 1980 are presented in Map 60: Nuclear Power No Thanks.

Good value for players from 8 to 80, and graphic designers, even if you have to buy it.

Mark Carter

**Carbon Dioxide and Climate: Australian Research**, edited by G I Pearson, Australian Academy of Science, 1980, 217 pages, \$19.95 (hard cover).

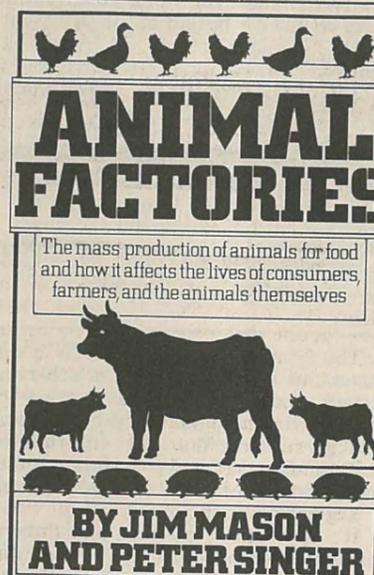
This is a collection of invited specialist papers edited from a conference organised by the Australian Academy of Science in September 1980. Changes in the carbon dioxide content of the atmosphere have been used in attempts to trace climatic history, and from this to infer future trends. Now, with man's activities rapidly altering CO<sub>2</sub> fluxes at the earth/atmosphere interface, these changes are very much a topic of concern. The selection of papers reflects the long term involvement of an 'invisible college' centred on the CSIRO Division of Atmospheric Physics.

As competition for attention and funding becomes more and more acute, there is a danger that cases can be overstated and statements used out of context, whether by scientists,

'conservationists' or by the media. Another pitfall is the enormous 'number crunching' power of modern computer systems, which allow elaborate models to be constructed, which may be very sensitive to the quality of the limited data available to test them. The majority of authors in the book are well aware of these possible pitfalls, though a few perhaps overstate their particular cases. There is a considerable danger that eye-catching phrases in abstracts such as "we might expect atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> concentrations to be between 60 and 100% above present levels by the year 2030" taken in isolation can be used to push many views. In the excellent bibliographies provided the specialist reader may find an occasional reference so used. However, the book is a most valuable resource for anyone prepared to study the subject seriously, and should be widely available for tertiary meteorology and biogeography students.

Margaret Anderson

**Animal Factories** by Jim Mason and Peter Singer. Crown Publishers, New York, 1980, 174 pages, \$USA10.95 (hard cover).



*Animal Factories* is a fact and figure handbook. It will supply animal activists, environmentalists, and those concerned with human starvation the ammunition needed in the struggle for justice for animals. Peter Singer in his book *Animal Liberation* logically laid down sound, philosophical arguments against the morality of factory farming sentient creatures. Together with Jim Mason, a lawyer/journalist from Midwestern USA, they have produced the follow-up that gives documented details and practical points to support the arguments in Singer's previous work.

The nine chapters are heavily illustrated with exceptional photographs that quite powerfully present the situation for the animals. Several chapters deal with the biomachines — (i.e. factory farmed cows, calves, pigs, chickens, turkeys) environment: "It is obvious that the light supplied by sunshine during the day and normal darkness at night is the most inferior of any lighting program" (quote from the *Broiler Industry* 1976) — and their diet — "Each year about nine million pounds of antibiotics go into animal feeds."

Other chapters focus on the inherent waste in energy and food by utilizing the highly intensified systems. "If the corn and soybeans consumed in the pig and broiler factories were consumed instead by humans, for each unit of fossil fuel energy used in production, we would get back nearly five times the protein produced by either the pigs or the broilers."

The role of multinational companies including Ralston-Purina, Pfiser, Shell Oil, Upjohn, Ciba-Geigy, Dow, Mobil Chemical, Monsanto, etc. that are involved in maintaining and supplying the 'farms' with equipment, drugs, and pesticides is also examined.

The strength of this work lies in the fact that most of the documented information comes directly from the intensive farming industries' own journals and magazines.

