

# chain reaction

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The National Magazine of Friends of the Earth Australia

[www.foe.org.au](http://www.foe.org.au)

## ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM



- Federal government's attacks on environment groups

- Will militarism block the climate change movement?

- Renewable energy revolution
- The nuclear war on Aboriginal people

- Expanding the concept of environmental racism

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Edition #127 – August 2016

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Friends of the Earth (FoE) Australia is a federation of independent local groups.

You can join FoE by contacting your local group – see the inside back cover of Chain Reaction for contact details or visit [foe.org.au/local-groups](http://foe.org.au/local-groups)

There is a monthly FoE Australia email newsletter – subscribe via the website: [www.foe.org.au](http://www.foe.org.au)

To financially support our work, please visit [foe.org.au/donate](http://foe.org.au/donate)

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Break Free protest in Newcastle.



### Break Free from fossil fuels

On May 8, Friends of the Earth activists joined a couple of thousand people gathered in Newcastle to shut down the world's biggest coal port. This protest took place in the broader context of the largest global act of civil disobedience in the history of the climate movement, with actions in countries around the world from Canada to the Philippines, Nigeria to Germany, Brazil to South Africa.

In Newcastle, Horseshoe Beach filled with colourful kayaks, traditional canoes and homemade rafts, and people of all ages including families, campaigners, students, full time workers, Indigenous crew, a Pacific Islander contingent and pirates, who took to the water to block coal ship access to the port.

Meanwhile, others shut down the coal port itself, locking on to conveyor belts and climbing infrastructure, while another group blocked a rail bridge preventing coal trains from accessing the port.

Sam Castro, one of the group arrested on the rail bridge, said: "On Mother's Day this year I decided rather than taking the day off to be spoiled by my kids with breakfast in bed, I decided I would take a stand for their future and mine by joining thousands of people in Newcastle to blockade the biggest coal port in the world. Originally I intended to join the flotilla out on the water but instead I ultimately found myself joining around 60 other brave people to occupy a river bridge train line into the Newcastle coal port. Many of these people had only met the day before and many had never been involved in any form of direct action or civil disobedience. Together we peacefully walked out on the bridge over the water and occupied the rail line for over six hours, apparently backing up the flow of coal trains all the way to northern NSW. For me, the occupation of the bridge

that day was a declaration by ordinary people that we will fight for our future. For those of us risking arrest, we did so because our leaders have failed us for decades and the fossil fuel industry has no intention of voluntarily changing their ways."

Sixty-six people were arrested at Break Free and their court cases are ongoing. If you would like to offer support to these brave people, you can donate at [www.frontlineaction.org/donate](http://www.frontlineaction.org/donate), or email [katmoore99@gmail.com](mailto:katmoore99@gmail.com) to find out how to get involved in future fundraising in Melbourne.

*For more information on the international and Australian protests see [www.breakfree2016.org](http://www.breakfree2016.org) and [www.australia.breakfree2016.org](http://www.australia.breakfree2016.org)*



## art for earth's sake

FoE Melbourne's Anti-nuclear & Clean Energy (ACE) collective is holding our annual art auction in November and we'd love your creative contributions! We are seeking art donations until the 15th of October.

The auction will raise vital funds for our national nuclear-free campaign work. For over 40 years we've been an important part of a passionate national and international movement working at all stages of the nuclear chain to protect country and community from this toxic industry. To learn more about our work please visit [www.foe.org.au/waste](http://www.foe.org.au/waste), [www.foe.org.au/anti-nuclear](http://www.foe.org.au/anti-nuclear) and join our Facebook group: Ace Collective

If you can support our art auction please contact Michaela 0415 656 403, Anica 0487 294 910 or email [ace@foe.org.au](mailto:ace@foe.org.au)

## Global Marches Against Monsanto

Jessica Harrison, from Friends of the Earth affiliate GM-Free Australia Alliance, writes:

In May, Global Marches Against Monsanto were held for the fourth consecutive year. Rallies and marches were held in 400 cities in over 50 countries, from Tokyo to Mexico to Paris, with the slogan "We will not stand for cronyism. We will not stand for poison. That's why we March Against Monsanto".

In our region, events included a rally for People and Planet, organised by Pesticide Action Group of Western Australia, Alliance for a Clean Environment and Save Our Trees WA. The rally focussed on the failure of industry and governments to exercise a duty of care in approving risky pesticides and presented a petition calling for a Royal Commission into the use of pesticides and harm to public health.

A mock trial was held outside Monsanto Australia's HQ in Melbourne, as a lead-up to the People's Tribunal against Monsanto, to be held at the Hague in October. The Tribunal is an international civil society initiative to hold Monsanto accountable for human rights violations, crimes against humanity, and ecocide. Judges will hear testimonies from victims, and deliver an advisory opinion following procedures of the International Court of Justice.

A parallel People's Assembly will provide an opportunity for social movements to rally and plan for the future we

want. Their website says: "Monsanto promotes an agro-industrial model that contributes at least one third of global anthropogenic greenhouse gas emissions; it is also largely responsible for the depletion of soil and water resources, species extinction and declining biodiversity, and the displacement of millions of small farmers worldwide. This is a model that threatens food sovereignty by patenting seeds and privatizing life"

Groups and individuals can sign up to support the Tribunal at [www.monsanto-tribunal.org](http://www.monsanto-tribunal.org)

Monsanto is still trying to undo damage to glyphosate sales from the 2015 finding by the WHO's International Agency for Research on Cancer that glyphosate is defined as a "Class 2A probable carcinogen". The debate over the company's weed-killer is reaching critical mass in Europe. Germany and France have publicly backed away from what the industry and the European Commission assumed would be an easy vote for glyphosate's re-approval. Now there is a deadlock and the weedkiller's license was due to expire on June 30.

Meanwhile, on July 1, Vermont became the first state in the US to require labels on all genetically engineered foods. To quote Neil Young, whose latest album "The Monsanto Years" is dedicated to supporting small farmers and stopping GMOs: "Hands in the soil will outgrow Monsanto".

## Risky nanoparticles in baby formula

Independent testing commissioned by FoE USA has found risky nanoparticles in baby formula available online in Australia. The European Commission's Scientific Committee on Consumer Safety concluded that the needle-like form of nano hydroxyapatite, which is similar in shape to asbestos, is potentially toxic and should not be used in toothpastes, tooth whiteners and mouth washes. If it's not safe for use in toothpaste, it's certainly not safe in baby formula.

How have these materials made their way into baby formula with no testing and no labelling? How has Food Standards Australia New Zealand (FSANZ) failed again to take the basic steps needed to ensure that new and risky ingredients aren't added to our foods - especially baby food - without safety testing? FSANZ cannot claim that these nanoparticles are safe. They have no scientific evidence to support such a claim. They cannot claim they didn't know baby formula contains nanoparticles - they have consistently refused to undertake any testing or even surveys of business in order to determine the extent of nanoparticle use in food.

*More information:*

<http://emergingtech.foe.org.au/fsanz-fails-us-again-risky-nanoparticles-found-in-baby-formula/>

## Renewables, fossil fuels and climate campaigning in Victoria

A number of long-running FoE campaigns in Victoria are coming to an end. Of the four key campaign priorities that we have been working on at the state level in Victoria in recent years, we have achieved two of them: a re-start of the renewable energy sector in the state (which had been brought to a halt by the Coalition when it was in power from 2010 to 2014) and the creation of state renewable energy targets (called VRETs).

After helping to gain a halt to all onshore gas drilling in 2012, Friends of the Earth and Quit Coal have been awaiting the government response to the state inquiry that was held into this industry in 2015. Across the state and in the capital we organised, painted and gathered together. Farmers, who have held out for years, campaigning and developing imaginative protests, were looking for a prospect of relief, hoping their hard work had paid off, ending the uncertainty.

We were positive, but reserved, anticipating a total ban but preparing for something less beneficial on June 8 when the decision was expected. The result: the decision has been postponed! The decision-making process has been drawn out because of a Cabinet reshuffle and a new minister, Wade Noonan, taking over responsibility for the Resources portfolio.

The rural people of Victoria are determined and will fight on as they have for years, and Friends of the Earth will continue to support their cause.

There is one piece of information that Minister Noonan must have already: there is no social licence for on-shore gas here. Please take action: send a message to the Premier, Treasurer and Deputy Premier. It will only take a few minutes, but it will have an impact. Some ideas for action are posted at [www.melbourne.foe.org.au/final\\_push](http://www.melbourne.foe.org.au/final_push)

A key element of our campaigning in rural areas over the past five years has been to build active opposition to both new coal and gas. FoE Melbourne is now moving onto the next phase in its climate campaigns, with a stronger focus on gaining the closure of existing brown coal power stations and a just transition which will see a major re-focus of the Latrobe Valley economy.

There are two key pathways for our work in the remainder of 2016. The first is through the review of the Climate Change Act, which was gutted by the Coalition when they were in power. The second is through launching a major community initiative to encourage the government to make the next two state budgets primarily about supporting the transition to a truly sustainable economy. We are calling this the climate budget. We will also be continuing our work on new coal proposals, supporting communities who are fighting various plans for coal exploration and mining in regional Victoria.

[www.melbourne.foe.org.au/coal\\_and\\_gas](http://www.melbourne.foe.org.au/coal_and_gas), [www.coalandgasfreevic.org](http://www.coalandgasfreevic.org)

## College Creek added to Vic Reserve system

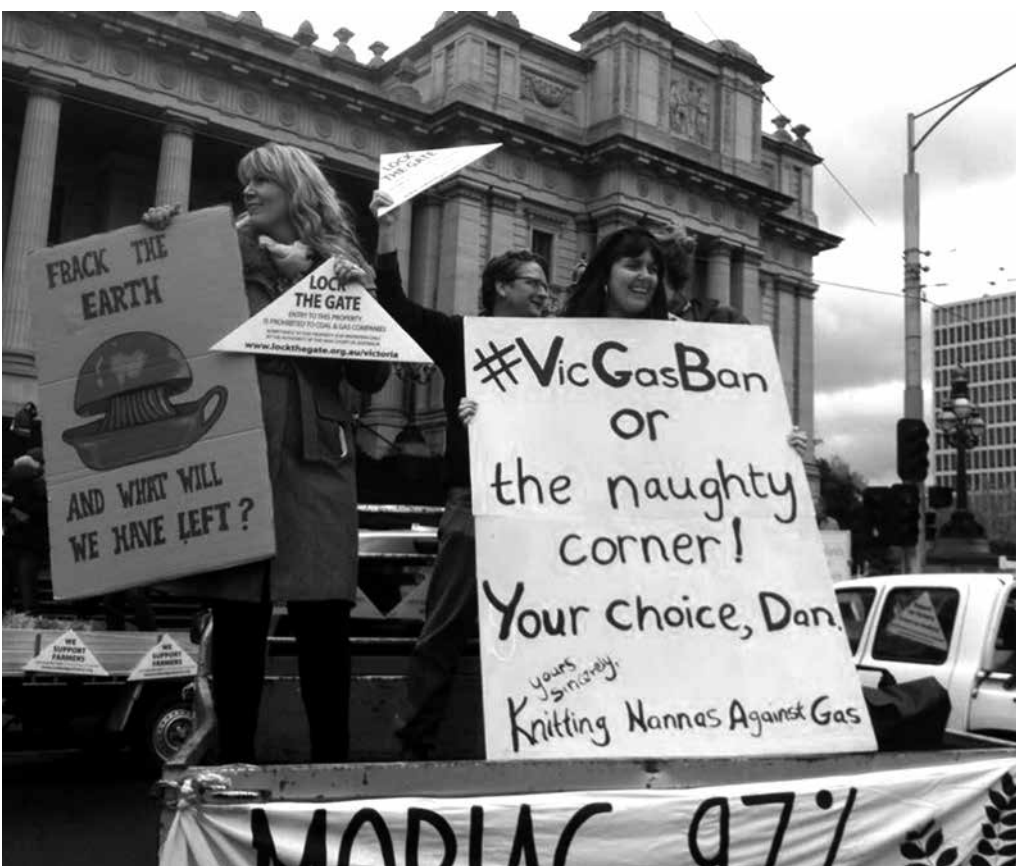
After a 20-year campaign, Friends of the Earth was recently informed that College Creek, in Victoria's Strzelecki Ranges, will soon be added to the State's Reserve system. The College Creek handover will be the first package of land comprising of 8,500 hectares that will be gradually handed back over the next few years. The Strzelecki Ranges is the most depleted bioregion in Victoria and the protection of core rainforest catchments of the region has been the major focus of FoE's plantation campaign since the mid-1990s. The campaign work was carried out in conjunction with Susie Zent from Friends of Gippsland Bush.

## Tulele Peisa and Climate Frontlines

FoE Australia affiliate Tulele Peisa – the program relocating Carteret Islanders to Bougainville in PNG – has made a submission to the UNFCCC Executive Committee of the Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage. The Committee invited relevant organisations such as Tulele Peisa to provide information on migration and displacement as a result of climate change-related factors. The submission is posted at <http://tinyurl.com/tulele-sub> and Tulele Peisa's website is [www.tulele-peisa.org](http://www.tulele-peisa.org)

In 2012, the Climate Frontlines collective in FoE Brisbane, which also serves as the Friends of Tulele Peisa, was contacted by the Catholic Climate Covenant in the US. They were planning a major climate change educational initiative in high schools and colleges around the country and had negotiated the use of a film called *Sun Come Up*, produced in 2007 by a US-based film crew, documenting the impacts of climate change on the Carterets and the beginnings of the relocation program. Climate Frontlines was able to organise an audio interview with the program director, Ursula Rakova, with updated information about its implementation.

In early June the Catholic Climate Covenant invited Wendy Flannery, the Climate Frontlines convenor, to take part in an international webinar on the topic: "Climate Change's Canaries: Oceans and Vulnerable Populations". Wendy presented on the challenges faced by vulnerable communities in the Pacific Islands region. All of the presentations were accompanied by slides and followed by a Q&A. The video and audio files of the webinar can be accessed at <http://tinyurl.com/ccovenant>



Friends of the Earth International (FoEI) is a federation of autonomous organisations from all over the world. Our members, in over 70 countries, campaign on the most urgent environmental and social issues, while working towards sustainable societies. FoEI currently has five international programs: Climate Justice and Energy; Economic Justice, Resisting Neoliberalism; Food Sovereignty; Forests and Biodiversity; and Resisting Mining, Oil and Gas.

## Friends of the Earth International Online

**Web:** [www.foei.org](http://www.foei.org)

**Social media:**

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[www.twitter.com/FoEint](http://www.twitter.com/FoEint)

[www.youtube.com/user/friendsoftheearthint](http://www.youtube.com/user/friendsoftheearthint)

<http://vimeo.com/channels/foei>

[www.flickr.com/photos/foei](http://www.flickr.com/photos/foei)

**Action alerts:**

<http://action.foei.org/page/speakout>

[www.foei.org/take-action](http://www.foei.org/take-action)

**FoE International's web radio station (in five languages):**

[www.radiomundoreal.fm](http://www.radiomundoreal.fm)

### Swedish government sells out on climate

FoE Sweden condemned the Swedish government following its authorisation of state-owned energy company Vattenfall to sell coal operations in Germany. The group has been campaigning for Vattenfall to close controversial open-cast mines and power plants in Germany, including the site of the international Ende Gelände protest in May.

Instead, Swedish politicians have agreed to the sale to the Czech venture capitalists EPH, currently the subject of police investigations. The sale to

EPH will make a planned coal-phase out in Germany much more difficult. EPH, which already owns a smaller coal producer in Germany, is currently planning to open a new mine.

Josef Patočka from FoE Czech Republic said: "EPH has a history of irresponsibility and puts profits before society and nature. Lusatian coal should stay in the ground, just as the homes that are being consumed by the opencast coal mines should stay on the surface."

[www.foei.org/press/swedish-government-sells-climate](http://www.foei.org/press/swedish-government-sells-climate)

### Violations of human and environment rights continue

Anne van Schaik from FoE Europe and Lucia Ortiz from FoE International write: June 16 marked the fifth anniversary of the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights. Yet, violations of human and environmental rights continue, and access to justice remains as difficult as it ever was.

Just look at the pollution by Shell in the Niger Delta, where there still hasn't been a proper clean up. Or consider oil palm company Wilmar's track record of land grabbing and deforestation, and lack of corporate accountability by either the company or its financiers. Then there is Chevron which refuses to pay compensation for oil damages in Ecuador. And seven months after the largest environmental crime in Brazil at Doce River, caused by Vale and BHP Billiton, no concrete solution was presented to the affected population.

We'd like to be celebrating today to commemorate the fact that five years ago in Geneva the members of the UN Human Rights Council endorsed the

Guiding Principles, written by then UN Special Representative on business and human rights, John Ruggie. That this led to dramatic changes in laws and corporate behavior, safeguarding rights for all. But we're not celebrating. Sadly. Because "endorsed" is not the same as "accepted" or "voted upon".

Neither the UN Guiding Principles, nor the related National Action Plans, have been able to hold large multinational corporations to account. So the UN Guiding Principles have not brought us any closer to getting access to justice or stopping corporate impunity.

Luckily, it is not all doom and gloom.

On 26 June 2014, the UN Human Rights Council adopted resolution 26/09 calling for an intergovernmental working group to establish binding rules for transnational corporations and other businesses in relation to human rights – a process commonly referred to as the "Treaty". This historic decision means that, if the Treaty is adopted and enforced, international human rights

law will for the first time apply to the activities of transnational corporations.

Hundreds of non-governmental organizations and social movements have joined in the discussions of the content, nature and scope of this treaty. Many engaged in UN discussions and premises in Geneva for the first time, as they claim that this was the first time there was a UN process that they believed in, and that, if adopted and endorsed, would be able to change the lives of the people they campaign for.

However, the European Union, as well as other UN Members, voted first against the resolution and later tried to derail and boycott the process.

This is a unique opportunity to put these words into a meaningful legal instrument, an opportunity which we believe may only come once in a lifetime. Let's seize this chance, and stop the current corporate impunity.

[www.foei.org/news/5-years-failure-un-voluntary-measures-arent-stopping-bad-business-behavior](http://www.foei.org/news/5-years-failure-un-voluntary-measures-arent-stopping-bad-business-behavior)



## Black Lives Matter

Following the shooting of African American men Philando Castile and Alton Sterling in early July, and the shooting of five police officers in Dallas, Erich Pica, President of FoE US, said:

“Friends of the Earth condemns the violence and loss of life in Dallas, Baton Rouge, and Falcon Heights, Minn. These tragedies will forever be linked; however we must not let the Dallas shootings be used to delegitimize the Black Lives Matter movement that seeks to end the unjust treatment of Black people by police in this country. Born in response to the murder of Trayvon Martin and the acquittal of his killer, the Black Lives Matter movement is a clarion voice on racial injustice in America. It is elevating consciousness and challenging the pervasive inequality faced by African Americans.

“The Black Lives Matter movement is challenging Friends of the Earth to deeply reassess how our activism redresses our broken economic, justice and electoral systems that neglect and actively oppress people based on the color of their skin. To achieve our



mission to champion a healthy and just world, Friends of the Earth recommits ourselves to asking harder questions; starting stronger, more meaningful conversations with our members and activists on racial justice; and being better allies to the Black Lives Matter movement and others fighting for social and environmental justice.”

[www.foe.org/news/news-releases/2016-07-in-solidarity-with-black-lives-matter](http://www.foe.org/news/news-releases/2016-07-in-solidarity-with-black-lives-matter)

## FoE International position paper on trade and investment regimes

Friends of the Earth (FoE) International has published a position paper outlining the problems with corporate trade and investment regimes. Often these so-called ‘free’ trade agreements transfer powers to multinational corporations, and undermine people’s fundamental rights to work, food and a clean environment.

These trade deals limit our ability to tackle climate change and social inequalities by locking in dirty industries and driving a race to the bottom. They hinder our efforts to protect the world’s forests and commons by promoting the unregulated exploitation of natural resources. Corporate trade deals also undermine food sovereignty and security by enabling land grabbing, prohibiting policies that support local food systems and challenging safety, regulatory measures and non-tariff barriers to trade.

The most common feature between all these agreements is that they have very

little to do with actual trade, and rather aim at reshaping and limiting the ability of national and local governments to regulate as they see fit under the guise of promoting international trade.

Existing unfair regimes should be replaced with regimes that: support direct fair trade networks between producers and consumers that prioritise local and regional systems; enforce strong binding social and environmental regulations; enable governments to control exports, imports and investment flows to create sustainable societies; allow countries, regions and communities to regulate the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services; and support equitable South-South trade partnerships which contribute to people-centred regional integration.

[www.foei.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/foe-trade-doc.pdf](http://www.foei.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/foe-trade-doc.pdf)

## Forests and water: Historical links and new threats

Isaac Rojas, FoE International’s Forests and Biodiversity Program Coordinator, said on International forests day:

The relationship between forests and water is of crucial importance both for our survival and for the health of the planet. There is a vast amount of scientific evidence showing that water is better protected when forests are well protected. This is why many communities and Indigenous Peoples grant special protection to water sources, and give them a spiritual and cultural meaning.

There is currently another type of relationship that equally affects forests and water. Financialization of nature is a new threat to both of them. By financialization we mean the process through which nature, and the functions it performs, are turned into financial assets traded in financial markets.

The financialization of nature entails a separation of the natural elements including water, air, biodiversity, landscape from their cultural and spiritual values. Once separated, new property titles are issued for each one of them or their parts, but those entitlements are no longer associated with customary land ownership rights, the collective rights over the territory or the social roles of the land. In this way, new sources of production and accumulation of capital are created, which lead to a process of further appropriation and concentration of the means of production, and an impact on livelihoods.

Friends of the Earth International’s report on “Economic Drivers of Water Financialization”, from November 2013, shows with concrete examples in various countries the different stages in the unfolding of these processes in each country in terms of public policy reforms.

[www.foei.org/news/forests-water-historical-links-new-threats](http://www.foei.org/news/forests-water-historical-links-new-threats)

# The Green Pledge: A Rationale

Nicole Schild and Andrew Self

The Green Pledge is an annual, climate-focused public outreach and fundraising campaign based in Friends of the Earth (FoE) Melbourne. Here we discuss the background and rationale for the project.

Averting environmental disaster is among the defining challenges of our time. That perspective is progressively making its way into mainstream awareness. Even so, the environment – and more specifically, the issue of climate change – has plummeted in terms of public priority and political urgency in Australia.

Governments aren't doing enough, but neither are individuals. Widespread awareness is not translating into widespread action, at least not at the rate that is required for stabilising the situation. Why? With a majority of the country claiming to believe in the reality of climate change, it seems we can put aside a lack of broad awareness as a key barrier to action.

What, then, is keeping the general public from taking and demanding swift action? A body of evidence has mounted over the past decade to suggest that it could be the fact that many people believe that their actions cannot have meaningful effects on a problem as large-scale as climate change. A 2009 report published by the American Psychological Association, which identifies some of the key barriers experienced by individuals in responding constructively to the issue, puts it that the removal of structural barriers to action will not be sufficient if psychological aspects of the situation are left unaddressed.

