

# Chain Reaction

Friends of the Earth Australia

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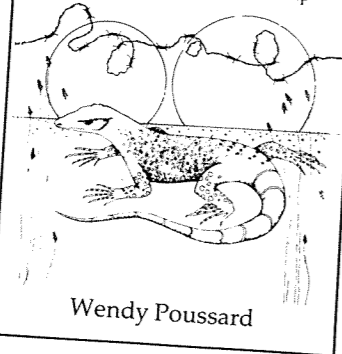


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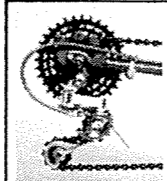
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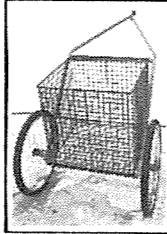
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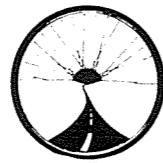
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Single copies and class sets of each edition are also available.  
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## Chain Reaction

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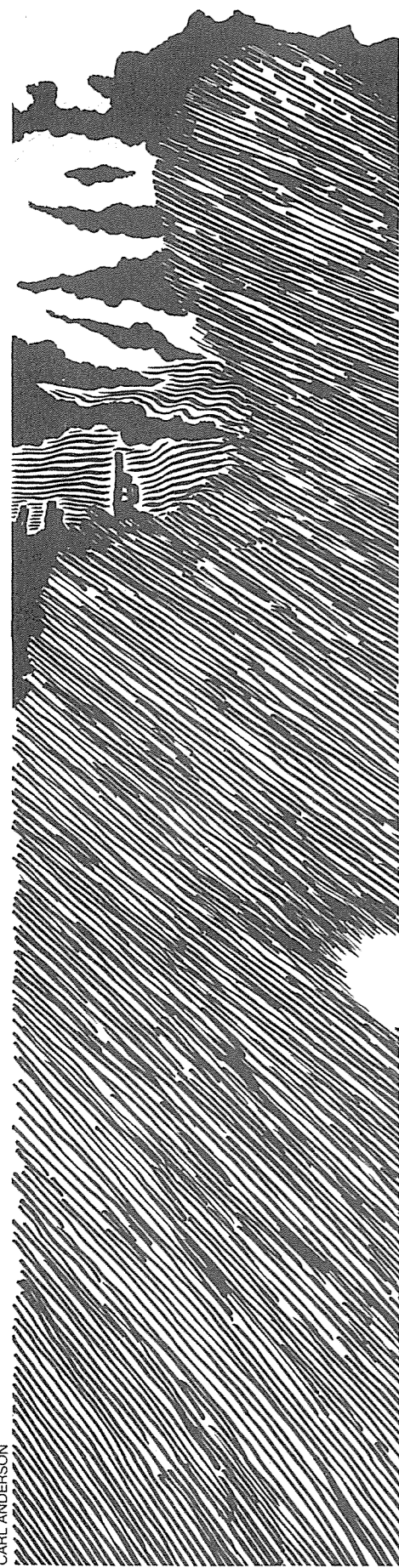
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Contributions to *Chain Reaction* are invited. Please try to send items typed, on one side of the page, double spaced and with wide margins. Keep a copy. We do not have sufficient resources and people to return manuscripts. These few guidelines help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



CARL ANDERSON

# The first man into Hiroshima

By John Hawke

He had collected everything in this room,  
and each object spoke to him. A piece of metal  
recovered from the war, where he lost his hair,  
scraps of his dead wife's hair,  
a shrunken head in a photograph.  
His children found it embarrassing.

And when anger finally ate into his stomach,  
creeping its sullen way along the bones,  
abuse unleashed on relatives at Christmas,  
abuse for the government which cannot be released.  
'And what are you doing with your life?'  
Words with his eldest son, whom he hates.  
He denies all comfort.

In silent Japan, the holy winds blow backwards.  
A lifetime of tiny women, hobbling  
on hooked feet. A dream of sunset. The red-hot blades  
of Japan, rubble scattered as if the whole city  
had been kicked to pieces by something huge.  
A dry stick rapped on stone, which is hot.  
These are things which can be accounted for,  
which we have made in order to understand them better,  
in order to understand ourselves.  
You have a short conversation with an officer  
who is from the country. You are being watched  
by an elderly Japanese man who leans on a gun.  
Americans glance up quickly, but the gun is not loaded.  
It is no longer easy to stand, the city seems to say.

They ate food they did not recognise.  
There was a crucifix on the wall, but no one knew  
the story of how it came to be there.  
Each person with their own ideas. They didn't think  
about the food, they didn't think about the journey back.  
They didn't think about 'outside the room'  
or how it came to be there. And him  
with his communist ideas, what was he doing  
in the army anyway? A wife and children growing  
older each day, and nothing growing anywhere here.  
No clocks in this room to measure anything.  
The meal is finished without incident.  
Everyone leaves the room



The first man into Hiroshima  
dies of cancer. It is forty years on.  
What has not been left behind has been confessed.  
The things which work are now discarded,  
the ideas that never work. Each new thing we build  
creates its own pattern, its own constrictions  
which must in turn be discarded.  
I am speaking of language.  
We cannot rid ourselves of wars, or of their traces,  
or of 'the ones they leave behind'.

You touch absently at the rubble  
of your possessions, discovering that they do not speak.  
That the past which could not be left behind  
has dispersed with her parting.  
You try to imagine where she could have gone,  
your watch catches your attention and is wound up.  
The clocks are all wound up.  
The strength of their knocking in this empty room  
is a curse that cannot be prevented.

The memory of suicide passes, its magic  
words no longer spoken. You think of gas, the image  
that will not come. Afternoon passes through curtains  
which are nylon, the tastes of your generation,  
impossible to scorn or distance from yourself.  
Impossible to say 'I had no part in this'.  
Her picture bears no likeness that is  
recognisable or important to you.

At the age of sixty, in a damp room full  
of curious children, you can at last relax  
with your disease that frightens everyone,  
gnawing the pain from objects as easily  
as flesh from the bone. Teaching you at last  
how to live without feeling.  
How everything relaxes with the cold,  
as if expectancy had reached its predicted end.  
The play of winter evenings on the sand.

*John Hawke is nineteen and was a foundation editor of Neos magazine. This poem is reprinted from The House of Words: The Very Last Neos (see review this edition).*

## LETTERS

### ► An Australian socialism?

I read with great interest and pleasure the article by Anne McMennamin and John Wishart in *Chain Reaction* 41 about the plan to join the organisations who wish to see Australia a socialist nation with groups who are concerned with the protection of our environment — the resultant political party similar to the Greens Party in Europe.

I have very simple spiritual beliefs. I believe this bountiful planet and its life-supporting ecosystems were designed by a Supreme Architect; and a man named Jesus Christ once walked on this Earth and by his gentle caring teachings, his concerns for the poor, sick and the maimed, he could be correctly called a true socialist.

I would like to see greater protection for our environment. I want to see the deforestation of our country and the pollution of our air, water and soil cease and wiser use of our mineral resources begin. I want to see the end of the social evils of war, unemployment, poverty, malnutrition, inflation etc. I feel that only by adopting a socialist life style can we put our environment right and correct our social evils.

The authors of the *Chain Reaction* article point out that socialist countries do not have a good record of environmental protection but I believe that we will achieve a cleaner, safer, more peaceful world under socialism than we will under capitalism with its sole object of profit-making and its ever-increasing economic growth. I think my concern for the environment would outweigh my desire for political change, but without change to socialism the environment will continue to deteriorate.

I would like to add that I would like to see a distinctly Australian type of socialism. I am not being critical of the USSR-style socialism, but with so much of their country in the Arctic and sub-Arctic regions, the short growing seasons and their difficulty in providing food for a large population, and their many ethnic groups must create problems unknown to us. China with its huge population would also have a different set of problems to Australia with only fifteen million people. Our temperate climate, abundance of natural resources, ability to produce great quantities of food must create a more gentle, more caring Australian socialism tuned down to our needs and able to experiment with new ideas within a socialist framework.

I will watch *Chain Reaction* and *Tribune* for more news of the proposed 'Greens' style party.

Ron Foggo  
Yinnar, Vic

### ► The main question

Peter Springell's article on Maralinga in the last edition of *Chain Reaction* disappointed me. It largely dealt with his personal battle with his fellow scientists on the other side. The main problem that appears to remain from the atomic tests is that of plutonium scattered around — and how incredibly stupid it was to have done these 'incidental tests' with such a material. For the Aborigines' welfare has to be the main question, if they are to resume use of the land.

A King  
West Brunswick, Vic

**You are invited to write letters to *Chain Reaction* with your comments on the magazine or on other issues of interest. Letters should be kept within 300 words so that as many as possible may be published. Longer letters may be edited. Write today to *Chain Reaction*, GPO Box 530E, Melbourne, Vic 3001, Australia.**



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**RYDE** 18 Kokoda St, North Ryde, NSW 2113. Tel: (02) 88 2429.  
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**UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY** PO Box 364, Wentworth Building, University of Sydney, NSW 2006.

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Friends of the Earth is an association of over twenty local groups around Australia, working for the conservation, restoration and rational use of the ecosphere, and to stimulate a movement of social change towards an ecologically stable and self-managed society. For further information on Friends of the Earth activities and membership details contact your local group.

## Radio lifeline

For nearly ten years the East Timorese have fought for their right to self-determination and independence. For nearly ten years the Jakarta generals have blockaded the country and prevented journalists and other independent observers from freely visiting the war-torn country. On 26 May 1985 twenty Australian journalists, politicians and East Timor supporters were present as radio contact was made with Fretilin resistance forces in the mountains of East Timor, from a secret site 100 km from Darwin. Radio contact had been re-established with Fretilin inside East Timor on 6 January when Darwin unionist Brian Manning heard East Timor call in after patiently monitoring a given frequency at a given time each week for six months.

The radio contact will and must be maintained to allow journalists, politicians, Amnesty International, aid organisations and diplomats to speak directly with East Timor. Most Australians are horrified by the genocide that has occurred in East Timor and support its right to self-determination.

The radio contact with East Timor interferes with no other communications and occurs for only a short time each week. No coded material is sent, only English and Portuguese language messages.

Australian Coalition for East Timor (ACET) who applied for a licence to operate the radio receiver will appeal against a refusal by Communications Minister Michael Duffy. This will be lodged as soon as Darwin activist Brian Manning receives the official letter. Meanwhile radio messages are still being received.

**Action:** Funds are needed to maintain the radio link. Send donations to the Let East Timor Speak Fund, PO Box A716, Sydney South, NSW 2000.

Write to Prime Minister Bob Hawke, Foreign Minister Bill Hayden and Communications Minister Michael Duffy urging them to withdraw the refusal to grant ACET a radio transmitter licence.

## EARTH NEWS



Brian Manning makes contact with East Timor.

## Star Wars illegal

A legal study released 25 June 1985 by the international environmental group, Greenpeace, concludes that certain kinds of 'Star Wars' research conducted by US allies in Europe would violate the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). The study from Washington lawyer, Eldon Greenberg (formerly general counsel for the US National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and deputy general counsel for the US Agency for International Development) found that:

- The transfer by the USA to any country of any defensive weapon system based upon the use of a nuclear explosion is flatly prohibited by the NPT.
- Collaboration between the USA and its allies (other than the UK) on research and development related to nuclear explosive-based defensive weapons is illegal under the NPT.

As a nuclear weapon state party to the NPT, the UK is also prohibited from collaboration with any non-nuclear weapons state on research and development related to nuclear explosive-based defensive systems.

The NPT also bars non-nuclear weapon member states from participating in such a program. This prohibition would therefore apply to all Western European non-nuclear weapon states party to the NPT — Austria, Belgium, Denmark, West Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden.

The release of the study coincided with the first step of a ten-day tour of European capitals by Vice-President George Bush, a trip intended to convince NATO leaders to join in Star Wars research. Its release also follows publication of a US State Department directive on 19 June which confirms for the first time that nuclear powered

weapons will play a significant role in the Star Wars program.

The legal debate about the wisdom of the Star Wars plan has focused in a large part on the implications that it has for the future of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. This study represents the first evaluation of the implications of the NPT for Star Wars.

A Greenpeace spokesperson said:

If any of the European allies decide to join in the full range of Star Wars research, we can add the Non-Proliferation Treaty to the growing list of international agreements which the Strategic Defence Initiative will violate. At this rate Reagan won't need a delivery vehicle to put battle stations in space: he can simply put them on top of the mounting stack of arms control agreements which Star Wars is relegating to the dust-heap.

**For further information** Copies of the complete study are available from Melanie Shanahan, Greenpeace, 787 George St, Sydney, NSW 2000.

## Steel women case

The final submissions in the sex discrimination case of the 34 Wollongong women against Australian Iron and Steel (AIS) were heard in Sydney before the Equal Opportunity Tribunal on 20 May 1985. The case involves discrimination in relation to the employment of women at the Port Kembla Steelworks between 1977 and 1980.

The women claim that AIS refused them employment because they were women. AIS says that they could not employ more women because by law women are restricted to lifting not more than 16 kg. Throughout the proceedings, the women's case has relied on a report commissioned by the New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Board in 1980, which showed:

- Women were under-represented at the Steelworks. AIS employed only 4% of women as production ironworkers yet in the Wollongong region women make up 35% of the non-steel-making workforce.

- AIS's workforce was sex-segregated. The company's own survey indicated that out of the 800 job classifications at the steelworks, women were only employed in 152. Half the women were employed in 12 classifications, and 32% of women were found in five classifications.

- AIS did not know what jobs were weight-barred (requiring the lifting of more than 16 kg). Ironically, of the 480 women employed by AIS over 68% were employed in weight-barred jobs or, as the company terms it, 'men only' jobs.

- AIS claims that preference is given to those who are on the employment office's waiting list

the longest, yet women waited up to seven years for work as compared to men who only waited a few days.

A judgement on the case is due in August 1985, five and a half years after first lodging complaints. The women are anticipating a successful outcome. The women hope that their case will have helped promote equal rights for women in the workforce, particularly in traditionally male areas of work.

**For further information.** Contact: Louise Casson. Tel: (02) 332 3658; Diana Covell. Tel: (042) 29 6502, (042) 27 3068; Hristina Treneska. Tel: (042) 96 6441.

## Land rights ignorance

Racists in Western Australia are very concerned about the possibility of Aborigines gaining strong government representation. Thomas Newberry, a full blood Aborigine, topped the poll at the local government elections at Wiluna. Now that adult franchise for local elections has been introduced more Aborigines will have a better opportunity to take part in local government, and help remove some of the misconceptions about land rights.

A recent survey showed that nearly a third of people questioned thought Aboriginal land councils could deny access to mining operations, more than half thought Aborigines would get royalties for any mining on land awarded to them. Fewer than half knew that the proposed Western Australian land rights legislation provided for mining access to Aboriginal controlled land and that national parks and forests were not eligible for claims.

The state Labor government worked hard to win the pastoralists and big mining interests behind its land rights legislation which ignored the recommendations of the Seaman Inquiry on land rights. It did nothing to explain basic issues of land rights to Western Australian people.

Source: *Tribune*, 15 May 1985.

## Watching Brief

A new national radio program, 'Watching Brief', on peace and environment issues has been launched. Producers Ian Wood and Tony Douglas said that:

This is the first time a nationally networked quality current affairs program has been set up to reflect the views of the peace and environment movement. It represents a new era of potential outreach and, as such, should attract the active support needed to ensure its

viability and guarantee its success as an educational tool for positive change.

The program consists of a pair of weekly half-hour shows, currently broadcast on eighteen public radio stations throughout Australia, covering some regional areas as well as all major city centres, with an estimated weekly audience of up to 100 000 listeners.

**For further information** Contact the producers at Hidden Agenda Productions, 75 Leveson St, North Melbourne, Vic 3051. Tel: (03) 329 9947.

Station	Location	Times of broadcast
2ARM-FM	Armidale	11.00 am Wednesday
2BBB-FM	Bellingen	5.00 pm Thursday
2NUR-FM	Newcastle	4.00 pm Monday from August 5
2SER-FM	Sydney	9.00 am Friday
2WEB-FM	Bourke	9.00 am Monday-Friday
2XX	Canberra	9.55 am Wednesday
3CCC-FM	Castlemaine	3.30 pm Friday
3CR	Melbourne	7.00 am Monday 4.00 pm Monday 7.00 pm Tuesday 9.00 am Tuesday 11.30 am Tuesday
3GCR-FM	Churchill	6.30 pm Wednesday
3RRR-FM	Melbourne	7.00 pm Monday Segments in evening news
4TTT-FM	Townsville	9.00 am Sunday
4ZZZ-FM	Brisbane	Played in segments. Check station for times
5GPR-FM	Mt Gambier	11.00 am Tuesday
5MMM-FM	Adelaide	1.15 pm Monday
5UV	Adelaide	
6NR-FM	Perth	
7THE-FM	Hobart	
8TOP-FM	Darwin	

## Abortion raid

Queensland police raided two abortion clinics, the Fertility Control Clinic at Greenslopes, Brisbane, and the clinic in Townsville on 20 May 1985. Over 30 000 records of women patients were seized. Doctors at both clinics were arrested and charged, and even women outside the clinics were harassed.

Women's organisations and health and family planning centres around Australia have united to condemn the raids. The actions are seen as part of Bjelke-Petersen's concerted attack on all progressive organisations and unions, seriously threatening civil liberties.

The raids can also be seen in the context of a resurgence of extremely conservative lobby groups in countries like Britain, the USA and Australia, which have the support of conservative

governments. Studies have exposed the nonsense of the conservative lobby's argument that the availability of contraception, sex education in schools and free legal abortion encourage sexual behaviour. In fact, in Queensland, where these services are not available or are extremely limited, the incidence of, for example, teenage pregnancy is higher than anywhere else in Australia.

Elsbeth Hurse of the Brisbane Women's Health Centre spoke at a rally of 1500 in Brisbane City Hall on 5 June 1985. She strongly condemned the Queensland government because of the callous lack of concern for those women at the clinics who were making a crucial decision in their lives and viewed the removal of the files as a serious infringement of civil liberties.

Source: *Tribune* 12 June 1985, 3 July 1985.

## Bataan battle

The people of Bataan in the Philippines are resisting fiercely the startup of a 600 MW nuclear power plant constructed for the National Power Corporation (NPC) by the Westinghouse Corporation at a cost of US\$2000 million. Ten Bataan towns were totally paralysed by a two-day strike on 18 and 19 June 1985. It was named 'People's Strike; People's Power versus Nuclear Power' and involved more than 20 000 Bataan residents and supporters from neighbouring provinces.

Major anti-nuclear organisations recently walked out on hearings being conducted by a government commission on the licensing of the plant. They contended that the non-availability of documents relating to the plant violated the rights of the people to information on matters of public concern.

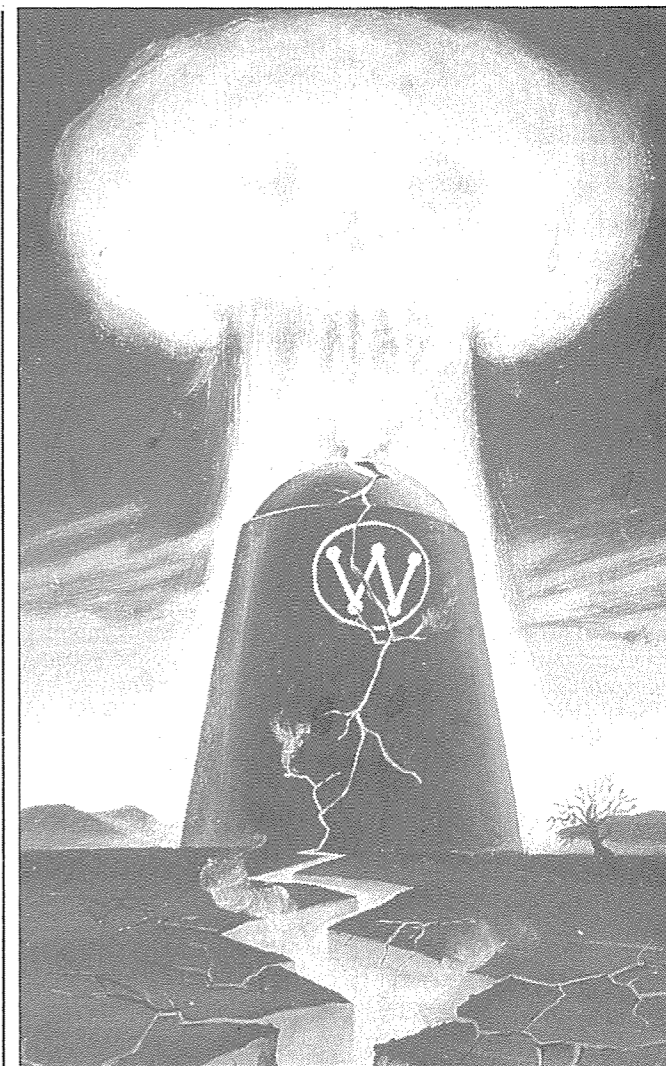
A national coalition of women's organisations in the Philippines has mounted a campaign in support. A representative from the organisation GABRIELA, Aida Santos Maranan, was in Melbourne in July visiting groups, holding meetings and working on a 'Women in Solidarity with Women in the Philippines' postcard action. She expressed with deep feeling the fears of the people about the unsuitability

of the site, their concern about the contamination of their marine and agricultural resources, the prohibitive cost of the plant and the lack of necessity to use nuclear power to solve the energy needs. Aida told of the anti-nuclear protestors marching against government armoured cars. She spoke of people leaving their houses to join the march, of soldiers pointing their guns at the human mass, and the response: 'kill some of us but you can't kill 20 000'.

A campaign of sabotage has commenced; 26 power transmission towers of a total of 104 have been damaged by dynamiting. This action has frustrated commencement of operations. It will take three to four months before the towers are restored. Lawyer Dante Ylaya of the opposition alliance in Bataan said they were prepared for an even bigger people's strike.

**Actions** Participate in the 'Women in Solidarity with Women in the Philippines' postcard campaign. Postcards should be sent to Westinghouse with a message of condemnation and to GABRIELA expressing support and solidarity. Postcards are available from the Philippines Resource Centre, PO Box 5, Fitzroy, Vic 3065. Tel: (03) 419 5718.

Also, write to the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke and the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, opposing the probable sale of Australian uranium to the Philippines.



Postcard produced as part of the international campaign against the Bataan nuclear reactor.

## Bad medicine

The World Congress of the International Organisation of Consumers Unions (IOCU) was held in Bangkok, Thailand, in December 1984 with more than 350 participants. It was the first IOCU congress held in a Third World locale and marked the emergence of a new political force — groups which apply the tactics of hitherto largely First World citizen activism to the basic needs of the Third World poor. Now the work of IOCU and its allied organisations, a movement which began by helping middle-class Americans learn about what they consume, has begun to confront the life and death problems of Third

World poor people who hardly consume at all.

Third World problems run across the spectrum of industries from agriculture, mining and manufacturing to the healing professions themselves. One problem the conference looked at was dangerous drug marketing in the Third World which is implicated in an estimated 10-15 million injuries and nearly one million deaths each year. In Thailand, for example, 46% of the 22 000 different drugs sold by multinationals have been classified as unapproved or unsafe in their countries of origin.

In Bangladesh, multinational pricing and supply policies have stimulated shortages of insulin but a glut of cheap anabolic

steroids — growth stimulants linked to hormonal abnormalities and sex-change reactions in children. Their use has been severely restricted in the USA and Europe but they are aggressively marketed in the Third World as antidotes to childhood malnutrition.

In Peru, Parke-Davis' anti-diarrheal chloramphenicol — a drug severely restricted in the USA due to its link to aplastic anemia, an often fatal blood disease — is mass marketed to children as a chocolate-flavoured 'sweet'. Another product, Ciba-Geigys clioquinol, in addition to being ineffective as a diarrhea treatment, was banned in the USA, Denmark, Sweden and Norway and cost the company a \$150 million

settlement in Japan when it was implicated in more than 10 000 cases of blindness or severe paralysis. Yet, clioquinol was kept on the market in Malaysia, Thailand, Kenya and dozens of other Third World countries.

Health professionals at the conference see the problem in terms of the current style of development. The family-centred, preventive system, often employing certain effective herbal and traditional remedies, is collapsing and is being replaced by an expensive, doctor-centred, after-the-fact drug therapy system which, for economic and social reasons, never even reaches some 60 — 80% of the rural population.

Source: *Multinational Monitor*, 15 May 1985.

# EARTH NEWS

## C3 link

Work on the C3 link between the South Eastern Freeway and the Mulgrave Freeway east of Melbourne is proceeding despite continued community protest. Transport Minister Tom Roper has refused requests to meet with local residents and ignored calls for a moratorium on the freeway pending discussion and negotiations.

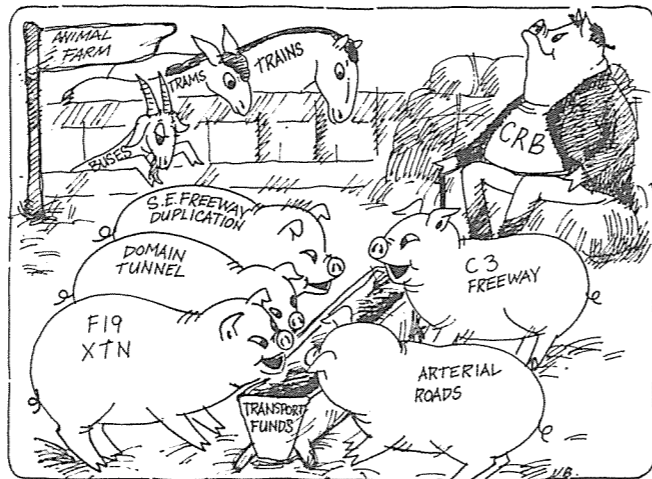
The C3 will destroy about 24 hectares of parkland, about 400 homes and part of a golf course and requires the relocation of a railway line and electricity pylons. The government estimates its cost at \$110 million, although objectors claim that inflation, massive compensation to homeowners, councils and the golf club and service relocation will result in the cost being significantly higher. They argue that spending of this money on public transport

would reap far greater benefits; the Road Construction Authority estimates the reduction in travelling time will only be four minutes.

The Labor government won office in 1983 on a platform which included a promise that it would not link the freeways. The major opposition groups — the local Gardiner's Creek Valley Association, the Melbourne Transport Study Group, inner urban councils and remnants of the Citizens Against Freeway movement — were therefore caught off guard by the decision to build the link.

Work is proceeding frantically. The government has demolished houses ruthlessly, arrested squatters and damaged houses so they cannot be squatted. Many of these houses will not be required for many months. With a critical public housing shortage the destruction has been vandalous. Work in the first section of road, from the end of the South Eastern Freeway to Burke Road is rushing ahead, with overtime at weekends.

Yet there is massive opposition to the works. Locals are opposed to the disruption of families, homes and parklands. The inner urban lobby claim



"..... BUT SOME ANIMALS ARE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS!"

the freeway will make inevitable the destruction of the inner urban residential fabric. The link will place irresistible pressures on government to turn inner Melbourne into a maze of freeways.

The government has faced some of its sternest opposition from within its own ranks. Its conservation policy committee reported to the state Labor conference in March 1984 that the freeway was contrary to policy on creek valleys. In June 1984 the transport policy committee recommended that all work cease pending a full

environment impact statement. This has never been carried out despite earlier reports that the link would have disastrous effects on air quality for the creek valley and nearby residents. Previous Transport Minister, Steve Crabb ignored this call and included the C3 in the 1985 Labor policy despite a call from the committee that it be excluded. The change in policy has never gone to the state conference for approval.

Contact: Melbourne Transport Study Group, c/- Peter Atkin, Environment Centre, 285-287 Lt Lonsdale St, Melbourne, Vic. 3000. Tel: (03) 663 1561.

## Danish decision

On 29 March 1985 the Danish Parliament directed the government to adjust official energy plans to include the condition that nuclear power will not be used, and not to permit the construction of nuclear power plants. Nuclear power has, in effect, been outlawed in Denmark.

The national anti-nuclear organisation, OOA, hailed the decision as a great victory but warned that a new energy policy is needed that emphasises flexibility, security of supply, decentralisation, as well as consideration for the environment, employment and the national economy. OOA also pointed out further steps which must be taken. These include:

- The fifteen sites reserved for nuclear power plants should be

immediately released for other uses.

- The parliament force the government to demand that Sweden close Barseback, the nuclear power plant located only 20 km from Copenhagen.

- The funds that are granted each year to Danish nuclear power research and development, be transferred to other research tasks within the energy field.

- Financial contributions to international nuclear projects be halted.

- Denmark should actively oppose the transport of radioactive waste and enriched uranium through Danish territorial waters, including transport of spent fuel from Swedish reactors.