The problems for the animals, both human and non-human and the environment can be tackled in a simple manner by most of us individually. "Meanwhile, consumers worried about the quality and safety of factory farm products have at least one way out: they can quit eating them."

Patty Mark

**Energy-Efficient Community Planning. A guide to saving energy and producing power at the local level** by James Ridgeway with Carolyn S Projansky. The JG Press, Emmaus, Pasadena, 1979 (Australian distributor: Global Village Bookshop, 98 Rowe St, Eastwood, NSW). 221 pages, \$14.95 (soft cover), \$19.95 (hard cover).

I have become accustomed to reading books about alternative energy strategies which stop heartbreakingly short of any real action. This book is not one of those.

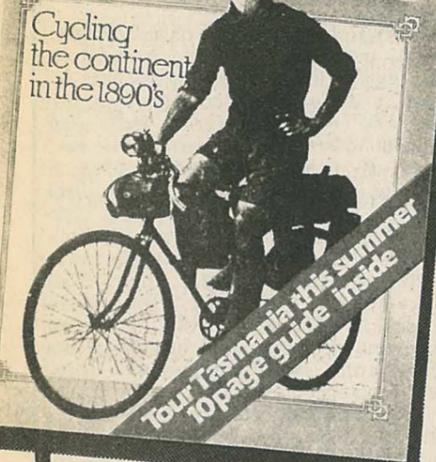
It gives detailed case studies of energy conservation action undertaken at the local government level and the conclusions drawn from them are encouraging.

Although the cases are all from the USA (where the book is printed on recycled paper) it is obvious that similar action is possible in Australia.

The one common element in all the examples selected by the authors, is that local authorities perceived a prob-

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## REVIEWS

lem, then looked at their capabilities and worked out a response.

The problem was not always seen primarily in terms of energy use, but by and large the responses gave energy consumption patterns a good share in the right direction.

After digestion of the book, one is left to feverishly contemplate the possibility of community action filling the vacuum of this country's national energy policy, in much the same way as Ridgeway sees as a possibility in the USA.

"... in the last six years there have been substantial changes in the way American towns and cities use energy. While these changes are seldom noticed, they combine to make the beginnings of what could well become a national energy policy."

I recommend the book to everyone as we all have a potential for participating in similar actions in Australia, however it would be particularly useful to people in local government organisations.

Bob Beatty

**Social, Legal and Economic Strategies to Encourage Energy Conservation in Buildings** by R V Hayes and J S Angel, Environmental & Urban Studies Report No. 66, Macquarie University, Sydney, March 1981, 262 pages, \$10 (soft cover).

The essence of the report is a discussion of strategies aimed at achieving various goals in the conservation of energy in buildings. It groups these strategies into 6 types: 1. Information 2. Persuasion 3. Pricing 4. Marketability improvement 5. Social inducements 6. Regulation.

It makes no specific recommendations other than to try to rank the suitability of a strategy according to one or more of 6 main objectives which could apply.

It is *not* an activists manual; political analysis is very thin. The strategies discussed do give an idea of where we are (or are not) in Australia in terms of energy conservation in buildings, and what has been happening overseas, particularly in the USA. It also builds a picture of the obstacles, the actors, and problems facing would-be strategists.

It is written by researchers at Macquarie University for the New South Wales chapter of Royal Australian Institute of Architects. Wading through the 262 pages, which have a degree of

Social, Legal & Economic Strategies to Encourage Energy Conservation in Buildings

R.V. Hayes & J.S. Angel



Environmental & Urban Studies Report No.66  
 Macquarie University  
 March 1981

repetition, unrelieved by graphic illustration, was heavy going.

It is directed at Government policy makers and sees strategy making as "an exercise in power which must be applied to the myriad of social, political and economic groupings in society". Trying to appear objective seriously weakens it. Without a political strategy, even the authors recommended Government encouragement of public discussion of the issue and an energy information service pilot program won't happen.

Gregory Strickland

### Other books worth mention:

**Reforestation**, Collected papers of the Reforestation Seminar held at Ballina, New South Wales, 13-14 September 1980. Edited by R V Clarke, D Hume and J Seed.