Renee Lertzman, of the Cardiff School of Social Sciences and a well-known researcher in psychological factors in relation to environmentalism, says: "If people don't recycle I am not going to assume they don't care about the environment. There is not a simple causal relationship. In fact it could be if there is a sense of inevitability or powerlessness then recycling is not going to make any sense to them."

She goes on to highlight a key problem for parts of the environmental movement: "If a psychologist was confronted with the same situation with a patient they wouldn't shout or bombard them with all kinds of facts about their damaging or destructive behaviour. They would actively try to work out ways to mobilise their ability to respond constructively."

Numerous other voices have, in recent years, indicated that the environmental movement could benefit from opening up more space for acknowledging the sense of helplessness that many people are experiencing. This is not to be done through reassuring platitudes, nor by playing the role of psychologist, but through

doing what we can to empower individuals to take responsibility for their part in facing the collective challenges ahead. To succeed in this, we must take this pervasive sense of powerlessness seriously, which means allowing space for a variety of interlinked levels at which active responses to climate change can occur. This includes 'entry level' action that provides direct pathways into more self-directed and harder-hitting action.

Bob Pickard, one of the world's leading PR experts and a vocal advocate for his profession to get involved with the climate issue, has remarked that "many people must conclude that they as 'atomized' individuals can't have much of an impact solving an intractable global problem. ... Certainly the lack of efficacy seems overwhelming, and this won't change so long as climate change is communicated so badly."

Pickard goes on to note that horizontal (peer-to-peer), rather than top-down, communications strategies are generally regarded in the PR world as the future of that discipline, and recommends that this be taken on board by scientists and campaigners hoping to change public opinion.

Pickard's recommendation can be interpreted in a way that complements non-hierarchical, collective and cooperative organisational approaches, pointing to a possible pathway for broadening their sphere of influence without the need to resort to the questionable tactics of traditional advertising. It rests on the notion that humans are, generally speaking, collective animals whose behaviours are influenced by social values, norms and perceived judgements. We can elaborate on this to say that, in taking an action that defies the status quo, a person effectively endorses others in doing so, offering reassurance to their peers that efforts towards change that look like 'drops in the ocean' will not be isolated. These mechanisms lie at the heart of solidarity.

## The Green Pledge: September 5–11

If it's acknowledged that peer support is an influential factor in generating mass behavioural change, then it becomes easier to see how campaigns that work primarily towards offering pathways into active communities can be meaningfully integrated into a multi-pronged environmentalist strategy. The Green Pledge is a campaign geared towards reaching out beyond FoE's usual spheres of influence and building new pathways into and between diverse communities.

In doing this, it addresses the problem of perceived powerlessness in three interrelated ways, as follows:

*Governments aren't doing enough, but neither are individuals. Widespread awareness is not translating into widespread action, at least not at the rate that is required for stabilising the situation.*

Friends of the Earth  
invites you to join the

# active friends program

1. By providing clear, measurable and readily achievable parameters for action, the Green Pledge supports participants to experience the rewards of small scale goal-kicking in an arena where the goal can seem insurmountably high. This, in turn, has the capacity to start building confidence, reducing anxiety around personal effectiveness and breaking down barriers to taking further action.
2. The actions given for participants to undertake, via their clear connections to other Friends of the Earth campaigns, are designed to serve as sparks for deeper participation and reflection. The Green Pledge aims to leverage these connections in assisting participants in understanding the context of their activity in the broader landscape of advocacy and activism, and inviting participants into the organisation and its diverse activities. In addition to serving as an outreach tool for the organisation, this effectively offers participants access to a networked community of role models that set the goal high.
3. As well as opening up access to the wider Friends of the Earth community, the Green Pledge offer a low-barrier group project within that community. The 'pledge' concept organises diverse individuals around a common experience and gives rise to a sense of accountability. In this respect, the medium of the campaign is a major part of its message. By structuring it around social networks and relationships, we're aiming to activate participants' interpersonal resources to generate social flow-on effects, which occur through their (a) stepping into the role of modelling behavioural change for their peers and (b) explaining their motivations for action directly to those in their personal circles of influence. Importantly, participants are placed in a position of solidarity with each other in doing this. In this way, the Green Pledge supports people to support each other in being socially impactful.

On behalf of the Green Pledge team, we're asking Friends of the Earth's member base to help us build a more effective campaign. You can read about how it works on our website, spread the word, start conversations on our social media channels, and send us feedback. And do consider taking the pledge yourself from September 5 11 if our suggested actions don't challenge you, we invite you to creatively build on the suggestions in our 'take it further' streams. Support others to change their habits by setting your personal bar higher than you have before, and let us know what you're doing so we can share it around.

Our vision for the Green Pledge is that it be not merely a fundraiser (although we hope it will be a successful one), but also a 'gateway drug' to environmental consciousness and associated cultural change. This is founded on the belief that individuals can make a difference, but that this depends on their access to support systems that break through their own barriers to self-empowerment.

*More information and to get involved:  
[www.thegreenpledge.net](http://www.thegreenpledge.net)*

## What is the Active Friends Program?

The Active Friends Program is one of the best means to support current and future work of Friends of the Earth. It involves a regular monthly donation of a self-nominated amount.

## Where will Active Friends donations go?

Friends of the Earth is renowned for making a little money go a long way. Because our administration costs are always kept to a bare minimum, practically all Active Friends contributions directly support campaign work, publications and community engagement. Active Friends donations support

- *a moratorium on coal and coal seam gas mining through our 'Quit Coal' campaign*

- *renewable energy through our 'yes2renewables' campaign*

- *our work to safeguard water for the rivers, wetlands and forests of over 14% of Australia's landscapes through the 'ourdarlingmurray.org' campaign*

- *FoE's Anti Nuclear & Clean Energy (ACE) campaign, which continues to highlight the dangers of nuclear power and uranium mining and to promote safe alternatives.*

## Why is the Active Friends Program vital to FoE?

To remain a radical and credible voice for social and environmental justice, we need a stable financial base.

## How can you join the Active Friends Program?

To join the Active Friends program, please see the 'Support Friends of the Earth' page in this edition of Chain Reaction, or go to [www.foe.org.au](http://www.foe.org.au) and click on the donate button. All Active Friends donations are fully tax deductible.

# Will the federal government revisit its attacks on environment groups?

Cam Walker

In its assessment of the environment policies during the recent federal election campaign, the Australian Conservation Foundation gave the Coalition government a score of 13 out of 100. This poor showing will not surprise anyone who tracks environmental politics. But those not actively involved in the environment movement may be surprised by the long running campaign waged by many key people in the Coalition to break the power of the environment movement.

Over the past two years, the main focus of this attack has been to challenge the tax status of environmental organisations. With all large environmental groups (ENGOS) reliant on their tax status (called deductible gift recipient or DGR status), a good approach for anyone wanting to break the movement's power is to try and remove the majority of ENGO income.

After lobbying from the fossil fuel and mining lobbies, the federal environment minister Greg Hunt launched a House of Representatives inquiry into the tax status of ENGOS. Originally chaired by a climate sceptic ally of Tony Abbott, there was a change of leadership after Malcolm Turnbull became prime minister. The new chair, a Nationals MP called John Cobb, didn't exactly engender a sense of hope that ENGOS would receive a fair hearing. After the committee released its final report in May, Mr Cobb went on the public record warning farmers to be wary of siding with "rabid left wing protesters". One of the members seconded onto the committee was the far right Coalition MP from north Queensland George Christensen, who famously tweeted early in the public hearings that "evidence points to them losing their tax deductibility status". So much for a fair hearing.

After thousands of submissions and dozens of public hearings, during which some Coalition MPs did their best to find evidence that the movement was, in fact, full of groups doing terrible things to the economy, the final report was released without much fanfare just before the federal election was called. The majority report had no surprises. As one ALP member of the committee (Shadow Attorney-General Mark Dreyfus) said early on in the process, the inquiry was an "ideological attack by the government on political advocacy". It was easy to imagine what would be in the majority report. The minority report (endorsed by the ALP) rejected the more draconian measures proposed by the Coalition.

What was perhaps surprising was the dissenting comments from moderate Liberal MP Jason Wood, who opposed the most restrictive of the majority report recommendations.

The majority report made nine recommendations. Some of them would have simply improved and streamlined management of ENGOS. However, these sensible measures were wrapped up in a nasty political agenda. The report acknowledges that environment groups are doing a necessary job protecting our precious environment. However, two deeply flawed recommendations were included, which if implemented would limit the ability of ENGOS to carry out political advocacy.

The two recommendations were: requiring groups to spend 25% of their income on 'environmental remediation' (e.g. tree planting), and 'sanctioning' groups that 'encourage, support, promote, or endorse illegal or unlawful activity'. Illegal activity sounds a bit sinister. In reality, the report is talking about peaceful protest and civil disobedience. These are tactics that have been used by the Australian environment movement for decades. Without peaceful protest, the Franklin River would have been dammed, we would have a lot more logging in high conservation forests, and a new uranium mine would have been built in Kakadu in the NT. This is noted by Liberal MP Jason Woods, who said in his dissenting report "it should be noted that it was due to environmental activists, through their efforts and through the use of a blockade, that major environmental disasters have been prevented".

This inquiry was a legacy from the far right political approach of the previous prime minister Tony Abbott which had been initiated by the mining sector and sanctioned by the environment minister. Given Malcolm Turnbull's more moderate politics, it would be sensible for him and the responsible minister Greg Hunt to quietly bury the report rather than respond to its recommendations.

The government did not have time to respond to the final reports before it went into caretaker mode, so the environment movement has been able to dodge this particular bullet, at least for the time being. While the Coalition did manage to hold on to power after the July election, it is not yet clear whether they will revisit the report. Arch anti-green conservatives like George Christensen retained their seats, and there is no doubt that the war against the green movement is being fanned by many in the mining and fossil fuel sectors. It remains to be seen if the Turnbull government will support this unpopular and dangerous attack on democracy.

*For further information please visit [www.foe.org.au/articles/2015-04-21/another-attack-environment-groups](http://www.foe.org.au/articles/2015-04-21/another-attack-environment-groups)*

*Mr Cobb went on the public record warning farmers to be wary of siding with "rabid left wing protesters".*

# Healthy Futures at the Health and Environmental Sustainability Conference

*Jacqui Dunn and Harry Jennens recap Healthy Futures' successes at the Australian Nursing and Midwifery Federation - Victorian Branch's Health & Environmental Sustainability Conference this year. Friends of the Earth affiliate Healthy Futures is an organisation of health professionals, students and community members working to address climate change on health grounds. Their main current campaigns are for health super funds HESTA and First State Super to divest from fossil fuels.*

The Australian Nursing and Midwifery Federation ran their inaugural Health and Environmental Sustainability Conference only four years ago, and now it has grown to become one of their yearly conference highlights. Another year, another great conference, with inspirational leaders from science, cooking, farming, nursing, and holistic care speaking to over 560 nurses and midwives.

The Healthy Futures team of volunteers gathered early on the Friday morning to prepare for a full day of campaign conversations. We gained a few early petition signatures on the street before people even entered the conference site. Some of us were lucky enough to be able to attend the conference as well, and were treated to a line-up of mind-blowing speakers, including:

- Stephanie Alexander, cook, restaurateur and food writer on her Kitchen Garden Program and the links between food, sustainability and health;
- Professor David Karoly from the University of Melbourne on the science of global warming and the urgency of action;
- Tracie Lund from Morwell Community Health with a first-hand account of the effects of the 2014 Hazelwood Coal Mine Fire on health of the local community;
- Victoria McKenzie-McHarg from the Australian Conservation Foundation with an uplifting overview of the strength and achievements of the Australian climate movement; and
- Robyn Whiting, Sharon McNulty, Louise Wright and Ros Morgan with stories of success in implementing sustainable practises in their health workplaces.

Over the course of the day hundreds of people visited Healthy Futures' stall to learn more about our campaigns and sign our petitions calling on HESTA and First State Super to divest from fossil fuels. Many were horrified to find that their hard earned super is being invested in the fossil fuel industry and contributing to ill health in our communities!



Special thanks to Victoria McKenzie-McHargh and David Karoly who both encouraged conference attendees to visit our stall and sign our petitions. We even had two representatives from First State Super visit our stall to see what all the fuss was about. We offered to take solidarity photos with them as well but they said they'd probably have to run it past their managers first. Maybe next time!

Overall the conference was a major success for us, with 110 new signatures for our petitions and many new friends made! Every year the conference has proved a valuable opportunity for nurses and midwives to network with like-minded individuals and organisations. It gives us great new ideas, and a yearly motivational push to keep inspired, and carry on initiating and maintaining change in our workplaces for greater environmental sustainability.

After our conference success we held a strategy meeting in May to work out our next steps. We have an all-star team to help us out, including doctors, nurses, physiotherapists, medical scientists, community organisers and more. We are able to draw on the great experience and far-reaching contacts of all these members to work successfully towards education and encouragement of divestment from fossil fuels.

Sign up to our mailing list at [www.healthyfutures.net.au](http://www.healthyfutures.net.au)

If you're a HESTA or First State Super member, sign our petitions at [www.healthyfutures.net.au/divest](http://www.healthyfutures.net.au/divest) (or for other super funds, check out [www.superswitch.org.au](http://www.superswitch.org.au))

If you have any questions about our campaigns or would like to get involved, please contact [jacqui@healthyfutures.net.au](mailto:jacqui@healthyfutures.net.au) or [harry@healthyfutures.net.au](mailto:harry@healthyfutures.net.au)

# The boat people from paradise lost

Lyn Bender

In rich countries we speak of climate change as a lifestyle choice or economic problem for some time in the future. For Pacific Islanders it is a life death and survival crisis happening right now, as they watch their islands drown.

I thought I knew the truth about climate change; but it was not deep knowledge. I hadn't seen its face and heard its voice, until I heard from an islander whose home is literally disappearing beneath the waters. At an event sponsored by Friends of the Earth and Caritas, Ursula Rakova told how the sea that had been the friend of her people, was turning against them. It had crashed through and divided her island in two. Coconut palms were collapsing at the new shoreline.

Food gardens were lost, as the soil was increasingly rendered infertile by salty tides that washed over them. The land that had been handed from grandmother to daughter, would bequeath no legacy to the granddaughters. The homeland of generations was disappearing before their eyes.

Ursula spoke movingly of the collective loss. She is asking for the help of the rich countries whose fossil fuel based prosperity has been achieved at the cost of her people's survival. She represented the many poor and indigenous people who are suffering most from the warming of the planet.

Climate change and the danger it presents to our planet is something many claim to know. But do we feel it? Do we care enough? Do we comprehend the loss of displaced people whose land has been washed away? Do we see that there but for the passage of time, are all our futures?

The government continues to approve new coalmines and seemingly remains light-hearted about the plight of those affected by climate change. Remember the one about sinking Pacific islands? Caught on camera, the Minister for Immigration Peter Dutton quipped to our since deposed prime minister, Tony Abbott, that 'Time doesn't mean anything when you have water lapping at your doors.'

They chortled over that one.

Do we comprehend the loss of displaced people whose land has been washed away? Do we see that there but for the passage of time, are all our futures? Imagine that being said with compassion instead of in heartless jest.

Listening to Ursula Rakova, the audience at Melbourne University sat in stunned silence. Ursula's task was to head the relocation of the inhabitants of the Carteret Islands and to raise Australia's awareness of the need for climate action. She had been entrusted by the elders to head the project *Tulele Peisa*, which translates as 'riding the waves on our own'.



Ursula Rakova.

The Catholic Church in Bougainville gifted the land of four former plantations for the resettlement of Carteret Islanders. The German Lutheran Church and Protestant Churches have also assisted them. In preparation for the arrival of ten families, traditional homes were built and cocoa and coconut palms and traditional food gardens were being planted. They were now exporting dried coco pods to chocolate makers in Hamburg. One hundred and thirty more Carteret families were destined for re-settlement. But all this is a drop in the rising oceans considering the thousands that would be displaced from Tuvalu, Kiribati, the Marshall Islands and more. Will we help these climate refugees?

In 2001 John Howard refused the request by Tuvalu to resettle its climate refugees. Instead, without any apparent sense of the irony, Howard proposed that Tuvalu become part of his Pacific solution for asylum seekers. Meanwhile Immigration Minister Phillip Ruddock declared that the people of Tuvalu did not fit the criteria for refugee resettlement.

The Pacific Islanders are the new boat people. Not all of them have a mother island like Bougainville. So far ten Carteret families have travelled the 45 nautical miles to Bougainville in 19-metre banana boats. Each house is built at a cost of \$8500.

But in terms of making a contribution, Australia is missing in non-action. Someone in the audience remarked rhetorically. 'How would Australia's coastal cities cope with relocation?'

As I watched Ursula's video *Sisters on the Planet*, I was at once profoundly inspired and deeply saddened. I asked her a question. 'How do you deal with your grief?' Ursula responded. 'We keep our values strong. We teach our children the culture. Even when our islands are gone we will continue to visit them.'

*Lyn Bender is a Melbourne psychologist. Follow her on Twitter @Lynestel Tulele Peisa is an affiliate of Friends of the Earth Australia.*

*Reprinted from Eureka Street, <http://eurekastreet.com.au/article.aspx?aeid=47240>*

# Who knows who pays the political piper?

*Daniel Gocher, Head of Research at Friends of the Earth affiliate Market Forces, wrote this piece just before the federal election.*

Here we are, days out from a federal election, and we don't know who's funding our major political parties' campaigns. And we won't know until February 2017 - eight months into a new government. That is because our political disclosure laws are shockingly inadequate and in urgent need of an overhaul.

Political parties propose to represent the broad interests of their electorates and constituencies, acting in the best interests of the people they represent. Donating often large amounts of money to political parties puts some interests ahead of others, and the fossil fuel industry knows how to play this game.

Market Forces has attempted to compile a list of donations made by fossil fuel companies to major Australian political parties in 2014-15 ([www.marketforces.org.au/politicaldonations](http://www.marketforces.org.au/politicaldonations)).

Whilst the scale of the donations is undoubtedly impressive, coming to a precise number is surprisingly tricky. In total, fossil fuel companies and their peak bodies donated somewhere between \$751,091 and \$833,011 in 2014-15, depending on whether you believe the donor or party disclosures, to the ALP, Liberal and National parties.

The figures the parties say they receive in their coffers are almost universally different from the number companies record as political donations. Of all the donations we could compile, only one managed to square between what the donor and the party reported - that was the \$22,000 given by Hancock Coal to the ALP. Other donations were close - kind of - but the gulf is staggering.

For example, Woodside tipped a generous \$250,000 into the hats of the major parties in 2014-15. According to the company, \$18,000 went to the Nationals. But according to the Nationals accounts, not a brass farthing was forthcoming in donations from Woodside. Santos meanwhile, says it donated twice as much to the Liberals as the party has recorded receiving.

It goes on. And this doesn't even include the donations from associated entities - all parties have them - which famously mask donations as memberships or fees for attending events.

Testament to the opaque nature of the system, AGL Energy has gone as far as pledging to end its political donations in 2016 to avoid accusations of buying undue influence. Though the more

cynical out there may point to the court judgement from earlier this year that found the energy giant guilty of no less than 11 counts of breaking political disclosure laws.

A ruling which perhaps acted as a spur to Woodside Chairman, Michael Cheney, who said at this year's AGM that he didn't expect Woodside to be donating to any major party ahead of the election. But of course we have absolutely no way of verifying, because we won't know who donated what until the AEC releases its annual data dump in February, thus avoiding any potentially awkward scrutiny during a sensitive election period.

So what explains the discrepancies? It may be a different interpretation of what constitutes a donation between donor and recipient. It may be that parties have different processes for accounting for donations. Or it could be just downright incompetence. We simply don't know.

What is clear is that the registry of political donations and transparency are a dog's breakfast. The details are supposed to be collated and published by the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC). Its response to queries over the quality of their data has seemingly been that getting the right tally is in the too hard basket.

But you could drive a mining truck through the loopholes in the disclosure process and the current slapdash approach is just not good enough.

As the old adage goes, he who pays the piper calls the tune, so accurate and timely information about which corporate dollars fund Australian political campaigns is fundamental to our democratic process.

In the digital age, clear guidelines about what constitutes a donation and real time information should be a given. Why can we receive a traffic infringement the day after it happened, but not be made aware of a coal company donating to one side of politics as it happens?

This is especially the case for the fossil fuel industry that, after decades of dominance is not going to want to stand aside and will do everything possible to maintain their status, no matter the consequences.

We're confused, and we're frustrated. But maybe that's the idea.

*Reprinted from ReNew Economy, 28 June 2016, <http://reneweconomy.com.au/2016/knows-pays-piper-32762>*

*In total, fossil fuel companies and their peak bodies donated somewhere between \$751,091 and \$833,011 in 2014-15, depending on whether you believe the donor or party disclosures, to the ALP, Liberal and National parties.*

# Sacrificing the Reef with militarism, mining, censorship and tokenism

John Glue

At the start of the election campaign Federal Environment Minister Greg Hunt visited Cairns to re-announce \$50 million in new projects to boost water quality, including efforts to keep sediment, fertilisers and pesticides off the Great Barrier Reef. This re-announcement was partly to allay concerns over research showing 93% of the Reef had been bleached and dire predictions that the Reef will be terminal in as little as 5 to 20 years.

The \$50 million for the Reef highlighted that the government doesn't really think the health of the Reef is an important issue when at the same time they said they will spend \$50 *billion* to buy 12 submarines. After some public outcry the government increased its pledge to \$1 billion over 10 years to try and help the Reef. In contrast Reef researchers at James Cook University have proposed in a new report that the government needs to spend \$10 billion over the next 10 years, which they say "is small in comparison to the Reef's economic worth of around \$20 billion *per year*."

Although the government's smaller pledge of \$1 billion over 10 years to reduce run-off on to the Reef is in principle a good idea, runoff and poor river water quality are small causes of coral bleaching and reef die-back compared to the impact of global warming. It is also a small amount of money compared to the billions of dollars the government has already committed to promote further land clearing, mega farms, mining, dredging and coal seam gas projects in North Queensland that will place greater burden on the Reef. Also, the government's recent approval of the Adani Carmichael coal mine near Bowen, the biggest in Australia, will greatly contribute to global warming and ocean acidification.

As the government is trying to avoid admitting or dealing with the fact that global warming is a major cause of coral bleaching, they have resorted to obfuscation, tokenism and censorship. Their censoring occurred recently when the Australian Department of Environment lobbied to have all references to the damaging impact climate change will have on the Reef as well as on Kakadu and the Tasmanian forests removed from the important UN report, *World Heritage and Tourism in a Changing Climate*.

World Wildlife Fund (WWF) scientist and spokesman Sean Hoobin said in a statement: "We have viable renewable alternatives that don't sacrifice the 67,000 jobs the Reef provides

and that will generate thousands of new jobs. It will take several billion dollars to save the Great Barrier Reef from water quality threats. A reef rescue plan, on the scale of the one forged for the Murray-Darling basin, is needed."

WWF Australia has grave doubts the federal government will meet its current funding commitments to the reef or that the money committed will come close to what's needed to save it from agricultural run-off and sediment build up.