- Denmark should work more actively internationally to prevent the spread of nuclear technology, which can lead to a continued nuclear rearmament

and proliferation.

Although the decision for which the OOA has fought for over eleven years has been taken, the OOA has decided to continue its work with renewed efforts, in order to make the parliament's decision more than just a gesture of symbolic value.

Source: World Information Service on Energy, *Amsterdam Communique*, April 1985.

## Doing their best?

Information recently secured through the Freedom of Information Act clearly shows that, contrary to government claims, Australia is not doing everything possible to help bring about nuclear disarmament.

The USA, with the support of Australia and other Western nations, defeated an East

German initiative to have the meteorological consequences of a nuclear exchange studied by the World Meteorological Organisation in 1983. The argument used to reject the proposal was that such consequences depended on the size of any particular exchange. Instead of allowing the study to proceed, the Western tactic was to pass the proposal on to another United Nations body, which in turn will have to refer the matter back to its meteorological experts wearing different hats.

Although Foreign Affairs dispatches to the Australian delegation showed some anxiety about Australia being seen as obstructing a nuclear winter investigation, it did nothing to discourage the stalling tactics adopted.

Further information. Contact: Peter Springell, 5 Garlock Close, Clifton Beach, Qld 4871. Tel: (070) 55 3515.

## Kakadu meeting

Several Melbourne conservation and anti-nuclear groups including the Australian Conservation Foundation, the Movement Against Uranium Mining, the Wilderness Society and Friends of the Earth are planning to hold a public meeting, with several speakers and a new audiovisual on the Kakadu National Park, on Sunday 18 August 1985 at 2pm at the Camberwell Civic Theatre, 340 Camberwell Road, Camberwell. Speakers include Bob Brown, Pat Jesson and Allan Fox, who has lived and worked with the Aboriginal people in Kakadu. It will be a chance for Melbourne people to find out about the cultural and natural significance of the Kakadu region and the impact of mining and tourism on the area and the Aboriginal people who have made it their home for nearly 40 000 years.

Further information: Australian Conservation Foundation, Tel: (03) 819 2888

## Smelter stopped

The West Australian government has finally abandoned its ambitious \$1300 million aluminium smelter plan because of the depressed state of the world aluminium market. Premier Burke admitted the smelter could have gone ahead only with a 'very substantial' government subsidy which would have been a millstone round the necks of future generations. State Energy Commission documents show the plan would have involved a \$900 million public subsidy over the project's estimated 30 year life.

The smelter project was seen as a cornerstone of the government's industrial development plans and its abandonment raises serious questions about the future of domestic markets for the North West Shelf gas. The smelter and associated power stations were expected to absorb 30% of the annual gas output.

Source: *The Age*, 22 June 1985.

## Pack action

The Movement Opposing the Promotion of Unhealthy Products (MOP UP) organised a successful protest on 12 June 1985 outside the Philip Morris city headquarters in Melbourne against their recently released 'Peter Jackson' 15-cigarette pack.

Stephen Wallace, senior tutor in psychology and coordinator of a drug education program at

Victoria College, claimed the new pack was a marketing ploy to induce children to smoke. The 15-pack would make it easier for children to buy cigarettes. It is no coincidence that the biggest selling brand among teenagers is Peter Jackson.

The MOP UP demonstration took the form of street theatre. The main character was Philip Morris, father of Peter Jackson. Philip stood on his pedestal while 'everyone's mum' gave

huge green dollars to children and babies with instructions to buy lunch; but the proprietor of the decoratively adorned (with 15-pack ads) local milk bar enticed them into a 15-pack. The narrator then passed the dollars on to Philip Morris, while Philip kept tallies on the ever-growing profit graph.

Contact: MOP UP, 57 Scotchmer St, North Fitzroy, Vic 3068. Tel: (03) 481 8628, (03) 489 3495.



MOPUP demonstration in Melbourne, June 1985.

## Peace fleet

Following the success of Greenpeace in New Zealand and the Perth peace fleet, Melbourne is developing its own peace fleet. Yachts, cabin cruisers and large dinghies adorned with peace banners and flags are one of the best nonviolent and spectacular ways of opposing the entry of nuclear armed and powered vessels into our ports.

For further information: Telephone Sue Taylor on (03) 419 5620 or Rob Larkins on (03) 347 7201.

## Weak equality

As the United Nations Decade for Women draws to a close, the Japanese parliament gave final approval to its Equal Employment Bill — after seven years of public debate. The legislation has been criticised by women's groups because of its inherent weakness — it requires employers to 'endeavour' to achieve equality and there are no penalties for failure in this regard. Business groups see this legis-

lation as a threat and feel the changes have come too fast.

There is a long way to go to improve women's position in the workplace in Japan. Women's wages are, on average, less than 50% of those of men; women make up 35% of the workforce (only very few at management level) and, in at least 80% of all companies there are one or more job categories which bar women from applying.

Source: *Tribune*, 22 May 1985

## Blackmail Email

Innisfail branch of the Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland are calling for a consumer boycott of the large whitegoods manufacturer Email. Email is the parent company of the Foxwood timber mills which are logging the wet tropical rainforests of north Queensland. Logging is degrading these rainforests at an alarming rate.

By boycotting Email's products, including Westinghouse refrigerators, stoves and freezers, you can show Email that its involvement in the devastation of these rainforests will not be tolerated. Companies such as Email are keen to present a good corporate image; a publicised boycott will ensure that Australians are made aware of the fact that Email is responsible for the loss of one of the nation's priceless natural wonders.

**Action:** Write to the General Manager of Email, Joyton Ave, Waterloo, NSW 2017. Ask why the company is logging the last of the wet tropical rainforests and tell them you will not be buying another Email product until the company stops these activities.

## Digest

Sahabat Alam Malaysia (Friends of the Earth Malaysia) have launched *Environmental News Digest* which aims to provide the public and academic institutions with information about the latest development in environmental issues by means of news articles taken from major local newspapers, international magazines and newsletters on development and environment. The news is summarised into briefs for easy reading.

The *Digest* costs \$5 plus postage \$1 and can be ordered through *Chain Reaction*.

## Home hints

Total Environment Centre's Toxic and Hazardous Chemicals Committee claim that the New South Wales state government's 'irresponsible and incompetent' control of the use of highly dangerous pesticides would result in increased public health problems. At the end of May, 1985 the Agriculture Department announced new controls on the 'big four' pesticides (dieldrin, aldrin, heptachlor and chlordane) which will permit their greater use around homes. The new controls mean that pest companies can now use them for a range of pests around homes (from silver fish to spiders) whereas they previously could only be used for sub-floor termite control.

Ron Verkerk, a committee member, said the health effects of the pesticides aren't immediately noticed — they persist for up to 30 years and can work their way into the food chain. It is possible that breakdown in people's immune systems will occur later in life as a result of coming into contact with them.

**Contact:** For advice on pest control chemicals, contact the Total Environment Centre. Tel: (02) 274714 or (02) 278476.

## Environmental News Digest

VOL 3 NO 1 NOV 85 PP 2/85 \$5.00

### Effects of the gas leak begin to show

The effects of the gas leak from the pipeline near the town of... (text is small and partially illegible)

**Contact:** The directory can be obtained for \$17 (postage paid) from COSHG 12-14 Johnson St, Collingwood, Vic 3066. Tel: (03) 417 6266.

## Money or mudflats?

The Cairns branch of the Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland (WPSQ) is opposing two major tourist development proposals which, if completed, will have a significant detrimental impact on the wetlands of Cairns and Port Douglas. These developments, totalling some \$500 million, are receiving strong support from the Queensland government.

The Cairns-based company, McKellar Development Corporation plan to reclaim approximately one-third of the Cairns mudflats to create two islands as a tourist development site. This project would have serious consequences for both wading birds and marine life, especially juvenile prawns and fish. The WPSQ has requested the opportunity to provide input to the planned Environmental Impact Study (EIS) and also that a draft copy of the EIS be made available for public comment.

## Directory

The third edition of Collective of Self Help Groups' (COSHG) *Resource Directory*, a comprehensive guide to over 450 self-help and social action groups in Victoria was published in February 1985. Groups are arranged under subject headings which cover a wide range of issues and include Aboriginals, children and parents, migrants, gay groups, women, older people and health groups.

The design of the book has carefully considered the needs of the people with disabilities. The text has been laid out to gain maximum use of the page, the spiral binding allows for easy handling of the pages and the print is bold and clear. The directory is used extensively by government departments, libraries, schools, Citizens Advice Bureaux and hospitals as a referral for people seeking a self-help group.

**Contact:** The directory can be obtained for \$17 (postage paid) from COSHG 12-14 Johnson St, Collingwood, Vic 3066. Tel: (03) 417 6266.

The Queensland government has ignored both these requests.

The Queensland government is directly involved in another \$200 million plus tourist development at Port Douglas, 65 km north of Cairns. The first stage concerns 80 hectares of vacant crown land along 2.2 km of prime beach front land and Stage 2 site covers 150 hectares of mangroves and saltpan along Dickson Inlet. The mangroves of north Queensland are amongst the most productive and diverse in Australia and the loss of this ecosystem to a canal estate development could be expected to have serious repercussions for local recreational and commercial fishing.

Tourist development is but the latest of many threats; in the Cairns area mangroves have been, and continue to be, cleared for industrial development, garbage disposal, agriculture and airport and harbour facilities.

**Contact:** WPSQ, PO Box 1350, Cairns, Qld 4870.

## Youth art

The 1985 Youth Art Project will be held from 15 August to 31 August at the Lower Melbourne Town Hall. The exhibition is organised by Campaign for International Cooperation and Disarmament. Hundreds of works are being gathered from secondary school students all over Victoria and have a theme of peace and international cooperation. The exhibition will be open from 10 am to 5 pm each day except Sundays and admission is free.

**Contact:** Susie McLean, Project Coordinator. Tel: (03) 663 3677.

## Disarming views

An Exhibition of Arts and Activities: Peace and Nuclear War in the Australian Landscape will be held 17 August — 7 September, 1985 at Sydney College of Advanced Education, cnr. Albion Avenue and Selwyn St, Paddington, NSW. 2021

**Contact:** Hiroshima Coordinating Committee Tel: (02) 267 6741

## Nurses under fire

APHEDA, the ACTU overseas aid organisation, has expressed concern for the safety of Palestinian and Lebanese nurses who had recently returned to work in refugee camps in Beirut. The nurses had been in Australia under APHEDA scholarships obtaining hospital and community health experience.

APHEDA was particularly concerned about the news of militia attacking and overrunning the large Gaza hospital in Beirut, where many of the APHEDA nurses were working. APHEDA program director, Helen McCue, condemned this action as being in total contravention of all internationally recognised agreements protecting hospitals, health facilities, patients and health workers.

APHEDA strongly opposes the recent attacks on Palestinian refugees housed in three camps in Beirut and the recent explosion in East Beirut in which large numbers of Lebanese children and civilians were killed and injured. Chairperson of APHEDA, Cliff Dolan, said: The continued appalling loss of Palestinian and Lebanese lives throughout Lebanon must stop. We call on the United Nations and other agencies responsible for the protection of refugees to do all in their power to stop the fighting in Beirut and to protect innocent civilians.



## Babyfood

In a fourteen-country survey of marketing practices during 1984, the International Baby Food Action Network (IBFAN) found over 400 violations of the WHO/UNICEF Code of Marketing of Breastmilk Substitutes. Nestle — which controls 50% of the market — bowed to a seven-year consumer boycott and signed an agreement dated 25 January 1984 to comply with the code. The agreement, signed with representatives of the International Nestle Boycott Committee, marked a historic victory for infant health advocates.

The WHO/UNICEF code was adopted in 1981 amid growing international outrage over reports of death and disease from the use of powdered infant formula in the Third World. UNICEF estimates that code compliance and increased breastfeeding could save a million lives per year. The boycott has been terminated but monitoring efforts are continuing to assure that Nestle lives up to its commitment.

Nestle appears to have improved its conduct though a number of violations persist. Other firms, however, continue to ignore the code, aggressively promoting their formulas with

giveaways to medical personnel and inaccurate and misleading advertising. Attention has now shifted to more than twenty other companies — Bristol Myers, Abbot/Ross and American Home Products among them — in the breastmilk substitute business.

The major provisions of the WHO/UNICEF Code are bans on gifts to doctors, free samples to consumers, consumer advertising and promotion in hospitals. Labels should be non-promotional and include clear warnings about the hazards of bottlefeeding.

**Source:** *Multinational Monitor*, December/January 1985.

## Dump resited

The radioactive mineral sands waste dumpsite in Papan, Malaysia (see 'Papan says no to thorium', *Chain Reaction* 40) has been shifted to an isolated area near the Kledang Range about 5 km from the original site and 3 km from Menglembu. The residents of Menglembu, Lahat and Bukit Merah are now trapped between the new site and the source of the waste, the Asian Rare Earth (ARE) Factory. The government has no intention of shifting the factory as it is satisfied with the factory's safety measures.

However, according to Professor Sadao Ichikawa who was in Malaysia to conduct a study

of the ARE and its surroundings, there are high levels of radiation along the edge of the temporary dumping ground adjoining the factory. The values are seven to eight times higher than average background radiation level. Two nearby housing areas also showed levels which exceeded the average background level.

The shifting of the dumpsite to Menglembu and the danger that the factory poses have prompted eight residents of Bukit Merah and Lahat to sue the company on behalf of themselves and all other residents including those of Menglembu and Taman Badri Shah. The hearing, initially fixed for 14 June 1985, has been postponed indefinitely by the court.



The readings from the pond where ARE discharges its wastes show high levels of radiation.



## Namibia conference

Namibia (South West Africa), is the forgotten colony still suffering foreign occupation (100 000 South African troops presently occupy the country) and the exploitation of human and other resources. An Australasian conference on Namibia has been arranged at Burgmann College, Australian National University Canberra, 30 August to 1 September 1985. The opening address will be given by Foreign Minister Bill Hayden. The conference has been organised by Campaign Against Racial Exploitation (CARE) with a grant from the United Nations Council for Namibia. **For information:** Contact CARE, Box 51, Kensington Park, SA 5068. Tel: (08) 332 6474.

## London takes a break

The Kit Kat chocolate bar is likely to be banned from the cafeterias of hundreds of secondary schools in London. The *Standard* newspaper reported the confectionary manufacturer Rowntree-Mackintosh is refusing to give the Greater London Council (GLC) details of its employment policy on minorities or women.

The GLC's contract compliance unit is recommending to the supplies subcommittee that it withdraws the firm from the council's list of suppliers. Apart from Kit Kat, Rowntree-Mackintosh also supplies Blue Riband chocolate biscuits to the council.

The GLC supplies department spends about \$900 million a year, much of it on goods for the Inner London Education Authority. All firms are required to make a declaration that they do not have a policy of discrimination against minorities.

## Ranger's dirty water

It was disclosed last year, 1984, that the Ranger uranium mine in the Northern Territory had accumulated an excess of 0.5 million cubic metres of water contaminated by radium, heavy metals and sulphuric acid. The issue at the centre of the latest controversy at Ranger — how to deal with radioactive and toxic wastes — is a problem the uranium mining industry has yet to solve. Ranger claim that if the water is not disposed of during the 1985 wet season, mining will be delayed for four to six weeks during the dry season (April to October).

The 1975 Fox Inquiry into the Ranger uranium mine pro-

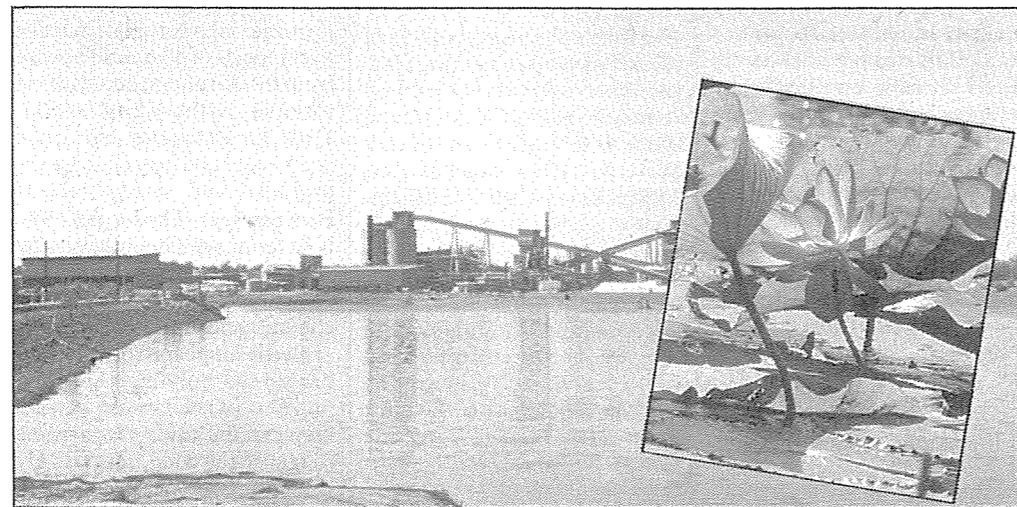
posal suggested that one possible way to avoid the accumulation of excess water was to build additional retention ponds. This recommendation was not followed by Ranger, which argued that direct release into the Magela Creek was preferable. Ranger asked permission earlier this year to release the water into the Magela Creek, a part of Kakadu National Park. This is the cheapest and also the most environmentally damaging, of 21 options available. Concern has been expressed by the Northern Land Council and the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service.

In February 1985, 100 dead fish were found in Ranger's contaminated water. The Greenpeace organisation requested that a chemical analysis of the

fish be done, and publicised the issue by delivering 100 dead fish to the Sydney office of Energy Resources of Australia, the major shareholder in the Ranger project.

Effective lobbying by Greenpeace and other environmental groups has succeeded in halting the Ranger water release for this wet season. But the problem of the disposal of the contaminated water still remains and much to the annoyance of Ranger, the territory government is considering the other 20 options carefully. Greenpeace believes the contaminated water must be contained until the best practicable technology for its disposal is developed.

**For further information:** Contact Melanie Thiedeman, Greenpeace, 787 George St, Sydney, NSW 2000. Tel: (02) 211 0089



Ranger retention pond. Inset: Red water lily, Kakadu national park.

## Peace conference

The first Australian Nuclear Disarmament Conference will be held in Melbourne from 29 August to 1 September 1985. The aim of the conference is to develop more focused strategies, to address questions beyond the disarmament movement's established aims and to facilitate improved communication within the movement nationally. It is being organized by the Australian Coalition for Disarmament and Peace and will be hosted by People for Nuclear

Disarmament.

A public meeting will also be held on 30 August at 8.00 pm in the Melbourne Town Hall as part of the conference activities, with speakers including Rear Admiral Gene La Rocque (Centre for Defence Information, Washington), Ferenc Koszegi (prominent activist in the independent Hungarian peace movement), Sister Rosalie Bertell (who is visiting Australia to launch her most recent book, *No Immediate Danger*) and Janet Hunt (Canberra peace activist).

**Contact:** Richard Boulton  
Tel: (03) 663 2891

## Eco-feminism

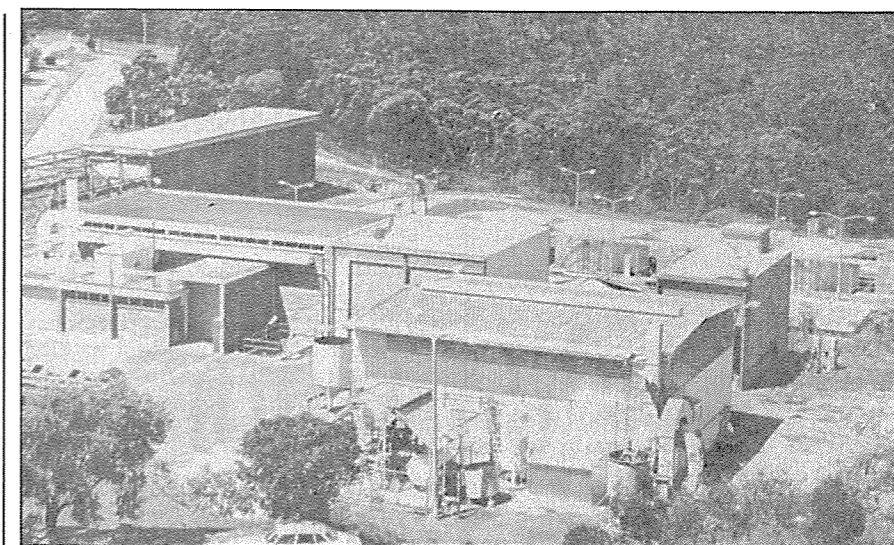
A women's studies course, 'Women and Technology: the rise of eco-feminism', is now available at the University of New South Wales. It looks at the position of women in advanced technological society, feminist analyses of science, militarism and the environmental crises, the growth of women's peace and ecology movements world-wide, and the implications of eco-feminism for radical politics and social change.

**For further information:** Contact Frances Lovejoy, program coordinator. Tel: (02) 697 2406.

# The nuke next door

Late in July 1985 it was reported that low levels of a radioactive substance, tritium, have been leaking for the past decade from Lucas Heights nuclear research establishment south of Sydney, into two rivers via stormwater drains. This is the latest in a series of revelations that have increased public concern over 'Australia's own little reactor'.

**Bert King** looks at recent local resident group's actions opposing the presence of the Lucas Heights atomic reactors.



Waste treatment buildings at Lucas Heights nuclear research establishment.

The Lucas Heights research nuclear reactor was commissioned in the late 1950s. Last year (1984) this toy of our own nuclear establishment was in the news for two reasons — an escape of uranium hexafluoride (hex) and the embarrassing matter of the steady build-up of spent fuel rods. Lucas Heights is now on the southern edge of the Sydney suburban sprawl — in the Sutherland shire where a residents action group has been active for almost a decade.

This group prepared a submission in March 1984 opposing the residential development of the West Menai area which falls within the 4.8 km restricted development zone around the reactor. One of the major reasons for opposing this development is the proximity of the Little Forest radioactive waste burial ground, set up in 1960 and closed in 1969.

In May 1985 the residents group put together another excellent submission addressed to Senator Evans, now Minister of National Development and Energy. It deals with the *Atomic Energy Act* which the Labor government has decided to review. In the document, residents express their concern about the role and future activities of Lucas Heights, questioning how a repressive piece of legislation can be warranted if Lucas Heights exists only to produce medical isotopes. (The *Atomic Energy Act* was not enacted at the height of the Cold War, and provides for draconian penalties against those opposed to various

*Bert King is an experienced engineer.*

aspects of atomic energy and nuclear weapons-linked research in Australia).

Lucas Heights was built to school physicists in the new field of nuclear physics, the bright, new technology of the time. It was also seen as a training ground for the inevitable nuclear power stations we would one day have; this was the official view as expressed in booklets on the Hifar reactor up until at least as recently as 1979. In addition, Lucas Heights was a possible source of bomb-grade material if the United Kingdom, in collusion with Australia, desired it.

Now the whole role of Lucas Heights is being called into question. Do we still need a reactor, should we have a new one or can we get by with a major rebuild of the ageing Hifar? Can medical isotopes be imported just as readily and more cheaply? Would a cyclotron suffice rather than a reactor?

The residents have concentrated for some years on the environmental consequences of the reactor operation. There are two main opponents — the Australian Atomic Energy Commission (AAEC) and the science establishment. There is also the Sutherland Shire Authority who want to let in the developers. The area is prime land and more homes, more people, more shops, more development means more rates, more status, more power. Lucas Heights is no deterrent to them.

The recommendations of the Sutherland Shire residents action group to the Minister are as follows:

- That nuclear activities cease; reactors Hifar and the small Moata be shutdown.
- A national repository be set up for all waste now stored on the site.
- The large number of spent fuel rods be removed.
- The Little Forest burial ground and all contaminated soil be removed.
- Discharge of liquid radioactive waste into the ocean to cease.
- Lucas Heights to undertake non-nuclear energy research and development.
- Establish a national cyclotron for medical isotopes. (This could be managed by a body such as Commonwealth Serum Laboratories.)
- The AAEC to be fully accountable to government and the punitive and secrecy provisions of the *Atomic Energy Act* be removed.
- A health study be carried out on residents in areas adjacent to Lucas Heights.

Senator Evans is a lawyer who has been involved in civil liberties and the large number of most interesting points raised gives him quite a formidable task to grapple with, but hopefully he will go ahead with a review of the *Atomic Energy Act*.

Congratulations to the residents group for their submission and may they be successful in their struggle.

**Contact:** Copies of the residents' submission can be obtained from Heather Rice, 600 The Boulevard West, Sutherland, NSW 2232. Please include \$4 for photocopying and postage.

# Bicycles against the Galaxy

By Jenny Green

When mere bicycles disrupt the landing of a massive US Galaxy aircraft bringing parts for Pine Gap, it's a small victory.

At Alice Springs airport on 2 April 1985 four cyclists rode the length of the runway. They had lain hidden in the scrub at the end of the runway, and emerged immediately upon viewing the huge Galaxy aircraft on the horizon. Their carefully executed plan took police and security completely by surprise.

Advice came to them from the tower from a car that was positioned at the end of the runway that four cyclists were seen entering the runway. The controller saw the cyclists, cancelled the landing clearance and instructed the aircraft to orbit approximately 3 miles from the runway threshold until the runway was clear for a normal approach and landing. (police prosecutor, court transcript)

The giant aircraft turned, and as the cyclists completed their run to the terminal they were met by the jubilant cries of support from the remainder of the peace group, and the arresting officers.

However the delays were only short-  
*Jenny Green has lived in Alice Springs for ten years and is active in the peace group there.*

lived. With the runway cleared the plane landed and the Galaxy began to regurgitate its cargo of white alloy panels. These were loaded into large trucks to be transported the 15 kilometres to Pine Gap. As it was unloading, three more demonstrators jumped the fence and ran out onto the tarmac, breaking police lines and managing to smear the plane with orange paint, before being hauled away by police.

A week later another Galaxy aircraft arrived in Alice Springs and the peace group picketed the airport. A further fifteen demonstrators were arrested as they attempted to block the path of a prime mover carrying yet another load of Pine Gap parts. This time the police helicopters scoured the surrounding country, presumably on the lookout for more cyclists.

The recent escalation of peace group activity in Alice Springs parallels the obvious upgrading of facilities at the 'space base', as Pine Gap is locally known. On Palm Sunday, 500 people marched down the main street of Alice Springs, calling for peace, and recently Scientists Against Nuclear Arms and Medical Association for the Prevention of War held a successful peace summit. Pine Gap has not featured

so prominently in the local media since the women's peace camp in 1983, and it is clear that concern about the presence of the base is growing.

Since November 1984, four Galaxy aircraft have landed at the civilian airport at Alice Springs, carrying new parts for the eighth and largest radome being constructed at the base. The upgrading of the base increases the surveillance capabilities of the US military satellites monitored from Pine Gap. It is obviously 'difficult' to obtain accurate information about the precise use to which such a capability might be put as the functions of the base are kept shrouded in secrecy. Some speculate that expansion of the base is directly linked to Reagan's Star Wars program; others that the extra technology increases Pine Gap's capability to spy on countries such as Greece. It is clear that we are not being told what is going on.

The cost of maintaining and upgrading Pine Gap and other such facilities is enormous. It was estimated recently that the cost of upgrading Pine Gap base alone is over \$100 million. The Pine Gap installation is of utmost importance to US military strategy. Pine Gap is the largest

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) installation outside the USA. Given the disastrous record of this organisation in other countries, we are justifiably uneasy about hosting them in our own country, and, by implication or oversight, condoning their activities here and elsewhere. It is in the interests of the USA that the political climate in Australia remain stable, and that the presence of military bases be accepted without question.