**Appropriate Technology Sourcebook Volume II, A guide to practical books and plans for village and small community technology**, by Ken Darrow, Kent Keller and Rick Pam. A Volunteers in Asia, Stanford, California, 1981 (Australian Distributor: Second Back Row Press.) 816 pages, \$8.95 (soft cover).

**Sun Reflections, Images for the new solar age** by John N Cole. Rodale Press. (Australian distributor: Australia and New Zealand Book Co.) 249 pages, \$14.95 (soft cover).

**Energy/War, Breaking the nuclear link** by Amory B and L Hunter Lovins. Friends of the Earth, San Francisco, 1980, 162 pages, \$12.95 (hard cover).

**Jobs, Energy and Environmental Harmony, Towards a sustainable economy for South Australia** by Chas Martin. Environmentalists For Full Employment, Adelaide, 1981, 46 pages, \$3.00 (soft cover).



**South-West Forests Defence Foundation**  
 PO Box 203  
 Medlands  
 Western Australia 6009  
 Telephone (09) 368 1471

### Current objectives

To see a proper land-use plan drawn up and implemented for the South-West, the last remaining area of prime native hardwood forest in Western Australia, with full participation in the planning and decision-making processes by all interested parties.

### Methods

Legal action is a basic tenet of the Foundation. Public education, lobbying and surveillance over the woodchip industry are also important. At present, a committee member of the Foundation is engaged in a court action against the WA Chip and Pulp Company, objecting to aspects of a film *Forests Forever*, made for the WA Forest Products Association and the WA Forests Department.

### Past activities

Submissions to State and Federal bodies with responsibilities for environmental matters, publication of reports on various aspects of the woodchip industry, and public awareness activities, e.g. trips to the woodchip licence areas to see the results of clear-felling.

### Future plans

To increase public awareness of the beauty and uniqueness of the karri forest, and of the devastating effects of clear-felling.

### Help needed

New members are required. Funds are urgently needed to help meet the expenses incurred in the current legal action. Assistance by experts in relevant fields is needed.

### Resources available

T-shirts, karri-bags and several publications for hire, sale or reference. Speakers are also available.



**Friends of the Earth (Canberra)**  
 17 De Burgh Street  
 Lyneham  
 Australian Capitol Territory 2602  
 Telephone (062) 47 8868

### Current objectives

Educating ourselves and the community on a variety of issues. Current emphasis is on opposition to the nuclear industry, supporting renewable energy strategies, and the link between energy and jobs.

### Methods

Talks, appearances and displays at public meetings and festivals, letter writing campaigns, and liaison with sympathetic groups such as Canberra Peacemakers, New Millrights, Conservation Council, and International Solar Energy Society.

A weekly half hour radio program is planned to commence in September on 2XX (1008 KHz), the local community radio station. A bookstall will commence on Saturday mornings in Civic once the warmer weather approaches.

### Future plans

Representation at the Environment Fair at Commonwealth Park, on 10 October, participation in the Environment Walk on 1 November, increase membership and awareness of the group by promoting the on-going activities (radio and bookstall, letters, etc).

### Help needed

Any assistance is always welcomed. Meetings are each Tuesday night at 8pm at 17 de Burgh Street, Lyneham. Telephone 47 8868.

More people are always welcome to assist in the existing activities and to promote and perform new ones. Particular help is needed to research, write and perform material for the radio program as we see this as one of the most effective methods of promoting the group and the issues involved.

### Resources available

Write and obtain information about our special offer on free leaflets and low cost books.

## ACTION GUIDE



**Australian Freedom From Hunger Campaign (SA)**  
 First Floor  
 155 Pirie Street  
 Adelaide 5000  
 (GPO Box 334)  
 Telephone (08) 223 7205

### Current objectives

To involve a wide range of individuals and organisations in South Australia in publicising Third World development issues, and raising money to support Third World communities' efforts to develop their own resources.

### Methods

Establishment of local Freedom From Hunger Committees or Groups throughout the state, provision of speakers, films and other resource material to interest groups, and organisation of fund-raising events. Currently the Annual State Doorknock and other World Food Day activities (16 October) are being planned.