The decline of the Reef is a clear warning of the threat we are facing now from biodiversity loss, ecosystem collapse and climate change. There is growing awareness that if we try to maintain the current economic model that requires growth and expansion to stay viable and profitable, we are doomed for failure. No socio-economic system can keep on growing and expanding in a finite natural environment. It will inevitably destroy our ecosystems, natural capital base and social fabric in the process of chasing an impossible dream of ever increasing profits.

The problem with the "perpetual growth" business model is highlighted with the weapons manufacturing and warfare industries. The *New York Times* recently reported that the U.S. has just passed a new milestone - President Obama has now been at war longer than any president in US history. Obama has taken military action in at least seven countries: Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Syria, Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia.

These wars, which are often just orchestrated to secure fossil fuel supplies and other resources, are resulting in the bombing and destruction of whole towns, cities and countries - releasing enormous amounts of greenhouse gases which contributes to global warming and further damages the world's reefs. These wars also resulted in a record 60 million people been driven from their homes last year, turning many into refugees seeking asylum in other countries.

Australia, as a military ally of the US, is also obliged to match their ever-increasing spending on the military, as seen with the government's new order of 12 submarines from the French at an initial cost of \$50 billion. With that amount of money we could begin the transformation to sustainable, organic, regenerative agriculture that would really protect the reef.

*John Glue is a member of FoE Far North Queensland.*

*It is also a small amount of money compared to the billions of dollars the government has already committed to promote further land clearing, mega farms, mining, dredging and coal seam gas projects in North Queensland that will place greater burden on the Reef.*



# Will militarism block the climate change movement?

Margie Pistorius

Militarism and climate change are closely linked and joining anti-militarism to the climate justice discourse is an important move that was visible during the UN COP21 climate conference last December. It is becoming evident that militarism will block the goals of the climate change movement if these links are not addressed.

Militarism is defined as: “The belief or desire of a government or people that a country should maintain a strong military capability and be prepared to use it aggressively to defend or promote national interests.”

A recent inquiry of climate justice activists and academics in Melbourne threw up the following connections.

## Militarism’s contribution to fossil fuel use:

1. Military institutions use an enormous amount of fossil fuels for jets and tanks, to move personnel and equipment around, to create weapons that are then destroyed and rebuilt in ever new and updated versions, in destroying good urban infrastructure and then rebuilding. The US military alone run 800 military bases around the world and it has been claimed that the US military is the biggest single institutional user of oil.
2. The military totally depend on their use of fossil fuels and this isn’t going to change quickly. As an institution they will firmly hold to the easy access they have, because they are structured around that. Presently they can’t carry too many bombs in a solar powered jet.
3. The military are funded vastly beyond other institutions for innovative research and development and drive technological innovation. New technologies from the military sector are likely to be based around and biased toward technologies that use fossil fuels the military has access to.
4. The military suck up a lot funds that might otherwise be used for climate adaption, transition and reversal.

## Militarism’s connection to corporate-state growth economies:

War and military violence is used by nation-states to underpin the ever-increasing resource extraction which is the base activity of their colonising systems.

Growth is tied to the definition of militarism: military force is used “to defend or promote national interests”. Unimpeded growth and “national interests” in this context have very close meaning. Expectation of growth is driven by greed: more wealth for those at the top.

Corporations and governments both have a growth agenda. And it is the ever increasing rate of growth which drives climate change. If we grew slowly and carefully and offset carbon emissions, well, we might have slowed a warming planet.

Many corporations are structured around a military section of their business. With a ‘diverse’ business structure that includes at least one wing of products and services used by the military, corporations can source lucrative beefed-up (#beefedup) government contracts. This leaves corporations and government with a vested interest to cheer on a growing militarism and a growing military budget.

Some corporations thrive on selling the competencies of the military to nation-states: surveillance, wall infrastructure, militarised policing and detention, and violent deterrence and enforcement. These become a predominating skill base for repressing and controlling activists attempting to create change.

The effects of all-too-quick climate change is predicted to be a factor in driving modern conflicts between communities. This may involve increasing military interventions and military conflicts between communities or States.

In a recent article in *Waging Nonviolence* ([www.wagingnonviolence.org](http://www.wagingnonviolence.org)), the author Lakey summarises the stages of a “living revolution” as follows:

- do cultural preparation (including analysis and vision),
- build organisation,
- confront the oppressor with propaganda of the deed,
- escalate to mass non-cooperation, and
- fill the resulting power vacuum with the parallel institutions planted in stage two by organising cooperative alternatives that meet people’s needs.

It could be argued that the activities of Break Free 350.org climate change activists have recently bedded the movement into Stage 4: mass non-cooperation activities. But Lakey admits that the reality of movement building involves a cycling back and forth between stages, strengthening layers with each renewed effort. I suggest, as the climate movement grows powerful, it may be necessary to return to earlier stages to add the messaging (consciousness raising and action) related to militarism before we are able to move truly to the ‘living revolution’.

In conclusion, climate change is a consequence of military-backed growth and resource extraction and climate change is predicted to fuel armed conflicts. Militarism will be a structural barrier to change and the military and militarised policing will be used to repress change makers. Militarism should be addressed if the climate movement is to achieve its goals.

*If people are interested in exploring these connections please contact Margie Pistorius ([pestoriusm@gmail.com](mailto:pestoriusm@gmail.com)). We are proposing to set up a campaign that will address these links between climate change and militarism through focussing on the corporations that profit. Join us!*

# Militarism and climate activism: staring down the threat of climate disaster

Peter Burdon

“Climate change is the biggest threat”. This was the answer given by US Admiral Samuel J. Locklear in 2013 to a question about the biggest security challenge in the Pacific region.<sup>1</sup> While such urgency is lacking in the environmental policy of first world governments in the Pacific basin, the risks and opportunities presented by climate change are not being lost on the military.

For over a decade, the Pentagon and other Western militaries such as Australia have put serious thought into the medium and long-term implications of climate change.<sup>2</sup> For example, in 2003, the Pentagon released a paper titled “An Abrupt Climate Change Scenario and its Implications for United States National Security.”<sup>3</sup> The report predicted massive flooding, storms, forced migration, food shortages, starvation and water crises. Moreover, as a result of diminishing carrying capacity, the report also foresaw a dramatic growth in violent political and social unrest over dwindling resources. Aspects of this report have been updated and expanded by Michael Klare in his important book ‘The Race for What’s Left’.<sup>4</sup>

The authors of the Pentagon report also predicted “boom-times” for militarized security, as nations that have food, water, energy and other resources mobilize high-tech technology to separate themselves from the masses outside of their geographical borders. By 2025-2030, the authors predicted: “The United States and Australia are likely to build defensive fortress around their countries because they have the resources and reserves to achieve self-sufficiency. ... Borders will be strengthened to hold back unwanted starving immigrants.”

Such an outcome would make current Liberal/National Party immigration policy look like “an evil child’s fumbling toys” to quote Hannah Arendt. And yet, the Australian government already uses the Navy to prevent asylum seekers from landing on Australian soil. Moreover, it has continued to build an “economic fortress” around itself by dramatically cutting<sup>5</sup> its foreign-aid budget and refusing to commit<sup>6</sup> to the United Nations Green Climate Fund.

At the same time, the military has extended itself into Australian society to such an extent that



it is ideally placed to silence internal protest over climate policy and the distribution of scarce resources. Like a many-headed-hydra, our security apparatus can monitor, intercept, infiltrate, intimidate and physically punish dissenters.

The militarisation of Australian society has grown significantly since 9/11. An important moment in this development was a 2006 policy review by Andrew Smith and Anthony Bergin for the Howard government.<sup>7</sup> In this review, the authors advocated ‘domestic security’ as the new ‘core business’ of the Australian armed forces. This policy direction was supported<sup>8</sup> to the Commonwealth Defence Act 1903<sup>9</sup> which expanded military call-out powers for event security and whole-city terrorism.

Just one year later, in *Thomas v Mowbray*<sup>10</sup>, the High Court sanctioned use of the federal defence power in section 51(vi) of the Australian Constitution in peacetime for domestic purposes.<sup>11</sup>

Police forces are also adopting military ideas and tactics to confront demonstrations about climate change and other justice issues. Stephen Graham highlights in his book *Cities Under Siege*, the way that large defence and IT companies have created a multi-billion dollar market in civilian technologies directed at crowd control and civilian disturbances.<sup>12</sup> Geographic mapping and drone technology are perhaps the best-known examples utilised by the Australian police.

Increasingly Australian cities are subject to what Graham calls “urban militarism”. For example, the objectives section of the Queensland government’s G20 (Safety and Security) Act 2013 places “civil disobedience” and “terrorism” as matters of equal concern to the police.<sup>13</sup>

While purporting to be concerned with the “safety and security” of people attending the G20 summit in Brisbane in late 2014, the Act targets political protest by prohibiting items such as eggs, bags of flour, loud hailers, placards, banners and “things capable of emitting a sound loud enough to disrupt the part of the G20 meeting.” Elsewhere the Act provides police with powers to strip search suspects and conduct warrantless searches of premises.

Even more concerning is the National Security Amendment Act (No.1) 2014.<sup>14</sup> The Act affects political communication by giving ASIO enhanced surveillance powers, including the ability to monitor entire networks with a single warrant. Greens Senator Scott Ludlum warns<sup>15</sup> that these changes are merely a prelude to further legislation aimed at US-style mandatory data retention.<sup>16</sup>

While often reported as separate enactments, each of these developments represents a significant increase in the government’s ability to silence anti-government sentiment fuelled by climate disruption.<sup>17</sup>



It is relevant here to note that sales of George Orwell's classic *1984* have increased massively in recent years.<sup>18</sup> If you are looking for a dystopian vision of a future, dominated by climate disruption and militarism then I offer O'Brien's classic description to Winston at the end of the book: "Imagine a boot stamping on a human face – forever."

This might sound like hyperbole, but I do not think it is a stretch to imagine a time when the US-Australian<sup>19</sup> Great Green Fleet<sup>20</sup> (complete with biofuel planes<sup>21</sup>) is deployed in the name

of national security to "hold back unwanted starving" climate refugees or masses of people suffering from climate related disease.<sup>22</sup>

The only thing that could stand in the way of this scenario is an ecologically informed, ethically-minded and democratically empowered citizenship. Individuals around the world have tasted the potential of such a movement in mass climate marches. And as this movement grows and diversifies it must understand and be prepared to confront what Eisenhower called the "acquisition of unwarranted influence...by the military industrial complex."<sup>23</sup>

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# FoE's campaign for a Victorian Renewable Energy Target

Leigh Ewbank – Yes 2 Renewables campaign coordinator

After a community campaign that lasted over two years, the Andrews government has committed to Victorian Renewable Energy Targets of 25% by 2020 and 40% by 2025.

In the year 2050, I'll be 65 years old. Amazingly the wind farms built and solar panels installed to meet the VRET will winding up their operating life. I'll be able to look over them and tell my family and friends about the campaign that put Victoria on a pathway to 100% renewables.

It's fair to say that over the past four years, Friends of the Earth's *Yes 2 Renewables* campaign has transformed energy politics and policy in Victoria. In 2012-13, we went head-to-head with the anti-wind farm lobby on King

Island, Central Victoria, and Canberra. And in 2014, we secured the repeal of the Baillieu government's anti-wind farm laws.

These modest campaign victories set us up for a more ambitious task: To make Victoria a safe-haven for renewables by reinstating a Victorian Renewable Energy Target.

The election of the Abbott government in 2013 presented a significant threat to renewable energy in Australia. Comments from the newly elected Prime Minister in November 2013 signalled an imminent attack on the Renewable Energy Target (RET) scheme. We were right. PM Tony Abbott launched a hostile review of the RET scheme in February 2014 – appointing former Caltex chairman and climate sceptic Dick Warburton to evaluate the renewables scheme.

The uncertainty unleashed from the Warburton review saw investment collapse by 90% in 12 months and over 2,500 people lose their jobs. The Abbott government's 20% cut to the target stalled the sector and made it more difficult for Australia to tackle climate change.

With the federal government sabotaging the sector, it would be up to state leadership to grow renewables.

In February 2014 Friends of the Earth's *Yes 2 Renewables* project launched a campaign for a Victorian Renewable Energy Target (VRET). Campaign milestones are listed here:

#### February 2014

- Friends of the Earth launched our election-year campaign. Reinstating a VRET was among four key recommendations to state politicians.
- Yes 2 Renewables commenced community engagement work in the state electoral districts of Macedon and South Barwon.

#### April 2014

- Yes 2 Renewables launched a report investigating the adverse impact the Baillieu-era anti-wind farm laws had on jobs and investment. The report recommended the re-introduction of a VRET to drive investment in renewable energy projects.

#### August 2014

- Yes 2 Renewables partnered with the Australian Wind Alliance to host a public *Renewable Energy & Jobs Forum* in Premier Napthine's electorate where hundreds are employed in the renewable energy sector.
- Victorian Greens leader Greg Barber announced the party's commitment to support the reintroduction of a state renewables target. The VRET gained an important backer with the endorsement of former federal Liberal Party leader John Hewson.
- 'Push for state Renewable Energy Target' (The Observer, 22 Aug 2014)

#### October 2014

- 'Vic Labor flags state-based renewable target if Fed folds' (RenewEconomy, 1 Oct 2014)

#### November 2014

- On the eve of the election, Yes 2 Renewables published the results of a survey of renewable energy jobs in Melbourne. The report found that one in ten jobs had been lost over the year 2013-14.
- Yes 2 Renewables and partners - including the Macedon Ranges Sustainability Group and Surf Coast Energy Group - send letters to candidates calling for commitment to a VRET.
- Andrews government elected with commitment to grow the renewable energy sector.

#### February 2015

- Friends of the Earth launched an online open letter to Premier Daniel Andrews and Minister Lily D'Ambrosio, calling for the repeal the Baillieu anti-wind laws and re-introduction of a VRET.
- Andrews government announce *Renewable Energy Action Plan* policy development.

#### March 2015

- Yes 2 Renewables participated in a roundtable hosted by the Victorian Energy Minister, Lily D'Ambrosio.



Leigh Ewbank speaking at a rally at Victoria's Parliament House.

- The Victorian Greens launch a petition site calling for a VRET.
- 'Wind farm restrictions eased' (Surf Coast Times, 26 March 2015)

#### April 2015

- The Andrews government call for the Abbott government to amend national Renewable Energy Target legislation to remove the 'section 7c' limitation that prohibits duplication of federal policy. This change would provide the quickest and easiest path to reinstate the VRET.

#### May 2015

- Premier Daniel Andrews launches a website calling for the Abbott government to remove Section 7c from the national RET legislation.
- University of Melbourne and RMIT University academics say 'section 7c' is no barrier to a VRET.

#### June 2015

- Important member of the Victorian Legislative Council, James Purcell, publicly endorses the VRET.
- Yes 2 Renewables and the Australian Conservation Foundation join forces to call on the Abbott government to allow states to champion their own RETs.

#### July 2015

- 'Andrews defies Abbott in wind farm showdown' (Herald Sun, 15 July 2015)

#### August 2015

- The Andrews government committed to VRETs for 2020 and 2025 in its *Renewable Energy Roadmap* (draft policy) - including a commitment to a baseline target of at least 20% by 2020.

#### September 2015

- Friends of the Earth supporters make over 650 submissions to the government on the *Renewable Energy Roadmap*. Notable submissions include the likes of the City of Melbourne, Voices of the Valley, Victorian Trades Hall Council, and Municipal Association of Victoria.
- Yes 2 Renewables help build a coalition for VRET ambition that includes unions, renewable energy industry players, and community and environment groups.
- Public consultations find strong support for ambitious renewable energy targets.

## November 2015

Yes 2 Renewables launch *Petition for Ambition* calling for ambitious and achievable Victorian Renewable Energy Targets of 30% by 2020 and 50% by 2025.

## December 2015

- Unions, councils and green groups urge Andrews to aim high on renewables' (The Age, 20 Dec 2015)

## February 2016

- On the first sitting day of Parliament for 2016, the Gasfield-Free Victoria and Yes 2 Renewables campaigns join forces for a rally. Over 200 people attended to call on the Andrews government to ban onshore gas and grow renewables. Speakers included Luke Hilakari (Vic Trades Hall Council), representatives from Labor Environment Action Network, Ellen Sandell MP, and shadow energy minister David Southwick (Liberal).

## March 2016

- Greens MP Ellen Sandell supports VRET ambition in statement to the Legislative Assembly.

## April 2016

- A new Yes 2 Renewables report finds a 30% by 2020 is an ambitious and achievable VRET. The report presents policies to deliver state targets and recommends the aim of at least 30% by 2020 and 50% by 2025.
- Yes 2 Renewables launch an online action to support the recommended targets. Hundreds of people email Premier Andrews, Deputy-Premier Merlino, and Treasurer Pallas to call for VRET ambition.

## June 2016

- The Andrews government announces Victorian Renewable Energy Targets of 25% by 2020 and 40% by 2025. The state government will use reverse auctions to hit the targets that will be enshrined in legislation, making it a policy with teeth.
- The Victorian Renewable Energy Targets will double wind energy capacity in the state by 2020 and triple renewable energy capacity by 2025 – creating 10,000 jobs and unlocking a \$2.5 billion investment opportunity in the process.
- Analysis from University of Melbourne Energy Institute finds that Australia now has an implicit national Renewable Energy Target of 30-35% by 2030 due to Victoria's targets.
- The VRET, in combination with other state schemes, has broken the capital strike stalling the rollout of renewables in Australia.
- Competitive pressure in the electricity market from new renewable energy capacity will expedite the closure of polluting coal power plants.

A heartfelt thank you to everyone who supported the Yes 2 Renewables campaign – those of you who supported us with donations, joined us at campaign events, and participated in online actions. It has been an epic team effort from people all across Victoria.

So, what's next? Rapid growth in the renewable energy sector presents new threats and opportunities:

- The Andrews government will consult with industry and other stakeholders to shape the renewable energy auctions. Yes 2 Renewables will engage in this process to deliver the best outcome for communities, workers, industry, and our climate.
- A doubling of wind farms in less than four years could see the resurgence of the anti-wind lobby. We're in the perfect position to work with communities to protect them from anti-wind farm spin.
- The VRETs will be enshrined in legislation. It's critical to defend the initiative from climate deniers and fossil fuel backers (inside and outside the Parliament). Our engagement will ensure we get strong legislation that allows Victoria to lift its renewable energy ambition, and that it makes it through the Parliament.

*If you'd like to support Yes 2 Renewables in this exciting new phase, please make a donation. We're a grassroots campaign that runs on a shoestring budget. Our campaign depends on your support.*

*[https://friendsofearthmelbourne.nationbuilder.com/together\\_we\\_can\\_secure\\_the\\_vret](https://friendsofearthmelbourne.nationbuilder.com/together_we_can_secure_the_vret)*



# The renewable energy revolution

REN21 – the Renewable Energy Policy Network for the 21st Century – has released ‘Renewables 2016: Global Status Report’, the latest edition of a report produced annually since 2005.<sup>1</sup>

REN21 comprises a range of governments, non-governmental organisations, research and academic institutions, international organisations and industry. It is an international non-profit association based at the United Nations Environment Programme in Paris. The latest Global Status Report involved over 500 authors, contributors and reviewers.

The report notes that 2015 was an “extraordinary” year for renewable energy: “Renewables are now established around the world as mainstream sources of energy. Rapid growth, particularly in the power sector, is driven by several factors, including the improving cost-competitiveness of renewable technologies, dedicated policy initiatives, better access to financing, energy security and environmental concerns, growing demand for energy in developing and emerging economies, and the need for access to modern energy. Consequently, new markets for both centralised and distributed renewable energy are emerging in all regions.”

## Renewable power generation and capacity

According to the REN21 report, an estimated net 147 gigawatts (GW) of renewable power capacity was added in 2015, up 9.7% from the 134 GW added in 2014. That 147 GW net growth is the largest annual increase in capacity ever.








By the end of 2015, renewables produced an estimated 23.7% of global electricity generation (5633 / 23,741 Terrawatt-hours). The 23.7% figure is up from 22.8% the previous year. Hydropower provided about 16.6% of total global electricity generation in 2015 (70% of renewable generation), followed by wind 3.7%, bio-power 2.0%, solar 1.2%, with geothermal, concentrating solar power and ocean power accounting for a combined 0.4%.

Renewable electricity generating capacity (including hydro) increased from 1,701 GW to 1,849 GW in 2015, an increase of 8.7%. Renewable capacity (excluding hydro) increased from 665 GW to 785 GW, an increase of 18%.

Renewables accounted for an estimated 62.5% of net additions to electricity supply in 2015 (renewables 147 GW; coal and gas 82 GW; nuclear 6.5 GW).

Wind and solar PV saw record additions for the second consecutive year, accounting for about 77% of new renewable installations, with hydro accounting for most of the remainder.

**Investment:** For the first time in history, total investment in renewable power and fuels in developing countries in 2015 exceeded that in developed economies. The developing world,

		2014	2015
<b>INVESTMENT</b>			
New investment (annual) in renewable power and fuels <sup>1</sup>	billion USD	273	285.9
<b>POWER</b>			
Renewable power capacity (total, not including hydro)	GW	665	785
Renewable power capacity (total, including hydro)	GW	1,701	1,849
 Hydropower capacity <sup>2</sup>	GW	1,036	1,064
 Bio-power capacity <sup>3</sup>	GW	101	106
 Bio-power generation (annual)	TWh	429	464
 Geothermal power capacity	GW	12.9	13.2
 Solar PV capacity	GW	177	227
 Concentrating solar thermal power capacity	GW	4.3	4.8
 Wind power capacity	GW	370	433

Source: REN21 report

including China, India and Brazil, committed a total of US\$156 billion (up 19% compared to 2014). China increased its investment by 17% to US\$103 billion in 2015. Christine Lins, executive secretary of REN21, said: “It clearly shows that the costs have come down so much that the emerging economies are now really focussing on renewables.”

**Jobs:** Employment in the renewable energy sector (not including large-scale hydropower) increased in 2015 to an estimated 8.1 million jobs (direct and indirect), up from 7.7 million in 2014. Solar PV and biofuels provided the largest numbers of renewable energy jobs. Large-scale hydropower accounted for an additional 1.3 million direct jobs.

**Australia lagging:** In stark contrast to the global renewable energy boom, Clean Energy Council figures released on 31 May 2016 show:<sup>2</sup>

- Australian employment in renewable energy has been falling since 2011-12 – 470 direct jobs were lost in the past year, and 5,000 jobs have been lost since 2011-12.
- Australian investment in renewable energy remains at around A\$5 billion below 2011-12 levels.

## Future growth and further cost reductions

On the economics of power sources, the REN21 report states: “Electricity from hydro, geothermal and some biomass power sources has been broadly competitive with power from fossil fuels for some time; in favourable circumstances (i.e., with good resources and a secure regulatory framework), onshore wind and solar PV also are cost-competitive with new fossil capacity, even without accounting for externalities. In 2015 and early 2016, expectations of further cost improvements were made evident by record-low winning bids in power auctions in places ranging from Latin America, to the Middle East and North Africa region, to India.”