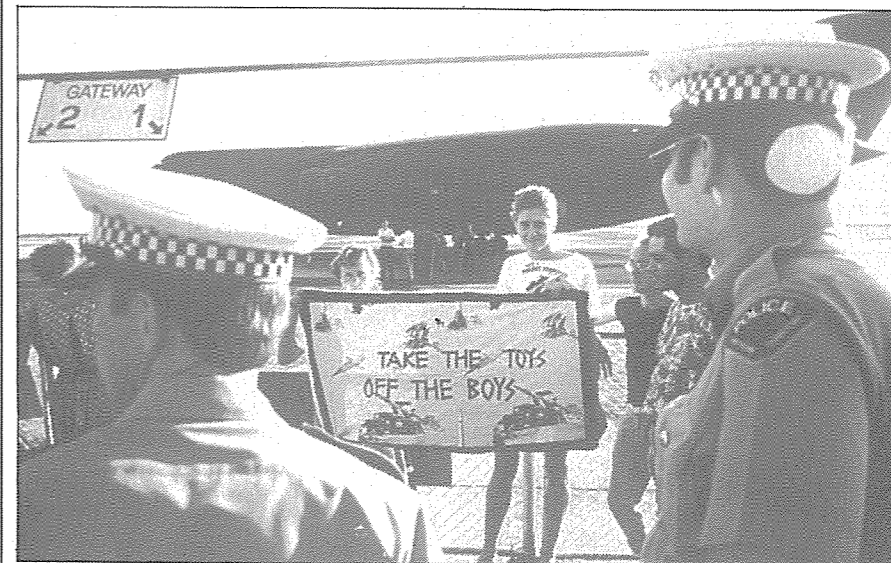
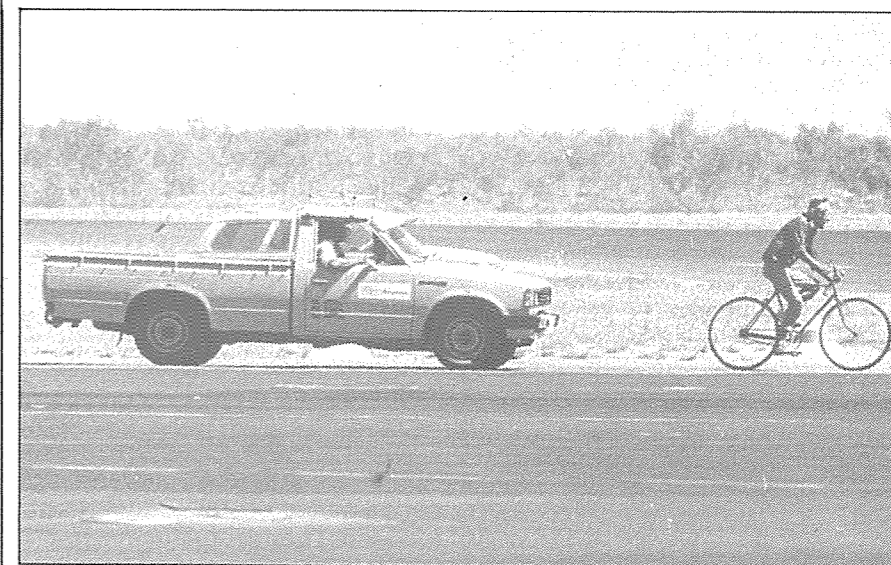
In December 1975 the Washington Post published the following editorial:

... the US runs a sensitive, sophisticated ultra-secret base near Alice Springs ... called Pine Gap. It is used for the detection of Soviet land-based missiles. It is also used to receive messages from reconnaissance satellites transverse the Soviet Union ... Since Australia is becoming rapidly politically unstable, what do we do about Pine Gap? Pine Gap is probably the most important defence facility we have in the Pacific — it's crucial to our defence planning ...

Concern is also growing locally in the light of statements made recently by the defence minister, Mr Beasley. He publicly acknowledged that a nuclear attack on the US defence facilities at Pine Gap, North West Cape and Nurrungar would be 'the least of Australia's worries in the event of a general nuclear war'. He said that the Australian government accepted the possibility that such defence bases might be targeted by the Soviet Union in the event of a nuclear war. He said that he did not anticipate that an attack on those facilities would have a substantial effect on any major Australian population centre.

For the 22 000 or so residents of Alice Springs such statements offer little comfort. Hidden behind the MacDonnell Ranges, in close proximity to the town, the presence of Pine Gap is a constant source of anxiety. A book by local, Dr Peter Tait, entitled *The effects of a one-megaton explosion over the joint defense research facility, or: What will happen to Alice if the bomb goes off*, has recently been published. It details the horrifying effects that a nuclear strike aimed at Pine Gap would have on the local residents. It is not a pretty picture.

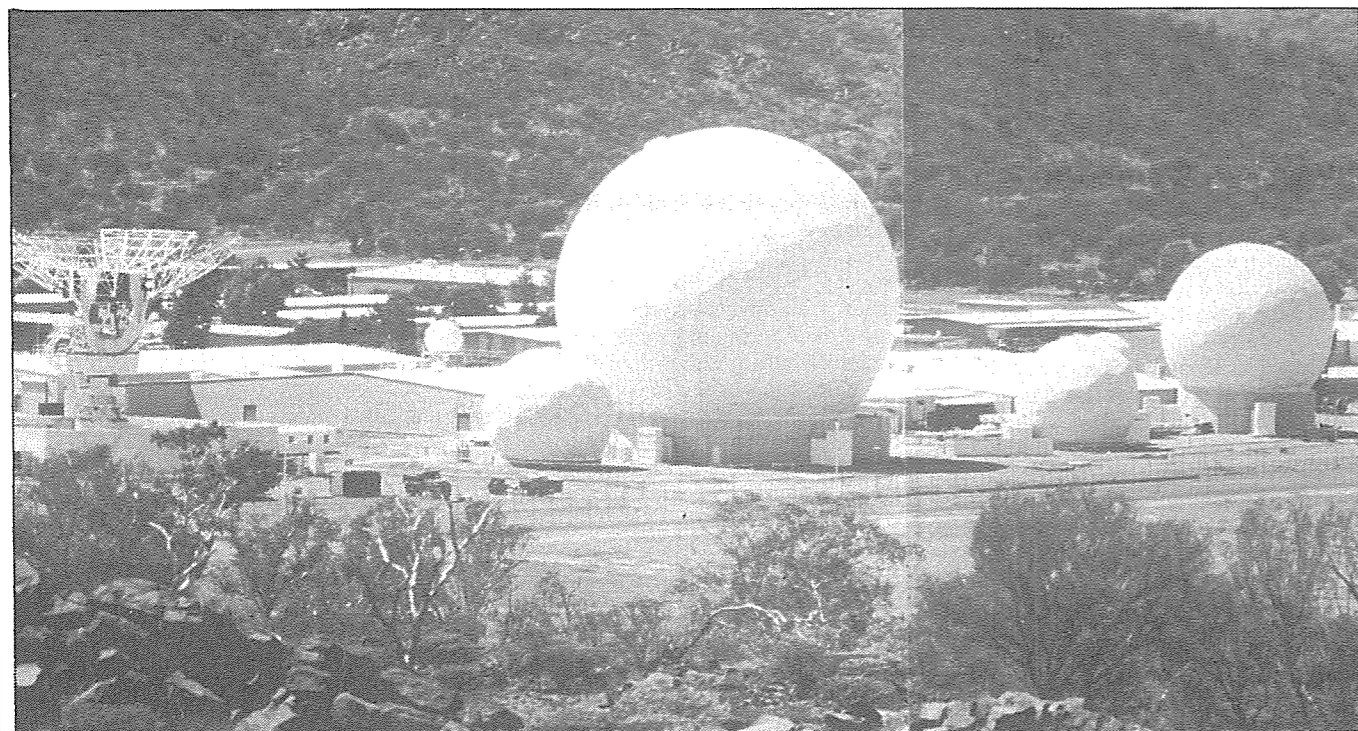
Since the time of the Galaxy protests in Alice Springs 22 protesters have been processed by the court and together they have incurred fines totaling over \$2000. Initially the prosecution alleged that the bicycle riders had committed an offence of grievous implications:



Top: Cyclist being chased by airport security personnel.

Middle: Arrests at Alice Springs airport, April 1985.

Bottom: Demonstrators at Alice Springs airport, November 1984.



A recent photograph of Pine Gap, showing the half-constructed eighth radome.

Taking into account the size of the aircraft, if a go-around on short final, that is application of full power to avoid hitting any obstructions on the runway had been carried out, I'm instructed that the resultant massive jet blast would have caused massive damage to fixed runway facilities, such as lights, visual approach aids, etc, and of course may have injured and perhaps even killed some of the cyclists; it was the cyclists' good fortune that this did not occur, (prosecution, court transcript)

The cyclists disputed the prosecution's claims and at a later hearing the argument that the cyclists had endangered their own lives or others by their actions was withdrawn. Their foray onto the tarmac was equated to the disruption caused by dingoes and other feral animals who might stray into the path of an oncoming plane. Clearly the 'facts' as initially put forward by the prosecution did not hold up to closer scrutiny.

All arrestees were charged with either trespass, obstruction, or both, and duly convicted and fined. Several decided to continue with a plea of not guilty. In the courthouse many took the opportunity to voice their reasons for opposing Pine Gap, and their choice to act.

Opposition to the US military installation at Pine Gap is particularly critical right now because the agreement between the US and Australian governments for the lease on Pine Gap is due for renewal in 1986. The terms of the lease agreement require one year's notice of intention to terminate. The Australian people should be informed about the purpose and activities of all 'joint' US/Australian facilities on Australian soil. There is an urgent need for Australia-wide action to oppose the renewal of these leases, and make sure that the Australian government does not just sign on the dotted line.

The Alice Springs Peace Group will gratefully accept any donations towards the fine fund. A video depicting the Galaxy demonstrations, the women's camp in 1983 and other peace activities in Alice Springs over the last few years is in production. Enquiries and donations to Alice Springs Peace Group, P.O. Box 1637, Alice Springs, NT 5750. Tel: (089) 521486, (089) 526782, (089) 528804.



Protestors at Alice Springs airport, April 1985.

**Within the definition of the law of this country I am guilty of the offences of trespass and obstruction. However I believe that such actions are both justifiable and necessary. Obstruction of warmongering machinery is not unreasonable and the intent to circumvent destruction on a massive scale to preserve life constitutes a very reasonable excuse for trespass. I believe that those who establish and control such facilities as Pine Gap, and not I, are guilty of trespass and obstruction; trespass in countries where their role is to destabilize; trespass in our community and others like it within Australia where we have been conned into providing the venue for their war games. And they are guilty of obstruction, of obstructing the viable continuation of life on this planet. We cannot just sit down and become, as the defence minister, Mr Beasley, put it, 'expendable'.** (protestor, court transcript)

**"As in the anti-Vietnam war movement there are some actions that have not necessarily been understood at the time, by many Australians. So-called 'adventurous' actions, like that with which we are now charged, are justified. They are justified because they help to draw attention to the real issues, they enhance peoples understanding of the nature of the drive to war and who are the real perpetrators of it.** (protestor, court transcript)

**"My protest was a protest against the Pine Gap installation, an installation of spying and war. As a mother of a son, I protest against all war — for all mothers who have seen their sons go to war and been crippled and killed; and for all women who have suffered and died in war. My son deserves to grow up and live to be a man, and I deserve to live my life freely, without the threat of annihilation hanging over our heads. I have been charged with trespass, but I claim that that is nothing compared with the personal trespass into my everyday life that Pine Gap is. Not a single day goes by when I don't feel insecure by its presence."** (protestor, court transcript)

**"The Australian government still refuses to reveal the purpose of this new equipment. There has been little public debate over the upgrading and it is likely that there will be none on the renewal of the base in 1986 . . . My action was necessary to draw attention to the facility that plays such an integral role in the escalation of the US military establishment's capability for the launching of first strike nuclear attack."** (protestor, court transcript)

**"I took my actions because of my anger at the record of the CIA; their activities in opposing democratic governments and opposing progressive movements around the world; their participation in shoring up terrible regimes in many countries in South America, East Asia, Africa and the likelihood that they are affecting our political processes in Australia in many ways, both subtle and forthright throughout the period in which they're ensconced at that base."** (protestor, court transcript)



Rainbow Warrior lies on its side in Marston Wharf, Auckland, 12 July 1985.

# A warrior goes down

By Sally Wasp

At midnight on 10 July 1985, two mines exploded, one minute apart, on the hull of the Greenpeace protest vessel, *Rainbow Warrior*, which was berthed in Auckland harbour. Within four minutes, the boat was sitting on the bottom in 16 metres of water. Earlier that night a meeting was held on board of representatives from all the Greenpeace offices in the Pacific region, people with many years of campaign experience. Fortunately the meeting finished just one hour before the bombs exploded.

Most of the crew of ten were on the mess deck at a birthday party when the first blast occurred and managed to escape, although some were blown into the water. However, Greenpeace photographer, Fernando Pereira, was killed when he returned on board after the first explosion to rescue photographic equipment. Greenpeace has launched a worldwide fund for Fernando Pereira's wife and two children, aged three and five. Greenpeace is also setting up a fund to replace or repair the *Rainbow Warrior*, which was worth \$500 000 but was not insured.

Motivation for the bombing is not clear, but can possibly be found by looking at the past campaigns of the Greenpeace organisation, especially those

involving the *Rainbow Warrior*, and the actions that were planned for the vessel later in 1985. The *Rainbow Warrior* was the largest of Greenpeace's boats, a 50-metre converted fisheries research vessel. It has been active in many campaigns in the past seven years, and is sure to have made many enemies.

## 1978

- Voyages to Iceland and Spain to confront whaling operations.
- Confrontations with the British nuclear waste dumping ship *Gem* in the North Atlantic.
- Voyage to the Orkney Islands north of Scotland where Greenpeace successfully thwarted attempts by Norwegian hunters to kill grey seals.

## 1979

- Two trips to Iceland to protest the killing of fin whales.
- Voyage to Norway to protest Norwegian participation in the Canadian seal hunt.
- More confrontation with the British nuclear waste dumping operations in the North Atlantic.

## 1980

- Campaigns in Europe against shipments of spent nuclear fuel from Japan

to reprocessing facilities at Windscale and La Hague.

- Second voyage to Spain to protest whaling operations. The ship is seized and held under arrest in the military harbour of El Ferrol. In November, replacement parts are smuggled aboard and the *Rainbow Warrior* escapes.

## 1981

- Crosses Atlantic to campaign against the slaughter of harp seals on the ice packs off the east coast of Canada.
- Voyages to the Georges Bank off the New England coast to protest the oil and gas development of one of the world's richest fishing grounds.

## 1982

- *Rainbow Warrior* conducts a successful campaign against chemical waste dumping operations in the New York Bight.
- Return to the Canadian seal hunt. The ship spends more than two weeks battling pack ice to reach the hunt. At the height of the campaign, the EEC announces a ban on the import of seal pup skins which is the death knell of the commercial seal industry.
- The ship transits the Panama Canal and begins a campaign against dolphin killing by tuna fishers.
- Campaigns against Peruvian whaling

operations; six months later Peru agrees to get out of the whaling business.

#### 1983

- Campaigns against the US Navy's plan to dispose of their ageing nuclear submarines by dumping them at sea.
- Voyage to the Bering Sea to confront deep sea salmon drift net operations which kill thousands of sea birds and marine mammals annually.
- Voyage to Siberia to document illegal Russian whaling operation at Lorino. Seven crew members are arrested by the Soviets, but the *Rainbow Warrior* outmanoeuvres Russian warship and other pursuit vessels and arrives safely back in Alaska. The crew members arrested were held for five days, and then released after an international outcry against whaling.

#### 1984

- Campaign against offshore oil and gas development on the California coast.
- Returned to the Gulf of Mexico to protest ocean incineration of toxic chemicals. Several days after the ship left San Francisco, the Environment Protection Agency revoked the permit to burn in the Gulf.
- Laid up in Florida for the fitting of sails and preparing for Pacific peace voyage in 1985.

#### 1985

*Rainbow Warrior's* 1985 voyage was planned to highlight, by nonviolent direct action and lobbying, the many threats in the Pacific region from nuclear power and nuclear weapons, including:

- the effects of nuclear weapons testing by the USA in the Marshall Islands over 30 years ago;
- continuing US missile tests in Kwajalein Atoll in the Marshall Islands;
- Japanese plans to dump low-level nuclear waste into the Pacific Ocean if the London Dumping Convention's moratorium on dumping is lifted; and
- past and planned French testing of nuclear weapons.

One of the missions of the voyage was to respond to a plea by the people of Rongelap in the Marshall Islands to help them relocate to another atoll. Rongelap remains contaminated from fall-out from the explosion of a 15-megaton hydrogen bomb at Bikini Atoll on 1 March 1954 (now remembered as Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific Day). For 30 years, the people of Rongelap have tried to learn the truth about what happened to them in 1954, and about the continuing effects of radioactive fall-out on them. They suffer from a variety of health problems associated with radiation — thyroid cancer, leukemia, still-births, miscarriages and birth deformities.

## APPALLING TERRORIST-STYLE ATTACK HITS GREENPEACE M.V. RAINBOW WARRIOR

We have just learned today (5.00am 12th July) of disturbing news from Auckland, and have delayed our mailout to bring you the news as we know it.

**AUCKLAND July 12th 1985:** Flagship of the Greenpeace marine arm, the M.V. *Rainbow Warrior*, was badly damaged and sunk by high explosives in Auckland Harbour late yesterday.

Leaflet produced by Greenpeace soon after the bombing.

Between 20 May and 30 June, the *Rainbow Warrior* ferried the entire population of Rongelap, their personal belongings and most of their houses to Mejato in the Kwajalein Atoll, 160 km away. The people face many difficulties, in rebuilding their houses, digging new wells, and cultivating the wilderness of a previously uninhabited island. The evacuation operation was both hard and dangerous, sometimes continuing despite rough seas. At the end hardly any of the crew was without injury.

The *Rainbow Warrior* then sailed to Vanuatu, the South Pacific island which closed its ports to US nuclear warships two years before New Zealand. It arrived in Auckland, New Zealand on 7 July where it joined the veteran Greenpeace protest yacht, *Vega* (*Greenpeace III*) and a flotilla of New Zealand peace yachts.

It was planned that the vessels would sail together to Rarotonga for the South Pacific Heads of Government Forum on 4-6 August, where a draft nuclear-free Pacific treaty is being tabled. Then the fleet would sail to Mururoa Atoll (site of French nuclear tests) in September, to coincide with worldwide protests and the third review conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Despite the bombing, the flotilla will still go ahead, headed by the *Vega*.

The campaigns Greenpeace and *Rainbow Warrior* have been involved in have all been nonviolent opposition to various governments — militaristic, capitalist (eg USA, France) and state capitalist (eg USSR) — and the commercial enterprises that are maintained and justified by these states. The anti-whaling campaigns, for example, threatened a capitalist operation which put profits before ecological concerns, as do actions against various aspects of the arms race. Therefore supporters of current economic systems have motives for the destruction of the *Rainbow Warrior*,

not just those whose interests have been challenged directly by Greenpeace's campaigns. Some suggestions have been made that those responsible might be from the ranks of the neo-fascist extremists among the French settlers in New Caledonia, whose economic control in France's Pacific territories is under attack by moves for a nuclear-free and independent Pacific.

Another possibility that must be considered are the various security organisations of governments that Greenpeace has opposed. In Australia, the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), although ostensibly set up to monitor right-wing groups, has been active mainly in monitoring and frustrating the work of feminist, environmental and other left groups. In the current global political climate, a 'terrorist' attack on a seemingly innocuous organisation as Greenpeace might easily be used as a justification for strengthening of security organisations and reducing civil liberties, as occurred after the Hilton bombing. Greenpeace and other environmentalists should take care in their propaganda not to promote the sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior* as 'terrorism', as this plays into the hands of those security services in justifying their expansion and increased interference in the activities of groups such as Greenpeace.

**Action:** Donations to assist Fernando Pereira's family and to help replace the *Rainbow Warrior* can be sent to:

- Greenpeace, 787 George St, Sydney, NSW 2000. Tel: (02) 211 0089.
- Greenpeace, 310 Angas St, Adelaide, SA 5000. Tel: (08) 223 3133.
- Movement Against Uranium Mining, 285 Lt Lonsdale St, Melbourne, Vic 3000. Tel: (03) 663 1428.

Greenpeace is also organising a boycott of French goods and services in the Pacific region in September to support the direct actions of the peace flotilla at Mururoa. For further information contact Greenpeace.

# Young answers to old questions

Recent years have seen the emergence of numerous youth peace groups around Australia, often forming as a reaction to conservatism and ageism within the established peace movement, or as a response to the need to bring nuclear issues into schools and tertiary institutions. In May 1985, representatives from many of these groups met in Canberra, for a conference organised as part of International Youth Year. **Brendan Rea and Robert Williams report:**

The peace movement in Australia has recently experienced a number of setbacks leaving many with a sense of disillusionment concerning the stagnating nature of many groups. People have marched alongside members of the same government that has given approval for the Roxby mine, embraces the ANZUS alliance and continues to aid despotism in the Philippines. Others have joined the Nuclear Disarmament Party, only to see it factionalise and split. Many are wondering just what direction peace activists are to take. Organisational methods and the actions of many groups have stagnated; they just don't seem to work anymore.

These problems and many more were discussed at the National Youth Peace Conference held on 24-26 May 1985. What was achieved over the weekend by the 150 participants was both positive and inspiring.

Youth peace group representatives and individuals from schools, universities, the peace and environment movements and political parties attended. However the conference recognised that many disadvantaged groups were under represented. Issues

*Brendan Rea and Robert Williams are members of Young People Against Global Violence and the Chain Reaction collective.*

discussed included the inadequacy of the under-18 dole, schools as nuclear-free zones, consensus decision-making, the Australia Peace Bike ride, future actions against US bases, Hiroshima Day actions and particularly, the use of non-hierarchical frameworks for group organisation.

A genuine sense of camaraderie existed between the people who attended the conference and slept on the Australian National University bridge. Very few chose to stay away from the bridge, except those who had to caucus, and most had an enjoyable weekend. The conference was quite well organised but because there was not a separate women's space, some young women were not able to stay overnight. Other women who did stay overnight expressed that they would have preferred a choice and many women would have wanted a women's space for discussion. However the provision of childcare and access for disabled was a welcome change in a mixed organisation.

The conference began with a very restricted structure — people lecturing to rows of spectators. Despite this atmosphere and lack of notification, speakers from the National Aboriginal conference gave an excellent talk. Regrettably most of the rest of the first morning was spent with lectures on just how horrible various weapons systems are. This met with the criticism that we shouldn't be getting into 'boys and toys' triviality (ie over-fascination with weaponry and new technology, which are in reality obscurities).

A refreshing change was the talk on 'Women and the Peace Movement'. Many had expected a description of women's peace actions. Instead the talk concentrated on the immediately relevant topic of sexism in the peace movement, raising issues such as:

- how males are obstructive rather than supportive when women chose to organise women's only groups;
- how men constantly interrupt women at peace meetings and discussions;
- why men should learn to listen to and respect women's opinions;

- why positive discrimination and affirmative action should be employed towards not only women but other oppressed people within the peace movement;

- why women have the right to be angry about their oppression.

The speaker, not wishing to be seen as an 'expert', encouraged an exchange of viewpoints. Many people who had been passively listening became actively involved in the discussion that ensued, which in itself was positive change of focus in the conference. (The women's discussion and the 'men and sexism' group were well attended the following day.) Unfortunately the sexism discussion was cut short by a (white) speaker from the Central Committee in solidarity with Central America and the Caribbean then gave a lecture (on how 'peasants' are oppressed). By mutual agreement this method of talking down to participants was dismissed by the end of the day. Subsequent meetings and discussion were conducted in circles so as to create a less threatening atmosphere for people inexperienced in public speaking and to reduce the risks of self appointed 'experts' controlling the forum.

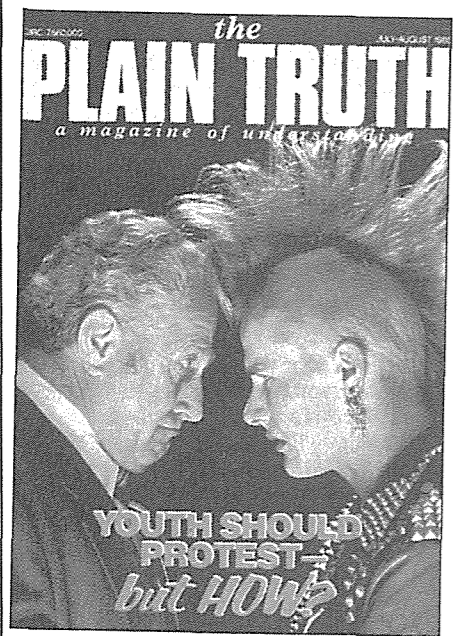
At the morning session of the second day people at the conference divided into secondary students, tertiary students and 'miscellaneous'. People then grouped themselves with five to nine other people for discussions. One person was nominated as a spokesperson to report back to the whole conference. If a spokesperson missed a vital point which had been raised or gave a distorted report, other group members felt comfortable to make additions. This method meant that the maximum amount of input from each person was achieved as well as the greatest exchange of ideas — all without formal meeting rules!

Some attempts were made to encourage women to act as spokespeople in order that they could gain skills in speaking in front of large groups. Problems not only occurred with men dominating, but also 'older' people saying too much at what was a

'youth' conference. Hence the secondary students found that their separate session was the most constructive. Another problem was that many of the large discussions were abandoned when they became too controversial as happened with the debate on women and the discussion concerning the trustworthiness of the media.

The last day was spent organising on-going cooperation. The push for a national centralised young people's peace organisation was rejected. Instead a national youth peace newsletter, to be prepared by a different group each edition, was initiated. The first will be produced by the Canberra group HAPPINESS. A telephone web and national crash-space (accommodation) network were also organised during the conference. By far the most important achievement at the conference was the grouping together of people from all over Australia, the resulting contacts, mutual support, exchange of ideas and friendships which developed over the three days.

**Contact:** Youth peace groups exist, or are being set up, in numerous schools, tertiary campuses and communities around Australia. They operate in a variety of organisational structures and often engage in creative and innovative actions which set them apart from most of the older, established peace movement. For further information and group contacts, ring or write to Jerome Small, 28 Greenway St, Turner, ACT 2601. Tel: (062) 47 7484.



**Plain Truth** examining the moral virtue of Twisted Sister videos, Bob Geldof, and youth protest.

# Stopping the war machine

By Maz Keryn

Australia had one of its first 'Stop the City' actions in Melbourne on 21 May 1985, organised by Young People Against Global Violence, a split-off from Young People for Nuclear Disarmament. The action was named 'A day of protest against the war machine' by its organisers but they said they got the idea from the British anarchists' 'Stop the City' campaign. In 1983 the first such action was called 'to expose the links in the chain between financial institutions and their role in the international arms trade, repression and poverty, ecological destruction and human and animal exploitation.' The main idea behind 'Stop the City' is to encourage people to take their own direct action to disrupt and 'expose the role of financial institutions in their popular and profitable business of militarism and oppression'. This aim was achieved with success all over Britain and especially in London in March 1985. Brisbane is the only Australian city that has had similar campaigns which were part of the free speech rallies organised by the Brisbane anarchists a couple of years ago.

The anarchial principles of affinity group action and the tactic of consensus decision-making were the basis for the actions which took place in Melbourne. Admittedly it was small, comprising only 30 to 40 participants, but we made a racket and did some effective occupations of business houses.

First we occupied the Stock Exchange building disrupting business in the brokers hall, then Western Mining's offices across the road. Rather than be arrested we entered and stayed until the police arrived, then left to go to the next place. This is a good tactic because they cannot arrest without first asking you to leave, so you are free to go on your merry way. Our anti-uranium mining sentiments were voiced loud and clear at the first two stops.

After being lectured by a police commissioner about how we had a right to protest in an organised way with a permit, we continued our disruptive demonstration.

Maz Keryn is a member of Young People Against Global Violence.

Singing and chanting we ran through a few arcades with black flags flying, causing a feeling of exhilaration instead of the usual deadness created by the staleness of the city environment. Then it was on and up to 'The Presidents Club' an elite fitness centre and bistro for businessmen. Chanting 'Sack the Boss, not Workers' we milled around the foyer until the arrival of the police and left without waiting to answer questions from them.

After lunch at Gopal's, a Hare Krishna restaurant, we occupied the Queensland Tourist Bureau to protest against the government's anti-union legislation and its denial at the right to march and free speech. Some video display units got switched off when someone tripped over the wires (snigger).

After this we broke up into affinity groups of four or five and met at the floral clock in the Queen Victoria Gardens. From there we did one last action at the US consulate on St Kilda Road. On the eighth floor we came up against a wall of bullet-proof glass cutting us off from the office of the US consul. He refused to see all of us but agreed to meet a delegation of three of our number.

At this point we were all very tired and so decided to retreat to a place where the day's actions could be discussed and criticised and future activities planned. These type of actions will hopefully become successors to the passive big demonstrations which don't threaten big business.

In the USA, anti-authoritarian groups are calling for participation in events similar to this. The day 29 April this year was called 'No Business as Usual' and is designed 'in making this day hell on earth for tyrants that make life hell for the rest of us every day.' Anarchists in Amsterdam chose 30 April to act against the multinationals. 'Don't hesitate, organise and demonstrate, or hit and run! Factories don't burn down by themselves — they need help from you!' (From a letter sent by an Amsterdam comrade.)

**Contact:** Young People Against Global Violence, c/- Chain Reaction Cooperative, GPO Box 530E, Melbourne, Vic 3001. Tel: (03) 654 5995.

## POLITICAL DIRECTIONS FOR THE PEACE AND ENVIRONMENT MOVEMENTS

The following is an extended version of a letter which was sent to peace and environmental activists around Australia early in 1985. People for Nuclear Disarmament in Western Australia are currently discussing some of the issues raised; and members of Friends of the Earth, (Collingwood, Victoria) have expressed interest as they have debated similar issues recently. We have received a positive response to our decision to publish articles discussing the interconnections between areas of political concern. A number of individuals from a wide range of groups have expressed enthusiasm.