### Future plans

To set up more Freedom From Hunger groups interested in public education, activism and fund-raising, and to obtain further support formally or informally from all types of organisations in South Australia. In 1982 a Nationwide Membership Campaign will begin. This will enable members to keep up to date on Australian Freedom From Hunger Activities and to keep informed on current development issues. Members will also be able to participate in the decision making processes of the Campaign.

### Help needed

Volunteers are always needed for a wide range of activities, and will be required especially during the Doorknock time (18-25 October).

### Resources available

These include a broad range of films, slide and tape sets, posters and publications for hire, sale or reference. Speakers are also available.

## FRIENDS OF THE EARTH MEMBERSHIP FORM

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Donations are very welcome.

Contact us for details on how to make tax deductible donations to FOE.

### National

Friends of the Earth groups from around Australia will get together in January 1982. Perth, Port Pirie, Sydney, Collingwood and Canberra FOE groups have agreed with *Chain Reaction's* proposal for the meeting.

It will be an important opportunity to plan new stages of our campaigns and to review the operations of this magazine, FOE Australia's major joint venture.

### Collingwood

The FOE Collingwood membership and fund raising campaign is proving successful, with a renewed surge of interest and support from the community. We have printed and distributed a membership supplement describing FOE's activities and environmental involvement over the past decade. We held a sneak preview of *Backs to the Blast* (a new Australian film, funded initially by FOE Collingwood detailing the history of the nuclear industry and bomb testing in South Australia). We have sent letters to all members seeking support for these campaigns and notifying them of forthcoming events. With never waning optimism we have sent tax deductible donation forms to our members and to State politicians suggesting they follow Victorian Premier Lindsay Thompson's admirable

### FOE GROUPS

example and donate their wage increases to community groups such as Friends of the Earth.

But the pressure is still on, with workers at FOE Collingwood accepting a voluntary 10% cut in wages, photocopying reduced to an absolute minimum and a ban on all STD phone calls. Even though membership has increased by a staggering 100% (it was a pitifully low 270 at the commencement of the membership campaign) and with donations beginning to trickle in, we are still crying out for support. Come to our bush dance to welcome in Spring at the Collingwood Town Hall on 4 September at 8pm with Black Sheep and other entertainment for the kids. Contact us at the Collingwood office to book a table. Remember the Earth needs more friends. Join us now!

Anne Carson

*Chain Reaction* plans to keep giving news of FOE on this page in each edition. If your FOE group would like to write a piece for publication here contact the Editors.

#### Australian Capital Territory

**Canberra:** 17 De Burgh Street, Lyneham, 2602. Phone (062) 47 8868.

#### Northern Territory

**Darwin:** PO Box 2120, Darwin, 5794. Phone (089) 81 6222.

#### Queensland

**Brisbane:** PO Box 667, South Brisbane, 4101. Phone (07) 44 1616

#### South Australia

**Adelaide:** 310 Angas Street, Adelaide, 5000. Phone (07) 223 6917.  
**Port Pirie:** PO Box 7, Port Pirie, 5540. Phone (086) 34 5269.

#### Tasmania

**Hobart:** 102 Bathurst Street, Hobart, 7000. Phone (002) 34 5566.  
**Burnie:** PO Box 350, Ulverstone, 7315.

#### Victoria

**Victorian Resource Centre:** 366 Smith Street, Collingwood, 3066. Phone (03) 419 8700.  
**Eltham:** PO Box 295, Eltham, 3095. Phone (03) 435 9160.  
**Glen Waverley:** c/- 1092 Whitehorse Road, Box Hill, 3128. Phone (03) 88 1610.

#### La Trobe University: Environment Resource

Please note — several contacts are home addresses and telephone numbers. *Chain Reaction* offices are listed on page 1.

**Centre, La Trobe University Students' Union, Bundoora, 3083. Phone (03) 478 3122 ext. 2456.**

**Monash University:** Community Research Action Centre, Monash University Union, Clayton, 3168. Phone (03) 541 0811 ext. 3141.

**Oakleigh:** 1/7 Monash Street, South Oakleigh, 3167. Phone (03) 579 4302.

#### Western Australia

**Perth:** Office — 537 Wellington Street, Perth, 6000. Phone (09) 321 5942, 321 2269. Shop — 373 Oxford Street, Mount Hawthorn, 6016. Phone (09) 444 6017.