The REN21 report doesn’t predict future growth of renewables, but the International Energy Agency in an October 2015 report projected 700 GW of new renewable power capacity from

2015–2020, with renewables projected to account for almost two-thirds of new power generation capacity over that period.<sup>3</sup>

A June 2016 report by the UN's International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) notes that since 2009, prices for solar PV modules and wind turbines have fallen approximately 80% and 30–40% respectively.<sup>4</sup> With every doubling of cumulative installed capacity, solar PV module prices drop 20% and the cost of electricity from wind farms drops 12%, due to economies of scale and technology improvements.

The IRENA report anticipates further cost reductions. It estimates that by 2025, average electricity costs could decrease 59% for solar PV, 35% for offshore wind, and 26% for onshore wind compared to 2015. Electricity prices for concentrated solar power could also decrease as much as 43%, depending on the technology used. By 2025, the global average cost of electricity from solar PV and onshore wind will be roughly 5–6 US cents per kilowatt-hour.

In its annual *New Energy Outlook* report, Bloomberg New Energy Finance (BNEF) anticipates further sharp reductions in the cost of solar and wind power accompanied by strong growth.<sup>5</sup> The report does not assume any further policy measures post-2020 to speed up decarbonisation; i.e. the strong growth of renewables will be driven primarily by economics.

BNEF says solar energy costs, which have already fallen by 80% since 2008, will fall another 60% by 2040. Solar's "precipitous" cost decline sees it emerge as the least-cost generation technology in most countries by 2030. It will account for 3,700 GW, or 43%, of new power generating capacity added from 2016–40 according to BNEF.

The cost of onshore wind power will fall a further 41% by 2040. It will account for more than 20% of new power generating capacity added from 2016–40.

Onshore wind and solar will be the cheapest ways of producing electricity in many countries during the 2020s and in most of the world in the 2030s, the report states.

Wind and solar will account for 64% of the 8,600 GW of new power generating capacity added worldwide over the next 25 years, BNEF predicts.

By 2040, zero-emission energy sources will make up 60% of installed capacity.

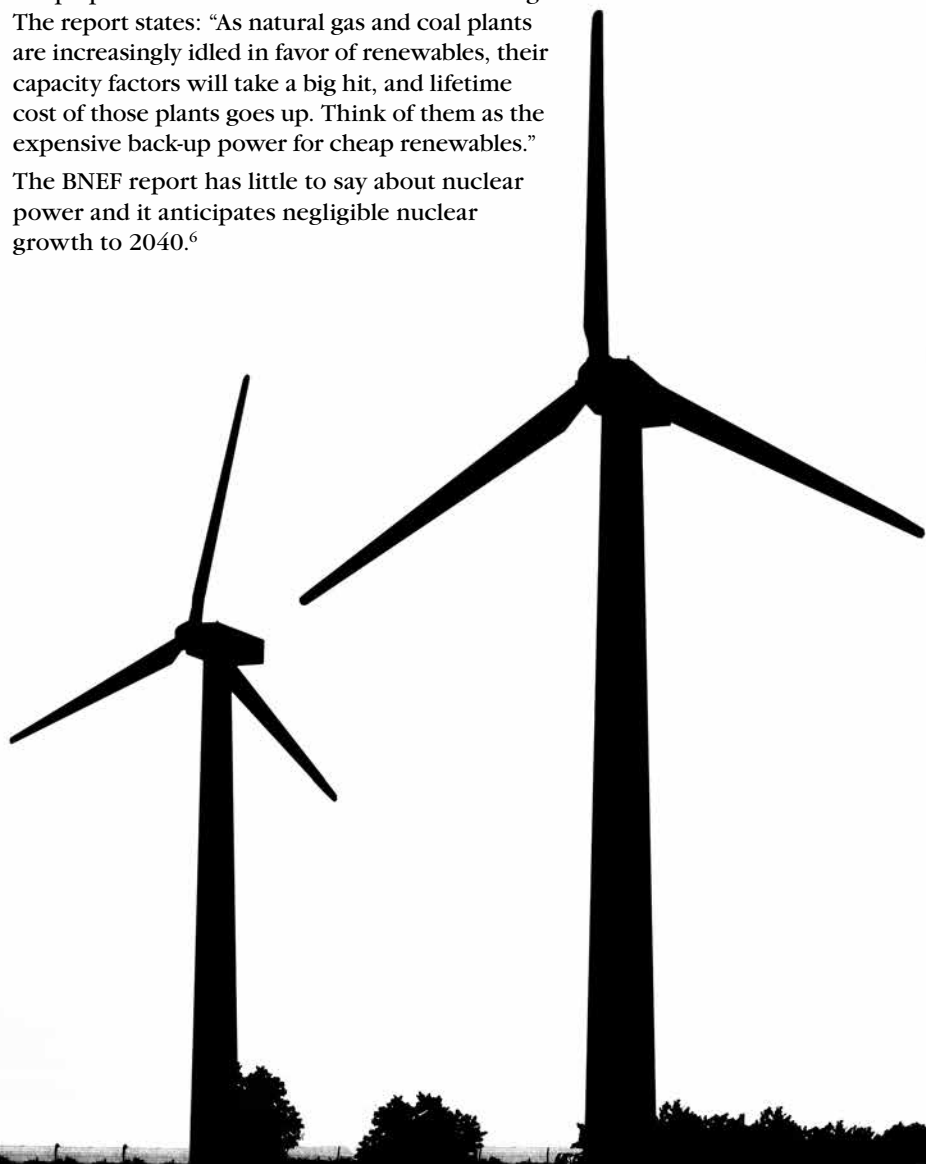
Electricity generation from wind and solar will rise ninefold to 10,591 TWh by 2040, and to 30% of total global electricity generation, from 5% in 2015.

Prices will remain low for coal and gas, because of falling demand, but wind and solar will still be cheaper than these fossil fuels by 2027 in most parts of the world. "This is a tipping point that results in rapid and widespread renewables development," the BNEF report says.

"With the increase in renewable generation comes a fall in the run-hours of coal and gas plants, contributing to the retirement of 819 GW of coal and 691 GW of gas worldwide over the next 25 years," the report states.

The fossil fuel plants remaining on-line will increasingly be needed, along with new flexible capacity, to help meet peak demand, as well as to ramp up when solar comes offline in the evening. The report states: "As natural gas and coal plants are increasingly idled in favor of renewables, their capacity factors will take a big hit, and lifetime cost of those plants goes up. Think of them as the expensive back-up power for cheap renewables."

The BNEF report has little to say about nuclear power and it anticipates negligible nuclear growth to 2040.<sup>6</sup>



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# Manufacturing dissent: environmentalists and nuclear power in the USA

Jim Green

Rupert Murdoch's Wall Street Journal (WSJ) published a disingenuous piece of agitprop on 16 June 2016, claiming that: "Some of the nation's most influential environmental groups are softening their longstanding opposition to nuclear power, marking a significant shift in the antinuclear movement as environmentalists' priority shifts to climate change."<sup>1</sup>

According to the *WSJ*:

*"The Sierra Club, the country's oldest and largest environmental group, is debating whether to halt its longtime position in support of shuttering all existing nuclear-power plants earlier than required by their federal operating licenses. The environmental group's leaders see existing reactors as a bridge to renewable electricity and an alternative source of energy as the group campaigns to shut down coal and natural gas plants.*

*"The Environmental Defense Fund is similarly deciding to what extent it should adjust its policy, potentially lending its support to keeping open financially struggling reactors.*

*"In Illinois, the Natural Resources Defense Council, along with the Sierra Club and EDF, are among the advocacy groups working with Exelon and state lawmakers on a legislative deal that would reverse a decision the company made in early June to close two nuclear reactors in the next two years."*

Michael Brune, Executive Director of the Sierra Club, said in response that the organization "remains in firm opposition to dangerous nuclear power", that the *WSJ* article "reflects wishful thinking on the part of the nuclear industry", that it is "categorically incorrect to suggest that the Sierra Club considers nuclear power a 'bridge' to clean energy" and that nuclear power "is a bridge to nowhere".<sup>2</sup>

Likewise, Henry Henderson from the Natural Resources Defense Council said the *WSJ* was "dead wrong on our goals, focus and motivation" and that the organization's efforts to reform energy policy "do not involve, or signal, a change in NRDC's long-held concerns about the role of nuclear energy in the country's generation mix."<sup>3</sup>

In a detailed dissection of the *WSJ* propaganda, Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) noted that "major assertions in the Journal article turn out to be either factually inaccurate, or to omit or spin important details."<sup>4</sup> FAIR noted that the *WSJ* story was framed by the story's two quoted pro-nuclear sources, Joe Dominguez from

energy company Exelon, and Michael Shellenberger, co-founder of the Breakthrough Institute. The *WSJ* describes the Breakthrough Institute as a "progressive think tank"; FAIR is closer to the mark describing it as a "quasi-neoliberal, pro-technology environmental think tank."

Shellenberger is quoted in the *WSJ* saying that a trickle of environmentalists changing their minds about nuclear has become a "stampede", and in response to the FAIR article he claimed<sup>5</sup> that environment groups are having an "internal civil war" over their position on nuclear power. Both claims are presented without a shred of evidence. Both reflect a postmodernist approach to truth-telling: tell a lie, tell it often, and hope it comes true.

Moreover, Shellenberger doesn't believe his own rhetoric about environment groups turning in support of nuclear power. On June 22 he led a bizarre pro-nuclear protest in San Francisco targeting the Sierra Club, Greenpeace and the NRDC for their anti-nuclear policies.<sup>6</sup> Also leading the protest march were 'Mothers for Nuclear' - started by two women who work in the nuclear power industry.<sup>4</sup>

The dishonesty of the corporate media and the antics of pro-nuclear lobbyists are having precious little effect. Despite Shellenberger's dedicated lobbying, Exelon announced in June that it plans to permanently shut down three reactors in Illinois: Clinton in 2017, and Quad Cities 1 and 2 in 2018. Exelon is also threatening to close two others in New York - Ginna and Nine Mile Point 1 - and the Three Mile Island 1 reactor in Pennsylvania is rumoured to be at risk of closure, without subsidies like those that are being proposed in the other states.

Also in June, Pacific Gas & Electric (PG&E) announced that the two Diablo Canyon reactors will close in 2024 and 2025, leaving California nuclear free - the pro-nuclear protest targeting environment groups was too little, too late. PG&E struck an agreement with environment groups including Friends of the Earth, such that the ageing reactors will be closed and replaced with renewable energy. To recap: an energy utility has struck a deal with environment groups to close reactors and replace them with renewables, while self-styled pro-nuclear environmentalists have been staging sit-ins in the offices of environment groups. Only in America!

And those are just the most recent announcements. In addition: Dominion's Kewaunee plant in Wisconsin and Entergy's Vermont Yankee have been shut down in recent years; Southern California Edison shut down the last two operating reactors at San Onofre in California in 2013; Duke Energy announced in 2013 that the Crystal River plant would never restart following a botched upgrade; Entergy's FitzPatrick plant in New York will be closed in 2017, and Entergy's Pilgrim plant in Massachusetts will be closed in 2019; Exelon's Oyster Creek plant in New Jersey will be shut down by December 2019; and Omaha Public Power District will shut down the Fort Calhoun plant in Nebraska at the end of 2016.

So much for the nuclear renaissance ... nuclear power is clearly going backwards in the US.

## A long history

FAIR opined: "Instead of a story about a growing fervor for nuclear power among some environmentalists, the story is really one about a growing fervor to resurrect nuclear power among corporate and political elites, aided by a handful of mainly environmentalists-for-hire."<sup>7</sup>



But actually the above quote from FAIR wasn't in response to the recent *WSJ* article. It was written in 2007 in response to an earlier media beat-up about environmentalists swinging in support of nuclear power.

The recent *WSJ* propaganda was just the latest in a long line. In 2014, for example, the BBC falsely claimed that Friends of the Earth UK was turning in support of nuclear power.<sup>8</sup> In 2009–10 the World Nuclear Association heavily promoted a dishonest article claiming that Greenpeace UK had changed its stance on nuclear power.<sup>9</sup>

David Roberts summed up the situation in 2013, when the Pandora's Promise propaganda film was trotting out the familiar lines that former nuclear critics and environmentalists are turning in support of nuclear power:<sup>10</sup>

*"There is no budding environmentalist movement for nukes. Ever since I started paying attention to "nuclear renaissance" stories about a decade ago, there's always been this credulous, excitable bit about how enviros are starting to come around. The roster of enviros in this purportedly burgeoning movement: Stewart Brand, the Breakthrough Boys, and "Greenpeace cofounder Patrick Moore," who has been a paid skill for industry for decades (it sounds like the*



*Pandora folks were wise enough to leave him out). More recently George Monbiot and Mark Lynas have been added to the list. This bandful of converts is always cited with the implication that it's the leading edge of a vast shift, and yet ... it's always the same handful. ... In the movie, Shellenberger says, "I have a sense that this is a beautiful thing ... the beginning of a movement." I fear he has once again mistaken the contents of his navel for the zeitgeist."*

Far from a stampede of pro-nuclear environmentalism, late last year James Hansen was complaining that the Climate Action Network, representing all the major environmental groups, opposes nuclear power.<sup>11</sup>

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# Risks, ethics and consent: Australia shouldn't become the world's nuclear wasteland

Mark Diesendorf

In May the South Australian Nuclear Fuel Cycle Royal Commission recommended that the state government develop a business venture to store a large fraction of the world's high- and intermediate-level nuclear power station wastes in South Australia. It proposes to do this by first building an interim above-ground store, to be followed by permanent underground repository. But the commission's recommendation is based on several debatable assumptions, including:

- an economic analysis that purports to show huge profits with negligible commercial risk
- the notion that social consent could be gained by "careful, considered and detailed technical work"
- the argument that Australia, as a net exporter of energy, has an ethical responsibility to help other countries lower their carbon emissions by means of nuclear power.

I have analysed critically these and other assumptions of the royal commission in a scholarly paper published in the international journal *Energy Research and Social Science* (<http://tinyurl.com/markd2016>).

## Risky economics

The commission's economic analysis rests on the heroic assumption that customers would, upon delivery of their nuclear wastes to South Australia, pay up-front for both interim above-ground storage *and* permanent underground storage. This would be up to 17 years before the underground repository has actually been built. The estimated total payment would be about A\$1.75 million per tonne of heavy metal (tHM) for storing possibly 138,000 tHM in total.

However, this ignores the huge financial risk to the government and taxpayers in the following scenario: the SA government builds the initial facilities – port, underground research and an interim above-ground storage – at a cost of about A\$3 billion. Commencing in year 11, customers deliver their nuclear wastes in dry casks, but pay initially only for the costs of interim storage of the casks, declining to pay for geological storage until the underground repository has been built and becomes operational in year 28.

Despite the royal commission's claim that the government would not develop the project under these conditions, the government could be influenced to accept the wastes by pressure, both positive and negative, from overseas governments, multinational corporations and/or internal politics.

Then, after a large quantity of nuclear waste has been placed into interim storage in SA, the government might not proceed with the geological storage, costing an extra A\$38 billion, for technical, political or financial reasons.

A similar situation occurred in the United States with the termination of funding for the Yucca Mountain repository after US\$13.5 billion had already been spent.

In this scenario, SA would be locked into managing a large number of dry casks, designed only for interim storage and located above ground, which will gradually erode and leak their dangerous contents over several decades. The physical hazards and the corresponding financial burden on future generations of all Australians would be substantial.

In this scenario, it would also be risky for customers who relied upon it and so failed to provide their own domestic geological repository.

## Social consent

Aware that Australians are divided on the nuclear industry, the royal commission acknowledges that gaining “social consent warrants much greater attention than the technical issues during planning and development”.

Then, on the same page of its report, it postulates that community support could be gained by “careful, considered and detailed technical work”. It thus creates the false impression that all social and ethical concerns can be reduced to technical issues.

Ultimately, gaining social consent is a socio-political struggle that draws only slightly on research and education on science, technology and economics. This is demonstrated by current debate in Australia on climate science, in which citizens are influenced by a print media that in many cases is biased towards denial, and a Coalition government that contains several vocal climate sceptics.

Indigenous Australians have successfully opposed for 20 years an above-ground dump for low-level national nuclear waste on their land at Muckaty in the Northern Territory. Indigenous communities are already mobilising, together with environmentalists, to resist very strongly any development of intermediate- and high-level repositories in South Australia. The social impacts of a low-level waste dump are bad enough, but would be dwarfed by the social, physical and financial impacts of a high-level waste repository.

## Ethics

One of the assumptions underlying the royal commission's ethical argument is that nuclear power will continue to be a low-carbon energy source.

However, the life-cycle CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from conventional nuclear power will increase greatly as high-grade uranium ore is used up and low-grade ore is mined and milled with fossil fuels. This limitation could be avoided only if mining and milling are done with renewable energy or if new fuel is produced in fast breeder reactors, but neither of these options appears likely on a commercial scale within the next 20 years.

Second, the royal commission assumes that those countries that lack sufficient indigenous renewable energy cannot be supplied by trade of renewable electricity via transmission lines or renewable liquid and gaseous fuels delivered by tanker. After all, countries that lack fossil fuels or uranium are supplied by sea trade.

Third, it assumes that it is ethically a good thing to foster the expansion of an energy technology that has risks with huge potential adverse impacts, possibly comparable in magnitude to those of global climate change.

The risk with the highest impacts could be its contribution to the proliferation of nuclear weapons (for details see the Nuclear Weapon Archive, <http://nuclearweaponarchive.org>) and hence the likelihood of nuclear war that could cause a nuclear winter.

## Politics

In a country that is divided about nuclear power and where the annual economic value of uranium exports is a modest A\$622 million (roughly equal to Australia's cheese exports), the origin of the nuclear waste proposal is puzzling and inevitably involves speculation.

However, one could suggest the political influence of BHP-Billiton, owner of Olympic Dam in South Australia, Australia's largest uranium mine and the second-largest in the world, and Rio Tinto, owner of the Ranger uranium mine in the Northern Territory.

A global nuclear waste site would lock future generations of Australians into an industry that is dangerous and very expensive. It's unlikely to gain social consent from Indigenous Australians, or indeed the majority of all Australians. Given the risks, it would be wise not to proceed.

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# Australia's nuclear-powered PR in meltdown

Dave Sweeney

Sometimes a small signal can indicate a big change. Dedicated mining paraphernalia hunters might have noticed a recent offering on the web based Gumtree market site - a hard hat from the controversial Ranger uranium mine in Kakadu.

With an asking price of \$349 the 20 year old standard issue Energy Resources of Australia (ERA) head saver is valued at more than 950 times the current ERA share price. And while this posting is more a hard hatted than a hard headed assessment, it is one further indication of the changed status of Australia's embattled uranium sector.

"Fukushima changed everything." This might sound like a line from the anti-nuclear lobby but it is a direct quote from BHP, the world's biggest miner. And they are right. The Fukushima disaster was directly fuelled by Australian uranium and increasingly its impacts are being directly felt by the Australian uranium sector.

In the continuing shadow of Fukushima nuclear powers contribution to the global energy mix is shrinking and has been eclipsed by renewables, and with over 200 reactor shut-downs due by 2040, the industry will have to run hard just to stay put.

The related uranium market meltdown has been severe and seen prices, profits and employment numbers go south. Before Fukushima uranium was trading at \$US130 per pound, now it is below \$US30 and domestic uranium operations are on hold, extended care and maintenance or well behind planning schedules.

Australia now accounts for approximately 11% of global production, compared to the 2002–2011 average of over 18%. Australia's uranium production of 5,000 tonnes in 2014 was the lowest for 16 years. We are ripping less, shipping less and the commodity price is too low to make new mines viable or old mines sustainable. Rio Tinto's Ranger uranium mine in Kakadu, Australia's oldest operation, is limping to its 2021 finish line and extension plans have been shelved.

And while uranium is the absolute stand out example of changed circumstances seen against the remnant glow of Australia's faded - and largely squandered - boom, these are not easy days for Australia's wider mining sector. Rising costs, cooling economies and volatile commodity prices are a tough trifecta and you would think that at such a time the peak industry group would have its eyes firmly on the extractive prize.

But the Minerals Council of Australia (MCA) is increasingly a case of the tail, or even the flea, directing the dog. Australia's big dollar commodity exports are coal and iron ore, neither

is without complexity and one is increasingly without social license but they are the big end of town. Between them they generate around \$100 billion per year in export earnings.

So why is the MCA spending a disproportionate amount of time, money and political capital spruiking a radioactive minnow? A glance at the MCA website shows three commodities are profiled — coal, iron ore and uranium. And yellowcake really is the very poor cousin.

According to IBISWorld Australia's uranium sector employs less than a thousand people and it generates around \$700 million in sales. The uranium industry accounts for less than 0.01% of jobs in Australia and in the 2013/14 financial year accounted for 0.19% of national export revenue. It is a sector that has promised much and delivered little.

But this hasn't stopped the Minerals Council from pumping funds into poorly advised social and hard media campaigns of late to try to breathe life into the comatose uranium sector. Recently the MCA launched a social media initiative to talk up the controversial mineral dubbed "#untappedpotential". It was quickly subverted by critics under the hash tag #epicfail but having failed to excite the virtual world the MCA extracted the wallet and paid for a same name advertising feature in the Australian Financial Review.

A double-page advertising feature appeared on the same day that BHP Billiton formally confirmed in the national media that concerns over the impact of the Fukushima disaster on uranium demand and prices was the reason it had scrapped its long planned, budgeted and approved Olympic Dam mine expansion in South Australia.

Despite the paid for promises of the MCA and its newly appointed Chair Vanessa Guthrie from the stalled West Australian uranium hopeful Toro Energy, uranium mining is not and never will be a significant source of employment or economic activity in Australia.

The reality of Australia's uranium sector is that it has created few jobs and dollars, caused considerable environmental damage at home and is escalating radioactive risk abroad.

After Fukushima, the UN Secretary General called for an independent cost-benefit analysis of Australia's high risk, low return uranium trade. This has not happened. It now needs to before this under-performing uranium sector fuels a future Fukushima.

*Dave Sweeney is the nuclear free campaigner with the Australian Conservation Foundation.*

*Australia's big dollar commodity exports are coal and iron ore, neither is without complexity and one is increasingly without social license but they are the big end of town.*

# Black Mist, White Rain

Gem Romuld

This April, the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) organised a four-day, four-city speaking tour, 'Black Mist, White Rain', to highlight the ongoing impact of nuclear testing in Australia and the Marshall Islands, and to raise public awareness about the global diplomatic process under way to ban nuclear weapons once and for all.

The speakers were Auntie Sue Coleman-Haseldine (Kokatha-Mula), Rose and Karina Lester (Yankunytjatjara-Anangu) from South Australia, and Abacca Anjain-Maddison from Rongelap Atoll in the Marshall Islands. More than 500 people attended the forums in Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane.

Meanwhile, groundbreaking diplomatic talks on nuclear disarmament continued at the United Nations in May, with the overwhelming majority of governments agreeing that it is high time to start work on a global treaty banning nuclear weapons. Nations such as Brazil, Mexico, Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines proposed that the first negotiating conference for the new treaty be held in 2017.

The third and final session of the talks will take place August 2016. The likely result will be adoption of a resolution this October in the UN General Assembly recommending the start of negotiations on a treaty banning nuclear weapons. This will be a major step forward.