The importance of this sort of project has been well expressed by Susan Keon, Nina Swain and friends:

We cannot separate and compartmentalise actions and issues in our society. While the present system fosters such separation, it is merely a technique for keeping the forces apart that might begin to bring real changes to the world (*Aint No Where We Can Run: a handbook for women on the nuclear mentality*, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, Vermont, USA, 1980, p 1)

Dear friends,

You may be interested to know about a project which is being undertaken by *Chain Reaction* magazine during 1985. In October 1984 several activists organised a meeting of approximately 70 people who had expressed interest in discussing strategies for a socialist ecology (eco-socialism). The *Chain Reaction* collective decided that our contribution to ongoing discussion and debate would be to publish articles on the more general theme of 'political directions for the peace and environment movements'.

We envisage publishing articles which cover different aspects of the debate. The following are possibilities for articles on this general theme; other ideas are welcome.

1. Should peace and environmental activists be assisting in the creation of a world which is not only free from the threat of military and environmental devastation, but also a world where people are not oppressed, or exploited in other ways?
2. Should we only be concerned with how issues affect Australia or should we be concerned with the global situation?
3. Is an analysis of how social inequality is created, maintained and challenged necessary to the peace and environment movements?
4. Should peace and environmental activists in our aims, actions, organisational frameworks and personal politics use the oppressive and exploitative practices which cause discrimination against individuals and groups on the basis of their age, gender, class, sexuality, race, disabilities or cultural background? Are manifestations of the inequalities in society (eg. the control of knowledge, creation of hierarchies, decision-making based on 'expertise') merely reflected in the peace and environment movements or are alternatives being created? How successful have these alternatives been?
5. What methods of opposition are available and which strategies are more effective or appropriate? For example, should the priority of peace and environment groups be lobbying of parliamentarians?
6. Should the 'parliamentary road' (ie using the electoral system, establishing political parties) be used as a strategy for achieving peace, environmental and social harmony? Can the problems associated with parliamentary politics (eg lack of grassroots involvement, rise of party 'leaders', alienation from non-

parliamentary movements, establishment of hierarchies, necessity for political compromises) be minimised in order that an environmental or peace party could achieve its goals? Does the nature of parliamentary politics exclude the possibility of radical change?

7. Are there real and major differences in priorities and working styles between various political groups which prevents a broad-based social movement emerging or can these differences be overcome in practice? What external forces act upon groups to divide them and can the effect of these be eliminated?
8. What are the reasons for people initially becoming involved in environmental and peace movements and what other issues do they or should they be exposed to once they have joined?
9. How do personal relationships affect people's access to or exclusion from groups?

We envisage publishing articles which discuss these issues on both a general and specific level. That is, an article which specifically discusses the nature of racism or sexism and the action to be taken in eradicating it in the peace and environmental movements would be as appropriate as articles which discuss the theoretical relationship of sexism and racism to disarmament and environmentalism. Likewise articles which discuss worker exploitation in peace and environmental offices and how to prevent this would be as appropriate as articles which discuss how worker's rights could be ensured in a peaceful and environmentally sustainable world. It is hoped that where possible both perspectives be combined in one article.

In *Chain Reaction* 41 we published an article by Peter Mares in which he argued that the West German peace movement is struggling to find a new focus and motivation. His stated aim was 'to provoke discussion, especially within social movements in Australia, as I feel there are a great many parallels and a great deal to be learnt from experience made in Germany.'

We also published an article by Anne McMennamin and John Wishart which, in the context of the rise of the Nuclear Disarmament Party (NDP) as an electoral force, argued that to change the

priorities of society a large movement is required. They also described what they believed a broad-based social movement might have as its guiding principles.

In this edition we are continuing the focus on the NDP with an account of the NDP split by Jonathan Goodfield. John Wiseman moves the focus away from the specifics of the split and makes some observations about the more general implications of those events. Jan Bruch discusses some of the problems of attempting to create a coalition and raises some challenging questions as to whether we should embrace new communications technology in order to defeat perpetrators.

In forthcoming editions we intend to continue to provide a forum for discussion of these issues. We seek to give adequate attention to the ideological differences which inform the various perspectives the authors bring to these issues of common concern. While recognising that differing ideological views can sometimes cause conflict, common goals can transcend these differences, and make possible collaboration which will not gloss over nor erode the integrity of these differences. We hope that a richness and depth of discussion will be produced rather than an individual intellectual competition. In line with this, we hope to encourage not only individuals to contribute but also collaborative efforts by joint-authors and groups of people.

If you are interested in this project you could support it by sending suggestions of the sorts of issues that you think should be raised, and by drawing attention to the project to others who may be interested in either following the debate or making contributions. You can also help by subscribing to the magazine if you don't already, or by sending a donation.

To avoid duplication and due to the limitations of space we would prefer if intending authors would send us a brief outline of what they propose to write. This request is not because we wish to restrict access to the magazine but rather to enable the collective plenty of time to discuss various proposals and inform people of article word limits and deadlines.

Looking forward to reading your views.

Sue Armstrong,  
on behalf of *Chain Reaction* Collective

## POLITICAL DIRECTIONS FOR THE PEACE AND ENVIRONMENT MOVEMENTS

# Pandas leave the swamp

By Jonathan Goodfield

The brief existence of the Nuclear Disarmament Party (NDP) as a significant political force has raised many issues for the peace and environment movements, particularly the potential for using the electoral system in ways that had not been seriously considered before the rise of the NDP. Is it possible to learn from the experiences of the NDP in order to improve future attempts to force issues onto the political agenda, or to achieve actual power within the parliamentary system?

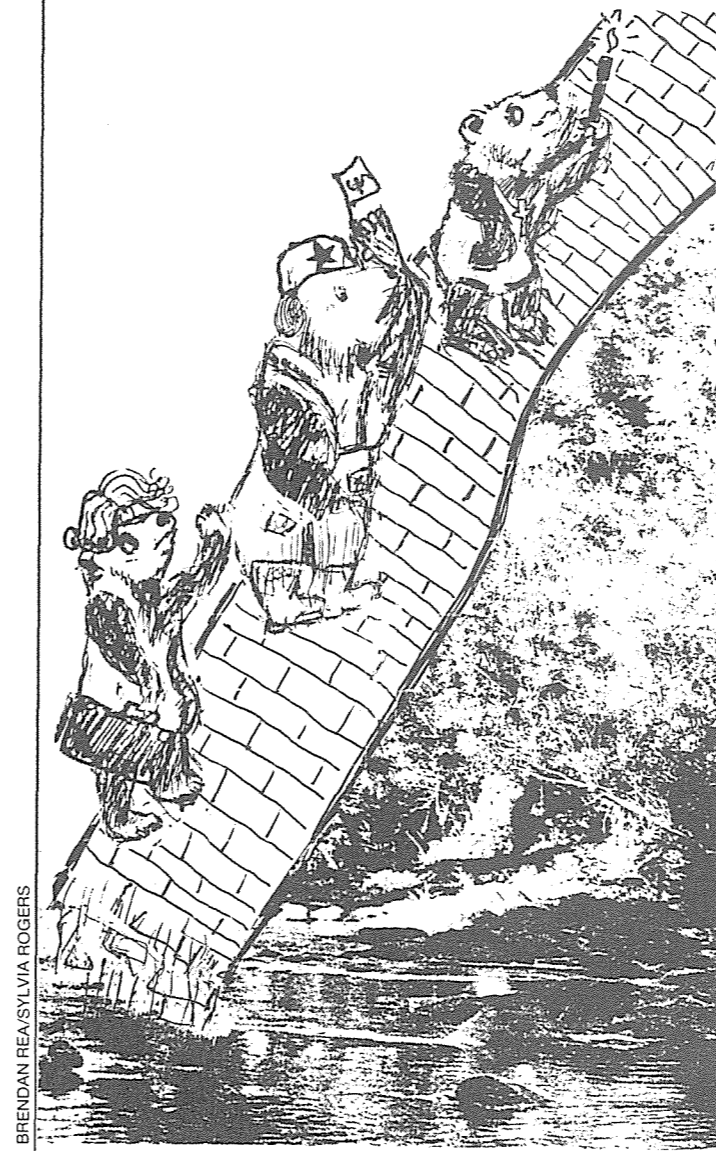
Just over twelve months ago, in Canberra on 17 June 1984, the Nuclear Disarmament Party (NDP) was formed, a single-issue party with the aim of giving 'concerned Australians an opportunity to show our politicians by means of the ballot box that priority must be given to nuclear disarmament'. Its three demands were:

- Close all foreign military bases in Australia
- Prohibit the stationing of nuclear weapons or passage of nuclear weapons through Australian waters or airspace
- Terminate immediately all mining and export of Australian uranium and to repudiate all commitments by previous Australian governments to mining, processing and export of uranium.

The NDP provided an electoral focus for growing disaffection with the ALP, and disillusionment with the prospects for retaining or implementing many of the progressive elements of Labor policy adopted during opposition. The decisions of the 1984 ALP National Conference in July — the re-endorsement of the pro-Roxby uranium policy and the retaining of support for ANZUS, the bases and nuclear warships in Australian ports — highlighted and strengthened this loss of faith among many of its supporters.

The surprise announcement in September of the federal election date in early December forced the NDP into hastily organising a campaign with meagre resources, little opportunity to resolve questions of party structure or to discuss the limitations and implications of their platform. Wide variations existed between state branches in terms of numerical strength, financial resources, political style and experience, and support from the established anti-nuclear movements, which made the task of coordinating a national campaign more difficult.

Jonathan Goodfield is an editor and member of the *Chain Reaction* collective. Thanks to Linnell Secomb and Allan Rees for their assistance with this article.



The party attracted 10 000 members and branches were formed throughout the country, the last in Adelaide only two weeks before the election. In an otherwise 'boring' campaign, the NDP attracted substantial media publicity for their fresh innovative approach and particularly their star, bald-headed Midnight Oil singer, Garrett.

Perhaps the turning point — the point at which the NDP gained legitimacy, momentum and focus — occurred with the announcement of Peter Garrett and Jean Melzer as Senate candidates in NSW and Victoria ... a combination of extraordinarily powerful grassroots enthusiasm (in part from within the base of the ALP) and media attention during the extended eleven week electoral campaign ensured the NDP's growth ... Peter Christoff, 'The Nuclear Disarmament Party', *Arena* 70, 1985)

According to Allan Rees, Kingsford Smith branch coordinator for the NDP, the emergence of the NDP and its growing support had a significant impact on the other parties:

Even the *threat* of controlling the Senate was enough to send the whole lot of the political parties, when they saw the extent of support for the NDP, through an extraordinary amount of gymnastics. Even from the right-wing. Apparently Sinclair [leader of the National Party] in his radio broadcasts to his electorate in Armidale, gives reports on what he's doing for nuclear disarmament.

The NDP received about half a million first preferences for its senate candidates around the country. Its first senator, Jo Vallentine, was elected in Western Australia; and its New South Wales candidate, Garrett, narrowly missed election as the result of an ALP decision to direct preferences to right-wing candidates ahead of the NDP. The combined 'anti-nuclear vote' — the votes for parties with a strong anti-nuclear platform, basically the Democrats and the NDP — was about 1 100 000 in the senate; the Democrats and the NDP received about 15% of the vote in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. The large informal vote in the House of Representatives poll, although open to much interpretation, has been attributed in part to the absence of NDP candidates and the 'protest' vote against the ALP.

The rapid success of the NDP, in particular the election of its first senator, Jo Vallentine, gave a sense of urgency to the need to clarify party structure and policy. A national conference was called for 25—29 April in Melbourne, in an attempt to resolve these questions, and to give Vallentine direction in her role as party representative. However the role of the meeting became increasingly uncertain; Ken Mansell of the Victorian branch, comments:

The National Conference not only pre-empted discussion in this state but effectively precluded the self-determination of the members and rank and file (particularly if they could not afford the forty dollars to attend) ... Accepting the need to have a national conference so early, even a 'non-decision-making' one, was to try to force the formation of a national organisation through the eye of a needle. It seems now that the conference was doomed to be, if not a 'mickey mouse' affair, an unmitigated disaster. (Ken Mansell, 'Making Sense of the NDP split', *Tribune*, 29 May 1985)

The meeting was open to all party members, and about 200 attended, some delegates of their local branches, some as individuals. For many, the meeting was a confusing and intimidating experience, with poor organisation and meeting procedure. Most obvious to some was the attempt by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to 'stack' the meeting; estimates of their numbers ranged from '10 to 11' (Michael Denborough, party founder) up to 70 ('former SWP member'). Certainly their aggressive meeting tactics and presence as a voting bloc did little to ease tensions and allow open debate of differences.

On the third day at about midday on Saturday, after narrowly losing a vote on whether to submit conference decisions to a ballot of all party members, Jo Vallentine and about eighty supporters staged a walk-out of the meeting. Such was the confused atmosphere that many people who remained were not aware of the walk-out until much later, but its implications for the NDP were profound, eventually leading to the resignation of

Vallentine, Garrett, Melzer, and many of their supporters, including entire branches from the party.

The walk-out was described by Ken Mansell as a 'damaging, disruptive and disloyal act ... The damage done ... is incalculable. Reports in the mass media focussed on the 'takeover' bid by the SWP, mostly at the level of 'redbaiting' anti-communism, confirming for many the paranoia of Soviet domination of the peace movement, and probably damaging the NDP's prospects for regaining the level of popular support it had achieved.

Criticism of the SWP also came from sections of the left, including the Communist Party. In an editorial in their weekly *Tribune* of 1 May, 1985, they comment on the NDP split:

Some who stayed (after the walk-out) claim that the issue was the inability of 'leaders' to accept majority decisions which went against them ... But one clear, central fact is indisputable. The SWP has intervened in the NDP in a big and organised way ever since last year's election campaign. Its substantial bloc presence at last week's conference included even its leader, Jim Percy ...

Such intervention by a small but highly-organised group could only have complicated the NDP's already difficult task of deciding its future activities and organisation.

Jim Percy responded to the attacks on the SWP, saying that the real reasons for the split were political differences in regard to strategies to achieve disarmament.

Can we rely overwhelmingly on parliamentary representatives? Many people in the peace movement think this is an inadequate strategy. Yet it has increasingly been the emphasis of both Peter Garrett and Jo Vallentine ... Those people didn't want open discussion of such issues ... They decided to cover their retreat from what the NDP had been and should be by an assault on the SWP ...

The charge that we stacked the conference is absurd. It wasn't even a delegated conference ... We more or less stumbled into being scapegoats for the leaders' walk-out. Because we are a national party, and therefore a national network of activists, we managed to know what was going on in the NDP ...

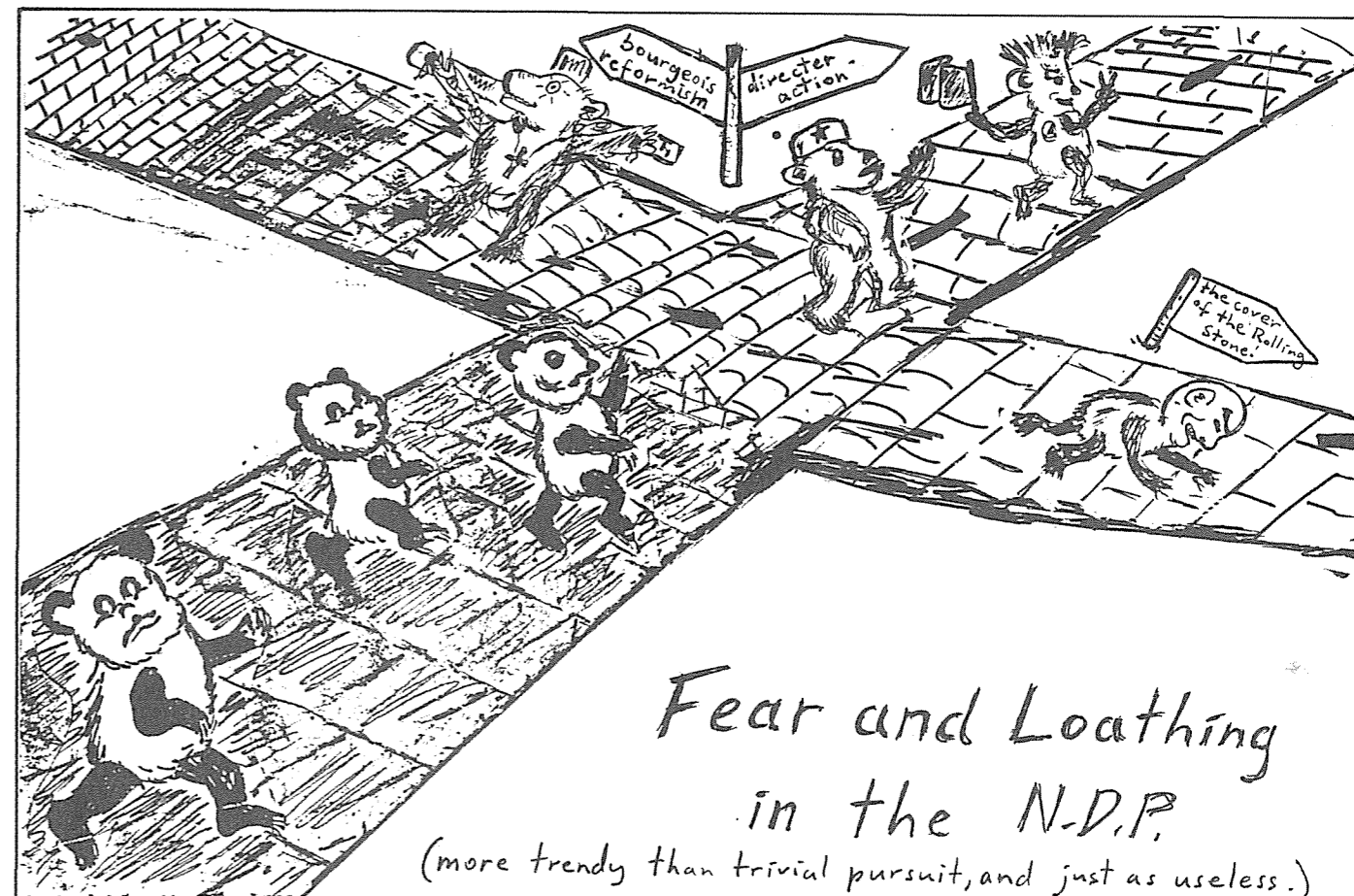
Of course we have members who are politically experienced ... They knew how not to be manipulated or intimidated by the media megastars. We came to be identified as a strong part of the pro-democratic opposition, but we were only a small part of it. (*Direct Action*, 8 May 1985)

The SWP has given the NDP a lot of support and many of its members worked very hard on the election campaign. But apart from their genuine opposition to uranium mining, the bases and nuclear arms, they had other reasons for being in the NDP. One of these, says Allan Rees, was 'to get the NDP to fit their definition of it':

They defined the party as a new formation to the left of the Labor Party. There were a lot of people who were active and prominent in the party who weren't to the left of the Labor Party. Maybe the SWP didn't want the split, but certainly they wanted to isolate and defeat the previous leadership. I hold them responsible for their activities in pushing the party to the split, particularly in Sydney. They've organised and manipulated within the party, they've spread rumours about people being Liberals who were about to sell out on Pine Gap. They stacked meetings, and at these meetings they pushed very hard.

I don't think Garrett and company should have left. I don't think they should have accepted that an open meeting of 200 people in a party of 10 000 should lead them to leave the party. But I hold the SWP responsible for pushing those people so far that they didn't feel that they could get a fair go afterwards.

Central to the tensions leading up to the split was the 'proscription' debate, the question of the rights of members of other parties who were members of the NDP. Active within the NDP were members of other left-wing parties besides the SWP, as well as members of the ALP, the Australian Democrats and even the National Party. Moves to restrict their involvement in the party, either barring them from the party entirely or from being candidates, office bearers and delegates, were attempted in various branches around the country following the federal



election. The proscription moves were contrary in some ways to the concept of the NDP as a broad coalition, in particular as a focus for ALP members to bring nuclear issues onto the political agenda, as envisaged by some of the founders of the party.

Perhaps indicative of the significant conservative element within the NDP, some of these moves rested on fears of a left-wing takeover, but many supporters of proscription expressed a feeling that conflicts of loyalty were inevitable if an NDP member also belonged to any other party, and this would eventually make the NDP unworkable. (It is rumoured that members of the Democrats stacked the meeting that decided to exchange preferences with the Democrats.)

Jo Vallentine, in a letter to NDP members following the conference, reflects these sentiments:

Having been elected by a broad cross-section of voters to work solely for the issue of nuclear disarmament, I could not in all conscience represent the SWP or any other party and I certainly was not prepared to be manipulated by them.

The proscription debate became central to the tensions within the NDP prior to the conference, and to some extent reduced the broader questions of party decision-making structure to tactical battles. Opponents of the proscription felt, for example, that it would be easier to lose if the question was decided by postal referendum of party members rather than by delegates of party branches.

Ken Mansell feels that the over-emphasis on organisational questions lead to the split:

In Victoria at least it seemed that the main differences that had emerged in the period leading up to the conference were differences over organisation ... as distinct from discussion of action, campaigns and strategies ...

The bottom line for many NDP activists — from both the left and the right — is provided by the deep-seated fear of the consequences for the NDP if it were not to oppose, or be seen to be opposing, the Soviet

nuclear arsenal as much as that of the US ... If the 'Soviet Question' had been explicit in the debate, prior to and during the conference, it would have been obvious to everyone that the SWP politically is a minority within the movement and the NDP, and the would-be defectors would have been robbed of their rationale for the walk-out.

The weeks following the conference saw the resignation of Garrett and Vallentine, along with many of their supporters. The entire West Australian branch, as well as many other branches including most of north, south and west Sydney were lost. A new group — Peace and Nuclear Disarmament Action (PANDA) — was formed, defining itself not as a political party, but a support group for Vallentine.

After working to obtain a postal ballot on the proscription issue in the Victorian branch, Jean Melzer resigned from the NDP in early June. She plans to work with the PANDA groups to form a new party which would carry on the aims of the NDP, but which would not be 'anti-American'

Allan Rees summarised the outcome of the split as follows:

I think the NDP was torn between two leadership cults. Garrett was not naive so much as showing very tough leadership to leave and split the organisation, taking as many members as he could. We don't really know what the membership position is going to be once the whole split has subsided. It may be that PANDA and the NDP end up with 10% of the previous membership and 80% saying 'that was a real mess, wasn't it'.

While those that remain within the NDP constitute a more left-leaning group, they are by no means all uncritical of the SWP. Proscription moves, and other organisational questions continue to be discussed, despite attempts by the SWP to force them off the agenda with a 'business as usual' attitude.

Meanwhile, outside the party, debates continue on the significance of the NDP's rapid success. Was it an aberration on the political landscape, or the first step in the formation of a radical broad-based coalition capable of gaining popular support and parliamentary representation?

# New lights in a darkening landscape?

'It is better to light one candle than to curse the darkness' (Quaker saying)

By John Wiseman

Imagine, if you will, several thousand conversations going on around Australia, over dinner, at work, in pubs or after meetings. The conversation has started with someone talking about how saddened they were by the Nuclear Disarmament Party (NDP) split or how dismayed they are by the continuing contortions of the Hawke government. Perhaps the conversation has moved on to the prospects of the peace movement and the possibilities of some new political gathering in Australia — a gathering that might be called a Green Party.

Someone in the group says: 'Look, I reckon we've come to some sort of watershed in this country. On the one hand you've got this massive disenchantment with the ALP. On the other you've got this whole range of social movements and single issue groups and that's where people are really putting their energy. Look at the sort of force you'd have if all the people in those movements found enough common ground to work together. The NDP vote in the last election was only a start. I reckon the time has come.'

A second person listens carefully but shakes their head. 'It's a lovely idea but it's just not on. Look how hard it was for the NDP to hold together. It'd be impossible with all those other issues and movements. Besides, public opinion's getting more conservative in this country — not less. So maybe you could get a million people gathered round some sort of green banner. Meanwhile the New Right's accelerating like a steamroller. We'll have a Liberal government worse than Thatcher in a few years time unless Labor can hang on. And then what will happen with land rights or disarmament or childcare or environmental issues? It's crazy at the moment to be talking of green parties. You're talking about ditching the only hope that most people have — particularly if they're unemployed or homeless or on the assembly line. And what's your alternative program? It's like the NDP — all fine principles but there's no depth, no detail, just a dream.'

A third person cuts in. 'I don't know. I can see why you're both  
*John Wiseman has been involved in the peace movement in Melbourne for the past five years.*

right and both wrong. What the NDP did was terrific but the problems it's had are pretty telling. What worries me is how you get anything new going without those meetings where people are clawed to bits and the last one standing wins. All the same I agree with what the German Greens say in their program: "The destruction of the very basis of life and work and the demolition of democratic rights have reached such a threatening scale as to make necessary a fundamental alternative in economics, politics and society."

There are several points to make about these imaginary conversations. First of all they are not imaginary. They are going on all over the country and their frequency is increasing. There are indeed a lot of new questions being asked and new links being made. It would be wrong to overestimate the numbers of people involved but it would be equally wrong to underestimate the importance of these discussions. We are at a political watershed and the decisions we come to now will deeply affect all our lives and perhaps our survival.

Secondly, while such discussions have many starting points, the electoral impact of the NDP and its subsequent difficulties has certainly sparked a good deal of thought about the possibilities and the problems of creating a new political initiative in this country.

This is not an article about the rights and wrongs of the NDP split or the specific problems facing the NDP and those who have left it. These issues are well canvassed elsewhere in this magazine. Rather what I want to do here is to take up some of the broader questions raised by the rise of the NDP; in particular the implications for the peace movement, the ALP and the value and potential of some form of green party.

## The NDP and the peace movement

Many Australians and much of the media tend to see the NDP and the peace movement as identical. This is of course far from true and the NDP was only one (particularly visible) manifestation of the fears and hopes of all those people committed to resisting the nuclear arms race, for many reasons and in many ways. Even the size of the NDP vote is no real indication of the size of the Australian 'peace movement', for that would have to include many of those who voted Democrat or stuck with the ALP.

It is also important to remember that the NDP did not rise out of a vacuum. It focussed, but did not create, a broad groundswell of anti-nuclear protest built up by peace, environmental, church, union and women's groups over a long period of time. Yet the peace movement as a whole was also strengthened by the way in which the NDP campaign raised the anti-nuclear issues onto the centre of the political stage. One of the NDP's greatest achievements was to show that the depth of feeling over nuclear disarmament could be formed into a cutting edge which major parties and the media could no longer ignore.

This leads to the first of a number of issues which are currently facing the peace movement and which have been affected by the rise of the NDP. There has always been considerable tension in any movement for social change between those who see change coming primarily through the parliamentary process and those who place far greater emphasis on changing cultural values, or 'the parliament of the streets', on education and on civil disobedience. This dilemma is particularly acute in relation to nuclear disarmament because of the appalling urgency of the issue. The answer, I would argue, lies in a sensitive mixture of the two with a continuing concentration of energy on winning broad popular support rather than manoeuvrings within political parties.

If such broad support is indeed to be won then the peace movement also needs to be aware that the nuclear disarmament debate is moving to a new phase in Australia. Solely raising the awareness of the danger is no longer enough.

The peace movement has long called for a serious public debate about Australia's involvement in the nuclear arms race and ANZUS. That debate is now well under way and the pro-nuclear and pro-ANZUS forces are conducting an energetic and effective campaign. It is therefore more urgent than ever that we have clear and convincing rebuttals to the deterrence argument. We must show that the case for unilateral initiatives such as that taken by New Zealand are far from naive and that they are essential contributions towards a nuclear-free Pacific region, based on principles of genuine security and sovereignty. As part of this we must be able to articulate credible and detailed alternatives to the false security of relying on the shelter of the nuclear umbrella for our defence.

In addition the principles of 'Disarmament Now — East and West' have to be seen as fundamental. This does not mean that the Soviet and US role in fuelling the arms race can be simply equated. It is true that, since Hiroshima, the USA has led the upward spiral of nuclear weapons technology at almost every turn. Reagan's chilling references to the 'Evil Empire' are both repugnant and potentially lethal. But Soviet nuclear weapons and nuclear strategy must still be resisted with equal determination. So, too, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has to be strongly opposed just as the US role in the Philippines or Nicaragua must be. Both are denials of self-determination. Both too increase the dangers of the Cold War and the likelihood of nuclear confrontation. One more point on this subject — the freedom to speak out and to protest has to be defended as a basic precondition for all who are determined to resist the arms race.