**Manjimup:** PO Box 132, Manjimup, 6258. Phone (097) 72 1344.

**University of Western Australia:** Guild of Undergraduates, University of WA, Nedlands, 6009.

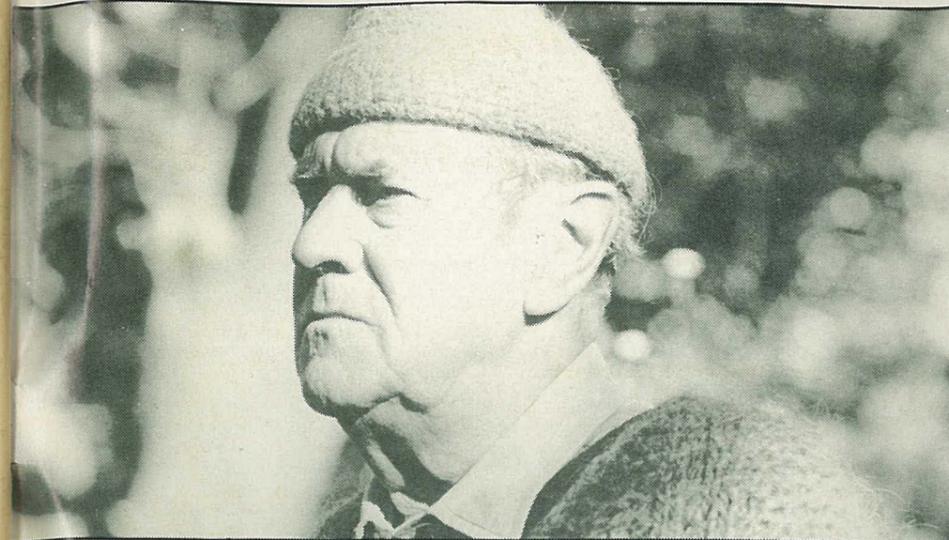
#### New South Wales

**NSW Resource Centre:** 101 Cleveland Street, Chippendale, 2008. Phone (02) 698 4114.

**Blue Mountains:** 94 Waratah Street, Katoomba, 2780.

**Ryde:** 18 Kokoda Street, North Ryde, 2113. Phone (02) 88 2429.

**Randwick:** 84 Dalmeny Avenue, Rosebery, 2018.



Patrick White, author and Patron of Friends of the Earth (New South Wales)