The treaty will place nuclear weapons on the same legal footing as other weapons of mass destruction, which have long been prohibited under international conventions. It will make them illegal to use, produce and possess. While it is unlikely that the nuclear-armed nations will join the treaty at the outset, it will stigmatize nuclear weapons and create momentum for disarmament.

At the first round of talks in February, Australia spoke out loudly against a ban. But at the May session, it adopted a neutral position and kept a low profile. This is because the government was in caretaker mode prior to the federal election,



Karina Lester with her daughter Larissa Hughes, Sue Coleman-Haseldine, Abacca Anjain-Maddison and Tim Wright during the 'Black Mist White Rain' tour.

and the Labor and Liberal parties have divergent policies on banning nuclear weapons.

Underpinning the renewed global push to ban nuclear weapons is a deep concern about the catastrophic harm these weapons inflict on people and the environment. Survivors of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as well as survivors of nuclear test explosions, have been at the forefront of the process to achieve a ban.

*Some of the speeches from the Black Mist, White Rain speaking tour are posted at [www.icanw.org/au/bmwr](http://www.icanw.org/au/bmwr) and a 10-minute video is posted at <https://vimeo.com/165237774>*

*Find out more about ICAN at [www.icanw.org/au](http://www.icanw.org/au)  
Gem Romuld is the Outreach Coordinator with ICAN Australia.*



Protest outside the Australian mission in Geneva during the UN discussions in May.

# Karlamalyi Walk in Western Australia

Martu Traditional Owners recently led a 140 km, week-long walk to protest against Cameco's proposed uranium mine at Kintyre in Western Australia. Cameco has received conditional government approval to proceed with the mine, but the project has stalled because of the low uranium price.

Kintyre was excised from Karlamalyi National Park - WA's biggest National Park - in 1994. The area still has National Park values - an intricate desert water network and a number of endangered and vulnerable species including the rock wallaby, mulgara, marsupial mole, bilby and quoll. The area includes permanent water holes, ephemeral rivers and salt lakes.

Over 50 artists, activists and Traditional Owners participated in the Karlamalyi Walk. Along the way, stories were told about the land: where water is sourced, where the animals and the plants are, where traditional burial and hunting grounds are located, and why mining on this land must not go ahead.

Aboriginal Traditional Owners are concerned the project will affect their water supplies as well as 28 threatened species in the Karlamalyi National Park. Nola Taylor said the mine represented a threat to the health of people in her community. "It's too close to where we live, it's going to contaminate our waterways, we've got our biggest river that runs right past our community," she said.

"They (Cameco) told me it would be safe, they said all that but we had a cyclone go through here a couple of years back, and for me I have seen what has happened to the river and the water that is in there. I'm going to walk with the rest of the community to fight and stop the uranium mine that's going to go ahead," Taylor said.

Curtis Taylor, a Martu man and filmmaker, is not convinced the waste can be stored safely. "We had assurances given to us by the company but everyone still has that worry, if there was a flooding event that maybe tailings would go into the river," he said.

Joining the walk was Anohni, the Academy Award-nominated musician from Antony and the Johnsons. She said: "It's a huge landscape - it's a really majestic place. It's really hard to put a finger on it but there's a sense of presence and integrity and patience, dignity and perseverance and intense intuitive wisdom that this particular community of people have. There is almost an unbroken connection to the land - they haven't been radically disrupted. They are very impressive people - it's humbling to be around these women. In many regards, I think the guys who run Cameco are desolate souls, desolate souls with no home, with no connection to land, with no connection to country."

Dave Sweeney, nuclear free campaigner with the Australian Conservation Foundation, reflected on the Karlamalyi Walk:

*"It's too close to where we live, it's going to contaminate our waterways, we've got our biggest river that runs right past our community,"*

Karlamalyi Walk.

Photo by Tobias Titz,  
[www.tobiasnitz.de](http://www.tobiasnitz.de)



“Sometimes an event braids together the personal and the political in a way that is particularly unique and powerful. For me the Karlamalyi Walk was such an event. An opportunity to literally walk the talk and spend deep time on remote country; walking, talking and listening alongside old friends, new faces and Traditional Owners concerned about the prospect of uranium mining on their community and country. The big day horizons and night skies helped the mind move from outcomes to outback and the red dirt was a daily reminder of the long geological and cultural time that has shaped, and been shaped by this place.

“One particular day stands out. A long days walking without any tracks or footprints, but never with any sense of discomfort or unease. Answering a later question an old man matter of factly states, ‘no – you’re the first white ones’. The first white ones to have walked here: no missionaries or miners, no passers-by or pastoralists. Just Martu, and now us. The sense of place was vast. The importance of and urgent need for respect and protection was clear. And the shared commitment to end the threat of uranium mining and map a path to a nuclear free future was real and continuing.”

K-A shared her experience:

“For me, the walk was about taking my family out to Karlamalyi National Park in the East Pilbara to support the Martu people that had invited us to come and walk with them to keep uranium in the ground. However the walk has given me way more than just coming and supporting the Martu people on this week-long journey. The walk has given me a renewed strength and vigor to continue supporting not only the Martu people on their land to stop uranium mining but all Aboriginal communities that are fighting against this industry to save their homelands. And it is this experience

through feeling the land by walking each day and learning by listening to the elders that I can slowly begin to understand their country as home.

“Sharing in many ancient traditions of walking, fire burning, hunting and gathering the elders took us through their beautiful country along the Karlamalyi River that is surrounded by spectacular red hills, spinifex grasslands, quartz rock plateaus, ancient sandstone and open savannah country shrouded with white trunked gum trees. A special privilege that I wasn’t aware of until later when an elder shared “I haven’t walked this land since I was a young person”. I sat allowing the words to fall into me, remembering as a white person the history of this country.

“Walking alongside a five year old was a fabulous reminder of the smaller world beneath our feet and to discover what we were walking over and past as we continually looked down! The intimate scenes of caterpillars, spiders and their webs, burrowing frogs, dusty red animal prints, a kaleidoscope of stones, rocks and shells reminding us of the once ocean bed, decaying animal bones and charred remnants of traditional burning of country.

“We walked with the Martu people who know their country, who know where they belong. Martu know how to look after their water, they know how to burn their country and how to hunt their land. They also know what they want! They want the uranium to stay in the ground. They want to leave this country as beautiful as it is. They want to make sure this poison is kept in the ground. They want to keep fighting and they want us to come and support them to leave it in the ground. uranium: *jurra ulu parnangka* - leave it in the ground forever!”

From August 7 until September 7, the Walkatjurra Walkabout will be held in Western Australia to protest against the proposed Yeelirrie uranium mine, also owned by Cameco. Traditional Owner Kado Muir said: “Walkatjurra Walkabout is a pilgrimage across Wangkatja country in the spirit of our ancestors so together, we as present custodians, can protect our land and our culture for future generations. My people have resisted destructive mining on our land and our sacred sites for generations. For over forty years we have fought to stop uranium mining at Yeelirrie, we stopped the removal of sacred stones from Weebo and for the last twenty years we have stopped destruction of 200 sites at Yakabindie. We are not opposed to responsible development, but cannot stand wanton destruction of our land, our culture, and our environment. We invite all people, from all places, to come together to walk with us, to send a clear message that we want the environment here, and our sacred places left alone.”

**More information:**

[www.walkingforcountry.com/karlamalyi-walk/](http://www.walkingforcountry.com/karlamalyi-walk/)

[www.ccwa.org.au/kintyre](http://www.ccwa.org.au/kintyre)

[www.walkingforcountry.com/walkatjurra-walkabout/](http://www.walkingforcountry.com/walkatjurra-walkabout/)

Karlamalyi Walk.

Photo by Tobias Titz,  
[www.tobiasnitz.de](http://www.tobiasnitz.de)



# Radioactive waste and the nuclear war on Australia's Aboriginal people

Jim Green

From 1998–2004, the Australian federal government used thuggish, racist tactics in a failed attempt to impose a national nuclear waste dump on Aboriginal land in South Australia. The government's subsequent attempt to impose a dump on Aboriginal land in the Northern Territory was even more thuggish and even more racist. But that also failed. Now the Australian government has embarked on its third attempt to establish a nuclear waste dump and it has decided to once again try to impose a dump on Aboriginal land in SA despite clear opposition from Traditional Owners.

The latest proposal is for a dump in the spectacular Flinders Ranges, 400 km north of Adelaide in SA, on the land of the Adnyamathanha Aboriginal Traditional Owners.

The proposed dump site is adjacent to the Yappala Indigenous Protected Area (IPA).<sup>1</sup> "The IPA is right on the fence – there's a waterhole that is shared by both properties," says Yappala Station resident and Adnyamathanha Traditional Owner Regina McKenzie. The waterhole – a traditional women's site and healing place – is one of many archeological and culturally significant sites in the area that Traditional Owners have registered with the SA government over the past six years.

Two Adnyamathanha associations – Viliwarintha Aboriginal Corporation and the Arnggumthanha Camp Law Mob – wrote in November 2015 statement: "We don't want a nuclear waste dump here on our country and worry that if the waste comes here it will harm our environment and muda (our lore, our creation, our everything). We call on the federal government to withdraw the nomination of the site and to show more respect in future."<sup>2</sup>

Regina McKenzie said on ABC television: "Almost every waste dump is near an Aboriginal community. It's like, yeah, they're only a bunch of blacks, they're only a bunch of Abos, so we'll put it there. Don't you think that's a little bit confronting for us when it happens to us all the time? Can't they just leave my people alone?"<sup>3</sup>

## Dumping on South Australia, 1998–2004

This isn't the first time that Aboriginal people in SA have faced the imposition of a nuclear waste dump. In 1998, the federal government announced its intention to build a nuclear waste dump near the rocket and missile testing range at Woomera.

In 2003, the federal government used the Lands Acquisition Act 1989 to seize land for the dump. Native Title rights and interests were extinguished with the stroke of a pen.<sup>4</sup> This took place with no forewarning and no consultation with Aboriginal people.

Leading the battle against the dump were the Kupa Piti Kungka Tjuta, a council of senior Aboriginal women from northern SA.<sup>5</sup> Many of the Kungkas personally suffered the impacts of the British nuclear bomb tests at Maralinga and Emu Field in the 1950s.

The Kungkas continued to implore the federal government to 'get their ears out of their pockets', and after six years the government did just that. In the lead-up to the 2004 federal election, with the dump issue biting politically, and following a Federal Court ruling that the government had illegally used urgency provisions in the Lands Acquisition Act, the government decided to cut its losses and abandon the dump plan.

The debate over nuclear waste dumping in SA overlapped with a controversy over a botched clean-up of the Maralinga nuclear weapons test site in the same state. The federal government's clean-up of Maralinga in the late 1990s was done on the cheap and many tonnes of plutonium-contaminated debris remain buried in shallow, unlined pits in totally unsuitable geology.<sup>6</sup> Nuclear engineer and whistleblower Alan Parkinson said of the clean-up: "What was done at Maralinga was a cheap and nasty solution that wouldn't be adopted on white-fellas land."<sup>7</sup>

Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners and friends near the proposed nuclear dump site in the Flinders Ranges.





Dianne Stoke and Natalie Wasley celebrating the Muckaty victory.

## Radioactive ransom in the Northern Territory

From 2006 to 2014, successive federal governments attempted to establish a national nuclear waste dump at Muckaty, 110 km north of Tennant Creek in the Northern Territory. A toxic trade-off of basic services for a radioactive waste dump was part of the story from the start.

The nomination of the Muckaty site was made with the promise of \$12 million compensation package comprising roads, houses and scholarships. Muckaty Traditional Owner Kylie Sambo objected to this radioactive ransom: "I think that is a very, very stupid idea for us to sell our land to get better education and scholarships. As an Australian we should be already entitled to that."

While a small group of Aboriginal Traditional Owners supported the dump, a large majority were opposed<sup>8</sup> and some initiated legal action in the Federal Court challenging the nomination of the Muckaty site by the federal government and the Northern Land Council (NLC).<sup>9</sup>

The conservative Coalition federal government passed legislation – the Commonwealth Radioactive Waste Management Act<sup>10</sup> – overriding the Aboriginal Heritage Act, undermining the Aboriginal Land Rights Act, and allowing the imposition of a nuclear dump with no Aboriginal consultation or consent.

The Australian Labor Party voted against the Commonwealth Radioactive Waste Management Act, with Labor parliamentarians describing it as "extreme", "arrogant", "draconian", "sorry", "sordid", and "profoundly shameful". At its 2007 national conference, Labor voted unanimously to repeal the legislation.

Yet after the 2007 election, the Labor government passed legislation – the National Radioactive Waste Management Act (NRWMA)<sup>11</sup> – which was almost as draconian and still permitted the imposition of a nuclear dump with no Aboriginal consultation or consent (to be precise, the nomination of a site was not invalidated by a failure to consult or secure consent).<sup>12</sup>

Radioactive racism in Australia is bipartisan – both Labor and the conservative Liberal/National Coalition voted in support of the NRWMA. Shamefully, the NLC supported legislation disempowering the people it is meant to represent.

The Federal Court trial finally began in June 2014. After two weeks of evidence, the NLC gave up and agreed to withdraw the nomination of Muckaty.<sup>13</sup> Victory for the Muckaty mob! The announcement came just days before the NLC and government officials were due to take the stand to face cross-examination. As a result of their surrender, they did not have to face cross-examination in relation to numerous serious accusations raised in the first two weeks of the trial, including claims that the NLC rewrote an anthropologists' report.<sup>14</sup>

## South Australia as the world's high-level nuclear waste dump

Now Aboriginal people in SA face another grave threat: a plan to import 138,000 tonnes of spent nuclear fuel and 390,000 cubic metres of intermediate level waste for storage and disposal as a commercial venture. The plan is being driven by the SA government, which last year established a Royal Commission to provide a fig-leaf of independent supporting advice.<sup>15</sup> The Royal Commissioner was (and is) a gullible nuclear advocate and the majority of the members of the 'Independent Advisory Committee' were strident nuclear advocates.<sup>16</sup> The plan to turn SA into the world's nuclear waste dump has been met with near-unanimous opposition from Aboriginal people.<sup>17</sup> The Aboriginal Congress of SA, comprising people from many Aboriginal groups across the state, endorsed the following resolution at an August 2015 meeting:<sup>18</sup>

*"We, as native title representatives of lands and waters of South Australia, stand firmly in opposition to nuclear developments on our country, including all plans to expand uranium mining, and implement nuclear reactors and nuclear waste dumps on our land. ... Many of us suffer to this day the devastating effects of the nuclear industry and continue to be subject to it through extensive uranium mining on our lands and country that has been contaminated. We view any further expansion of industry as an imposition on our country, our people, our environment, our culture and our history. We also view it as a blatant disregard for our rights under various legislative instruments, including the founding principles of this state."*

## Self-styled pro-nuclear environmentalists

Australia's self-styled 'pro-nuclear environmentalists' – academic Barry Brook, uranium and nuclear industry consultant Ben Heard, and one or two others – have never once voiced concern about attempts to impose nuclear waste dumps on unwilling Aboriginal communities. Their silence suggests they couldn't care less about the racism of the industry they so stridently support.

Silence from Brook and Heard when the federal government was passing laws allowing the imposition of a national nuclear waste dump in the Northern Territory without consultation or consent from Traditional Owners. Worse still, echoing comments<sup>19</sup> from the right-wing Liberal Party, Brook and Heard said the Muckaty site in the Northern Territory was in the "middle of nowhere".<sup>20</sup> From their perspective, perhaps, but for Muckaty Traditional Owners the site is in the middle of their homelands.

Heard's comments about the current proposed dump site on Adnyamathanha land in the Flinders Ranges of SA have been just as offensive. He claims there are "no known cultural heritage issues on the site".<sup>21</sup> Try telling that to the Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners who live on Yappala Station, in the Indigenous Protected Area



right next to the dump site. So where did Heard get this idea that there are “no known cultural heritage issues on the site”? Not from visiting the site, or speaking to the Traditional Owners. He’s just parroting the federal government’s racist lies.

Brook and Heard are also offering up the state of SA for an international high-level nuclear waste dump as if it was their personal property.<sup>22</sup> No mention of Aboriginal Traditional Owners or their fierce opposition to such proposals.<sup>17</sup>

The intersection between nuclear waste and radioactive racism isn’t unique to Australia, of course. In the U.S., for example, a 2010 article in *Scientific American* noted: “Native tribes across the American West have been and continue to be subjected to significant amounts of radioactive and otherwise hazardous waste as a result of living near nuclear test sites, uranium mines, power plants and toxic waste dumps.”<sup>23</sup>

More bluntly, indigenous activist Winona LaDuke sums up the problem: “The greatest minds in the nuclear establishment have been searching for an answer to the radioactive waste problem for fifty years, and they’ve finally got one: haul it down a dirt road and dump it on an Indian reservation”.<sup>24</sup>

The racism associated with nuclear waste dumping in the U.S. is as plain as the nose on James Hansen’s face – but he hasn’t said a word about it. Nor has the Breakthrough Institute or any of the other self-styled pro-nuclear environmentalists in the U.S.



Kupa Piti Kungka Tjuta

### Take action:

Join the Facebook group: ight to Stop Nuclear Waste in the Flinders Ranges, [www.facebook.com/groups/941313402573199](http://www.facebook.com/groups/941313402573199)

To donate to Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners to support their fight against the federal government, visit [www.gofundme.com/28b7dmsk](http://www.gofundme.com/28b7dmsk)

The Aboriginal-led Australian Nuclear Free Alliance is asking organisations around the world to endorse a short statement calling on nuclear nations not to dump their nuclear waste in Australia: [www.anfa.org.au/sign-the-declaration](http://www.anfa.org.au/sign-the-declaration)

Sign the ‘No Dump Alliance’ statement opposing international high-level nuclear waste dumping in Australia: [www.nodumpalliance.org.au](http://www.nodumpalliance.org.au)

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# SA Premier silent while Flinders Ranges threatened

Regina McKenzie

The federal government has announced that the Flinders Ranges has been selected as the preferred site for a national nuclear waste dump. The land was nominated by former Liberal Party Senator Grant Chapman and his nomination has been endorsed by the Liberal government in Canberra. Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners weren't consulted about the nomination. Even Traditional Owners who live next to the proposed dump site at Yappala Station weren't consulted.

The proposed dump site is adjacent to the Yappala Indigenous Protected Area. On the land with the proposed dump site, we have been working for many years to register heritage sites with the SA government.

The area is Adnyamathanha land. It is *Arngurla Yarta* (spiritual land). The proposed dump site has springs. It also has remnant ancient mound springs. It has countless thousands of Aboriginal artifacts. Our ancestors are buried there.

The nominated site is a significant women's site. Throughout the area are registered cultural heritage sites and places of huge importance to our people.

The site is an ancient trade route. It is a very important archeological site for Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners and also for non-Aboriginal people.

There are frequent *yarta ngurra-ngurrandba* (earthquakes and tremors). At least half a dozen times each year, we see and feel the ground move.

It is flood land. The water comes from the hills and floods the plains, including the proposed dump site. Sometimes there are massive floods, the last one in 2006. The massive floods uproot trees – you can come out here now and see

huge trees uprooted by the 2006 flood. Ten foot tall, lying on their sides! In 1956 a massive flood destroyed Cotabena homestead and all the houses in Hookina township.

We don't want a nuclear waste dump here on our country and worry that if the waste comes here it will harm our environment and *muda* (our lore, our creation).

We call on the federal government to withdraw the nomination of the site and to show more respect in future. We call on all South Australians – all Australians – to support us in our struggle. Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners and Viliwarinha Yura Aboriginal Corporation will fight the proposal for a nuclear waste dump on our land for as long as it takes to stop it.

Last year I was awarded the SA Premier's Natural Resource Management Award in the category of 'Aboriginal Leadership – Female' for working to protect land that is now being threatened with a nuclear waste dump.

But Premier Jay Weatherill has been silent since the announcement of six short-listed dump sites last year, three of them in SA. Now the Flinders Ranges has been chosen as the preferred site and Mr Weatherill must speak up.

The Premier can either support us – just as the SA government supported the Kupa Piti Kungka Tjuta when their land was targeted for a national nuclear waste dump from 1998-2004 – or he can support the federal government's attack on us by maintaining his silence. He can't sit on the fence.

*Regina McKenzie is a Yappala Station resident and member of Viliwarinha Yura Aboriginal Corporation.*



Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners Heather Stuart, Enice Marsh and Regina McKenzie.

# Expanding the concept of environmental racism

Larry Lohmann

“Environmental racism” is a concept it’s hard to imagine environmentalism ever having done without. It names a reality that can’t be tackled “before” or “after” environmental campaigning, but has to be confronted every day in building movements against the ways oppressive societies organize nature.

Blowing a hole in the attitude, widespread among middle-class environmentalists, that “I’m not a racist, so don’t talk to me about racism,” the concept highlights the ways that nice guys without racist theories participate in racism, too – not only when they disregard the extent to which pollution flows toward black and brown people and away from whites, but also when they obey the rules of polite society that tend to forbid even raising such uncomfortable issues.

The idea of environmental racism grew up in the US in the 1980s among minority groups who were being forced to incorporate into their bodies huge quantities of poisons from chemical or nuclear waste dumps, municipal landfills, polluting power plants, incinerators, pesticide-laden air or lead-laden water.

What US groups were describing, of course, was going on all over the world. In 1984, both the Union Carbide chemical factory in Bhopal, India and the PEMEX liquid propane gas plant in Mexico City blew up, blighting a million lives. Not long after, the enormously toxic work of dismantling obsolete computers began to fall mostly on cheap Asian and African labour.

Environmental racism of this kind had also long been obvious in forests. Between 1964 and 1992, Texaco subjected tens of thousands of indigenous and peasant (largely mestizo) Ecuadorians to an intensity of pollution from its Lago Agrio oil fields that would never have been tolerated in the wealthy white suburbs of New York City. In the 1990s, indigenous communities worldwide began to be “assigned” the job of using their forests and paramos to help absorb the carbon-dioxide pollution flowing from industries whose profits disproportionately benefit other ethnic groups.

## From the US to the Democratic Republic of Congo

In fact, for every example of environmental racism in cities, another example can probably be found in forests.

US environmental justice movements have long pointed out the racism inherent in the way some big Washington, DC-based environmental organizations fall all over themselves to give superficial green makeovers to industries whose profits remain based in part on the unequal distribution of pollution within the country.

But isn’t it racist in precisely the same way for, say, the UK government’s development finance arm, the CDC Group, to invest public money in the Feronia oil palm company in the Democratic Republic of Congo? Feronia’s precarious business could not be sustained if it did not occupy forest lands that were stolen from communities along the Congo River under Belgian colonial occupation between 1908 and 1960. Given the persistent legacy of malnutrition and dependence on poverty wages that continues to affect local people, isn’t it racist for CDC to claim that it is only trying to “improve a situation” that it has “inherited”, has no responsibility for, and can do nothing about?

## Another dimension

But environmental racism isn’t just about the racialized distribution of pre-existing pollution or pre-existing nature. It’s also about the ways people, ethnic groups, nature and pollution are co-defined in the first place. And this aspect of environmental racism is perhaps even more visible in the forests than elsewhere.