The peace movement also needs to take note of the difficulties that the NDP had with the attacks on it as a 'single issue party'. The NDP response was that 'no other issue will matter if we do not overcome the nuclear threat'. The appalling truth of this argument does require the peace movement to maintain, as its primary task, opposition to Australia's role in preparations for nuclear war. But at the same time it is vital that the various groupings within the peace movement become more effective at demonstrating the connections between nuclear disarmament and issues such as those of environment destruction, social justice, patriarchal relationships, land rights and self-determination for the peoples of the Pacific.

Considerable sensitivity will be required by the peace movement

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in working out its ongoing relationship with those who have stayed in and those who have left the NDP. The answer must surely lie in the continuing role of People for Nuclear Disarmament as a diverse coalition providing mutual support to all those who are pursuing anti-nuclear objectives.

At the moment it is hard to see how the objectives of the peace movement will finally be achieved except through the actions of a Labor government, as has occurred in New Zealand. The important point however about New Zealand is that it was not only a matter of a determined peace movement winning broad support. The Labor Party itself took a role in shifting and leading public opinion. While there are important exceptions, the ALP as a whole seems to have little desire to pursue this path. The NDP's success was largely a result of bitter frustration at the cynical short-sightedness of the Hawke approach. The continuation of such an approach will surely lead to more initiatives of the NDP variety, perhaps on a broader basis.

## The ALP — part of the problem? Or part of the solution?

The electoral success of the NDP is now generally perceived as a clear sign that a significant number of people are deeply disenchanted with the ALP's performance on nuclear disarmament issues. Since the election there have been some signs that this message has not been completely ignored, with the MX decision the most notable example. Perhaps Bob Hawke might now be a little more cautious about claiming that it didn't matter how many walls were painted or how many people marched — because he didn't need anyone to tell him about nuclear disarmament.

Fundamentally, though, little has changed, at least in terms of government policy. Roxby is going ahead, Kim Beazly tells us we



must have nuclear warship visits, New Zealand is quietly pressured or, at best, left to stew, and ANZUS is unquestionable. So the disenchantment no doubt remains.

But there is disenchantment too over a wide range of other issues. No-one seems now to disagree when it is said that this is the most conservative Labor government in Australian history. Here is a government whose idea of taxation reform is to tax bread at the same rate as caviar. It is a government which has ignored or replaced its party policies on uranium, on land rights, on foreign banks, on the Daintree, on the importance of childcare and education. In return we are offered the Hawke razor gang and appeals to the sanctity of economic growth.

But look, it is said, this is only one side. The Franklin was saved, unemployment has at least been 'stabilised', real wages more or less maintained, and Medicare introduced. There is, it is said, in the Accord real opportunity for workers to be involved in major economic decision making. In the long term, we could aim to be a sort of southern Sweden. Maybe. A Pacific England looks just as likely.

For while the reforms of this government and the possibilities of the Accord cannot simply be ignored. It seems also that the ground is being prepared for the return of a Liberal government which will really take the road marked out by Thatcher and Bjelke-Petersen. How else can we understand the longterm implication of our banks and our industries being deregulated and 'opened up' to the 'rigours of international competition'? What other vision of the future can be seen in all this except that of Australia as a quarry, an agri-business, a financial clearing house for South East Asia and 'a suitable piece of real estate' for US nuclear facilities? What vision does all this 'restructuring' really offer to those who make up our growing 'under-society' of the poor and the unemployed?

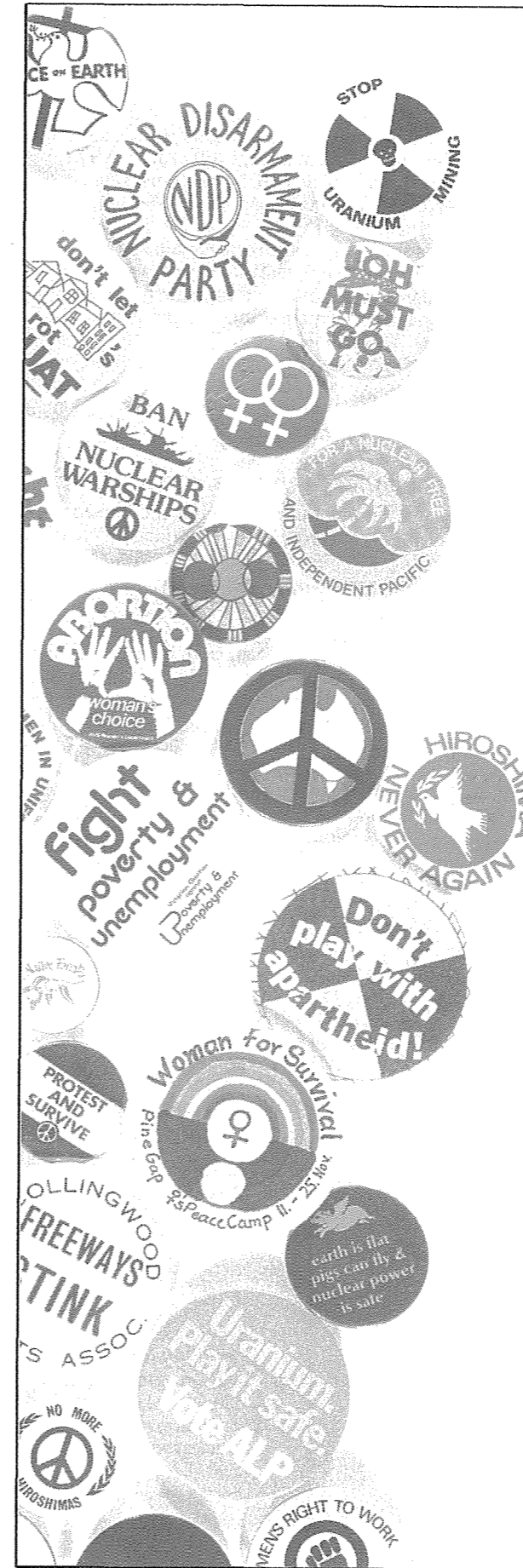
Think too of the bitter reaction that would greet you if you tried to apply John Curtin's words to the Hawke Labor government:

I believe the inspiration for change, for progress, for all that demonstrates the best in the Australian people lies in the Labor Movement. It has no concern with big business and it stands for humanity as against material gain and has more resilience, more decency and dignity and the best of human qualities than any other political movement.

The apparent conservatism of 'swinging voters' cannot simply be ignored but the ALP also needs to remember that, while principles and vision without power may be fruitless, power for its own sake is likely to become sterile and poisonous. The NDP has demonstrated the power of a social movement turning to electoral politics. Perhaps it is time for the ALP to look back the other way to recognise that to achieve substantive, lasting change in the nuclear disarmament area or anywhere else, it must not only reflect and follow mainstream opinion as expressed in the questionable messages of the opinion polls. Rather, party members and politicians must re-engage with the wider processes of debate and activism so as to help form and challenge public opinion.

It is not only a matter of remaking connections with the 'grassroots', though that too is essential. It is also a matter of regaining the sense that the arena of political debate and struggle extends far beyond Canberra and the polling booth. Many ALP and union members have always been the backbone of local community action groups and broad social movements. But somewhere (perhaps in the tortuous calculations of some sections of the ALP right) the importance of such 'popular' political involvement and action has been lost.

Some would say that it has been irretrievably lost. My own view is that it is important not to see the Labor Party or the labour movement as monolithic. There are many within it who remain determined to regain a sense of 'lights on the hill', and the struggles that will be needed to move towards them. The time



however is running out. Perhaps the next ALP federal conference will provide some clearer indication of the prospects. Meanwhile, mounting disenchantment and disillusionment can lead to withdrawal and apathy. Or it can lead to the search for new alternatives.

### The greening of Australia

If our hopes are no longer to be pinned to the forms or traditions of the Labor Party, what then is the alternative?

For many it is some form of Green Party, based on the West German model of an 'up wing', 'third force', closely tied to the grassroots social movements. As with the German Greens (*Die Grunen*) it would presumably be founded on the principles of what Murray Bookchin calls 'social ecology';

the conviction that the very concept of dominating nature stems from the domination of human by human, indeed on women by men, of the young by their elders, of one ethnic group by another, of society by state, of the individual by bureaucracy, as well as of one economic class by another, or a colonised people by a colonial power.

Thus, as with *Die Grunen*, the four basic principles of such an alternative might be summarised as 'ecological, nonviolent, grassroots democratic, and socially just'. The aim would thus be to bring together all those movements and individuals who support such principles. They would form what Rudolf Bahro has called a 'grand alliance', tolerant of differences and 'non-hierarchical' in process.

If, as seems likely, *Die Grunen* is to be the model, then electoral success would probably be seen as part of a much broader strategy. The overall objective would be a fundamental change in cultural values starting with a 'great refusal' by each individual to cooperate with the politics of unquestioned economic growth, boundless consumerism, ecological devastation and nuclear terror. The alternative might include a vision of a society founded on decentralised decision-making and 'self-managing' economic and social collectives. As these were developed they could provide examples of the way in which the principles of social ecology could be lived out in everyday life.

As people come to see the attractiveness and sanity of the green alternative a process of 'conversion' or 'cultural revolution' would occur. Combined, where necessary, with the tactics of nonviolent resistance, the current forms of political, economic, sexual, racial and environmental domination would be peacefully but comprehensively overcome.

There are many who see such a development as both essential and feasible, pointing to the possibilities of a coalition between NDP and Democrat supporters combined with disenchanted sections of the Labor movement, the Left and even the Liberal Party. In terms of parliamentary politics, they point to the likelihood of a three-way split between the Liberals, the remnants of the ALP and the green alternative.

While I agree wholeheartedly with the urgent need for an alternative vision which reflects many of the basic principles espoused by green politics I would agree that the current proposals for green parties still raise more questions than answers.

Firstly, there is the question of economics. Many 'greens' would agree that it is the dominance of 'economic' thinking that has got us into this mess. We should therefore be talking of ecological, not economic, principles. Now this is certainly true if what is meant to be economics is an image of Paul Keating or John Howard calculating economic growth solely on the basis of increasing material consumption. But we still need to know how goods and services are going to be produced and distributed. We also need to know who is going to make decisions about priorities. This is the real meaning of economics and its implications cannot be simply wished away. What is needed in fact is an economics in which human and ecological values are

paramount. This may well mean moving to a 'conservative society' where qualitative growth is at least as important as quantitative growth. It is certainly clear that there is no longterm future in endlessly expanding the exploitation of limited resources or in more and more people being able to buy more and more video recorders or cars or microwaves.

The trouble is that what green economics tends to mean at present is a long philosophical statement of desirable goals. Sometimes this is followed by an argument in favour of cooperatives or the employment possibilities to be found in energy conservation or recycling. These are fine ideals, but a good deal more substance will be required before the majority of working people or the unemployed are likely to be convinced.

It is even less likely that Third World people are going to leap at the idea of turning away from industrialisation or economic growth until they can see an alternative which offers a real prospect of escaping from grinding poverty and starvation. The German Greens tend to argue that it would be disastrous for Third World countries to attempt to emulate the industrial growth of the developed nations. This would, it is argued, place potentially catastrophic pressures on the environment, and lead to a further escalation of military confrontations. The only hope is thus seen as equalising the international distribution of resources and to 'break off the pinnacle' of industrial development in the rich, developed countries.

In all of this there is a tendency to put the blame on industrialisation and technological progress. The pervasive belief that human progress can be equated with increased consumption is real and does need to be challenged. But this challenge needs to be combined with an understanding of the role played by the corporate managers for the bureaucrats of the 'Central Plan'. Words like 'capital' and 'class' are viewed with grave suspicion by many greens. Yet without an understanding of the forces involved in decisions about investment or economic priorities it is hard to see how the green ideals are to be implemented, particularly given the magnitude of the resistance that is likely to be encountered.

On a different note, it is also important to remember that the German Greens arose from a long process of trial and error across a whole range of alternative, 'green' issues and localised campaigns. Unlike the NDP, exhaustive discussions were held before the move into electoral politics to try to ensure that the attractions of parliamentary power were kept in perspective and were tied back to the hard slog of broader and deeper social change. Even so the German Greens have got into increasingly disturbing tangles about the relation between social movements and political parties and the rights and wrongs of entering into coalition governments with traditional (and pro-nuclear) social democratic parties.

Finally it is also vital to look at the prospects for any alternative or green politics in the light of circumstances and conditions which are unique to Australia. The most obvious of these is an electoral system which makes it extremely difficult for new political parties to get off the ground. Thus, while it is possible to deliver a protest vote (as with the NDP) or even to get a few voices in the Senate (such as Jo Vallentine and the Democrat senators) it is much harder to see how a genuinely alternative third party could avoid being crushed by the other two parties.

Connected with this is the need for a long hard look at the likely electoral effect of the advent of a third party with significant support. Various outcomes are possible but it seems likely that in the short term at least it would tend to benefit the conservative parties. A judgement on such matters depends, in the end, on how much value is to be placed on keeping the Liberals out, no matter how conservative the Labor Party is seen to be.

More broadly, the 'political geography' of Australia needs to

be taken into account. Many Australians still perceive us as a lucky country, sufficiently isolated to be able to avoid the worst effects of economic or environmental disasters. This myth is being dispelled as we become (thanks partly to Keating and friends) increasingly linked to the international finance markets. On the environmental side though, there is still a lot of space for acid rain to disperse into, and it may be that environmental dangers are not perceived as seriously, or at least in the same way, as they are in Europe.

While such doubts and questions as these remain it is unlikely that the majority of working people will turn away from the party and the unions of the labour movement, no matter how short-sighted and inadequate such organisations are on nuclear and environmental issues. This may well be less true for those most excluded from Hawke's consensus, particularly the unemployed. Even so, I am yet to be convinced that the immediate priority is for a green party to take on the shackles and compromising obligations of direct electoral involvement.

### *The patchwork banners — purple, red and green*

If there are still some serious questions about the immediate prospects of a green party, there is still no doubt about the urgency of developing new 'lights on the hill'. We are still struggling to find the words which convey a sense of vision inspiring enough to mobilise people beyond the margins of single issue social movements.

Surely an alternative vision must be green in its emphasis on the fundamental importance of ecological principles. Surely, too, it must be red in that it rises from the inspirations of working men and women, the poor and the unemployed and is based on a solid understanding of the forces which they struggle against. The vision must also be purple. There can be no alternative which rests on the domination of women or which fails to recognise the necessity of overcoming patriarchal relationships and structures. And there will be other colours too — the Koorie flag for example, and those of many Third World liberation movements.

Perhaps what we have to recognise is that no single banner is sufficient; that what is needed is a sea of banners brought together on common ground. For, as any ecologist will tell you, there is great strength in diversity.

There is a need therefore to respect diversity and yet also to develop a sense of the way in which all our concerns are deeply intertwined. That does not mean there will always be agreement. There are real differences in priorities and processes which cannot be easily resolved.

How for example, are the goals of economic and social justice to be related to those of a conservative society and a 'steady state' economy? How are we to balance the aims of non-hierarchical, decentralised decision-making with the need to take account of the magnitude of the problems and the resistance we face. For we can be sure that the political power brokers and the corporate managers will not sit back while the alternative movement tries to reach consensus.

Yet there is no alternative except to energetically explore the possibilities and limitations of common ground, to foster trust, communication and mutual support between the full range of alternative social movements and groupings. Through this process it will also be essential to move from a wish list of fine principles to more detailed transitional programs and to continually challenge the stifling facade of the Hawke consensus.

Finally, however, the greatest challenge of all is that taken up by the NDP — to overcome the threat of nuclear war, starting by ending Australia's contribution to that threat. The NDP may well have been a shooting star but it has also been a rekindler of hope and a reminder of the necessity of moving from dinner table conversations to reflection and action that can lead us out of the threatening landscape which now faces us.

# Green and red peace

By Jan Bruck

The articles on the West German peace movement and the Australian environment movement in the last issue of Chain Reaction\* address issues of fundamental importance for the future of political struggle. I would like to add a few comments to the debate.

There can be no doubt that the environment and peace movements have had major successes and achievements by creating a greater awareness of ecological problems and the dangers of nuclear defence among large sections of the world's population. Political decisions are being monitored and subjected to critical debate, and mechanisms of resistance have been developed putting strong pressure on political leaders and decision-makers. Yet, with all the progress and success, a feeling of uncertainty has set in, stemming from the realisation that despite all the struggles, despite the change of political consciousness and the breadth of resistance, the destruction of the environment and build-up of nuclear arms continue at a rapid pace. The movements seem to have arrived at an impasse: dwindling numbers at rallies, the futility of much political action, and problems connected with alternative party politics are highlighting the need for new directions. But the question is, where to go from here?

The authors suggest that the alternative movements have to become more *political* by addressing the economic and social *causes* responsible for the destruction of nature and the exploitation of people. The ecology and peace movements, so they argue, need to join forces with the socialist movement and attack the structures of the capitalist system as a whole, with all its problems and deficiencies — poverty, unemployment, unequal distribution of wealth, discrimination etc.

The proposal to combine alternative and socialist strategies, to form a green and red coalition, is theoretically convincing. It would be the obvious way out of the present impasse. Yet, it is highly unlikely that such a coalition is possible at the moment, for a number of reasons. Firstly, alternative and radical groups are so disunited and splintered that it is difficult to imagine any of them merging in the near future. Secondly, the gap between environmentalists and socialists has widened, and the majority of green peace activists could

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not be persuaded to adopt socialist principles. Recent dissent within the Green Party in West Germany and in the Nuclear Disarmament Party in Australia demonstrate this clearly. Thirdly, socialist policies have been so discredited in the past ten years that the radical Left (or whatever is left of it) is being pushed to the fringe. The shift in the labour parties of most Western countries towards the centre (or the right) has resulted in the rejection of many socialist principles.

Obviously, the Western parliamentary system does not allow the formation of a truly revolutionary party which develops democratic grassroots decision-making and is not drawn into the power games of the establishment. The goodwill and radical intentions of a few idealistic and committed groups are not sufficient; a radical political party could only emerge in a revolutionary situation, brought about by a profound economic and political crisis which affects the basic organisation of society and weakens the established powers to the extent that they can be overthrown. Few of those who support the goals of the alternative movements seem to want to see that happen, and there is of course no guarantee that a revolutionary situation would necessarily lead to the formation of a more democratic political system.

Despite the unlikelihood of radical political change at the moment there is no cause for resignation. The struggle will go on, and every action, every group, every person counts. The direction in which the alternative movements should be heading cannot be defined through mere theoretical speculation. It has to be worked out through the democratic interaction and participation of all those concerned, and is the result of continuous struggle on all fronts. There are just one or two suggestions which I would like to make in relation to the future of that struggle.

Alternative and radical groups need to be more collaborative and interactive. In the present competitive climate, a lot of valuable energy is being burnt up in internal faction fighting and external rivalries, which has the effect of weakening solidarity and veiling the common cause. Even if the red and green movements do not join forces in the near future, they must learn to overcome mutual distrust and prejudice and be more prepared to listen to and learn from each other. This means, first and foremost, communicating more efficiently.

One major cause responsible for the disunity and lack of communication among radical and alternative groups is the crisis in the medium of communication itself, brought about by the transition from literate discourse (print culture) to the electronic media. Literate discourse has become rather ineffective as a political weapon and a means of mass communication because it is too diversified, inaccessible and only reaches the converted. There are too many competing publications which only serve to separate the alternative community rather than helping towards their interaction and integration. The time is ripe for the diverse groups and minorities to communicate across their territorial boundaries.

In order to reach a wider basis and audience, more effective use needs to be made of the electronic media. Despite the obvious domination by commercial interests and government control, the electronic media have already helped to spread the cause of alternative movements and of a more critical political discourse (they are less forthcoming as far as explicit socialist politics and marxist theory is concerned): the televised images of protest, occupations, rallies, as well as debates, analyses and comments on radio and television are an important factor in the creation of public awareness and mass support. The path to revolutionary social and political change can not lead past the electronic media.

One of the most important technological innovations of our age, the computer, has not yet been utilised at all. The computer need not be a mere instrument of centralized



control (the Orwellian 'big brother') which deprives us of our privacy and functions as a surveillance apparatus. It has the potential to counter the system of established power by making public what until now has largely been secret and inaccessible — a lot of military, economic and political information. With its great storage capacity, fast flow of information and multiple feedback and input it could provide an excellent network of communication for alternative and radical groups, as well as local communities and minorities. At present, such alternative use of the computer is severely limited because of costs, lack of know-how and the tight control on data banks. But it is, I would argue, indispensable that the alternative movements learn to tune into the computer system and begin to set up their own network. It would add a new dimension to the symbolic political acts such as demonstrations and rallies and improve communication and cooperation worldwide. Activists and sympathisers with a knowledge of and access to computers should begin to work in this direction, so that the computer-literate generation which is now growing up can make effective use of it in the future.

Current developments in communications, both global and interpersonal, have increasing significance for peace and environment programs. As the continued (though diminishing) use of literate discourse combines with the improved uses of electronic media and computerised communication, the commonality of the issues concerning peace, environment and socio-economic structures becomes more perceptible, and the basis for fruitful interaction beyond the traditional territorial boundaries can be laid.

\* Peter Mares, 'Head counts: The demise of the peace movement in West Germany or a search for new directions?'; Anne McMenamin and John Wishart, 'Towards a red and green coalition', *Chain Reaction* 41.

BRENDAN REA



Annette Rice, Welatye-Therre, near Alice Springs, April 1983.

C. ALLEN

# Two hundred years, too long

When the Labor Party was elected to government in 1983, it was hoped a new age in the struggle for Aboriginal rights, particularly land rights, was beginning. The ALP came to power with positive, progressive policies which should have seen more, belated, justice for Australia's indigenous people. But just two years later the policies are in tatters; there is bitterness, acrimony and distrust between Aboriginals and the government; and the National Aboriginal

Conference (NAC), the so-called black parliament, has been disbanded (in July 1985).

The ALP policy, prior to achieving government, rested on five main points:

- Aboriginal land to be held under inalienable freehold title.
- Sacred sites to be protected.
- Aboriginals to control mining on Aboriginal land.
- Royalties to be paid from any mining that does take place.
- Compensation to be negotiated for lost land.

These five points have been

gradually watered down and the power of veto over mining, as well as royalty payments, appear to have been abandoned. Although Aboriginal groups have managed to achieve a deferral of federal legislation until early in 1986, nothing has been gained and there are no promises.

Aboriginal policy appears to have collapsed under the same sorts of pressures as most other Labor policies, in this case from the mining and rural industries and state governments, particularly the ALP government in

Western Australia.

After assuming office the Western Australian Labor government commissioned a report on land rights from Paul Seaman. The report, although defective in some respects, outlined a sound basis for an equitable land rights law. Its main recommendations were:

- The right to claim freehold title over reserves, missions, vacant crown land, national parks and unused public land.
- Aboriginals to have the final say on mining and exploration on their land.
- A reorganisation of the Kimberley's pastoral boundaries to achieve a more equitable redistribution between whites and blacks.
- A restructuring and strengthening of sacred sites legislation to allow more black control.

Once delivered the report was promptly thrown out by the government which instead prepared legislation to:

- Exclude unused public lands and national parks from land claims. (This effectively dispossessed the Nyungurs of southern Western Australia.)
- Disallow any veto power on mining and exploration.
- Allow only small exclusions from pastoral lands in the Kimberleys under 30-year leases.
- Alter sacred sites legislation to give companies virtually open access to all land.

This legislation is the product of concerted pressure exerted over the state government by powerful mining companies who have mounted a racist campaign opposing land rights. Even this legislation did not go far enough for the Liberals, who blocked its passage in the Western Australian upper house in mid-April 1985.

Concerned that measures to prevent land rights in Western

Australia may be overridden by federal legislation (the federal government has constitutional responsibilities for Aboriginal affairs), the Western Australian government had for some time been pressuring Canberra to prevent the implementation of their five-point policy, and in late January 1985 apparently gained federal blessing for their legislation. At the same time the Northern Territory government has been eroding whatever gains Aboriginals have achieved there in recent years by removing some land from possible claims and demanding longterm proven residence prior to claims being allowed. Both these restrictions are unacceptable, but the federal government did nothing to prevent them. They are presently shelved pending the outcome of a High Court challenge.

As a culmination of these events, on Monday, 13 May 1985, 600 Aboriginals from all over Australia converged on Parliament House in Canberra to protest against the inadequacies of the federal government's proposed 'uniform' land rights model. An open letter to



Tribal elders demonstrate in Canberra for land rights, May 1985.

ALP Caucus members from the Northern Land Council summed up the opinion of the Aboriginal community:

Not even the most liberal interpretations of the government's preferred National Land Rights model could suggest that it is not a direct sell-out of the spirit and letter of the government's undertakings and obligations towards Aboriginal people.

Prior to this, during the 1984 federal election campaign, the NAC took the unusual step of sponsoring a modest series of advertisements in the Canberra media. The ads had a general theme of the history of the relationship between black and white in Australia — and they questioned what that relationship is likely to be in 1988 — the year non-Aboriginal Australia celebrates 200 years of 'progress and achievement'.

NAC chair, **Rob Riley**, gave a speech to the National Press Club in Canberra on 11 October 1984, on the importance of adequate Aboriginal land rights to improving the relationship between white and black. Below is an edited version of the speech.

**Is our future relationship to be** marked by accelerated conflict and confrontation, or is it to be one of negotiated peaceful co-existence? This should be a question of the most vital concern to all Australians. The NAC has accepted 1988 as the year by which this question must be answered, not because of White Australia's planned celebrations, but because that year marks 200 years of the suppression of the rights of the Aboriginal people — and we think 200 years is enough. Frankly, if by 1988 those rights are not recognised and in large measure restored, then we must conclude that consultation with government is a waste of time, and that White Australia have not met their obligations, and that other more direct measures are called for. I leave it to you to imagine what those other measures might be.

The Australian government, through the Bi-Centenary Authority, has made an effort to consult with the Aboriginal people, particularly the NAC, on how Aboriginal participation in the bicentenary can be encouraged. We have been prepared to go along with this on the understanding that our involvement is conditional on stronger measures being taken by government and community to end the cycle of oppression and the treatment of Aboriginals as aliens in our own land, by 1988. Any measures must be properly endorsed by Aboriginal people. The very fact that we have cooperated to date reveals our expectation that these conditions will be met.

Central to the desired government initiatives is legislation which will recognise Aboriginal ownership of land expropriated by White Australia and withheld illegally and immorally from us to this day. In other words, land rights. Land rights legislation that meets the expectations of the Aboriginal people and that is not merely opportune to government, is the key to development of a cohesive Australian community that the bicentenary celebrations will seek to reflect.

Land rights will restore that which we have lost through European imposition — a spiritual, social and economic base. Land rights will directly or indirectly improve the health, employment, educational, social and economic prospects of Aboriginal people, while fostering attainment of our goal of self-determination. But these benefits can result only if land rights legislation adheres to parameters defined by Aboriginal people.

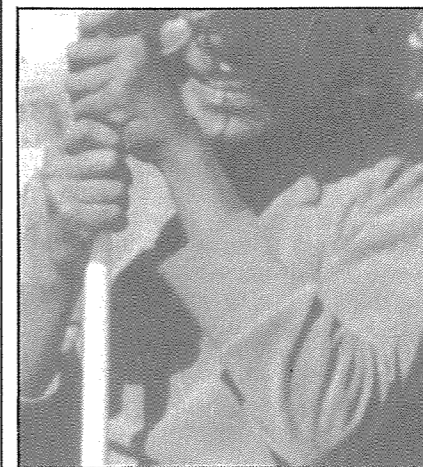
Some of our parameters have been acknowledged in a limited way by the Woodward Report on Northern Territory land rights, the Keane Report on New South Wales land rights, the Seaman Report on Western Australian land rights, and this government's original statement

of principles.

Aboriginal parameters are:

- recognition of ownership
- recognition of customary law
- the right to self-determination
- the right to compensation
- veto over mining and mineral exploration
- direct access to royalties
- protection of sites of significance.

Notwithstanding the difficulties inherent in putting these principles into practice, they reflect the Aboriginal bottom line. Regardless of the type of land rights legislation arrived at in the short term, Aboriginals will never relinquish these basic principles.



**Since the ALP came to power** nationally we have been tantalised by the knowledge that we were closer to achieving our aims than at any time in the past 200 years. The achievement of these aims by 1988 is being jeopardised by the federal government's retreat from its original commitment. The national legislation promised in the government's first term of office has not eventuated. And while the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs blames this on his Aboriginal advisors I can assure you that our advice to delay drafting of legislation was based on the government's reluctance to provide resources for Aboriginal consultation.