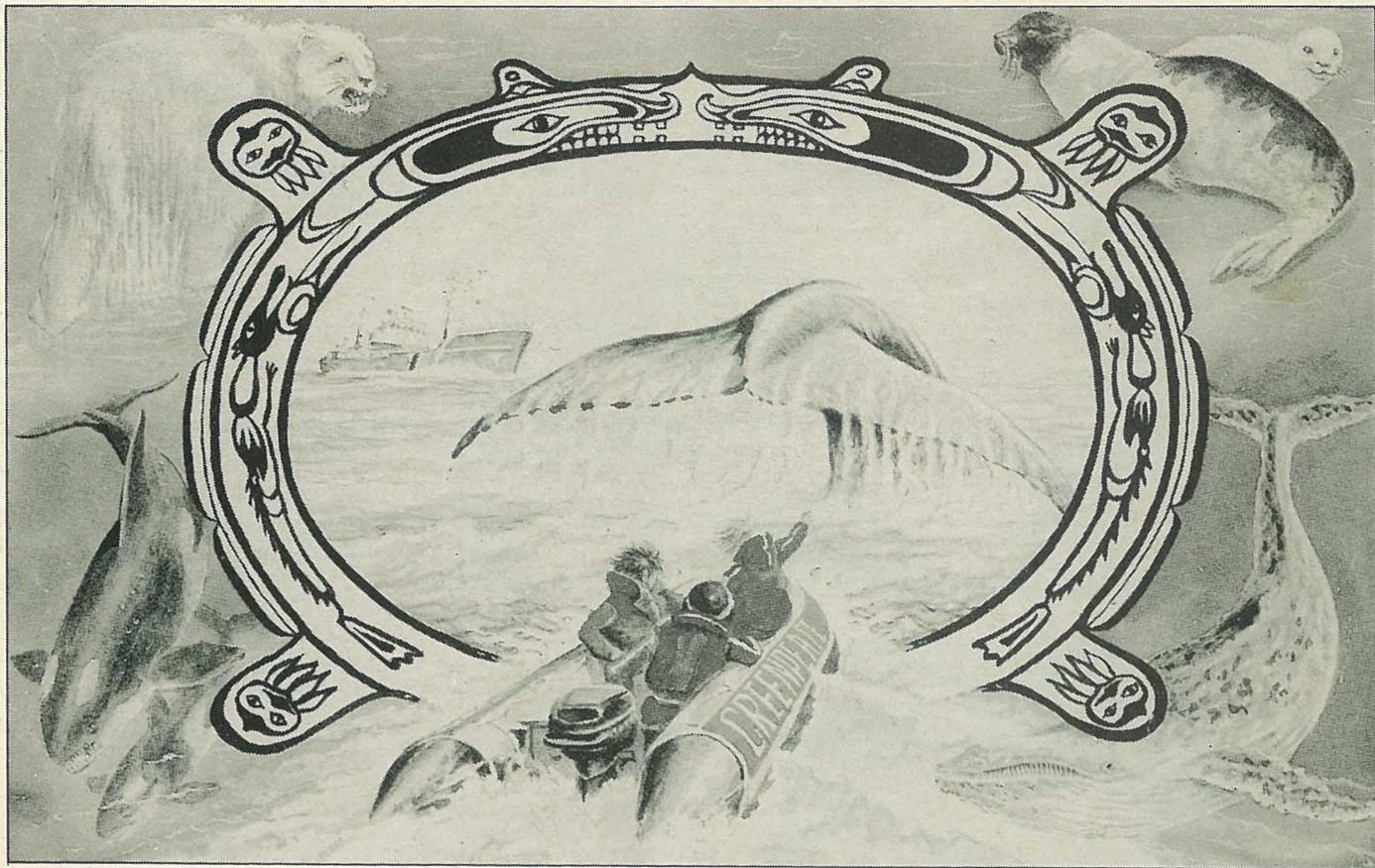


Joan Shears, organiser with the Campaign Against Nuclear Power (Queensland)



Christina Melaluka, project officer on 'Women and Imperialism', International

What could  
your friends  
have in  
common  
with these  
people?



# GREENPEACE

Greenpeace is an international movement dedicated to preserving our environment based on an appreciation of the INTERDEPENDENCE of all forms of life. We have arrived at a place in history where decisive *action* must be taken to avoid a general environmental disaster. With nuclear weapons and reactors proliferating and over 900 species on the endangered list, there can be no further delay or our children will be denied their future.

We at Greenpeace have used our energies and resources to protest nuclear testing in Alaska and the South Pacific, and to confront the whaling fleets in the North Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, as well as save untold lives of baby Harp and Hooded seals in Canada and release hundreds of trapped dolphins in Japan.

We believe our actions must reflect our commitment to life and we bear no hatred to those whom we resist in their exploitation of our environment; our presence will be peaceful and non-violent. Our goals will be achieved not by violent physical force, but by the strength of our moral statement — a statement that cannot be ignored by those responsible for the injustice we protest.

Through an understanding of the principles of ecology we must find new directions for the evolution of human values and human institutions.

Short term economics must be replaced with actions based on the need for conservation and preservation of the entire global ecosystem.

We must learn to live in harmony, not with just our fellow humans, but with all the creatures on our planet.

## GREENPEACE MEMBERSHIP AND DONATION FORM

NAME:

ADDRESS:

STATE:

POSTCODE:

I WOULD LIKE MORE INFORMATION ABOUT BECOMING A GREENPEACE VOLUNTEER

MEMBERSHIP \$20 LIFETIME

DONATION \$

TOTAL

SEND TO: GREENPEACE AUSTRALIA (NSW) PO BOX 277 PADDINGTON NSW 2021