For example, REDD [‘reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation’] is racist not just because it grabs indigenous people’s land to clean up non-indigenous carbon dioxide emissions. It’s also racist because it discriminates against indigenous ideas of land. Indigenous understandings of forests are not even dismissed, because they are not even recognized as existing. A similar racism is inherent in what Argentine sociologist Maristella Svampa calls “zones of sacrifice”, where indigenous valuations of land are ignored as obstacles to the commodity export economy.

Or take the “nature” that is preserved in countless protected areas worldwide. From the time of the establishment of the US’s Yellowstone National Park onwards, this is a nature that depends on the exclusion of indigenous peoples. Innumerable relationships among humans, animals and plants are banned and replaced with new relationships involving wildlife managers, academic researchers, forest rangers, tourists and broadcasters.

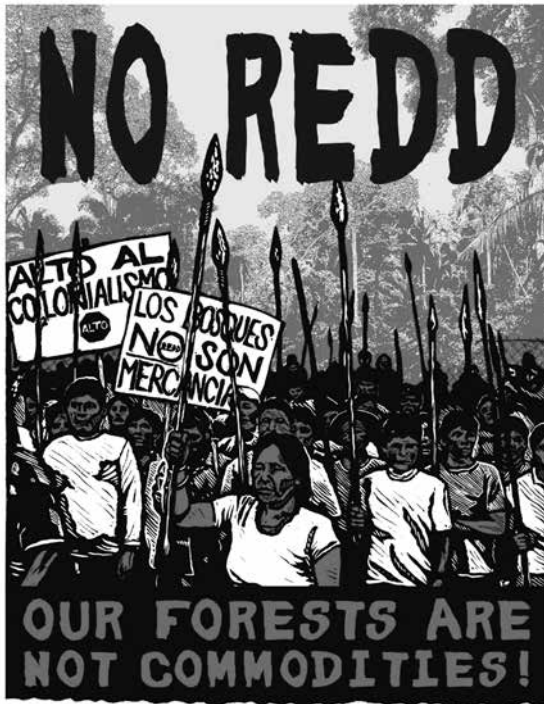
In essence, such transformations are nothing new. In medieval England, the words “park” and “forest” signified places where there were deer set aside for royal elites to hunt, not necessarily places where there were trees. But post-Yellowstone practice added new twists. Elites pretended to erase themselves from the scene by claiming to be representatives of nonhuman “nature”. Yet the word “protected” in “protected areas” still meant little more than “protected from the uneducated and dark-skinned”.

Of course, under progressive regimes, some “natives” were allowed back inside such “natures”. But in the process they usually had to agree to convert themselves into either picturesque “noble savages” or agents of Western ecological management. For example, they might have to dichotomize their land into permanent agricultural fields and agriculture-free forests, leaving no room for other forms such as forest fallows. Such natures remained inescapably racist. Fighting the human/nature binary that defined them became a part of fighting racism more generally.

## Stereotyped natures

And hasn’t racism always gone hand in hand with prejudicial ideas of nature as lying somehow outside and beneath the human? Isn’t it more than a coincidence, for example, that the derogatory connotations of many words for “forest” resonate with the racist tone of terms often applied to marginalized minority groups?

In Thailand, where racist conservationism has often advocated programmes to resettle highland minorities away from watershed forests, *thuen* (jungle) is just another word for “outlaw”, and *paa* (forest) is that which is not *siwilai* (civilized). How many racist epithets from around the world – *indios de mierda*, *khon thuen*, *nyika*, *spruce monkey*, *kariang*, *jangli*, *jungle bunny* – do



not implicitly locate their referents in precisely such stereotyped zones of forest primitivity?

To know how to live in and with such purportedly “savage” environments – to have the skills to vary, extend, enrich or interact with them without simply reducing them to resources for infinite growth – has frequently been assumed to diminish your humanity.

Among European colonialist thinkers like John Locke, Native Americans were not felt to be capable of adding any human ingredients to land at all. In colonial India, “waste” lands were seen to be occupied by “criminal” people. Today, the Asian Development Bank is on record claiming that it is only by removing people from forested mountain areas that they can be brought to “normal life”.

## Science and responsibility

This leads straight to a perhaps even more uncomfortable question. If certain natures are racist, then can the sciences that study them be innocent? The reality of science is that it can’t call everything into question at the same time. It has to stand on certain assumptions which for the time being are not challenged, in order to test other things. As of 2016, a racist human/nature dichotomy is often one of those assumptions.

For example, an environmental science whose problems are shaped by a fixed agenda of “reducing

the impact of humans on nature” or “determining carrying capacity” is going to be racially biased regardless of the intentions of the scientists who practice it.

Yet sciences that study things like “Yellowstone nature” can’t remain free forever from the responsibility to question – scientifically – the very construction of what they investigate. Today it is widely recognized that an anthropology that treats the peoples it studies as static museum pieces to be “protected” from change is racist. But isn’t restoration ecology racist in precisely the same way? And what about climate models seeking ways of “stabilizing” global temperatures at economically optimal levels?

Of course, few scientists brave enough to challenge racist axioms inside their own discipline are seen by their colleagues as acting out of the scientific spirit to which they have dedicated their lives. Instead they are interpreted as engaging in personal attacks and sowing divisiveness. Racism, they are told, is never anything more than some individual bad guys behaving immorally or unprofessionally, whereas science itself, being about “nature”, is “race-blind”.

This reaction is widespread partly because it has been so effective in defending the prestige of the scientific class and those whose power science legitimates. But at bottom it’s merely one more restatement of the same human/nature division. It’s as much an obstacle to rational discussion as racial epithets themselves.

## Discomfort or movement-building?

Are forest activists ready to entertain the idea that certain concepts of nature and forest that help define the work not only of many scientists, but also of organizations like the World Bank, the FAO, the UNFCCC, UNESCO and CIFOR, are in some ways on a par with nigger? Are activists willing to challenge the way they themselves sometimes use these terms?

Stretching the concept of environmental racism in this way is bound to stir widespread resistance, if not hysteria. Among professional classes, as the US legal scholar Patricia J. Williams noted years ago, “matters of race are resented and repressed in much the same way as matters of sex and scandal: the subject is considered a rude and transgressive one in mixed company.”

But perhaps those discomfited by the topic will just have to get over themselves. For centuries, indigenous and forest peoples and peasants have had to withstand the racism of having human/nature binaries imposed wholesale on them and their forests. For middle-class environmentalists and others to have to work through a little temporary discomfort is nothing by comparison.

Particularly when the potential gains are so disproportionate. When, at the recent UN Paris climate summit, some young African-American activists working against environmental racism in the US encountered representatives of the “No REDD in Africa” coalition, the rapport was immediate and electric. Part of this may have been due simply to different aspects of a shared global environmental history suddenly falling into place. But perhaps it also owed something to a sense that older concepts of racial oppression and liberation were being extended, and that surprising new things might be on the verge of happening. Here was the kind of moment from which transformation flows. Movement-building is concept-building.

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# Multinational tax dodging costs billions

Nearly \$9 billion that could be spent on schools, hospitals and critical infrastructure in Australia and in poor countries is instead being hidden by Australian-based multinationals in tax havens, according to an Oxfam report released in June.

According to *The Hidden Billions - How tax havens impact lives at home and abroad*, and based on the latest available data, tax haven use by Australian-based multinationals cost Australia around \$6 billion in lost tax revenue annually, and cost developing countries an estimated \$2.8 billion every year.

Oxfam Australia Chief Executive Dr Helen Szoke said: "The Oxfam report, for the first time, puts dollar figures on what Australians and poor people in our region are missing out on because Australian-based multinational companies aren't paying their fair share of tax like the rest of us."

Globally, tax-dodging is rampant in developing countries, with big companies ripping A\$209 billion of tax revenue out of their economies in 2014, money that could have been used to fight poverty and generate equality and prosperity.

Szoke said: "Over the next five years, it's estimated that Indonesia will be deprived of around \$493 million that could have gone towards education, and PNG stands to lose around \$23 million in expenditure on essential services such as hospitals, schools and sanitation. This is shocking, given in PNG, 60 per cent of the population don't have access to clean water. In Ghana, funding lost due to the use of tax havens by Australian-based multinationals could pay for an estimated additional 1,400 primary school teachers, and nearly 600 nurses, a year. In The Philippines, an estimated 1,700 new classrooms per year could be built.

"It doesn't have to be this way. Australia should show that it's tackling this issue by making the tax affairs of Australian-based multinationals public - not only for their operations in Australia, but for every country in which they operate.

"Our research relies on IMF data, which shows the flow of money from Australian-based multinationals. Unfortunately, there is no way to find out which individual companies are dodging tax, as they're not required to publish their tax affairs on a country-by-country basis."

Szoke said this lack of public reporting enabled big companies to hide billions of dollars they should be paying in tax: "Other countries, including the US, France and Canada, have made tax reporting public for high-risk sectors in big business, such as for mining companies and big banks; it's time Australia caught up."



Oxfam is calling on all political parties to commit to:

- Make tax transparent at home and abroad;
- Curb irresponsible use of tax havens;
- Make multinational ownership information public;
- Support developing countries with tax infrastructure; and
- Support global action to end tax dodging.

The report was launched with a poll of over 1,000 Australians finding that 90% of Australians polled think the government should do more to stop multinational corporations avoiding paying tax in Australia and in every country in which they operate.

The Oxfam-commissioned poll also found:

- 60% of Australians polled believe the main thing the Federal Government should do to raise revenue is crackdown on tax avoidance by multinationals;
- 90% of Australians polled believe the Federal Government should legislate to prevent all multinationals operating in this country from moving their profits to tax havens to avoid paying tax here;
- 87% think that those Australian companies who operate in developing countries and in Australia should publicly report their earnings and how much tax they pay everywhere.

*The Hidden Billions report is posted at: [www.oxfam.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/OXF003-Tax-Havens-Report-FA-WEB.pdf](http://www.oxfam.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/OXF003-Tax-Havens-Report-FA-WEB.pdf)*

Hidden billions media stunt with Oxfam Chief Executive Helen Szoke and the 'big heads' of Malcolm Turnbull and Bill Shorten.

# Transforming male supremacy in our everyday activism and lives

Rodney Vlasis

Every form of struggle for social and environmental justice, dignity and survival is, to a greater or lesser extent, about power. The power to shape or dominate the 'story', to define what's 'real', what's valued, what counts, what's visible, what's invisible. The power to shape organisations, institutions, cultures, sub-cultures, shared meanings, shared expectations, shared myths. The power to provide or withhold information, to gate-keep access to information, to define what information is valid and to be trusted. The power to develop and maintain hierarchies, to control decision-making, to use subtle and overt forms of propaganda to marginalise dissent and local autonomy.

This power is generally not earned. It becomes part and parcel of being privileged. I don't need to do anything to receive the benefits of being able-bodied and heterosexual. These benefits arise by virtue of my privilege in these areas. Ongoing occupation of Aboriginal and Islander nations and lands provides me with advantages, rights and resources that I didn't need to actively steal ... this stolen wealth is bestowed to me every day.

Whether acting in solidarity with local communities affected by unconventional gas exploration, South Pacific Islander nations threatened by climate change or 'free trade' agreements, or with old growth forests targeted by corporate interests, effective activist work requires us to be keenly aware of the dynamics of power including our own use of power. We acknowledge that as allies to their struggle, we have forms of power and privilege that we need to become un-blind to, learn more about, actively detect and monitor in an ongoing way, and transform, so that we don't add to the oppression of those who we wish to act in solidarity with. We need to tune our antennae to both the 'micro-politics' of privilege in the everyday, and to how power plays out in the bigger picture around us.

Being an aspiring ally is a collective struggle, to learn what it might mean to be white, able-bodied, human or economically privileged, and to not leave it up to those without privilege to hold a mirror up to our misuse and abuse of power. To discover how we have come to see our privilege as an entitlement. To take responsibility to make visible what is often invisible to us. And to learn from others about very different ways of co-creating and being sensitive with power, systems of valuing and re-valuing that can shake the very foundations of what we've been taught.

## Not a simple dividing line

Of course, it's not a simple dividing line between those with privilege and those without. One might have privilege in some ways, and at the same time, experience marginalisation and oppression in another way that deeply affects the opportunities one has, how one is seen, one's access to resources, one's status. And some people experience multiple forms of oppression, including many of those who our campaigns are in the service of.

While we know this to a greater or lesser extent in our social justice and environmental activism, there is one dimension of power that we are sometimes particularly blind to within our autonomous or progressive communities. Or more correctly, that men in our collectives and communities are often blind to ... gender, and what it means to benefit from male supremacy.

I've come to realise that we can't assume that because an autonomous collective or progressive community is growing antennae to detect racism, anthropocentrism or classism, that the men within that community are on a journey to develop their gender antennae. While I hear some conversations and genuine reflection about what it means to be white, or middle class, or from a Minority World (overdeveloped) nation, I hear little, from men, about what it means to carry male privilege and entitlement. This is not a moralistic observation from some enlightened space ... I'm reflecting on my gender blindness from my own history within progressive struggles too.

As a cis-gendered, able-bodied white male, who aspires to be an ally to women in their struggle for freedom from men's violence and misogyny, for control over their bodies and lives, sexual autonomy and emotional, social and economic safety, there is much that I need to take responsibility for.

I need to be more aware of the un-negotiated burdens of responsibility I place on to women, whether it be colleagues and activists or my partner and female friends. Who is most likely to listen out for signs of burn-out, distress or activist fatigue and trauma in our collectives? Who is most likely to notice and articulate tears in collegial or personal relationships that affect how a campaign functions? Who in a heterosexual relationship is most likely to keep track of their children's friendship formation during homeschooling or school, to ask how their

*Being an aspiring ally is a collective struggle, to learn what it might mean to be white, able-bodied, human or economically privileged, and to not leave it up to those without privilege to hold a mirror up to our misuse and abuse of power.*

day went and help them to process the emotional highs and lows? Who is most likely, in the months before the birth of a new baby into the family, to take responsibility for thinking about and researching which pram or form of modern cloth nappies might be best to buy? Which gender makes up 98% of the workforce in Australia's early learning and childcare industry?

Noticing and contributing to the emotional care of our activist and personal relationships, the relational pulse of our collectives, the social and emotional lives of our children, and caring for other children, of course isn't inherently a burden. But when these things are invisible to men, and through our entitlement and privilege are left solely or mainly for women to do, it can then become an un-negotiated burden of emotional labour onto women, crowding out emotional, physical and spiritual energy (and time) for the many other identities and ways of being that women could choose to pursue. And choosing to leave these things for women to do impoverishes our lives as men.

## Hypermasculine cultures

As male activists and progressive change agents, we are influenced by wider hypermasculine cultures, by the 'man box', by prevailing norms of masculinity. Many of us work and play tirelessly, creatively, determinedly, to co-create a space outside, to co-author our own gender identities, to non-conform with white male supremacist ways of being. But that doesn't mean that we aren't influenced by predominant patriarchal stories about what it means to be 'a strong leader' or to 'work hard'. It doesn't mean that we don't take up more than our share of physical and decision-making space and power, that we don't shun emotional labour work for the more glorious 'out there' activist heroic identities.

And it doesn't automatically mean that we take action to challenge patriarchal and violent pornography. Or insist on maximum quotas of men (rather than minimum quotas for women). Or look out for subtle displays of sexism that contribute to the continuing objectification of women. It doesn't mean that we take note of when the first judgement we make when meeting a woman is of her appearance.

And unfortunately, it doesn't mean that women in our collectives and campaigns automatically feel safe from the threat of men's violence, whether that be from men in their personal lives and networks, or men from the collective itself. Violence against women and their children is not just something that happens 'out there'.

## Taking action to non-cooperate with male entitlement

As men, there is so much that we could be doing - carefully, slowly, working collaboratively with women - to help transform the conditions that subtly condones men's emotional, social, financial, physical and sexual violence against women.

This starts with us men noticing and sensitively taking (non-heroic) action to non-cooperate with the male entitlement and privilege, the objectification of women, the un-negotiated burdening of responsibility, that all feeds a general way of thinking in relation to gender ... a way of thinking that those who do use violence against women draw upon to justify and excuse their behaviour. While violence against women is always a choice, the actions of all men to cooperate or non-cooperate with male supremacist ways of being creates a climate that makes it easier or harder for some men to make the choice to use violence.

This is not about beating ourselves up as men. It's not about seeing gender as the only thing that matters. It is about realising, without being defensive or getting lost in a "I've stuffed up" response, that of course we are going to reproduce our male privilege in many ways, exhibit sexism, and act through entitlement. It's about recognising that all this is a consequence of the benefits given to us by virtue of being male. About recognising how this operates in the moment, about noticing, not leaving it for women to do the noticing for us. About careful, sensitive, power-aware noticing ... and non-cooperation to create spaces for freedom and dignity.

*If anything in this article resonates with family/ domestic violence or sexual assault affecting you or someone you care about, the national 1800Respect helpline operates 24/7 on 1800 737 732. The Men's Referral Service helpline 1300 766 491 provides an opportunity for men using violence to explore some first steps towards taking responsibility for their behaviour.*

*To find out about transformative justice approaches within and across collectives and solidarity networks to interpersonal violence including violence against women, see [www.creative-interventions.org/tools/toolkit/](http://www.creative-interventions.org/tools/toolkit/) Rodney Vlasis is a psychologist-in-recovery with an activist history, and is a current member of FoE Melbourne's Policy Advisory Committee. His paid work is with No To Violence ([ntv.org.au](http://ntv.org.au)). He is keen to hear of others who might be interested in exploring Challenging Male Supremacy work (see <http://challengingmalesupremacy.org/>) in Melbourne, and can be contacted on [rodneyv@ntv.org.au](mailto:rodneyv@ntv.org.au)*

*Violence against women and their children is not just something that happens 'out there'.*

# A comparison of responses to contamination of Australian Defence bases by the NSW and NT Environmental Protection Agencies

James Courtney

Perfluorooctane sulfonate (PFOS) and perfluorooctanoic acid (PFOA) are chemicals that have been detected contaminating land and waterways surrounding a number of Department of Defence sites around Australia. These chemicals pose a threat to human health and the environment.

In Europe, PFOA is classified as a reproductive toxin and is required to be labelled “may damage the unborn child.” The Science Advisory Board of the United States Environmental Protection Agency has assessed PFOS and PFOA as “likely to be carcinogenic to humans.” These chemicals were historically used in fire fighting foams.

A 2003 Australian Department of Defence report contained a clear warning on the danger posed by the chemicals: “PFOS and PFOA are toxic to humans, and both have been implicated with a variety of cancers.”<sup>1</sup>

## NSW EPA Response

Defence announced on 3 September 2015 that PFOS and PFOA had been detected in groundwater at Williamstown RAAF Base, Newcastle Airport and in seafood taken from Tilligerry Creek and Fullerton Cove.<sup>2</sup>

On 21 October 2015 NSW EPA released a report containing sampling data.<sup>3</sup> Test results were considered serious enough for the NSW EPA to immediately apply the precautionary principal, issue health advisories against drinking water from bores and close fisheries in a large area around Williamstown.

Within three months of the initial announcement on the 23 December 2015, NSW EPA had released an interim report, written by an independent expert.

After six months they have released a set of comprehensive reports, containing all sampling data on seafood contamination, dietary exposures, groundwater and surface water tests.<sup>4</sup>

Findings include:

- “For people who may consume large amounts of seafood from the areas, there is a potential to exceed the health based guidance values.”
- “some species of fish and crustacea have the potential to significantly contribute to a person exposure to PFOS.”

- “Williamstown Expert Panel has identified need for further analysis of a wider selection of seafood, as part of the Human Health Risk Assessment.”
- “The results demonstrate that some species of fish and crustacea do contribute significantly to the exposure people may have to PFOS and warrant further investigation to ensure sufficient information is available for the comprehensive human health risk assessment.”

## NT EPA Response

A media report in 2008 suggests that contamination was first detected at Darwin Airport in 2003: “*Darwin firefighter Steve Osborne said PFOS was “showing up” in environmental tests when the NT fire authorities decided to stop using it five years ago.*”<sup>5</sup>

The issue was not raised again until October 2015 when a Darwin community group raised concerns. Shortly afterwards on December 23 the *NT News* reported that Defence would be investigating contamination at Darwin and Tindal.<sup>6</sup> The Department of Defence will investigate pollution caused by toxic firefighting foams at Darwin and Tindal RAAF bases, as fears grow about the possible impacts of the potentially carcinogenic chemicals.

It is important to note there has been no public evidence of Defence investigations. The first report by Defence to the Senate Inquiry in April details its national investigation of military facilities but contains no references to Darwin or Tindal.<sup>7</sup>

In an email communication with the author of this report, the NT EPA revealed that it conducted tests of Rapid Creek and Ludmilla Creek on February 16 2016. They won’t say what the results are, only that they are “below Interim Draft Guidelines.” The direct question, is it safe to swim in or eat seafood from Rapid and Ludmilla Creeks was left unanswered by the NT EPA.

The detection of PFOS and PFOA in waterways and questions being raised in a Senate inquiry<sup>8</sup> hearing on April 7 triggered the announcement on April 8 by the NT EPA that an investigation would begin.

*In Europe, PFOA is classified as a reproductive toxin and is required to be labelled “may damage the unborn child.”*



Northern Territory Environment Protection Authority and the Department of Health have joined forces to undertake preliminary investigations into the presence of fire-fighting foams at more than 20 locations in the Darwin City area.<sup>9</sup>

Defence is not listed as a partner in the investigation, but it is stated that the investigation is being undertaken “in consultation with Department of Defence and Darwin International Airport.”

The differences between the NSW and NT responses are stark. The NT EPA are trying to say that the reason for their delayed response is that the issue just came to their attention with the February testings. PFOS and PFOA contamination issues at airports have been known since 2003. How much contaminated seafood has been eaten since then?

Health impacts will be very difficult to measure given Darwin’s small, highly transient population, but the NSW EPA recommendations have been clear – it is the families of recreational and professional fisherman that eat the most seafood and are at the greatest risk of exposure to dangerous levels of PFOS and PFOA.

In Darwin, Ludmilla Creek has been a significant source of food for the Indigenous communities of Bagot and Kululuk. This should be acknowledged and investigated.

As it has been in NSW, the precautionary principle should be applied and fishing banned in Rapid, Ludmilla and Buffalo Creeks pending investigations. The NT Government should urgently assess the capacity and resourcing of the NT EPA to determine its ability to conduct the investigation required.

The reality is that the EPA is under resourced, under skilled and lacking the strength and political independence required of an effective regulator. This is a commonly held opinion within the environment sector of the NT public service.

The NT Department of Primary Industry and Fisheries should be contributing to preliminary investigations and testing of fish, crabs and shellfish at Rapid, Ludmilla and Buffalo Creeks.

The Department of Defence should immediately share all historic surface and groundwater monitoring data gathered at RAAF Base Darwin and its vicinity and commit to working with the NT EPA as a direct partner to conduct a full investigation, as is occurring in NSW.

Full and open transparency including the sharing of all data will rapidly progress knowledge.