The government now appears to be proposing legislation that allows states to play the dominant role, notwithstanding the Minister's rejection of a similar approach to land rights proposed by the federal opposition. The government's promise of full consultation with Aboriginal people has also failed to eventuate. It formed an Aboriginal Land Rights Steering Committee to advise it on implementation of its original land rights package, but this has been rendered a virtual rubber stamp for the Minister and his department. Limited funding, infrequent and hastily called meetings and inconsistent government communications, despite our constant protests, have stifled

it most effectively. Even the government's sole land rights initiative to date, the hastily prepared interim Heritage legislation, has been seriously compromised by the government's response to what it perceived as politically threatening applications.

More telling is the government's land rights discussion paper which confirms that it is planning a major retreat from its original land rights principles as Aboriginal people understood them. Evident in this discussion paper is the emerging government bias towards meeting the objectives of state governments and commercial interests at the expense of legitimate Aboriginal rights and demands, and at the expense of stated and recently affirmed federal ALP policy. The government's indifferent approach to its Aboriginal advisors was confirmed again recently when the Minister put a submission to cabinet, without any reference to the NAC or the steering committee, that seriously threatens Aboriginal control of mining and mineral exploration on their lands.

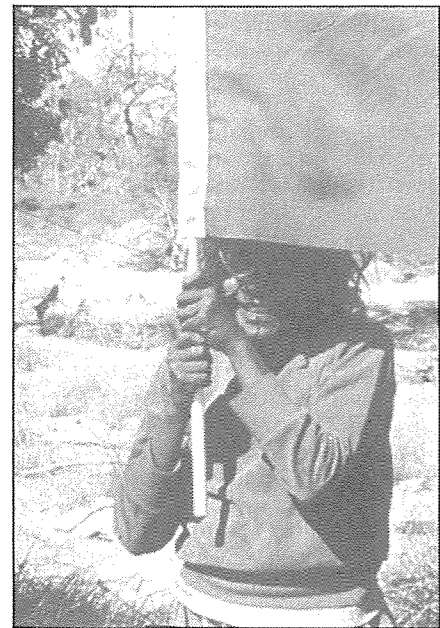
Certainly our trust in this government is being sorely tested as we observe its apparent readiness to trade the future security of the Aboriginal people for the approval of state governments, the indebtedness of the influential and smug pastoral and mining lobbies and the reassurance provided to a susceptible electorate by the Prime Minister's recent intervention. It is understandable that the Aboriginal tolerance of this abrogation by the government of its responsibilities towards us is wearing thin. We are tired of the ALP cringe from unchallenged attacks on land rights by conservative politicians, by vested interest groups such as miners and pastoralists and other fringe groups that appear to have intimidated this government so effortlessly and so effectively. We are weary of the government's constant unfulfilled promises that it will respond to these critics on our behalf and in defence of its own commitment and integrity.

Repeated assurances to this effect have not been converted into positive action. The government's latest delaying tactic — that it needs to conduct yet another attitudinal survey on its public awareness program, must be seen as a cynical move designed merely to suppress debate until after the December federal election.

Our future well-being should not depend on favourable opinion polls. Nor should our rights be jeopardised by the desire of political parties to gain or maintain office. It is often said in Aboriginal circles that we cannot afford to upset the ALP because no matter how little we get, we could expect a damn sight less from the conservatives. We are constantly warned, never publicly of course, to behave ourselves or risk ending up with nothing.

Western Australian Premier, Brian Burke, used this threat often during the Seaman Inquiry, if we dared to question or doubt the government's performance we were soundly warned to watch our step or he'd dump the whole land rights issue. Is it any wonder given this attitude that we find the Seaman Report ignored because it recommends far more than the premier thinks it electorally safe to give. Throughout Australia in fact we are witnessing similar spectacles of political deception.

But it is not only the ALP that has a case to answer. The Liberal Party has quite shamelessly stated that they will repeal any national land rights legislation. This deliberately exploits anti-Aboriginal sentiment within the community for the sole purpose of getting the Liberals back into power. Despite our reservations with the ALP we have no expectations whatsoever from the Liberals.



Perhaps it is in examining the performance of politicians that we can find a clue to what is at the heart of the land rights debate — motivational integrity or lack of it. If we probed the motives of politicians who profess to support land rights we would find little evidence of a commitment to justice. Instead we would more likely identify a misconception that they are giving something to Aborigines and that Aborigines should be grateful. It is a pompous view that ignores the truth: that the land was ours, is ours, and will remain ours despite the fact that it has been and will continue to be illegally used and occupied by others. Land rights does not mean giving, it means returning land which was improperly taken.

I realise that politicians are reluctant to accept this view. However, I can offer other justifications for land rights that, as Aborigines see them, offer politicians a

way out of this dilemma. These justifications remove land rights from the gutter of political brawling the Labor and Liberal Parties to the level of legal and moral obligation. In my view there are three:

- historical injustice and resulting disadvantage
- the legal fiction of terra nullius; and
- the obligations which Australia has as a respected member of the international community.

With respect to the first I need only review briefly the well-documented effects of European settlement on the indigenous inhabitants of this country. Our ancestors were violently deprived of land, congregated into reserve areas regarded as unsuitable for agricultural pursuit and exploited as slave labour by pastoralists in return for basic sustenance. The sorry litany of atrocities associated with this process is well known — including massacres by shooting and poisoning, imprisonment, starvation and disease. Even today anecdotal evidence of these atrocities can be elicited from living Aborigines and this augments historical accounts. It has become part of the body of knowledge passed down to us by our parents.

Hand in hand with the physical brutality went and sadly continues the social, cultural and psychological destruction of the Aboriginal race. In response to ad hoc government policies, infamous round-ups took place of Aborigines, especially children, who were incarcerated in missions or feeding stations thus exacerbating the problem.

The deliberate breakdown of traditional authority patterns, the forced separation of families and the introduction of a welfare system, were important factors in developing a classic state of dependence. This is the past experience of Aborigines which has seen those of us who have survived emerge as a disadvantaged group, socially, physically and economically. It is inconceivable that in a nation as wealthy as Australia and as enlightened and progressive as it likes to be seen, there is a significant group living in conditions that rival those of the worst Third World countries. These conditions can be illustrated by statistics referring to the infant mortality rate, low life expectancy, general health, education, unemployment, housing and home ownership, average income, rate of imprisonment and so on.

This anomaly will continue till we regain economic and social control of our lives. Comprehensive land rights will enable us to develop an independent economic base to free us from the dependent hand-out mentality.

The opposition's argument then that there should only be one land rights law for all Australians should really be dismissed

for the simplistic nonsense it is. It is an argument based on racism that attempts to deny us special consideration because we are Aboriginal. An analysis of Australian law shows that much of it relates to the specific needs of specific groups, for example, the Child Welfare Act, the Social Security Act and the Immigration Act. Distinctions have been, and always will be made to create rights and benefits in law based on special needs of special groups in special circumstances. Laws designed specially to recognise Aboriginal rights would thus be entirely consistent with this pattern of legislation.

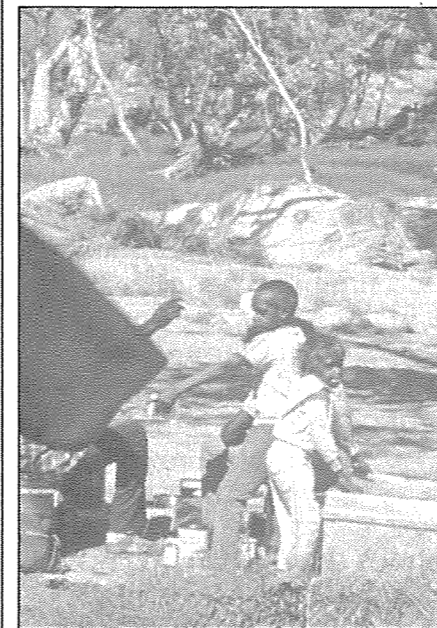


With regard to the second justification, the legal fiction of terra nullius, I need to reiterate my charge that many politicians are biased in regarding land rights as giving something to Aborigines rather than returning something that is rightly ours. I do so because their attitude ignores our historic ownership as does the doctrine of terra nullius — the legal nonsense on which that attitude is based. Terra nullius holds to the preposterous assumption that Australia was empty and unoccupied at the time of European arrival. It is a legal fiction that conveniently enables legislation to address the question of land rights as a matter of non-Aboriginal generosity rather than as a matter of obvious legal consequence.

It is a historical fact that when Captain Cook arrived in what is now known as New South Wales his activities were governed by an edict issued by the British Crown which commanded him to take possession only of 'convenient situations' in the country and then only with 'the consent of the natives'. This he failed to do. Captain Arthur Phillips, the governor-designate of the penal colony that followed, was equally unwilling to follow instruction, ignoring a

royal command to 'open an intercourse with the natives, conciliate their affections, and enjoin all subjects to live in amity with them'. The insubordination of these officers is of course now incidental to the fact that the edicts recognised the rights of the indigenous occupants of the land to be colonised — rights that have since been denied by Australian law.

In 1967 the Australian constitution was amended to give the commonwealth the power to make laws for Aborigines. One High Court justice said the amendments were an affirmation of the will of the Australian people, that the odious policies of oppression and neglect of Aboriginal citizens were to be at an end. Another justice said there was a need for acceptable laws and policies to mitigate the effects of past barbarism. Both clearly indicated their view that the commonwealth had a responsibility to legislate in this area. In so doing the commonwealth clearly has the ability and the obligation to reject once and for all the racist doctrine of terra nullius.



The third justification addresses Australia's desire to conform to international standards on human and indigenous rights. It was in the 1950s that international organisations began to recognise the need for indigenous peoples to reinforce their rights against colonisers in order to combat the very problems that have confronted Aboriginal Australians and still do today.

The 1957 International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention Number 107, which is still in force, and which concerns the protection of indigenous populations, states that the right of ownership, individual or collective, of members of indigenous populations over the lands they traditionally occupy, shall be recognised. Since that time United Nations conventions relevant

to indigenous peoples have been ratified by Australia, and yet it has failed to do this with ILO Convention 107. This is despite the fact that the Australian government has had the approval of all Australian states, as required, since 1974 — including Queensland. Also despite the fact that the United Nations Commission on Human Rights strongly recommended to Australia in 1980 that it ratify the Convention. And despite the fact that the Prime Minister gave his personal assurance that it would be a priority act of the new Labor government.

Ratification of ILO Convention 107 would obligate Australia to recognise Aboriginal rights to land and would thus provide legislators with another strong justification for land rights legislation as a legal obligation. We recognise that the current ILO Convention 107 is inadequate in the sense that it reflects the assimilationist and paternalist attitudes of the 1950s. Nevertheless we regard the Australian government's failure to ratify this convention is not because of its assimilationist nature but because the government is reticent to adopt even the most minimum standard pertaining to indigenous rights.

This Convention is currently being reviewed in response to criticisms concerning its limitations. While we might be hesitant in urging the government to ratify the Convention at this point in time, we urge that it at least make clear its intention to contribute to the development of this standard of indigenous rights and to subsequently ratify the Convention if requested by the Aboriginal people.

Former Labor Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, in an address to the NAC in 1981, said that the reason the Convention had not been signed by the Fraser government, despite the fact that it had ratified other conventions dealing with indigenous rights, was that it would entitle Aborigines to haul the coalition government before the ILO Committee in Geneva if land rights did not ensue, or if land rights legislation that did ensue was regarded by Aborigines as inappropriate or inadequate. In other words Aborigines would have had the power to place Australia under direct international scrutiny.

Such a possibility to a former Prime Minister, renowned, however undeservedly, for his strong human rights reputation, would have been unthinkable, and something to be avoided at all costs. It is possible that our present Prime Minister has also declined to push parliamentary ratification of Convention 107 because he has become aware that, despite the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs' rhetoric, the government's land rights package would fall far short of what Aboriginal people had demanded and been led to expect.



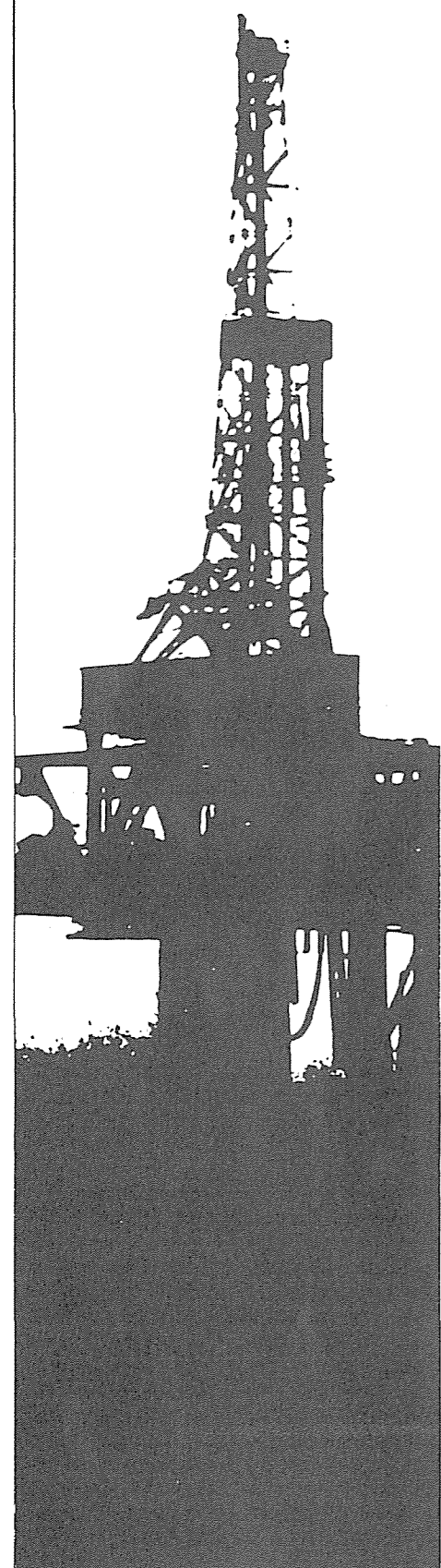
Let me summarise the government's performance in this area.

- The government appears to have negotiated compromises with the mining and pastoral industries without the knowledge of the Aboriginal people.
- The government has remained silent during the vicious and constant attacks on land rights by these very groups.
- The government has done an about-face on the issue of Aboriginal power of veto over mining and exploration on Aboriginal land.
- The government had failed to react to threats by the opposition to revoke any national land rights legislation.
- The government had failed to proceed with a resolution introduced by Aboriginal Affairs Minister Holding that recognises Aboriginal prior ownership.
- It has failed to uphold any applications under the interim Heritage legislation.

From this, I conclude that the government, through the Prime Minister, and with or without the knowledge of the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, has simply duped the Aboriginal people. By threatening the electorate with maximum land rights and delivering less, the government has in fact achieved handsome results. It has taken the wind out of the opposition sails, it has endeared itself to a relieved electorate and has won the gratitude of the miners and pastoralists. The only losers are the Aboriginal people.

We call upon the government to answer these criticisms. We have four years to go to 1988. Four years in which the government must accept its constitutional responsibilities towards Aboriginal people. The government must accept the task of rectifying 196 years of dispossession and cultural genocide.

# Foreign extraction



'Australia is one of the most meanly insured countries on Earth and the riches we own are tremendous'. (*Advance Australia*, 15 November 1905). Eighty years later this observation still holds, although it might be more accurate to put 'own' in the past tense.

An examination of the Australian minerals industry shows it to be export-orientated and dominated by a small number of companies, overwhelmingly under foreign control. Of other OECD countries, only Canada has a comparable degree of foreign control in the minerals industry. Whereas this factor arouses little comment in Australian political discourse, in Canada in the late 1970s steps were taken to reduce the degree of foreign control.

There are fundamental differences between Australia and Canada in the sharing of such financial benefits as flow from mineral development. In Canada, the principal beneficiaries from the rising prices of fuel minerals have been the resource-rich provinces of Alberta and British Columbia. In Australia, the federal government has benefited from a crude oil levy and coal export levies, while the governments of the resource-rich states derive comparatively little benefit. In both cases, the question of an equitable division of the revenues from exports has placed strains on the federal systems.

In the case of Australia, there are also wider economic impacts of an increasingly export-orientated minerals industry. While the political rhetoric generally assumes that mineral developments produce universally beneficial side-effects, there is mounting evidence to suggest that the changing pattern is one of the factors promoting the decline of the Australian manufacturing industry. Canada's experience also testifies to the economic problems which stem from having the important resource industry predominantly in the hands of transnational corporations. The premature demise of its National Energy Program highlights some of the dilemmas for any coherent policy underwritten by increased state intervention and suggests that the prognosis for responsible future energy management is far from rosy.

# Ownership and control of the resources industry in Australia and Canada

By Jeani Moran and Ian Lowe

## The Australian mining industry

Some general characteristics of the Australian mining industry are:

- It employs about 80 000 people, about 1.2% of the work-force.
- It pays about \$1600 million in wages and salaries annually.
- It produces minerals worth approximately \$10 000 million annually.
- It produces about one-third of Australia's export income. The Australian mining industry is overwhelmingly orientated towards exporting its products; about 70% (by value) of all minerals extracted from Australia is exported. In the case of bauxite, alumina, tungsten, nickel and mineral sands the figure is higher than 95%.

The Australian mining and mineral processing industry is dominated by a relatively small number of corporations; of 368 listed mining companies in a recent study, 38 account for more than 95% of the total income of the industry (Crough & Wheelwright, 1982). It is also predominately under foreign control. In 1963, 36.8% of mineral production and 15.5% of fuel mineral production was under foreign control. By 1975, 58.9% of all mineral production and 73% of fuel mineral production was under foreign control.\* A breakdown of the percentages of foreign control gave the following profile: 84% for brown coal and petroleum, 82% for tin, 75% for silver, zinc and lead, 62% for mineral sands, 59% for black coal, 47% for iron ore etc (Wheelwright, 1982).

The Fraser government stopped publication of these interesting statistics at that time. Since the advent of the Labor government, the Bureau of Statistics has resumed publication of this information.

The figures for 1981—82 were published in September 1983, and showed that there had been 'little change in the level of foreign ownership and control of the mining industry . . . while foreign ownership increased in mineral processing industries'

(*Australian Financial Review*, 25 September 1983). Foreign ownership of the mining industry had increased from 49.5% in 1972—73 to 51.2% in 1981—82, while foreign control of the main mineral processing industries increased from 38.9% to 46.3%. The new figures show the black coal industry to be 49.5% foreign-owned and 48.1% foreign-controlled, while the bauxite industry has 71% foreign ownership and 83% foreign control. The highest percentage of foreign ownership is 85.8% in petroleum refining, 'thanks to the dominance of established international oil majors such as Shell, Mobil, BP and Esso'. 'Nationalistic critics may be unhappy at some of the percentages of foreign ownership in minerals processing', the *Financial Review* conceded, 'but it is a picture long familiar'.

Recently released figures for 1982—83 confirms these overall trends and show

\*The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) defines foreign ownership as the percentage holding of voting shares held by a foreign enterprise. Together ownership and control figures provide a 'foreign participation characteristics in the Australian mining industry'. The latest ABS report concedes that 'while most foreign ownership has been identified, it has not been practicable to measure all ownership because of the cost of tracing small ownership links between enterprises in Australia'. ABS classifies a company to 'foreign control' if it is 'connected to a foreign-controlled enterprise . . . by ownership links of 25% or more [or a chain of ownership links] and at no point in that chain is there an equal or stronger link from an Australian resident individual, an Australian-controlled enterprise or a joint foreign and Australian-controlled enterprise'.

The ABS's measure of control as at least 25% of ordinary shares is conservative and does not allow us to assess the degree of non-equity control. Control can depend on factors other than ownership of equity — for instance, the potential for control by financial institutions, and through interlocking directorships. The 1982-83 ABS figures include two additional 'control' categories (joint foreign and Australian control, and naturalised or naturalising enterprises) which dilutes the foreign control category overall.

only a slight decrease in overall levels of foreign control and ownership — with the exception of bauxite where foreign ownership has risen to 76.7% and foreign control has soared to 100%, and black coal where foreign control has risen to 58.9%.

The table below shows how unusual is the degree of foreign control, Canada being the only industrialised country with a degree of foreign control comparable with that existing in Australia.

Table 1: Foreign control of mining industry in various developed countries (Fox, 1981; Crough, Wheelwright & Wiltshire, 1983).

USA	—
Japan	—
Spain	—
Austria	3%
Sweden	3%
Norway	7%
UK	7%
West Germany	24%
Canada	57%
Australia	58%

On the 1981—82 figures, only 14.2% of the oil and gas industry is under Australian control, and only 27% of all fuel minerals are under Australian control. Only one oil company of any significance in the retail market, Ampol, is Australian-controlled, and it had only 7% of the market.

There has been surprisingly little reaction at the government level in Australia to this foreign domination of a vital area of the economy. The Labor Party has as policy the establishment of an Australian Hydrocarbons Corporation, as well as a Resources Development Fund to increase Australian equity in mining. There has been, however, no public move towards the implementation of these policies since the election of the Hawke Labor government in March 1983. Less than four years ago the then leader of the Labor Party, Hayden, quoted a comment from Peta Nore, a visiting Norwegian expert on energy and resources, who said to a group of Australian politicians in 1979:

I am truly amazed. In terms of ownership, royalties and marketing of your energy and minerals, I know of only one country which gets a worse deal: that's Gabon in West Africa. Why do you allow it?

The same question could, with equal validity, still be posed today.

### The Canadian National Energy Program

In contrast stands the 1980 National Energy Program (NEP) published by the Canadian Department of Energy, Mines and Resources. In an uprising of economic nationalism, it was committed to the objective stated in the 1976 document, 'Energy Strategy for Canada', of substantially increased ownership of the petroleum sector. Of the ten largest oil and gas producing companies in Canada, only one was under Canadian control — the seventh placed Petro-Canada. The Canadian program referred to a 'degree of foreign ownership that would not be accepted — indeed, simply is not tolerated — by most other oil-producing nations', and set out a commitment towards:

- at least 50% Canadian ownership of oil and gas by 1990;
- an increase in government ownership in the industry; and
- Canadian control of a significant number of the larger oil and gas firms.

It is noteworthy that the Canadian government was committed not just to increased Canadian control of the oil and gas industry, but also to increased public control. The proposal was to impose charges on oil and gas consumption to fund a Canadian Ownership Account, which would be used to finance public ownership in the industry. The government-owned Petro-Canada was to be used as the government's agent.

It also set up two schemes to underwrite its initiative: the Petroleum Incentives Program (PIP) and the Canadian Ownership and Control Determination Program (COCDP). The aim of the COCDP was to establish the levels of foreign ownership and foreign control in corporations seeking incentives for resource development. The incentive program, PIP, was to provide government assistance for exploration and development. The incentives varied according to the level of Canadian ownership. A total of Can\$600 million was paid to Canadian-controlled firms in 1981 under the PIP arrangement; in 1982 it rose to Can\$1200 million.

Table 2, based on petroleum-related revenues, shows that Canadian ownership was stable at about 26% of the industry up until 1980, but in two years this jumped to 34%. The level of Canadian control has also increased markedly since 1980. In the years 1981 and 1982, Canadian firms spent



over Can\$11000 million in taking over foreign-owned corporations (Canadian Petroleum Monitoring Agency, 1983).

Table 2: Canadian ownership and control of the oil and gas industry (Canadian Petroleum Monitoring Agency 1982 Survey).

Year	Ownership	Control
1977	26.3%	13.0%
1978	26.3%	17.0%
1979	26.2%	17.5%
1980	26.1%	18.7%
1981	32.8%	25.9%
1982	34.2%	26.2%

In terms of Canada's economic relationship to the USA, Clement and Drache (1978) have argued that the distinction between ownership and control is hardly an important issue. Canada's 'branch-office economy' is characterised by a high level of parent-company ownership. Once 'reliable' local managers are found, direct controls become less pressing. However, 'there can be no loosening . . . of the tie of subsidiary to parent or of the enforced conformity of the subsidiary to the overall policy of the corporate complex, set out by the parent board'. Both Canada and Australia have witnessed in recent years a closer alignment of ownership and control.

The sorry sequel to Canada's NEP will be detailed later. What was evident in its just two years of operation was its potential to offset the entrenched pattern of foreign ownership and control of its fuel industries. For the moment, it is salutary to probe in more detail the claim that foreign investment is categorically beneficial for national economies.

### Taxation of mining

Like most individuals, corporations have taxation obligations. In Queensland for example, the minerals industry contributes annually about \$100 million in royalties, and the government-owned railway system makes about \$100 million profit on its mineral freight operations. Why, then, is it a common perception that the mining companies are not paying their way?

One reason is that the payments made to the public purse by the mining and processing industries are a complicated sum of royalties, export levies, company taxes, rail freight charges, port charges and so on. Another is that some payments are made to the state governments and some to the federal government. A third is that the companies enjoy some unusual taxation privileges which, in combination with some particularly devious financial arrangements, do allow many companies to pay less tax than might be expected.

In 1974, T M Fitzgerald, then research assistant to the Minister for Minerals,

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RFX Connor, produced a report on the mining industry. Its startling conclusion was that the federal government's net receipts from the mining industry in the previous six years had been — \$55 million; in other words, the government assistance to the industry in that period had exceeded taxation receipts by \$55 million. During the same period, the pre-tax profits of the principal mining companies had been about \$2000 million.

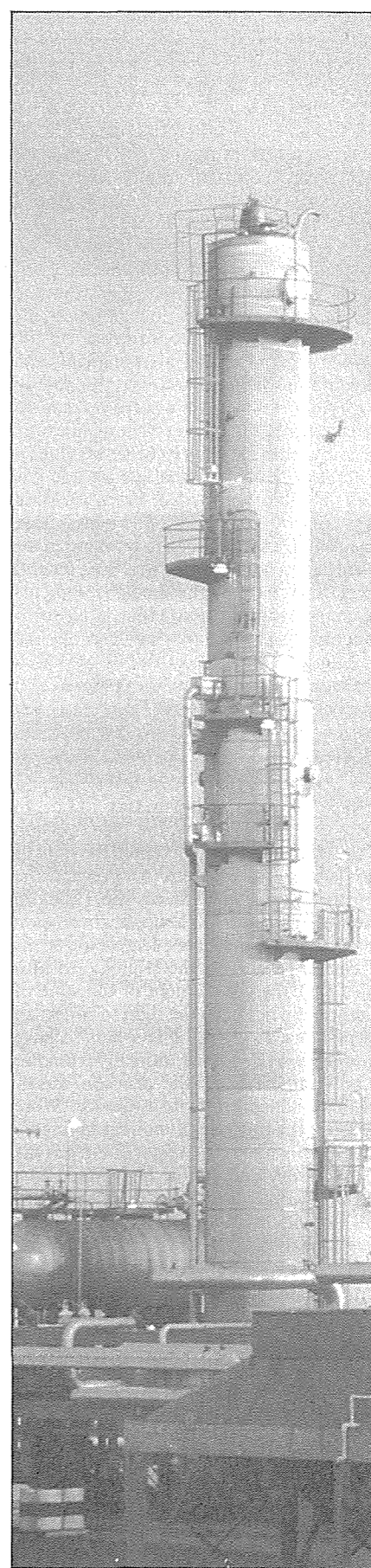
Despite heated debate and various criticisms, Fitzgerald's general conclusion still stands; mining companies by and large pay less tax per dollar earned than other areas of industry. This was confirmed by an Industries Assistance Commission report in 1976, showing that the tax ratio in the mining industry has been consistently lower than the average for all industry combined. In 1967—68 the tax rate in the mining industry was 27%, compared with 42% as the average for all other industries; the 1973—74 figures were 34% for the mining industries and 57% for all other industries. In Fitzgerald's words:

The special circumstances of mining have led to concessions permitting the companies to write off against their taxable profit nearly all of their capital expenditures, including . . . major items, which do not apply to other industries. Moreover, the tax law allows mining companies to write off a higher percentage of these expenditures either immediately or at rates much faster than the usual rates of depreciation permitted to other industries.

This remains true today. It is also true that transnational corporations are usually able to arrange their financial affairs to reduce taxation commitments; examples of this in the Australian minerals industry are well documented. Concern has also been expressed about the growing practice of allowing customers, such as Japanese corporations, to acquire equity in mining operations. It is not fanciful to see this practice as potentially allowing purchasers of the minerals to influence pricing policies, since it is clear that the principle of 'arms-length' negotiation no longer applies if the purchaser is part-owner of the vendor.

### The strains of federation

Another factor which profoundly influences the taxation contribution from mining operations is the relationship between the federal government and the relevant state or provincial governments. One example is provided by a study commissioned by the Utah Development Company (UDC) to assess government taxes and other charges on coal mining operations (Coopers & Lybrand, 1980). They compared the charges being levied on Utah's mining operations in Queensland with the charges which would be imposed on a hypothetical operation of the same scale in five other countries.



The study was an overtly political exercise. In its own words:

UDC's interest in the subject was prompted by a belief that its mining operations were bearing a relatively high burden of taxes and government charges and, in this context, concern over proposals to consider a resources tax on mining companies in Australia.

Not surprisingly, the study concluded that the company was paying a relatively high level of government taxes and charges at that point. No reference was made to the much lower charges which had applied to Utah's operations in their earlier years.

The study did, however, give details of the overall finances of the Utah operation, as a result of which few people appear to have been convinced that the company was being cruelly exploited by governments. The figures showed that the 1979 operations of the company yielded revenues of US\$720 million, with expenses of US\$285 million, leaving a before-tax profit of US\$435 million; this would generally be considered a very healthy return on assets of US\$568 million. The report said that the state and federal governments together collected US\$268 million, leaving the company with an after-tax profit of US\$150 million.

Of interest also are the comparisons the overall figures allow between state-federal financial relations in Australia and the equivalent arrangements in Canada. For comparison with Canada, the report examined the charges which be levied on a hypothetical mining operation in either Alberta or British Columbia, two provinces. The table below summarises the charges of federal and provincial governments on this hypothetical mining operation:

Table 3: Government taxes and charges on a hypothetical coal operation (US\$ million) (Coopers & Lybrand, 1980)

	British Columbia	Alberta
Federal income tax	113.40	113.40
Branch & withholding tax	23.12	33.71
Other federal taxes	1.38	1.38
<b>Total federal taxes</b>	<b>137.90</b>	<b>148.49</b>
Province income taxes	60.86	35.24
<b>Other provincial taxes</b>	<b>78.86</b>	<b>33.89</b>
<b>Total provincial taxes</b>	<b>139.72</b>	<b>69.13</b>

This table shows clearly that it is pointless to analyse the federal-provincial relationship quantitatively in general terms; the analysis must be specific to the province concerned. Siting the same hypothetical operation in Alberta rather than British Columbia would reduce the total tax bill by US\$60 million per annum.

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Turning to Australia, it is immediately apparent that Australian states have much less taxing power than the Canadian provinces. Queensland, in common with Australian states, has no corporate or individual income tax; as Galligan (1982) observed, the states 'prefer the indignity of asking the federal government for money to the approbrium of levying their own income tax'. There is also no mining tax at the state level in Australia. Production royalties, now at the level of 5% of the Free-On-Rail value of the coal, are at approximately the same level as in British Columbia, although royalties on such a scale are a comparatively recent innovation in Queensland. In the early years of the Utah operation, the royalty was a scarcely credible 2.5 cents per ton. The only other direct state tax in Queensland is a comparatively minor payroll tax, which was less than US\$4 million on the 1979 Utah operation. Total state taxes and charges in Queensland were US\$27 million, a much smaller figure than would have been applicable had the operation been located in either of the Canadian provinces specified.

However the Coopers & Lybrand study focussed attention on what it classified as an indirect state tax — the profit earned by the state-owned railway on coal freight. There is an interesting history to this question. Because the federal government takes mineral royalties into account in determining the disbursement of tax revenue to the states, there is an obvious incentive to the states to find other ways of obtaining revenue from mining. When the Queensland government entered into an early deal in which the royalty was 2.5 cents per ton, it responded to criticism by saying that it was making a profit on rail freight of the coal. This profit simply merges into the general operating loss of Queensland Railways. It thus reduces the demand on the state government for funds to support the railway system without being an identifiable sum for the federal government to 'take into account'.

The practice of rail freights being on the public record has since ceased. Rail freights are now negotiated behind closed doors, apparently between treasury officials and coal companies. It has been suggested that new coal ventures in Queensland are being paying up to \$10-\$15 per tonne for rail transport to the coast, making the cost of transport comparable to the cost of mining (Carey, 1983). While these higher payments are not a matter of public record, however, the public can only guess at how much the mining companies are actually paying. If the Coopers & Lybrand figures are taken at face value, railway freight is clearly a significant source of hidden revenue to the state government. In this case, it raises the state income from the mining operation

from being much lower than either Canadian province to being greater than Alberta's would be from the same operation.

The whole question of rail freights, and more recent examples of the Queensland government requiring mining companies to pay large sums for infrastructure such as roads, shows the relatively weak financial position of the resource-rich states in Australia compared to the Canadian provinces. In both countries, the resource regions have relatively low populations, with consequently little influence on the comparison of the federal parliament. The Canadian provinces, however, are able to garner enormous revenues from resource developments, thus giving them significantly enhanced political power; the redistribution of political power in the last decade has been palpable (Richards & Pratt, 1981). In the case of Australia, however, state governments are reduced to public appeals to the federal government to reduce federal taxes, thus enabling the state governments to charge mining companies for infrastructure without destroying the economic viability of new projects. While increased wealth and population in the resource-rich states of Queensland and Western Australia has enhanced their political power slightly, the change in the political map has been much less dramatic than in Canada.

Recent events confirm this trend. In terms of general powers, the 1983 decision of the High Court that accepted the right of the federal government to prevent the construction of a dam on the Franklin River in Tasmania was a significant erosion of the rights of the states. In specific terms of energy resources, the High Court also ruled that the government of the state of Victoria did not have the right to collect an oil pipeline levy. As the levy was to have brought in \$120 million annually from the Bass Strait oilfields, the decision was a serious financial blow to the state. More recently, the practice of indirect taxing by rail freights has come under fire from the coal industry and can be interpreted as a warning from the coal industry that they will not pay ever-increasing government freight charges.

The Australian situation contrasts sharply with the pre-1984 Canadian situation, with the Canadian government strongly urging the resource-exporting provinces to share their windfall gains with their fellow Canadians. The analysis in the 1980 National Energy Program of the attempts to persuade Alberta and British Columbia to accept a gas export tax suggests that it is not politically possible for the Canadian government to impose such a tax. The federal government concluded that:

its actions in the energy sector must be ones which unify the country, rather than increase the

strains on the Federation. It is a time when all governments must temper principle with flexibility

### Broader impacts of mining

The impact of mining is not limited to the use of government taxes and charges. It is, of course, self-evident that the wages and salaries paid by the mining industry have a beneficial effect on the economy. A recent Department of Trade report showed that 11.4% of total employment was generated by exports, of which 50% is generated by the rural sector, 25% by manufactured exports, 15% by mining and 10% by services. The beneficial spin-off of mining on employment in Queensland is especially evident; the state has been significantly revitalised by the development of an export coal industry.

It is also sometimes claimed that the minerals industry benefits Australia by bringing in foreign capital. Leaving aside for the moment the question of whether it is in the national interest to sell control of resources to foreign interests, as has been the policy of conservative governments, it is worth examining the reality of this inflow of money. In practice it has to be set against the subsequent outflow of dividends. Wheelwright (1982) quoted the following figures on the inflow of foreign investment and the outflow of dividends:

Table 4: Net foreign inflow (\$million) (Wheelwright, 1982).

1964-65	+ 45
1965-66	+ 56
1966-67	+ 35
1967-68	+ 59
1968-69	+ 67
1969-70	+ 65
1970-71	+144
1971-72	+243
1972-73	- 84
1973-74	- 112
1974-75	- 140
1975-76	- 173
1976-77	- 314
1977-78	- 250
1978-79	- 330
1979-80	- 352

The trends are quite distinct. Since 1972—73 there has been a net outflow of money, as foreign investment has been consistently less than the dividends flowing out as a consequence of earlier foreign investment. In terms of fiscal policy, the open encouragement of foreign companies to buy up our resources has created a massive and continuing outflow of currency. Unlike debt repayments, there is no time in sight when the outflow ceases; the policy of successive governments has created a problem which will last as long as the mines. It is likely that to be a self-perpetuating problem, because the obvious policy response to a net outflow of capital

is to attract more foreign investment, which in turn ensures a larger outflow in future years, leading to pressures to attract more foreign investment and so on.

The overseas ownership of Australian resources has created a long-term problem as well as a short-term one. At a conservative estimate Australia's gross overseas debt has soared from 7.8% of the gross domestic product in 1975—76 to a staggering 22% in 1983—84. In the diplomatic parlance of a recent New South Wales Bank report 'much of the growth' is due to 'private initiatives'. More blunt is the Department of Trade's appraisal that:

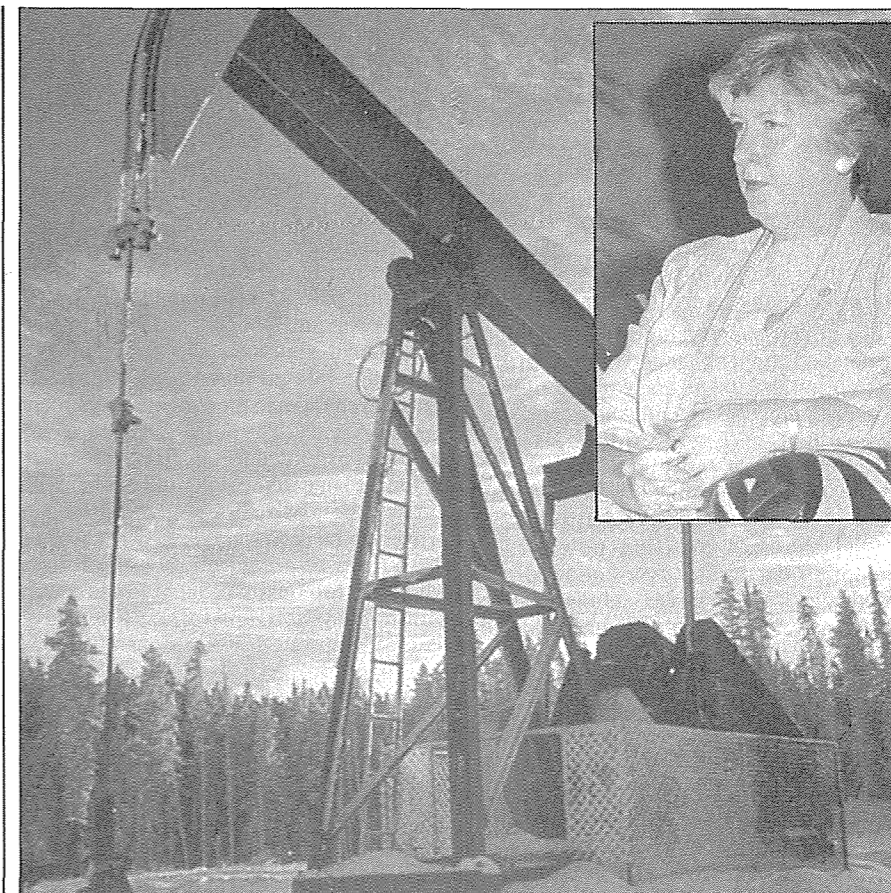
Australia's export sector still reflects a high emphasis on exports of raw materials, and a significant degree of foreign ownership and control flowing from our high addiction to foreign capital and a rapidly increasing debt service burden (Department of Trade, 1984).

Foreign ownership has created another long-term economic problem by its effect on our manufacturing industry. The mining industry says that a fundamental change has occurred in the Australian economy as a result of the growth in mineral exports. Evidence suggests that this is true. The industry has also claimed that its development has strengthened our manufacturing sector. There is little evidence for this claim, while there is now much evidence that the growth of mineral exports has been a key factor in the decline of Australian manufacturing industry.

Gregory (1977) argued that the growth of mineral exports would lead to inevitable decline of our manufacturing sector. He claimed that the effect of exports on the value of our currency would make imported goods more competitive, and that pressure from our trading partners would also lead us to import more of their manufactured goods. There have been recent examples of these pressures in Queensland. Gates for the Wivenhoe dam were bought from Korea, and boilers for the Torang power station were ordered from a Japanese company. The Queensland Premier, Bjelke-Petersen, justified these purchases at the expense of Australian industry by saying that Australia can't expect other countries to buy our coal unless we buy their manufactured goods.

Several other instances confirm this overall pattern — the most blatant being the controversy in May 1983 about Korean participation in the Jackson oil pipeline project. When the Federal Treasurer, Keating, blocked the plan to award the Korean company 25% of the equity because it was contrary to the foreign investment guidelines, the Queensland politicians were outraged. As Bjelke-Petersen put it:

It was a reciprocal arrangement for the Koreans to invest and we would continue a good trading relationship . . . the balance of trade between



Oil pump in Swan Hills, Alberta, Canada. Inset: Patricia Carney, Energy Minister with Conservative government, responsible for dismantling the National Energy Program.

Australia and Korea is now out of kilter, and we could not be surprised if they cancelled contracts for primary produce or coal . . . The decision could end up costing hundreds of jobs on the central Queensland coalfields, as well as other markets.

By contrast, the Canadian National Energy Program expressed a determination to reduce the export emphasis of the Canadian resource industry. The government argued that the redirection of emphasis toward Canadian companies looking to supply the future energy needs of the country would have benefits well beyond the energy sector.

The figures for 1982 bear out this general concern. Canadian-controlled companies brought Can\$1500 million into the country in that year, whereas foreign-controlled companies caused an outflow of Can\$1800 million. This was composed of a capital account outflow of Can\$860 million, well down on the 1981 figure of almost Can\$5000 million, and current account transactions of Can\$920 million. Since 95% of the dividends and 85% of the business service payments out of the country went to foreign parent corporations, the flow of money out of Canada to foreign parent companies was almost Can\$1000 million. This shows dramatically

the scale of the continuing problem caused by allowing transnational corporations to obtain a dominant role in the resource sector.

### Problems arising from policy initiatives

It would be naive to pretend that the Canadian attempt to regain control of its resource sector had been without problems. At one level, it could be regarded as a policy phase which has ended by the 1984 election and the installation of a 'Progressive Conservative' government. The Premier of Ontario described the policy of the incoming government proudly as 'making it abundantly clear that we are safe haven for foreign investment'.

Even before the change in government, however, the good intentions of the NEP attempts to increase Canadian public control of the oil and gas industry were in dire straits, and the whole program was being criticised by its profligate use of public money. The program was beset by difficulties arising from the misfortune of high inflation coinciding with a glut of gas and oil, with consequent falling oil prices; the difficulties were compounded by administrative complications.



The NEP was criticised as early as 1981 by conservatives, who saw it as involving a fundamental shift of power from the provinces to the federal government and prejudicing future energy supplies for the objective of greater local ownership. By 1983, the NEP was being described as 'a policy disaster', with the Auditor-General estimating that the PIP grants could cost 'more than \$8 billion by 1987 — with no guarantee of any return' (Foster, 1984).

The policy was developed very rapidly, and based on the grossly inaccurate assumption that oil prices would continue to rise. The process also transformed the Department of Energy, Minerals and Resources almost overnight from a low-profile technical ministry into a high-profile, highly politicised one. It could be argued that the pressing polemic of promoting the policy overshadowed the practicalities of complex administrative procedures needed to define and allocate the various grants available. As an obvious example, the scheme for PIP grants contained no mechanism to ensure cost control; there were no upper limits on the size of grants or the number of applications which could be funded, nor was there any requirement to prove cost-effectiveness as a condition for obtaining government funds.

The Dome debacle was the most conspicuous example of the problems resulting from the hasty implementation of the policy of 'Canadianisation'. As the spectacular rise and fall of the Dome conglomerate has been documented in detail elsewhere (Foster, 1984), only the barest details are needed to illustrate the problems of the NEP. Soon after the enactment of the NEP, Dome brought out Hudson Bay Oil and Gas (HBOG) as a step to meet the 'Canadianisation' guidelines. In purchasing HBOG at an inflated price, Dome indebted itself to an unprecedented extent to four major Canadian banks. Dome then used these loans and PIP subsidies as collateral to obtain further funds, and a syndicate assembled by the US Citibank became involved. At this point, public exposes in the media revealed that Dome has a staggering corporate debt of Can\$5.8 billion, six times the shareholders' equity, and there was real concern that the Canadian banking system could collapse if Dome were to default on its loan repayments. A rescue plan was devised by the Canadian government and the four Canadian banks involved, leaving Dome totally dependent on the continuing generosity of the banks, with interest running at about Can\$1.5 million per day and capital repayments of Can\$2.3 billion falling due.

It was argued the rapid expansion and acquisition which had brought Dome to

the brink of insolvency 'had been vociferously encouraged' by the NEP. In specific terms, Dome had been the leading recipient of PIP grants, with about Can\$500 million received by March 1983 and more in the pipeline. Foster suggests that the PIP grants were effectively used as 'corporate life-jackets'.

Certainly the entanglement of the NEP in the Dome fiasco and subsequent salvage operation proved to be a political disaster for the program. Not only has the incoming government announced its willingness to encourage foreign investment, it has also signalled changes to the Foreign Investment Review Agency. The policy change appears to be that proposed foreign investment will no longer have to show 'significant benefit', but will be allowed 'as long as it is not proven to be detrimental'; in other words, the burden of proof will shift from those who want foreign investment to those who want to prevent it, and foreign investment will be assumed beneficial until proven otherwise.

The disenchantment with the NEP has been associated with the subsequent reversal in policy priorities for resource management. The Dome fiasco effectively exposed some of the critical dynamics which mitigate against active measures in resource management, as well as the scope for strategically placed transnational corporations to out-manoeuvre nationalist strategies. In Australia, by contrast, similar information is less readily available and even less likely to be placed on the public record, since there is no serious challenge to the domination of the oil and gas industry by overseas interests.

### Conclusions

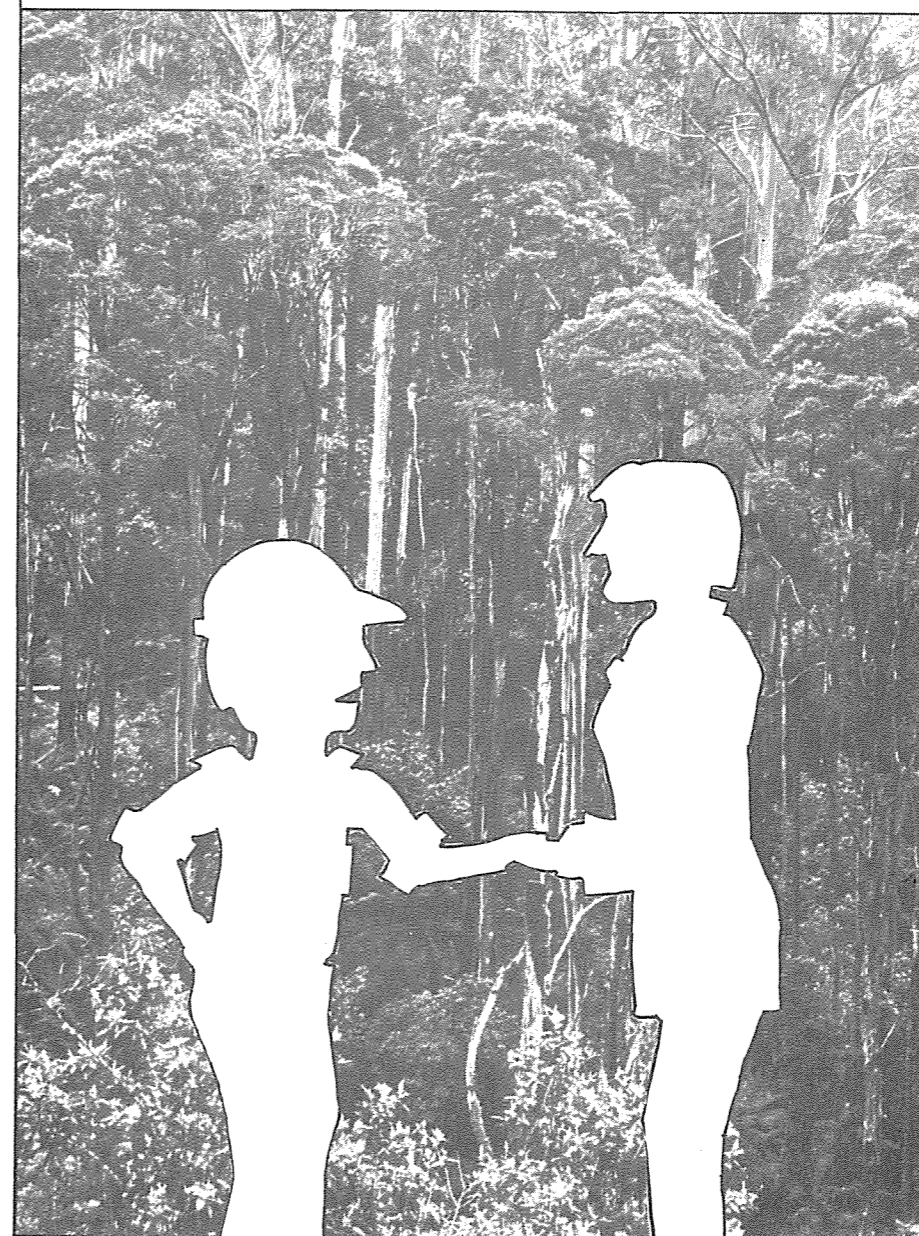
A comparative study of the resources industry in Australia and Canada yields useful insights into the related political and economic problems in the two countries. In each case, the growth of foreign control of the industry has exacerbated tensions in the federal system. In each case, there has been some measure of re-distribution of political power toward the resource-rich regions. The Canadian experience shows that it is possible in principle for government policies to roll back the tide of foreign investment, although in practice the net effect of the NEP appears to have been little more than a transient aberration; the Australian attitude generally remains of collaboration with the foreign interests which have steadily increased control of the resource industry. It is not clear which stand finally takes the higher toll: the attempt to confront market distortions which occur when the resource sector is largely in the hands of the foreign interests, or the Australian tradition of blithe indifference to the longterm consequence of 'open-door' policies.

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# Services to industry

## The role of forest bureaucracies



By Val Plumwood  
and Ian Penna

It is now usually realised, especially by environmentalists, that the forest services in Australia are bureaucratic organisations which primarily benefit and serve the forest industry, rather than other groups in the community or the nebulous 'public interest'. Forest services can hardly continue to be seen as neutral when the last decade has produced a spate of inquiries, disputes, hearings and other confrontations in which there has not been a single case where the services have adopted an adversary role vis-a-vis the forest industry in disputes involving environmentalists and the industry. In every instance forest services have stood four-square with the industry against the public interest and environmental groups. These have included the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Environment and Conservation, the 1975 Softwood Inquiry and three subsequent federal inquiries, the New South Wales State Pollution Control Commission's inquiries into the Boyd Plateau, the North Coast Woodchip Proposal, the Border Ranges Inquiry, the Five Forests Inquiry on the South Coast and enquiries into the proposed logging of rainforest on the North Coast, culminating with the Terania Creek Inquiry, to mention a few for New South Wales. A similar situation has occurred in other states.

Occasionally, forest industries voice some criticism of the forest services but by and large the industry professes itself highly satisfied with forest services' management of the forests. Victorian Sawmillers Association (VSA) for example, regularly express their gratitude with such statements as: 'I am pleased to report that our industry has continued to receive the cooperation of the Forests Commission of Victoria at all levels of administration on most matters of concern to our members.' and 'it is a pleasure again to report the close communication and understanding has continued between the FCV and our Association at all levels and on behalf of our industry I express our appreciation to all Forest Commission officers who have contributed.'

On the other hand, both industry and forest service reports regularly express concern or hostility concerning the activities of environmental groups with alternative aspirations for the forests. Where environmental groups are con-

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*Ian Penna was Forest Project Officer with the Australian Conservation Foundation, and a forest activist for many years.*

cerned there is restriction of information (which is often scandalous) and obstruction of participation in planning. This contrasts sharply with the easy access of industry, its extensive consultation, and its involvement in the planning and decision-making process.

Forest industries provide many benefits for industry. Examination of the historical picture shows that in many cases the forest industry had an important hand in helping set up the forest services, which in turn played a key role in maintaining, at state expense, the resource base for the industry and defending the base against rival claimants such as agriculture, and more recently, national park services.<sup>2</sup> The overall economic structure in which the state, through forest services, shoulders the unprofitable and risky part of the forestry venture, leaving the short-term and profitable part to industry — a pattern of socialising losses — is, of course, of great benefit to the forestry industry and appears to be essential to maintaining it in its present form.<sup>3</sup>

### 'Neutral experts'

In addition to providing access for industry to a publicity funded and maintained resource base, forest services provide other services for industry. They coordinate and provide planning of a kind essential to a longterm industry and bear much of the cost and risk of this. Perhaps, most importantly in the present situation, the

mystique of expertise and professionalism which surrounds the forest services means that they can provide a body of 'expert' opinion with an aura of neutrality while in fact acting as an advocate for industry's needs against rival claims on the resource. The importance of this function became very clear, for example, during the Terania Inquiry, in which a great deal of effort went into discrediting professionals and others who were not in the business of defending and promoting industry's needs. The 'expertise' mystique means that forest services can legitimate from 'outside' industry's incursions into the forests and discredit rival claimants or opponents, all much more effectively than experts paid for by the industry, who, as industry employees, are not seen as 'neutral'.

The importance of the forest services as 'neutral' experts in the industry who can be used in public relations exercises was shown in the preparation of the film *Forests Forever*. This film was produced in 1979 as part of the activities of the Forest Products Association (WA) — a trade association which works on behalf of timber company interests in Western Australia. The film itself was purely a public relations exercise to counter environmental criticism of the industry's operations and public forest management in Western Australia, so protecting the commercial interests of the Association's members, and also the continued management of public forests by the Forests Department. The total cost of the

film was \$30 000, and was met by the Forests Department (40%), Forest Products Association (40%), WA Chip & Pulp Co (10%) and other Association members (10%).

The idea for the film arose out of a joint industry/departmental committee established to increase industry's access to the Forestry Department. Most of the information and the material upon which the film was based was supplied by the Forests Department and several departmental officers appeared in the film, particularly in relation to environmental impact of management practices. The Forests Department also appears in the credits at the beginning of the film, giving a further stamp of legitimacy to the film and to the management practices used in the forest.<sup>4</sup> The Forests Department was intimately involved in the whole project, as defenders of the industry's activities and of the main forest management techniques of value to the industry — clearfelling, prescribed burning and woodchipping.

Further examples of the forest services role in legitimising industry activities or plans are found in the preparation of Environmental Impact Statements on proposals such as woodchipping<sup>5</sup> and the production of apparently objective technical reports produced to defend the supposed need, value and soundness of rainforest logging in Queensland by the Queensland Department of Forestry 1981 and 1983.<sup>6</sup>



48 Chain Reaction



Logging coupe visible from Hartz Mountains National Park, Tasmania.

### Future planning

In the guise of longterm planning of the resource, this body of 'neutral' forest service experts can promote industry's needs to government and to the public. In this context, a major achievement for the timber industry in gaining government support for its future planning, was the establishment of the Australian Forestry Council (AFC) in 1964. The Council consists of state and commonwealth ministers plus technical advisers from state forest services and commonwealth departments and has a consultative role to the commonwealth government. At the time of its establishment its official functions were:

To promote the welfare and development of Australian forestry. To arrange mutual exchange of information regarding production and utilisation of forest products. To formulate and recommend a forest policy for Australia, with particular regard to forest development necessary to meet national requirements for forest products including the provision of finance for development. To promote and coordinate research in forestry and forest products.<sup>7</sup>

It played a major role in the development of Australia's pine plantation program. In 1962 the state governments had agreed to increase their annual softwood plantings to help meet a forecast future deficit of wood and so help counteract past overcutting. Because of financial limitations the agreed increase was only from 9000 to 13 000 hectares per year — not as much as the states or industry would have liked. However, by its second meeting the AFC

had agreed in principle to an accelerated program of 30 000 hectares per annum with the objective of making Australia self-sufficient in timber by the year 2000. At its fourth meeting the AFC announced agreement of the state governments to commonwealth financial assistance for accelerated softwood planting. This resulted in the passing of the *Softwood Forestry Agreement Act 1967* and the increase in the annual plantation program from 16 000 hectares in 1967 to nearly 24 000 hectares in 1971.<sup>8</sup>

Thus the AFC and its public servant advisers (such as Dr Max Jacobs) played a vital role for the timber industry. At a time of state financial shortages it facilitated the extraction of public funds from the commonwealth government for plantation expansion. This allowed state forest services and governments to ignore sustained yield forestry principles and build continued native forest overcutting into their management plans in the knowledge that the industry would have alternative sawlog resources for new capital investment and profit growth once native sawlog supplies had become grossly depleted.

In 1969 the AFC provided further public sector support for industry forestry planning by authorising the establishment of the Forestry and Wood-based Industries Development Conference. After several years of organisation the conference was finally held in 1974, under the title Forwood. Forwood brought together representatives of forest services, private forestry and academic foresters in an attempt to plan the growth and utilisation of Aust-

ralia's forests up to the early years of the twenty-first century. It was represented as 'the most comprehensive planning exercise of the forestry and wood-based industries ever undertaken in Australia'.<sup>9</sup> According to the conference organisers the 'final recommendations for the Forwood Conference will be the basis of future government policies over the next 50 years or so'.<sup>10</sup> Involvement of environmental groups, of course, was largely on a token and afterthought basis.