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## Rapid Creek Mouth - Nightcliff Darwin, NT, Australia

### NT Government: Asleep at the wheel or head in the sand?

A search of NT Government Legislative Assembly hansard for PFOS and PFOA returns zero results.<sup>10</sup>

The same search of NSW Legislative Assembly hansard returns twenty-one results.

It would appear that in the lead up to Federal and Territory elections an issue as huge as this is just too difficult for either political party to take a stand on.

The Department of Defence is a powerful political and economic force in the Territory, with billions slated for the development of key infrastructure.

RAAF Base Darwin is ageing. Fuel handling infrastructure and ammunition storage facilities are two major assets which probably need replacing if predicted increases in US Air Force and Marine operations come to fruition.

Both facilities are traditionally acknowledged as presenting significant environmental issues, with billions being spent in the United States cleaning up legacy contaminated sites on military bases.

Perhaps this is the real reason for the secrecy around contamination at RAAF Base Darwin and Darwin Airport.

If the full extent of existing contamination issues were revealed, the need to replace existing infrastructure would be obvious. A full measure of costs is likely to be enormous.

But more importantly, how might the people of Darwin respond to a full disclosure of the current risks, let alone those presented by an escalation of military traffic and construction of infrastructure such as new ammunition handling facilities to support the US Air Forces Air Force Global Strike Command.

A community suddenly coming to terms with the real risks associated with having a secretive, unaccountable, growing military industrial complex smack in the middle of the only city in Australia to have ever been bombed by a foreign military force might raise some significant community acceptance challenges for the Department of Defence.

*James Courtney works as a freelancer specialising in communications technology, multimedia strategy and content. He is a former community representative on the National Industrial Chemicals Notification and Assessment Scheme Community Engagement Forum. For the past three years James has been investigating the impacts of RAAF Base Darwin and the Darwin International Airport in an effort to determine if it is safe to swim in Rapid Creek.*

*Reprinted from <https://medium.com/@jamescourtney/action-and-inaction-transparency-and-secrecy-a-comparison-of-responses-to-contamination-of-4adb29e0a3e8>*

# The fight for the environment and the fight for blue-collar jobs are one and the same

Van Badham

The Great Australian Bight is a pristine marine environment. It's a haven for humpback and sperm whales, blue whales and beak whales. It's Australia's most significant seal lion nursery and said to be the world's most important southern right whale nursery. It sustains huge fishing and tourism industries – and BP is planning to drill it for oil.

Yes, that BP – BP of the “Deepwater Horizon” oil disaster in the Gulf of Mexico back in 2010, in which a well exploded and sank, killing 11 people and creating the biggest oil spill disaster in US history. BP of that leak, 1.6km below the ocean surface, that took three months to fix. BP of the 100,000 barrels of oil leaked into the ocean per day, every day, for 87 consecutive days. BP now paying out \$US18.7bn in claims to 400 separate local government entities damaged by a disaster that decimated the fishing and tourism industries of the five US gulf states. Their shores, six years later, still receive the bodies of poisoned dolphins, whales and other dead creatures.

An extraordinary network of community and environmental groups<sup>1</sup> across Australia's southern coast have banded together to fight BP's proposed well. The Wilderness Society commissioned modelling on disaster impacts that concluded a spill at a mere 10% of capacity could poison the entire South Australian coastline, reaching as far as Tasmania and Western Australia. The National Offshore Petroleum Safety and Environment Management Authority (Nopsema) knocked back BP's initial drilling plan, unsatisfied that the company were implementing all its regulatory requirements.

BP is undeterred. They're resubmitting their environmental plan.<sup>2</sup> If history is any indication, the four deep-water exploration wells it wants to drill in the Bight – between 1000 and a shocking 2500 metres deep – will gain the political will to go ahead.

The reason why, of course, is the same reason why political will to take meaningful action on climate change withers in the face of proposals to build coal mines on the Liverpool plains, why there are logging operations threatening endangered species in what should be Great Forest National Park in Victoria and why the South Australian government is seriously considering making that state an industrial home for nuclear waste.<sup>3</sup>

It's a will founded on a promise, however vague, of creating jobs – well-paid, blue-collar jobs that keep working class families and communities alive in the way that minimum wage service industry jobs cannot. You only have to look at Detroit in the US and Sunderland<sup>4</sup> in the UK to see this.

And you will get fewer clearer examples than South Australia to illustrate how the intersecting market exploitation of working class people and the environment compounds to the endangerment of both and, ultimately, us all. Unemployment is an electorally potent political reality to working class people in South Australia. Back in June last year, it tipped over 8% and even with a state government whose frantic economic efforts will grow the gross state product by 1.5% this year, unemployment was still at 7.3% in January.

The cut and run tactics of globalised trade have been particularly unkind to the south. Of late, China has been flooding international markets with cheap steel, causing local steelworks operator Arrium to reconsider its operations in Whyalla. With the 1000 jobs that keep Whyalla alive, local Labor MP Eddie Hughes has been campaigning for the federal Coalition to make a commitment to source Australian steel for local projects, like the South Australian government has. Only guaranteed demand will keep Hughes' home town from complete economic collapse.

He's right to worry that they won't. Despite the under-utilised capacity of the Australian Submarine Corporation (ASC) dockyards near Adelaide that's keeping thousands of local workers idle, the last \$2bn tender for supply ships from the Turnbull government was given to dockyards in South Korea and Spain; after hundreds of job cuts last year, ASC shed another 100 jobs this March.

All around the state are similar stories of collapse: I wrote about turkey processors sacked en masse six days before Christmas in 2014, but Arnott's Biscuits also cut 120 jobs that year. Within the ensuing twelve months, manufacturers of bathroom and kitchen fittings, glassmakers, dairies, power stations, miners, oil companies, outreach workers, media corporations, SA Pathology, hospital and education staff were hit with job losses in the cumulative thousands.

And all of this in the shadow of the impending closure of car manufacturer Holden and the automotive industries around it which – denied any government support – will take several thousand more jobs out of the state, possibly as soon as the end of this year.

One need only glimpse the desperate circumstances of places like Doveton in Victoria to heed the social misery that takes hold when blue collar jobs are taken away; if you can't bear a visit to a suburb with a present unemployment rate higher than that of the Great Depression, read Dennis Glover's chilling account of what it was like to return to a hometown he describes with the word “murdered”.<sup>5</sup>

I am an environmentalist; it is horrific to see the continuation of lead smelting in Port Pirie<sup>6</sup>, plans for BP offshore drilling in the Bight or the extraordinary consideration being given by the South Australian government for turning the state into an actual nuclear waste dump. But it's also unconscionable for anyone to stand by as a witness to what amounts to civic murder.

I've come to understand that whenever we are protesting the direct site of potential destruction, it's essentially a rearguard action. What we are really fighting are the implications of our movement's failure to show leadership in proactive industry policy and provide communities and potential political allies with support for a meaningful jobs plan.

I see hope in campaigns like the Yes2Renewables<sup>7</sup> from Friends of the Earth in Victoria, whose activism around establishing a Victorian Renewable Energy Target is one of leading a political conversation on job creation and sustainable employment opportunities.

It's the right conversation to have, because we cannot and should not begrudge any working class person the hope that comes with the promise of a job. It's cohesive industrial policy that will enable a just transition for blue-collar communities into the jobs of a zero-net-emissions economy – because the market forces beloved of

our Prime Minister are as amoral in their consideration of what it means to take a job away from a working-class family as they are of the possibility of pumping millions of litres of oil into the sea.

We must campaign for jobs with as much fervour as we fight the environmental degradations forced upon us by multi-national corporations – because, as South Australia shows all too clearly, that fight is one and the same.

*Reprinted with permission from The Guardian, 30 March 2016, [www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/mar/30/the-fight-for-the-environment-and-the-fight-for-blue-collar-jobs-are-one-and-the-same](http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/mar/30/the-fight-for-the-environment-and-the-fight-for-blue-collar-jobs-are-one-and-the-same)*

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# Pacific societies call to save their seas

National governing bodies and civil societies are calling on the European Union to stop funding “reckless development activities”. The South Pacific Ocean is widely used for exploration and experimentation and at the 5th Annual Deep Sea Mining Summit<sup>1</sup> in May there was a call for a ban on this “frontier” industry. NGOs, communities and churches across the Pacific are backing the fight to save their ocean.

Natalie Lowrey, from the Australian-based Deep Sea Mining campaign<sup>2</sup>, said: “The South Pacific is currently the world’s laboratory for the experiment of seabed mining. With over 1.5 million square kilometres of ocean floor already under exploration leasehold the world’s first licence to operate a deep sea mine has been granted in Papua New Guinea to Canadian company Nautilus Minerals Solwara 1 project in the Bismarck Sea.”

The Alliance of Solwara Warriors, which is made up of over 20 communities and organisations across the Bismarck and Solomon Seas, are making a stand to ‘Ban Seabed Mining’ in PNG and the Pacific.

Patrick Kaupun, from the Alliance of Solwara Warriors<sup>3</sup>, said: “We call on Papua New Guineans and allies internationally to stand up and defend the Bismarck Sea and all other seas under threat

from seabed mining. Our government and Nautilus Minerals have not got the people’s free prior and informed consent. The sea is our life. We exist because the sea exists. We will not continue to remain quiet and passive. We have a responsibility to those generations that come after us; to those yet unborn.”

Janet Tokupep, from the Alliance of Solwara Warriors, added: “Judging from the monster size of the machines that will be tested in our seas, there is no question that this new “frontier” industry will destroy our environment and communities in PNG and the Pacific.

“With such serious liabilities in the face of an untested and untried industry, including the fact that we currently have terrible track records of terrestrial mining, seabed mining is a disastrous investment.”

Joseph Lambert from London based organisation, The Gaia Foundation<sup>4</sup>, said: “This highly experimental mining is being rushed ahead with more concern for profit than the damage it will do to the environment and communities. Our oceans are already facing unprecedented warming and acidification; when we should be caring for it most, mining companies are devising new ways to pollute it.”

A recent report<sup>5</sup> from the World Bank stated that Pacific Island countries should take precaution over any plans for mine on their seabed due to a high risk of irreversible damage to their ecosystems. This calls into question EU funding towards the development of seabed mining in the Pacific, an industry which would be unacceptable in its own member countries.

Lowrey added: “This is 21st Century colonialism. By funding and endorsing this experimental extractive industry, the EU are complicit in continuing the ‘empire’ tradition in which it believes it should be free to rape and pillage the Pacific for its own profit.”

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# The zillion year town

Nick Sharp

Human-caused climate change is our second biggest existential challenge, and it's a subset of the biggest, which is achieving total sustainability. That is mandatory.

Currently, we use up non-renewables, and faster than ever before. That will stop, once they've all gone. Avoiding further climate change requires we stop burning fossil fuels. Total sustainability requires that we stop using up all non-renewables. That's not the unthinkable "stop using non-renewables", but they have to become assets to cherish, not consumables to trash.

We must also stop over-harvesting fragile renewables. We vacuum the sea and wreck the brood stock - no more fish. We clear fell timber on rainforest hillsides - millennia of soil is lost in the next monsoon.

We must nurture: the land, the waters, the air, and most living species. Obvious? Of course, but it's equally clear we are accelerating in the opposite direction. Why? Many of us live in cities and suburbs. They are deeply unsustainable.

Their construction, maintenance, and operation consumes: cement, concrete, steel, aluminium, brick, tile, glass, marble, tarmac, coal, oil, gas, and just about every other non-renewable. Little is reused, and only a modest proportion is recycled, or usually decycled to some lesser purpose. Even plantation timber is partly non-renewable, thanks to the fossil fuel inputs to its production.

Cities and suburbs are also inherently non-resilient, only kept functioning thanks to the work of thousands in - traffic control, emergency services, driving buses and trains, and lots of other occupations.

And many cities and suburbs are coastal. Climate predictions suggest they will be under water within a few centuries, much sooner for Kiribati, Tuvalu, The Maldives, coastal Bangladesh, and perhaps The Netherlands. Their peoples will have to move, requiring massive and generous international cooperation. There are several web sites where you can view the effect of rising sea levels on the land.

So, cities and suburbs are: UN-sustainable, UN-resilient, and eventually many of them will be UN-der water

So we will have to relocate many people over the coming decades and centuries. To have any chance of doing so in a controlled and totally sustainable way, we must start soon. So, where to move and how to live? New cities and suburbs on higher ground? No! That just repeats today's errors.

The tree change? The five-acre lot, grow vegetables, raise chickens? That's a retreat to a peasant economy, devoid of industrial products, schooling or hospitals.

No! We are a gregarious species that thrives by living communally, specialising, then trading

our skills and wares with each other. I suggest we need to consider living in medium-sized towns (perhaps 15,000 residents); towns that are sustainably constructed and operated, and adjacent to sufficient land to satisfy most residents' needs for food, soft fibres and timber, with at the outermost a generous allocation for wilderness. Those outer areas from adjacent towns should eventually form a transcontinental wildlife corridor. And the locations would be sufficiently elevated to survive an eventual 70M sea level rise.

Town size is important. Too small makes it difficult to afford key social infrastructure. Too big, and the inefficiencies of cities return. On average, a population of fifteen thousand would include about twenty six hundred students from kindergarten through high school. That's an intake of two hundred a year, a good level for excellence in schooling. Also, 2013 Australian figures suggest the town could support about 60 doctors, and perhaps as many as 300 other medical staff, giving excellence in health.

Today, dwelling occupancy averages two and half people each, so there might be some six thousand residences of various sizes and types. Let's allocate about a thousand square metres per residence (including street space, parks, shops, offices and light industry). It's neither generous nor exiguous. Thus the size of The Town, excluding the surrounding lands, could be as little as six square kilometres. Suitably laid out, there could be no more than two kilometres in the town from any house to the shops, offices and factories.

It is realistic to run such a town with no cars. People walk, cycle, skate, and scoot. The disabled could use small electric vehicles, or ride in a covered tricycle rickshaw. Roads would be half the normal suburban size - perhaps five metres wide - and would be marked with lanes for walkers and riders. Heavier vehicle visits would be rare.

All buildings would have composting toilets, which would also take all kitchen scraps. Full hoppers would be swapped out and the material processed and sent to the food and fibre lands. This saves water, organics, but most importantly: closes the phosphate cycle before we exhaust the phosphorus mineral sources, on which today's agriculture deeply depends.

Agriculture and forestry would be organic: no artificial oil-based fertilisers, and extensive use of permaculture and no-ploughing techniques, to minimise run off, and loss of soil and nutrients.

There would be no mains water system.

Composting toilets, better habits, and standard water saving techniques, could easily halve the household water demand, which could then be satisfied primarily by roof capture of rain, thus eliminating the entire system of catchments,

*We must nurture: the land, the waters, the air, and most living species. Obvious? Of course, but it's equally clear we are accelerating in the opposite direction.*

reservoirs, pumping and purification stations, pipelines and local reticulation.

There would be no sewers. Thanks to the elimination of the flush toilet, waste water would be light grey, and could be disposed of by sub-surface irrigation in the gardens, thus eliminating sewers, sewage pumping and processing stations, and river or ocean outfalls.

There would be no storm drains. Halving the roads, omitting driveways, and capturing all roof water would minimise run off except in the heaviest downpour. Since walkers would use their road lanes, there would be no need for pavements (side walks). Instead, adjacent to the roads would be concave swale drains, growing grass for soil stability, and fruit trees for shade and food productivity.

Electricity could be primarily from roof photo-voltaic panels, though there would also be a town micro-grid which could be powered by wind, concentrated solar thermal with storage, and perhaps a high intensity PV farm. There might well need to be (underground) electrical mains, partly as back up to the house panels but also to collect any surplus power from them. No more lengthy high voltage transmission lines.

The mains ducts would also carry fibre to the premises for all non-wireless communications needs. The fibres would carry subscription and free-to-air TV (so no aerials), Internet connectivity, educational and entertainment video on demand, and video conferencing for work, socialising, and many medical appointments. Fewer hours spent in the doctor's waiting room swapping germs with other patients!

There would be no gas. Water and space heating would be solar, aided by intelligent house design. Cooking would be electrical, using resistive ovens, microwaves, induction hobs, kettles and toasters.

The Town could be semi-circular, with the diameter parallel to a nearby highway, accessed by feeder road. Along the diameter would be retail, office, garaging, and light industrial premises, which all need twin access: by residents on The Town side and by vehicles on the highway side. Thus highway traffic never enters The Town. No pollution and far fewer accidents.

Such a town would have to have its own local council. Some of its planning would be at odds with legislation in many jurisdictions, so it could not work under a nearby council's building codes. Authority for creating and managing The Town would probably require both state and federal legislation, and would have to leave a substantial amount of decision making about various standards to The Town council, since at least the initial Towns would effectively be social science experimental laboratories.

The Town should own all its lands and buildings, and residents should own The Town through shares. That would be their property investment. Thus there would be no buying and selling of real estate, or personal investment in disruptive house alterations or complete rebuilding. Instead, residents would be more interested in Town investments, which should increase their share values. Moving would simply involve leasing another property, thus avoiding huge expensive financial transactions. And in the event of difficult times, a resident could sell a few shares instead of an entire property. Inheritance would also be easier; no need to sell a property to divide the loot. Farmers would be cultivating Town land, so would not carry today's immense capital burdens. For those who really need them for out-of-Town work, cars could be leased not owned. Responsibility for maintenance, registration and insurance would rest with the lessor, who would have a keen interest in the safety, long life, maintainability, and ease of reuse or recycling at end of life.

And what about work? Less of it would be needed. Few would be buying cars, caravans, or boats. Most would pay almost nothing for water or sewerage, and a lot less for electricity. Most food would come direct from the farm lands, with minimal costs for packaging and transport, and no profits added by middle men. More people would work in agriculture, which might have to become less mechanised. Knowledge workers could network from home, and be prime contributors to The Town's balance of payments.

Most physical goods would be created from renewable materials, primarily wood to make new houses and furniture, and soft fibres to make fabrics and clothing – which, being from purely natural materials, would, at end-of-life, be compostable. Teachers would work at schools in The Town, and many people would be involved in its social life, such as care of the elderly, and tutoring youngsters towards a good life and career.

In short, The Town delivers a far better, healthier and safer lifestyle, and eliminates much costly infrastructure, and most of the causes of today's obesity epidemic.

The Town is about employing simpler ways to provide life's needs. The developed world is already too complicated to survive much longer. Soon enough, total sustainability will be mandatory. We cannot continue indefinitely to use up this finite planet's non-renewables.

*Nick Sharp is a former International ICT Infrastructure Consultant*

*Reprinted from ABC Ockham's Razor, [www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/ockhamsrazor/the-zillion-dollar-city/6991260](http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/ockhamsrazor/the-zillion-dollar-city/6991260)*

*Farmers would be cultivating Town land, so would not carry today's immense capital burdens.*

## The Invisible War, a graphic novel

*The Invisible War*

Created by Briony Barr  
& Gregory Crocetti

Written by Ailsa Wild  
(in collaboration with Dr. Jeremy Barr)

Published by Scale Free Network

Illustrated by Ben Hutchings

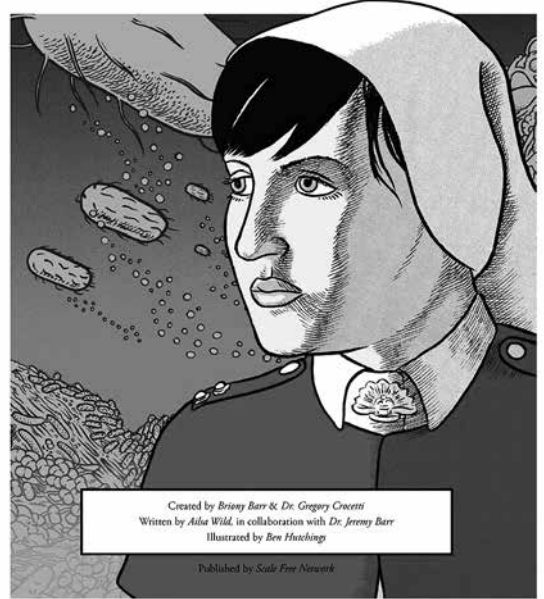
Melbourne art-science collective Scale Free Network create stories set in the microscopic world. Working in collaboration with other artists, scientists and writers, their workshops, exhibitions and storybooks visualise invisible ecologies, too small to see. *The Invisible War* is their latest interdisciplinary creation – a science and history-inspired graphic novel set in World War One, for anyone aged 11 to 111.

However, this is not your average WWI story. The action unfolds across both the human and the micro-scale, and centres around Annie – an Australian nurse serving on the Western Front in France. When she contracts dysentery from a patient, the reader is introduced to a second battle taking place inside her gut. Featuring a cast of trillions, the story is inspired by very new scientific research into a very unlikely alliance between animals and microbes. Sometimes truth is stranger than fiction, and scientific truth is stranger than science-fiction.

The heroes of the story are a type of virus called bacteriophage. Never heard of bacteriophages before? Bacteriophages (also called phage) are viruses that infect and kill bacteria. They are the most prolific life-forms on Earth, the most effective predators known to science, with trillions of them calling your body home. Microbiologist Jeremy Barr's research shows how

## THE INVISIBLE WAR

*A Tale on Two Scales*



bacteriophage connect with our mucus to form a symbiotic, protective barrier against infection, described as a 'second immune system'.

In addition to telling a positive story about viruses and (most) bacteria within our gut microbiome, *The Invisible War* provides a rare view into the role and responsibilities of women during WWI. The book also offers an unflinching depiction of what it means to suffer from dysentery – which tragically remains a common disease in the poorest communities on Earth – causing over half a million deaths each year, where clean water and basic sanitation aren't affordable.

The first printed edition of *The Invisible War* is available from the publisher's website ([www.TheInvisibleWar.com.au](http://www.TheInvisibleWar.com.au)) and the Friends of the Earth Melbourne Co-Op (312 Smith St, Collingwood), with all books printed in Melbourne on 100% recycled paper using 100% green energy.

## Martu Traditional Owners seek support

To support the Martu Traditional Owners in their campaign against the Kintyre uranium mine in WA, please consider purchasing a limited-edition print reproduction of the original painting Kalyu. Created by senior Martu artists, the painting references many aspects of Martu land management and ecological systems, with a focus on Kalyu (water). The painting was first exhibited at the Museum of Contemporary Art (MCA) in Sydney in October 2014 and the artwork was subsequently purchased by the MCA.

To order, visit <http://tinyurl.com/martu-print> or phone (08) 9420 7266 or 0415 380 808

# Pitched Battle

*Pitched Battle: in the frontline of the 1971 Springbok tour of Australia*

Larry Writer

October 2016

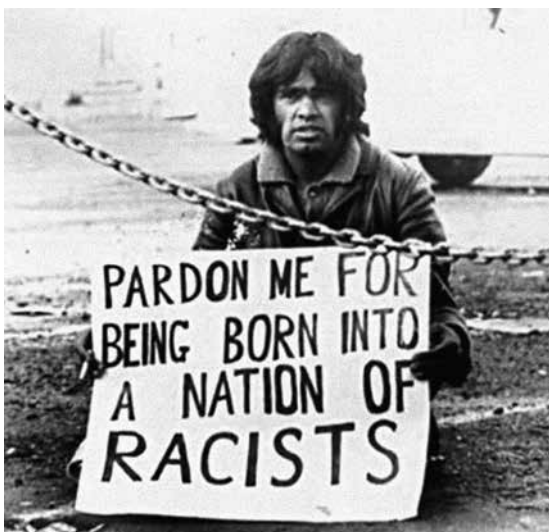
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RRP: \$35.00

[www.penguin.com.au/products/9781925321616/pitched-battle-frontline-1971-springbok-tourof-australia](http://www.penguin.com.au/products/9781925321616/pitched-battle-frontline-1971-springbok-tourof-australia)

A vivid story of the men and women who took a stand when sport mixed with politics. In 1971, when the racially selected all-white Springbok rugby team toured Australia, we became a nation at war with ourselves. There was bloodshed as tens of thousands of anti-Apartheid campaigners clashed with governments, police, and rugby fans – who were given free reign to assault protestors. Queensland premier Joh Bjelke-Petersen declared a state of emergency. Prime Minister William McMahon called the Wallabies who refused to play ‘national disgraces’. Barbed wire ringed the great rugby grounds to stop protestors invading the field.

*Pitched Battle* recreates what became one of the most rancorous periods in modern Australian history – a time of courage, pain, faith, fanaticism, and political opportunism – which ultimately made heroes of the seven Wallabies who refused to play, played a key role in the later political careers of Peter Beattie, Meredith Burgmann, and Peter Hain, and ultimately contributed to the abandonment of Apartheid.



# Moving Beyond Capitalism

*Moving Beyond Capitalism*

Edited by Cliff DuRand

2016

Routledge

[www.routledge.com/Moving-Beyond-Capitalism/DuRand/p/book/9781472475947](http://www.routledge.com/Moving-Beyond-Capitalism/DuRand/p/book/9781472475947)

*Moving Beyond Capitalism* speaks to the widespread quest for concrete alternative ways forward ‘beyond capitalism’ in the face of the prevailing corporatocracy and a capitalist system in crisis. It examines a number of institutions and practices now being built in the nooks and crannies of present societies and that point beyond capitalism toward a more equal, participatory, and democratic society – institutions such as cooperatives, public banks, the commons, economic democracy. This collection of critical studies draws on academic and activist voices from the U.S. and Canada, Mexico, Cuba, and Argentina, and from a variety of theoretical-political perspectives – Marxism, anarchism, feminism, and Zapatismo.

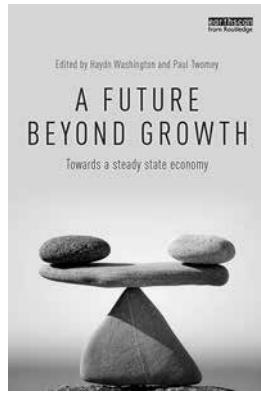
Some of the chapters are as follows:

- Beyond capitalism to sustainability: the public bank solution
- Building a grassroots democratic economy: the rising tide of local self-reliance, workplace democracy, and social justice
- Worker’s economy in Argentina: self management, cooperatives and recovered enterprises
- Cooperative Cuba
- Building the commons as an antidote to the predatory market economy
- Autogestión: prefiguring a new cooperativism and the ‘labor commons’
- Divisions in the commons: Ecuador’s flok society and the Zapatistas’ escuela
- Economic crises, environmental crises: moving beyond capitalism
- The left and a green new deal
- Alternatives to development in Latin America
- The limits of localism
- Toward a stronger, more influential political left: an appeal for critical self-reflection
- Building a 21st century socialism
- The communal state (Venezuela): communal councils and workplace democracy
- The necessary renovation of socialist hegemony in Cuba: contradictions and challenges
- Cuba’s cooperatives: their contribution to Cuba’s new socialism

ROUTLEDGE CRITICAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES SERIES

MOVING BEYOND CAPITALISM  
CLIFF DURAND





## Towards a steady state economy

*A Future Beyond Growth: Towards a steady state economy*

Edited by Haydn Washington, Paul Twomey

2016

Routledge

[www.routledge.com/A-Future-Beyond-Growth-Towards-a-steady-state-economy/Washington-Twomey/p/book/9781138953024](http://www.routledge.com/A-Future-Beyond-Growth-Towards-a-steady-state-economy/Washington-Twomey/p/book/9781138953024)

There is a fundamental denial at the centre of why we have an environmental crisis – a denial that ignores that endless physical growth on a finite planet is impossible. Nature provides the ecosystem services that support our civilisation, thus making humanity unavoidably dependent upon it. However, society continues to ignore and deny this dependence.

*A Future Beyond Growth* explores the reason why the endless growth economy is fundamentally unsustainable and considers ways in which society can move beyond this to a steady state economy. The book brings together some of the deepest thinkers from around the world to consider how to advance beyond growth. The main themes consider the deep problems of the current system and key aspects of a steady state economy, such as population; throughput and consumerism; ethics and equity; and policy for change. The policy section and conclusion bring together these various themes and indicates how we can move past the growth economy to a truly sustainable future.



## The Great Multinational Tax Rort

*The Great Multinational Tax Rort: how we're all being robbed*

Martin Feil

September 2016

Scribe

RRP: \$32.99

ISBN: 9781925321647

Enough is enough. Multinational corporations have avoided trillions of dollars of tax over the past 25 years. Tax avoidance is legal, but its massive abuse by multinationals has had a devastating effect on governments around the world, and has placed an unbearable burden on individual taxpayers and on honest local competitors.

Multinational corporations generate profits in around 180 countries around the world. They work hard to avoid, reduce, or delay their tax obligations for as long as possible, and they generally succeed. Sometimes they pay nothing or, at best, the percentage of their multibillion-dollar incomes that they pay in tax is a lot less than the percentage an individual worker pays.

PricewaterhouseCoopers, Ernst & Young, KPMG, and Deloitte are the global accountants and tax advisers for the multinationals. Their favourite tool to minimise tax for their multinational clients is transfer pricing: a complex and confusing array of methodologies and strategies that works to reduce tax or even avoid tax payments altogether.

*The Great Multinational Tax Rort* explains how transfer pricing developed, and describes the strategies and tactics that the Big Four global accounting firms use on behalf of their voracious clients. Written by Martin Feil, one of the few Australian independent experts on transfer pricing and profit repatriation by multinationals a former poacher turned gamekeeper it is a call to arms for citizens and governments to restore a fair taxation system. Feil is a former Industries Commission's project director and also worked for the Australian Taxation Office as one of the few Australian independent experts on transfer pricing and profit repatriation by multinationals.



# Dark Money

*Dark Money:  
The Hidden History of the Billionaires  
Behind the Rise of the Radical Right*

Jane Mayer

Scribe

2016

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books/215462/dark-money-by-jane-  
mayer/9780385535595/](http://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/215462/dark-money-by-jane-mayer/9780385535595/)

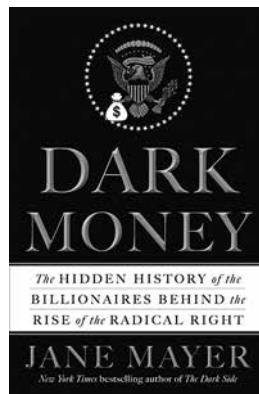
The U.S. is experiencing an age of profound economic inequality. Employee protections have been decimated, and state welfare is virtually non-existent, while hedge-fund billionaires are grossly under-taxed and big businesses make astounding profits at the expense of the environment and of their workers. In this powerful and meticulously researched work of investigative journalism, Jane Mayer exposes the network of billionaires trying to buy the US electoral system - and succeeding.

Why is America living in an age of profound economic inequality? Why, despite the desperate need to address climate change, have even modest environmental efforts been defeated again and again? Why have protections for employees been decimated? Why do hedge-fund billionaires pay a far lower tax rate than middle-class workers?

The conventional answer is that a popular uprising against "big government" led to the ascendancy of a broad-based conservative movement. But as Jane Mayer shows in this powerful, meticulously reported history, a network of exceedingly wealthy people with extreme libertarian views bankrolled a systematic, step-by-step plan to fundamentally alter the American political system.

The network has brought together some of the richest people on the planet. Their core beliefs - that taxes are a form of tyranny; that government oversight of business is an assault on freedom - are sincerely held. But these beliefs also advance their personal and corporate interests: Many of their companies have run afoul of federal pollution, worker safety, securities, and tax laws.

The chief figures in the network are Charles and David Koch, whose father made his fortune in part by building oil refineries in Stalin's Russia and Hitler's Germany. The patriarch later was a founding member of the John Birch Society, whose politics were so radical it believed Dwight Eisenhower was a communist. The brothers were



schooled in a political philosophy that asserted the only role of government is to provide security and to enforce property rights.

When libertarian ideas proved decidedly unpopular with voters, the Koch brothers and their allies chose another path. If they pooled their vast resources, they could fund an interlocking array of organizations that could work in tandem to influence and ultimately control academic institutions, think tanks, the courts, statehouses, Congress, and, they hoped, the presidency. Richard Mellon Scaife, the mercurial heir to banking and oil fortunes, had the brilliant insight that most of their political activities could be written off as tax-deductible "philanthropy."

These organisations were given innocuous names such as Americans for Prosperity. Funding sources were hidden whenever possible. This process reached its apotheosis with the allegedly populist Tea Party movement, abetted mightily by the Citizens United decision - a case conceived of by legal advocates funded by the network.

The political operatives the network employs are disciplined, smart, and at times ruthless. Mayer documents instances in which people affiliated with these groups hired private detectives to impugn whistle-blowers, journalists, and even government investigators. And their efforts have been remarkably successful. Libertarian views on taxes and regulation, once far outside the mainstream and still rejected by most Americans, are ascendant in the majority of state governments, the Supreme Court, and Congress. Meaningful environmental, labour, finance, and tax reforms have been stymied.

Jane Mayer spent five years conducting hundreds of interviews-including with several sources within the network-and scoured public records, private papers, and court proceedings in reporting this book. She traces the byzantine trail of the billions of dollars spent by the network and provides vivid portraits of the colourful figures behind the new American oligarchy.



## South Pole: Nature and Culture

*South Pole: Nature and Culture*

Elizabeth Leane

May 2016

Reaktion Books

In *South Pole: Nature and Culture*, Associate Professor Elizabeth Leane from the University of Tasmania explores the Geographic South Pole as a place of paradox and investigates the important challenges this strange place poses to humanity.

“The earth quite literally pivots around the Geographic South Pole, but it has a habit of falling off the edge of our maps,” she said.

“The Pole has no obvious material value – it’s an invisible spot on a high, comparatively featureless ice plateau. At the same time, it is a much sought-after location.”

Elizabeth Leane has first-hand experience of the lure of the southern polar regions. In 2004, she travelled to Antarctica with the Australian Antarctic Division on an Arts Fellowship.

This journey included stopovers at Casey Station and Macquarie Island – where she stayed in a field hut and read the log books dating back as far as the 1960s – and fed into her previous book *Antarctica in Fiction*, published in 2012.

With degrees in literary studies and physics, Elizabeth Leane currently holds a research fellowship split between the School of Humanities and the Institute for Marine and Antarctic Studies. She is also the author of *Reading Popular Physics* (2007) and the co-editor of *Considering Animals* (2011).

This book is part of the series *Earth* by London publisher Reaktion Books, which also includes *Cave: Nature and Culture*, and *Desert: Nature and Culture*.

## Fukushima’s Stolen Lives: A Dairy Farmer’s Story

An English translation of a book by Mr Hasegawa Kenichi, a dairy farmer from Iitate Village in Fukushima, has recently been published and is available on Kindle and iBooks. Hasegawa-san is a strong community leader who has been an important voice for the rights of local citizens, and a regular speaker on Peace Boat voyages, at conferences and field visits including during the Global Conference for a Nuclear-Free World, and in other speaking tours overseas including to Australia and the EU Parliament in Brussels.

Hasegawa-san describes in the book how most of the people in the Japanese village of Iitate – including very young children – continued to live in their homes for more than two months following the Fukushima disaster in March 2011.

Hasegawa describes the catastrophe and its consequences in simple, direct, and clear prose. Weaving together stories about the experiences of Iitate’s residents, Hasegawa is a witness to the truth of what life was like immediately following the accident – as he suffered with the knowledge that his children and grandchildren had been exposed to radiation, as he lost all of his cattle, and as he endured the suicide of a fellow dairy farmer and friend.

This is the story of Iitate, but it is also the story of Hasegawa-san, a man who had a lot to lose: a beautiful village steeped in natural history and time-honored traditions, a working dairy farm, a lovely home shared with his extended family, a close-knit community, and colleagues whom he considered close friends. Ultimately, the accident at Fukushima Daiichi – in concert with the profit-minded “nuclear power village” and failures of leadership at every level of government – not only took, but contaminated, all of it: the farm, the fields, the milk, the water, the harvest, the home, and a cherished way of life.

Through it all, Hasegawa pursued the truth by meeting with journalists and taking his own radiation readings. He made sure that the residents in his hamlet of Maeta got what they needed – whether it was bottled water, or reliable information. He confronted lies and hypocrisy in the leadership where he found it. Ultimately, he took a leading role in preserving the interests of everyone and everything he cared about.

Since the evacuation, Hasegawa has organized people from all over Fukushima, including nearly half the population of Iitate, with the goal of getting justice from TEPCO.

Hasegawa-san’s ebook is available for US\$8 from [www.amazon.com/dp/B01GYBERT8](http://www.amazon.com/dp/B01GYBERT8)



# Friends of the Earth Australia contacts

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## Financial contributions

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## Membership issues

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ph (03) 9419 8700, 0490 064 139  
Other states – see Local Group contacts.

## Affiliate members

### ClimActs

(theatre troupe communicating the dangers of inaction on climate change) <http://climacts.org.au>

### CounterAct

CounterAct supports communities with training for effective, creative, civil disobedience, nonviolent action, capacity building and campaigning skills.  
Nicola Paris [nicola@counteract.org.au](mailto:nicola@counteract.org.au), @CounterActOz, [facebook.com/counteractive](https://www.facebook.com/counteractive), [www.counteract.org.au](http://www.counteract.org.au)

### GM Free Australia Alliance

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[www.gmfreeaustralia.org.au](http://www.gmfreeaustralia.org.au)

### Food Irradiation Watch

PO Box 5829, West End, Qld, 4101.  
[foodirradiationwatch@yahoo.com.au](mailto:foodirradiationwatch@yahoo.com.au),  
[www.foodirradiationwatch.org](http://www.foodirradiationwatch.org)

### Goongerah Environment Centre

[www.geco.org.au](http://www.geco.org.au), [www.facebook.com/GECCoEastGippsland](https://www.facebook.com/GECCoEastGippsland), [geco.media@gmail.com](mailto:geco.media@gmail.com),  
ph 0414 199 645 or (03) 51540109

### Healthy Futures

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ph: Harry 0417 418 225, Kate 0438 347 755  
fb: Healthy Futures, [www.facebook.com/pages/Healthy-Futures/766271273470225](https://www.facebook.com/pages/Healthy-Futures/766271273470225)

### The Hub Foundation, Castlemaine

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### Market Forces

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[www.marketforces.org.au](http://www.marketforces.org.au),  
[@market\\_forces](https://www.facebook.com/MarketForces), [facebook.com/MarketForces](https://www.facebook.com/MarketForces)

### Mukwano Australia

Supporting health care in organic farming communities in Uganda. [www.mukwano-australia.org](http://www.mukwano-australia.org)  
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Eleisha Mullane, Campaigns Coordinator, [eleisha.mullane@ptua.org.au](mailto:eleisha.mullane@ptua.org.au), 0418 288 110

### Reverse Garbage Queensland Co-op Ltd

20 Burke Street, Woolloongabba, 4102  
Ph 3891 9744, [info@reversegarbageqld.com.au](mailto:info@reversegarbageqld.com.au),  
[www.reversegarbageqld.com.au](http://www.reversegarbageqld.com.au),  
[@ReverseGarbageQ](https://www.facebook.com/reversegarbageqld)

### Sustainable Energy Now (WA)

Perth. PO Box 341, West Perth WA 6872.  
[www.sen.asn.au](http://www.sen.asn.au), [contact@sen.asn.au](mailto:contact@sen.asn.au),  
ph Steve Gates 0400 870 887

Tulele Peisa (PNG) 'Sailing the waves on our own',  
[www.tulele-peisa.org](http://www.tulele-peisa.org)

West Mallee Protection (SA)  
[westmallee@gmail.com](mailto:westmallee@gmail.com)

## National campaigns, projects and spokespeople

### Anti-Nuclear and Clean Energy (ACE):

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Robin Taubenfeld (Bris), 0411 118 737  
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### Australian Indigenous Issues:

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Morgana Russell,  
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### Climate Justice:

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Morgana Russell,  
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### Climate and health:

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### Coal:

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Phil Evans, [phil.evans@foe.org.au](mailto:phil.evans@foe.org.au), 0490 064 139

### Divestment and Banks:

Market Forces,  
[contact@marketforces.org.au](mailto:contact@marketforces.org.au), 03 9016 4449

### Food and GMOs:

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### Forests:

Morgana Russell,  
[morgana.russell@foe.org.au](mailto:morgana.russell@foe.org.au), 0408 095 470

## LOCAL GROUPS

### FoE Adelaide

address: c/- Conservation SA, Level 1, 157 Franklin Street, Adelaide, SA 5000  
adelaide.office@foe.org.au  
email: [www.adelaide.foe.org.au](mailto:www.adelaide.foe.org.au)  
website: [www.adelaide.foe.org.au](http://www.adelaide.foe.org.au)  
contact: Robyn Wood: [robyn.wood@foe.org.au](mailto:robyn.wood@foe.org.au)  
facebook: [facebook.com/foe.adelaide](https://www.facebook.com/foe.adelaide),  
[facebook.com/fairfoodadelaidesa](https://www.facebook.com/fairfoodadelaidesa),  
[facebook.com/Clean-Futures-Collective](https://www.facebook.com/Clean-Futures-Collective),  
[facebook.com/groups/MarchAgainstMonsantoAdelaide](https://www.facebook.com/groups/MarchAgainstMonsantoAdelaide)

### Bridgetown Greenhouses Friends of the Forest

address: PO Box 461, Bridgetown, WA, 6255  
email: [president@bgff.org.au](mailto:president@bgff.org.au)  
website: [www.bgff.org.au](http://www.bgff.org.au)  
phone: Richard Wittenoom 0427 611 511

### FoE Brisbane

address: 20 Burke St, Woolloongabba (above Reverse Garbage).  
postal: PO Box 8227, Woolloongabba, Qld, 4102.  
(07) 3171 2255  
phone: office.brisbane@foe.org.au  
email: [office.brisbane@foe.org.au](mailto:office.brisbane@foe.org.au)  
website: [www.brisbane.foe.org.au](http://www.brisbane.foe.org.au)

### Peace, anti-nuclear and clean energy (PACE) campaign:

phone: 0411 118 737 (Robin Taubenfeld)  
email: [nuclearfreequeensland@yahoo.com.au](mailto:nuclearfreequeensland@yahoo.com.au),  
twitter: @PACECollective

### Six Degrees Coal and Climate Campaign

email: [sixdegrees@foe.org.au](mailto:sixdegrees@foe.org.au)  
website: [www.sixdegrees.org.au](http://www.sixdegrees.org.au)  
phone, fax, street and postal addresses – shared with FoE Brisbane (see above).

### Pacific & Torres Strait Islands Solidarity

phone: 0439 771 692 (Wendy Flannery) email: [wendy.flannery@foe.org.au](mailto:wendy.flannery@foe.org.au)

### FoE Far North Queensland

address: PO Box 795, Kuranda, Qld, 4881  
email: [info@foekuranda.org](mailto:info@foekuranda.org)  
phone: 0477 771 384 (John Glue)  
website: [www.foekuranda.org](http://www.foekuranda.org)

### Emerging Tech:

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Jeremy Tager (NSW)  
[jeremy.tager@foe.org.au](mailto:jeremy.tager@foe.org.au), 0400 376 974  
[www.emergingtech.foe.org.au](http://www.emergingtech.foe.org.au)

### Latin America Indigenous communities solidarity:

Marisol Salinas, [marisol.salinas@foe.org.au](mailto:marisol.salinas@foe.org.au).

### Murray-Darling Basin Plan:

Morgana Russell,  
[morgana.russell@foe.org.au](mailto:morgana.russell@foe.org.au), 0408 095 470

### Pacific & Torres Strait Islands Climate Justice:

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### Pesticides & Drinking Water:

Anthony Amis (Melb) [ajamis50@gmail.com](mailto:ajamis50@gmail.com)

### Protect the Reef:

June Norman (Bris)  
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### Renewable Energy:

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### Trade:

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Sam Castro,  
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### Unconventional gas:

Chloe Aldenhoven,  
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### FoE Hobart / The Activist Centre

address: 1/171 Murray St,  
Phone: Jessica Fleming 0468 766 244  
email: [theactivistcentre@gmail.com](mailto:theactivistcentre@gmail.com)  
facebook: The Activist Centre

### FoE Melbourne

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postal: PO Box 222, Fitzroy, 3065.  
phone: (03) 9419 8700,  
1300 852081 (freecall)  
(03) 9416 2081  
fax: [foe@foe.org.au](mailto:foe@foe.org.au)  
email: [foe@foe.org.au](mailto:foe@foe.org.au)  
website: [www.melbourne.foe.org.au](http://www.melbourne.foe.org.au)

### Anti-nuclear & Clean Energy (ACE) Collective

email: [ace@foe.org.au](mailto:ace@foe.org.au)  
phone: 0417 318 368

### Dirt Radio:

[www.3cr.org.au/dirtradio](http://www.3cr.org.au/dirtradio) Mondays  
10:30am on 3CR

### Economic Justice Collective:

phone: 0439 569 289  
email: [sam.castro@foe.org.au](mailto:sam.castro@foe.org.au)  
[www.melbourne.foe.org.au/economic\\_justice](http://www.melbourne.foe.org.au/economic_justice)

### Food co-op

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phone: (03) 9417 4382

### Quit Coal:

phone: 0432 328 107 (Chloe Aldenhoven)  
email: [chloe.aldenhoven@foe.org.au](mailto:chloe.aldenhoven@foe.org.au)  
[csgfreepoowong@hotmail.com](mailto:csgfreepoowong@hotmail.com) (Ursula Alquier)  
website: [www.quitcoal.org.au](http://www.quitcoal.org.au)  
facebook: [www.facebook.com/quitcoalvic](https://www.facebook.com/quitcoalvic)  
email: [info@quitcoal.org.au](mailto:info@quitcoal.org.au)

### River Country Campaign:

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phone: 0408 095 470 (Morgana Russell)

### Yes 2 Renewables

phone: 0406 316 176 (Leigh Ewbank (Melb))  
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email: [cam.walker@foe.org.au](mailto:cam.walker@foe.org.au)  
phone: 0415 789 961 (Patrick Simons)  
email: [patrick.simons@foe.org.au](mailto:patrick.simons@foe.org.au),

### FoE Southwest WA

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email: [foeswa@gmail.com](mailto:foeswa@gmail.com)

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**t: @TheGreenPledge**



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