By comparing predicted future wood demand and availability estimates, the conference produced a 'Production Forestry Development Plan' aimed at preventing future wood deficiencies and making Australia self-sufficient in forest products.<sup>11</sup> This was the plan presented to governments, which they, and industry, were supposed to follow for forest exploitation. In particular it promoted a total national softwood plantation area of 1.4 million hectares, to be achieved with an annual establishment rate of 28 500 hectares. As well, by uncritically advocating the policy of 'net self-sufficiency', Forwood provided a forum for the industry and forestry services to justify continued industry growth and increased wood production and consumption through:

- sustained overcutting of public native forests for sawlogs;
- expansion of public and private softwood plantations, and associated industries; and
- expansion of native forest-based pulpwood industries and the establishment and expansion of export woodchip schemes (supposedly to be later converted to domestic suppliers).

Overseas pulpwood 'demand' was largely used to justify the expansion of export woodchip schemes. Predicted increased domestic demand was also used to justify expansion. This was grossly over-estimated, as a comparison of actual consumption since 1974 with that predicted by Forwood shows.<sup>12</sup>

The goal of self-sufficiency through import-replacement has since continued to be used to promote a high or increased rate of plantation establishment on both a state and regional basis.<sup>13</sup> However, as an industry goal it has been supplanted by the

ambition to develop a large export softwood industry. This new phase in industry development and growth is supposedly essential to satisfy foreign wood 'needs' and has the support of the AFC and other government forestry planners.<sup>14</sup> However the real reason for the export push is that the industry does not expect future domestic wood consumption to be as large as predicted by Forwood or the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.<sup>15</sup> Industry now sees the profitable avenue for expansion as the export markets, and much effort is now being put into lobbying governments for

incentives, concessions, etc to make export schemes easier for industry to establish.<sup>16</sup>

Some state governments and forest services are anticipating the establishment of export industries and are planning increased plantation establishment for them. As well, promotion of increased native hardwood sawn-timber and woodchip exports is receiving support despite overcutting and decreased wood supplies. If fully promoted and established, as the industry and influential sections of the forest bureaucracies desire, they will result in the continuation and expansion of the intensive forestry/tree farming practices which are so damaging to the forests.

### Help with industry initiatives

Forest services provide invaluable support, as a voice within the state apparatus itself, for measures which industry benefits from or lobbies for, either as a whole industry or as individual firms (for example, measures such as an increased commitment to pines in a particular area to make possible a new installation, for increases in quotas and so on). The industry can speak with one voice on many issues, such as not raising royalties, and in fact well represented on bodies engaged in regulation. For example, in Queensland, the Royalty Advisory Board, which advises the Minister on royalty levels, has a composition of six representatives from industry, two from the forest service, one from the Industry and Commerce Department, and one independent Chairman. Under the advice of this body, royalties were not raised at all during the period 1974 — 79, even to keep pace with inflation.<sup>17</sup>

Individual firms may lobby for specific legislative items or items of policy, with forest service support, or the forest service itself may take the initiative. An example is the 1981 amendment to the Victorian Forestry Act allowing the Forests Commission, with approval from the Governor-in-Council, to approve log allocation licences of between three and twenty years. Previously any supply agreements longer than three years had to be ratified by parliament. The major industry group pushing for this amendment was Bowater-Scott who saw it as necessary for increased profitability. The Forests Commission also supported the legislation for these reasons.<sup>18</sup>

The legislation does not have any mechanism for public scrutiny of licences before approval. It also permits the industry and the commission to avoid parliamentary scrutiny of the economic, social and environmental implications of these licences, which, once issued, become extremely difficult to retract or alter. At present the only potential for public and parliamentary examination of such licences lies in having a sympathetic government in Victoria.

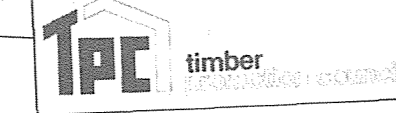
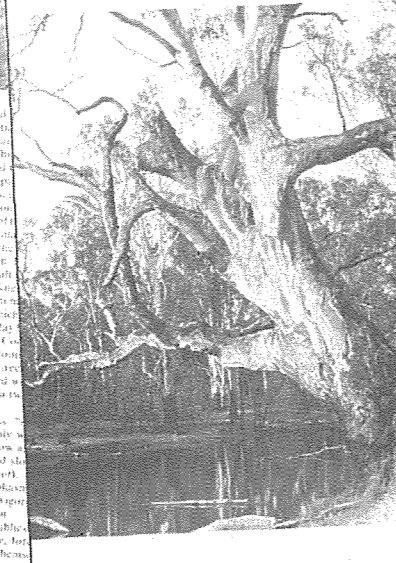
## SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS ARE FORESTERS

by Nancy Patten, Forests Commission, Victoria



Getting to know a tree is easy, if you know where to go. I had never met one till last year when I joined the staff of the Forests Commission. They are an important part of the Commission's activities.

## Red Gum



### The Woodchip Export Industry

**How much forest is cut** 4% of Tasmania's commercially valuable forests are harvested each year. In fact the total area harvested each year is less than 1% of the total area of the State. This same area also provides saw log because forest harvesting is an integrated operation. In fact, the State's pulpwood industry makes it possible to recover valuable timber which would otherwise be lost.

**How much forest is protected** 12 1/2% of Tasmania's native forests are contained within parks and reserves controlled by the National Parks and Wildlife Service and the Lands Department. Those forests will never be touched. You can add to that all the forest areas that will not be harvested because they are within streamside reserves, special scenic areas, difficult terrain or simply because there is a need to protect certain areas and species. The reserve estimate within the EIS, which provides for the continuation of the industry, is based on only approximately 4% of Tasmania's native forests.

**THE FACTS** Helping sawmillers

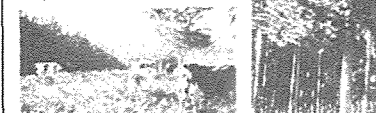
The woodchip export industry has seen significant growth in recent years. It provides direct and indirect employment for some 4000 Tasmanians. That makes it a very valuable industry to the State. In the next 10 years, the industry is capable of earning \$1 billion in export income and throughout that time 4000 people will be kept in employment — most of them in country areas where jobs are hard to find. During the same 10 years the total area harvested for the forest industry will be only 4% of the total area of Tasmania. And as each year passes the forests that are harvested will be replaced with even better stands of valuable timber for the future.

**What the industry is worth** The woodchip export industry earns Tasmania more than \$100 million in export earnings each year. It provides direct and indirect employment for some 4000 Tasmanians. That makes it a very valuable industry to the State. In the next 10 years, the industry is capable of earning \$1 billion in export income and throughout that time 4000 people will be kept in employment — most of them in country areas where jobs are hard to find. During the same 10 years the total area harvested for the forest industry will be only 4% of the total area of Tasmania. And as each year passes the forests that are harvested will be replaced with even better stands of valuable timber for the future.

**Associated Pulp and Paper Mills** 190 Choke Street, Launceston, Tas. 7250

### There's money in growing trees

Provided you own land in the Mount Gambier or Portland area and have the initiative to contact Softwood Holdings Limited about farm forestry, you are well on the way to supplementing your income through trees. Remember that once your pines are past the initial growing stage and reasonably established, grazing stock can mingle freely with them — a sensible way of making your land really work for you.



The Foresters of Softwood Holdings Limited will be very happy to give advice on...

- Land suitability
- Establishment methods and costs
- Expected cash returns
- Softwood Holdings Farm Forestry Agreement and its advantages. In the woodlot owner, particularly regarding rights for the woodlot owner and its complementary of the schemes of Government Forest Services.
- Any other queries you may have



Excerpts from timber journals.

Forest services may be so anxious to accommodate the industry that they may even decrease their own powers to assist it. One such case is the Tasmanian forest service initiative in 1978 for legislation which prevents the Minister for Forests from altering forest management plans without the written approval of the relevant company and the Forestry Commission.<sup>19</sup> This legislation places much of what goes on in allegedly public forests beyond the control of the Minister, or that of the Commission, and beyond even the limited public control offered by the ordinary political process.

### The framework of cooperation

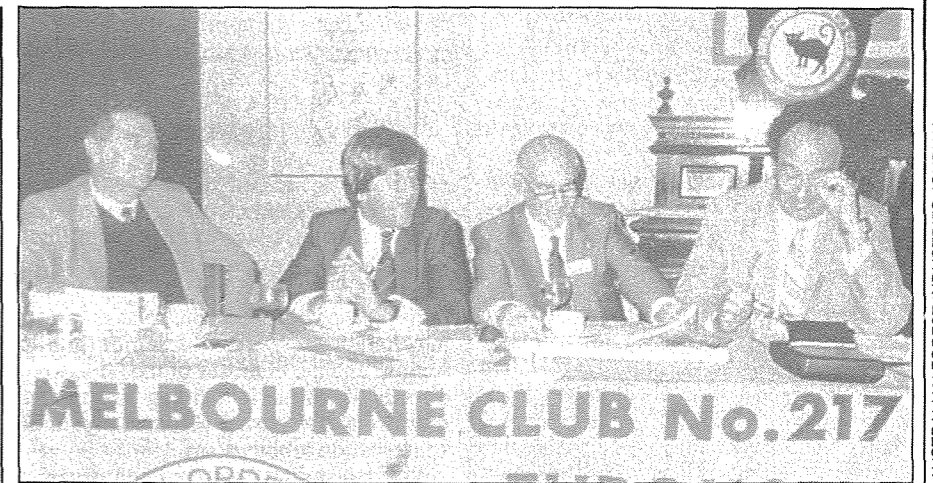
The cooperation between government bureaucracy and industry, illustrated above, is maintained to a large degree through a pattern a social, ideological and organised linkages. This ensures the dominance of a shared perspective and identification of forest service interests with those of the industry. At a general level this operates to provide an overall framework which is friendly to industry and is hostile to alternative views and to criticism of industry dominance.

Linkages seem to be made primarily through organisations, although there is also a pattern of cultivating links on a less institutionalised level, especially locally, (for example, through personal social contact between foresters and contractors). Organisations to which both industry representatives and forest service representatives belong form an important bridge.

Of the many such organisations, one of the most prominent is the Hoo-Hoo Club, which now has branches in a number of states (e.g. The Timber Industry Club in New South Wales). The Hoo-Hoo Club was originally set up to promote the interests of the timber industry. It appears to recruit members on a systematic basis, with an attempt made to obtain representatives from each firm and matching representatives from the forest service and associated research organisations such as the CSIRO. In the year 1976/77, for example, forest service and CSIRO employees appeared to be the largest group in the Melbourne Hoo-Hoo Club.

Another similar organisation is the Institute of Wood Science. The Australian branch of the Institute was formed in 1973 and links industry people with scientific and technical people working with wood for industry's benefit. Many of these scientists are in fact employed in public service departments either in one of the divisions of CSIRO or a forest service.

At the inaugural meeting, the role of the Institute was clearly enunciated by the



Melbourne Hoo-Hoo Club meeting, March 1985.

Chairman, Dr WE Hillis, who was an employee of the CSIRO, as being to help 'effect improvements in our industry', through coordinated wood technology research and the application of that research. The commitment of the Institute to the industry and greater 'efficiency, profit and acceptability of wood as a material' was also expressed in the Chairman's invitation to 'firms, associations and corporations who would wish to help us financially — to approach Mr Knott and his receipt book'.<sup>20</sup>

Important, if less spectacular, contributions to this framework of cooperation are made by several other organisations. The Institute of Foresters of Australia has regular meetings and conferences and has a membership drawn from both the forest services and from industry foresters (eg APM foresters). Frequent conferences provide a common link and a meeting point between industry and foresters. Regular conferences include:

- The All-Australian Timber Congress (every year)
- The Australian Timber Industry Stabilisation Conference
- The CSIRO Forest Product Conferences
- Australian Pulp and Paper Industries Trade Association (APPITA) Conferences
- Forwood and its progeny.

Numerous committees have also been formed to advise the government on matters relating to the forestry and forest products industries. These committees, which are not repeated for other interest groups such as community conservation organisations, provide direct access for the industry and forest services to the commonwealth. This is often essential for national coordination of activities carried out at a state level.<sup>21</sup> These committees include:

- Australian Forestry Council (AFC)
- Standing Committee of the AFC
- Directors of Research Committee

- Forest and Forest Products Pests and Diseases Committee
- Australian Forestry and Forest Industries Conference
- Australian Forest Products Industries Advisory Council
- Joint Consultative Council on Forest Industries
- Timber Industry Training Committee.

Foresters and industry personnel are also linked in the Timber Promotion Councils (Victoria), which have both industry and service representation, and its equivalent in other states. (In New South Wales the equivalent is the Timber Advisory Committee).

### Personnel exchange

Personnel exchange in forestry further helps to produce and presupposes the development of a shared perspective. Exchange occurs in a characteristic pattern. It has become traditional for senior members of the forest services, upon retirement, to transfer their knowledge and skills to the industry by becoming a timber company director, an industry consultant or an advocate for industry lobby groups. At the senior level this has virtually become the rule rather than the exception. Virtually every Victorian Commissioner who has retired in the last ten years has gone to work for one of the industry lobby groups or campaigns such as the Forest Industries Resource Management Group (FIRM) and The Forest View.

One of the main occupations of such groups is opposing environmental groups. FIRM takes its major membership from the Victorian Sawmillers Association (VSA), plus representation from Australian Paper Mills Forests Pty. Ltd. (APM), Smorgen Consolidated Industries, Hardboards (Australia) Ltd, Jennings Industries Ltd, Alstergren Timber Holdings Pty Ltd and Australian Forest Industries Pty Ltd.

It was formed to 'correct the false impression given to the public by the anti-industry conservation lobby' and 'it has been active at top level representation to Government'.<sup>22</sup>

Numerous other examples abound in the recent history of Australian forestry. For example, L W Elsey, a Commissioner with the Forests Commission of Victoria (FCV) for six years until his retirement in January 1973, was appointed Director of Timber Holdings Ltd on 9 March 1973<sup>23</sup>, clearly flaunting the Westminster rule that no public servant should within two years of retirement transfer to working for the industry they were supposed to regulate. Timber Holdings is one of Australia's larger timber companies, directly and through its subsidiaries involved in hardwood and softwood sawmilling in Victoria and elsewhere.

Similarly, A O Lawrence and FR Moulds, both Chairmen of the FCV, also both became Chairmen of the Timber Promotion Council upon retirement, while FR Moulds also became a forestry consultant and prepared a major report for FIRM promoting the logging of Melbourne's forested water catchments,<sup>24</sup> something the FCV had been advocating for many years.<sup>25</sup> Don McIntosh joined Harris-Daishowa (Australia) Pty Ltd (export woodchippers) in 1976 after being Director of Forestry in Papua New Guinea. G J Rodger, previously Conservator of Forests in South Australia, was appointed a director of Softwood Holdings (softwood product manufacturers based at Mount Gambier and Portland, and a member of the Timber Holdings group).

Dr Max Jacobs, an extremely influential figure in Australian forestry, a former Director-General of the Forestry and Timber Bureau and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the AFC, went to work for a Tasmanian company, Australian Pulp and Paper Mills (APPM), on retirement. His name, photograph and former position were prominent in brochures produced by them to promote woodchipping and counter environmental criticism. He also did consulting work for New Zealand Forest Products Ltd, assisted in the establishment of the Stand Up and Be Heard Campaign formed to counter environmental criticism of the industry, and became its spokesperson. He then became spokesperson for the lobby group, The Forest View, which grew out of the Stand Up and Be Heard Campaign, as did Max Gilbert, after he retired as Commissioner of Tasmanian Forestry Commission in 1975.<sup>26</sup>

In fact, the establishment of The Forest View was assisted by forestry bureaucrats. When the Stand Up and Be Heard Campaign could no longer continue its work on

the same basis, an approach was made to the Joint Committee on Forest Industries (JCIFI) which was established under the auspices of the AFC. A special sub-committee of the JCIFI called a national meeting in Sydney in June 1974. The meeting was chaired by DAN Cromer, then Director-General of the Forestry and Timber Bureau. It was at this meeting that the industry representatives decided to form The Forest View to present the industry viewpoint on conservation at the national level.<sup>27</sup> Thus a senior public servant and a committee of the AFC were directly involved in helping the timber industry to establish a pro-industry, anti-conservation lobby group.

Mechanisms such as common organisations, conferences and job exchange then help to ensure that foresters continue to see themselves primarily as part of the industry. Beyond any system of individual financial bribery and corruption, this ideological corruption ensures a shared perspective, that foresters will remain inimical to those who oppose the dominance of industrial interests in our forests, and act as promoters and guardians of the welfare of industry.

Political control over these powerful bureaucracies is also much more limited than usually realised. Ministers ready to take on the system of forest services and industry do not appear frequently, but when they do they can find themselves faced with obstruction, lack of cooperation and information (as happened to a recent Victorian Minister), or even out of a job entirely (as happened in the case of Tasmanian minister, Andrew Lohrey<sup>28</sup>).

Clearly the establishment of public control over the forests and over the forestry industry via forest bureaucracies is largely illusory. State-owned forests are managed by forest bureaucracies for industry, and are 'public' in a very limited sense only (primarily in terms of who foots the bills and of not excluding public access, although in some cases, eg Tasmania, even this latter concession is heavily qualified. This is one important factor (although not the only one) behind the evergreen problems of forest degradation and industrialisation environmentalists constantly encounter.

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# 'bourne again

*Make Melbourne Marvellous.* The title of a new tourist book for Melbourne? Hardly. This seventy-page trail-blazing booklet is a draft program for a Socialist Alternative Melbourne for the year 2000. It caused a furore and was maligned by the daily papers following its launching by the lord mayor of Melbourne, Eddie Beacham in April 1985. For the first time the media had to respond to a set of comprehensively argued alternative plans to make Melbourne a better place in which to live, work and play. It's based on restructuring Melbourne's industries and urban form on an ecological, anti-patriarchal and socialist basis.

The program is neither a dream of an attainable utopian society, nor is it obsessed with an account of day-to-day difficulties. Still less is it concerned with yesterday's doctrinal wrangles. It aims for common ground, and has been deliberately produced in draft form to invite wide discussion in socialist, radical and progressive circles. The Socialist Alternative Melbourne (SAM) Collective is comprised of a range of individuals with much experience in the environment, socialist, feminist and trade union movements and includes members from local government and the childcare services movement.

Gerry Herrent, from 3RRR-FM's 'Alternatives' program, interviewed three of the authors, Ruth and Maurie Crow and Peter Atkins. What follows is an edited transcript of the interview.

**Q. Ruth and Maurie, your own work in urban action groups and alternative plans for Melbourne's development stretch back over some years. Where does this document fit in?**

**Maurie:** We have been involved in producing similar but not so comprehensive documents in other popular movements and helped with other documents under the name of the Communist Party. But this one has a specific political character; we were trying to overcome the fragmentation of socialists, radicals and progressives in the environment, women's, anti-nuclear movements and so on. These movements have been developing for some years, and very often the people in them overlap quite a bit. They were coming to realise that it's important to pool all our experiences and especially to get our aims clear.

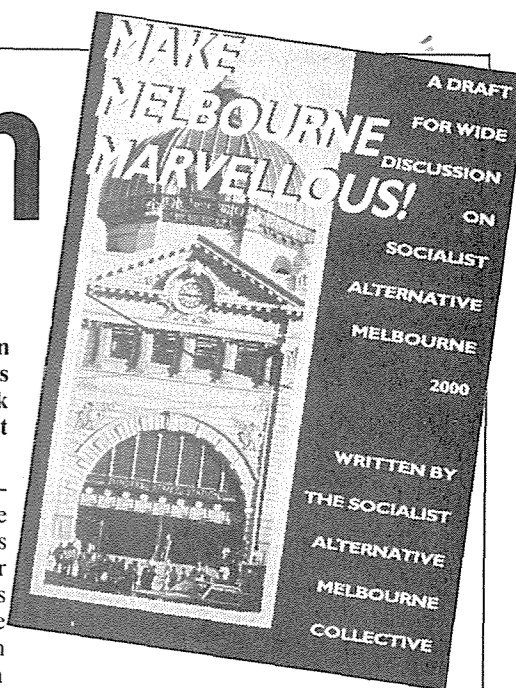
**Q. Peter, as one of the younger members of the group, what have you had to do with it?**

**Peter:** My initial interest and contribution to *Make Melbourne Marvellous* stems from my experience as a local community development activist, from my training as a townplanner and as an environmentalist. Melbourne's suburbs have sprawled and been built without any regard to environmental or social limits. We continue to assume that oil is freely available and the lifestyle of suburban dwellers is as good as it could be. Of course the truth is far from it. Oil is becoming more scarce and costly with cars becoming a greater burden to our daily movement patterns, health and local social life, particularly for women and children.

The city should be gradually restructured to make the metropolitan area more lively, a human place, with more activities within walking and cycling distance to reduce our dependence upon the car. If the concerns of the community control movement are also taken into account in such restructuring, then neighbourhood houses and forms of local democracy need building into it.

**Q. You appear to be at loggerheads with the way our society runs, of the cities which have sprung up from these forces. What social issues underline your work?**

**Maurie:** Australia is a very affluent country; there just shouldn't be any poverty. It's quite immoral the way social movements have to battle just to get people off the



poverty line.

What's distorting our economy over the recent period has been the very rapid development of multinationals who have forced upon us a very consumerist way of life. It's not an evil intent on their part; they just want to sell their products. The result is that people have no other way of living except in this pattern. It is this which the book deals with — and also with what our industry should be making and how. We see that the shape of metropolitan Melbourne reflects a pattern of development and consumerist processes that principally serve the transnationals.

We're not talking about creating a carless society as it has been so often misreported in the papers nor about taking over all industries. Rather it's these patterns in the urban form and some of the social systems — who we work for and the way we work — that we are proposing changes to.

**Q. One of the things discussed in detail in the book is housing and tenancy which is a major concern for most people . . .**

**Ruth:** A very large percentage of Australia's population own their own homes or aim to, so we're not talking of nationalising housing and taking away that sense of direct ownership. But we do recognise that the home has two values, its use value that serves the family or individual for their shelter needs at that particular time of life; and the exchange value, the market value for the house, which tends to warp the whole way people live and the housing they choose. In *Make Melbourne Marvellous* we've proposed a new form of 'shelter title' that would give people security of residence and for those in the community that don't want to have a settled way of life, we've also got a variety of other types of accommodation being provided.

**Q. You've said that you don't want to nationalise all industry, but what sort of democratic processes are you proposing?**

**Maurie:** We don't see nationalisation as the essence of socialism. We feel that it's an old-fashioned way of understanding the nature of social change. Certainly the big transnationals have to be under public control, 'nationalised' if you like. If the oil industry, the steel industry, car industry and the big media, are not under public control, then you get a continuation of the incessant 'buy, buy, buy'. So we do want to see public control over these giant corporations.

The small and middle-sized industries would be left to carry on as they are. At present in Australia they are the most labour intensive industries and providing that there is no overriding need for public control over these smaller firms we see them, in the first stages of socialism, just continuing as they are now. We are positively encouraging the development of cooperatives and very small businesses where the employer works alongside employees or apprentices.

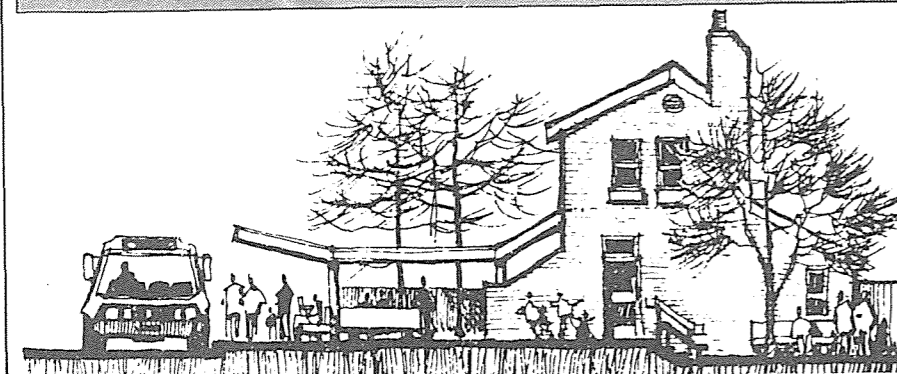
What we see as an overriding principle across all industry is the idea of self-management and this will take many different forms. We feel this is an important element of socialism. Self-management is

the idea of collectives running the show and not having a boss or a dictator or someone else telling you what to do.

**Ruth:** And of course when we're talking about employment we are not just talking about employment in industry but also the service industry. In the very same way that the transnationals exploit our rich resources there is the beginnings of overseas capitalist interests penetrating our services, our nursing homes and even our child care. The commercial lobby in the services is very, very strong. If we are going to have democratic control they can't be run as profit-making concerns.

**Q. So the book's on about people taking responsibility for the environment, their locality . . . ?**

**Maurie:** What we've said in the book is that there's nothing wrong with the old objectives of socialism. You know, from each according to their ability, to each according to their need. But the scene's shifted and in modern life two very important aspects which have to be added to those earlier socialist objectives. One is an ecologically responsible society and the other is an anti-patriarchal society where women can really share and fulfill themselves in a collective way and not have this age-old domination of men.



## Make Melbourne Marvellous

### Discussion day

Sunday 13 October 1985  
At the YWCA,  
489 Elizabeth St,  
Melbourne  
10.00 am to 4.30 pm  
\$5.00/\$3.00 concession

*Chain Reaction* and *Australian Left Review* invite you to come along and voice your views on the issues raised by the Socialist Alternative Melbourne Collective in their draft program for a democratic, socialist, anti-patriarchal and ecology-respecting Melbourne.

#### Program

Welcome  
Introductory speakers  
Tea-break  
Workshop discussions on:  
*The shape of industry*  
*The shape of Melbourne*  
*A coalition for change?*  
*Other workshops as requested*  
Lunch  
Repeat of workshops  
Tea-break  
Report-back from workshops  
Farewell

Requests for additional workshops on areas of interest to you are welcome. To be kept informed of developments, please register early.

Send your name, address and phone number, plus registration fee, to:

**SAM Collective**  
c/- Communist Party of Australia  
12 Exploration Lane  
Melbourne  
Vic 3000.  
Tel: (03) 662 3799

Copies of *Make Melbourne Marvellous* can also be obtained from the collective, for \$5/\$3 concession plus \$1 postage.

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### Books

*Uprooting War* by Brian Martin.  
Freedom Press, London, 1984, 300 pages, \$8.00 (paperback). Available from: Canberra Peacemakers, GPO Box 1875, Canberra. ACT 2601.

Reviewed by Mark D Hayes

I think that *Uprooting War* by Brian Martin is one of the most important and relevant books for activists and scholars struggling against a range of manifestations of domination in Australia today. I unreservedly endorse and recommend this book and urge that every activist buy it and read it carefully.

As a social scientist, I am conscious of being burdened by a long personal history of grappling with sometimes difficult intellectual traditions and writings and with having to justify my own work within the strictures of orthodox academic standards. The discipline of Academe is useful because it imposes mental and writing discipline upon one, but when taken too far, it is like a mental straitjacket.

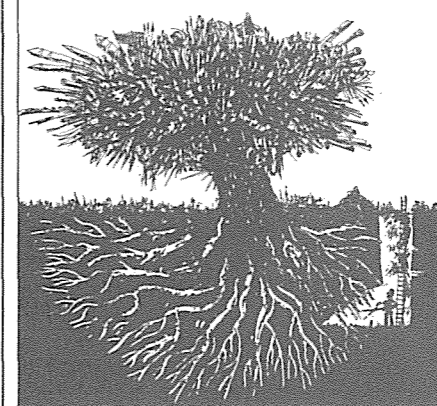
Brian Martin is American-born with a doctorate in theoretical physics from Sydney University. He left the USA in 1969 to avoid the draft and ended up in Australia. He currently works at the Australian National University as an applied mathematician, but he is also a self-educated social scientist with a learned and finely-honed writing skill.

He is unburdened by that intellectual luggage I mentioned earlier. But this does not detract from his analysis one iota, which should be a salutary lesson to scholars and academics. I think Brian Martin is one of the sharpest peace movement thinkers writing in Australia today.

The history of *Uprooting War* is an integral part of its purpose. Over the last four years, Brian has written articles for journals such as *Social Alternatives*, *The Journal of Peace Research*, and *The Bulletin of Peace Proposals* which have struck me as being some of the most incisive and relevant pieces on grassroots activism and practical peacemaking I have

### BRIAN MARTIN *Uprooting War*

FREEDOM PRESS



read from an Australian writer. Prior to submitting those pieces, he has sent them out to friends and contacts around Australia, myself included, for their comments and suggestions. Thus I feel that I have been part of a cooperative enterprise which has been steadily evolving over a number of years, the fruition of which is *Uprooting War*.

*Uprooting War* is published by Freedom Press, a London-based printing cooperative specialising in libertarian and self-management literature. The general philosophy of this group is completely consistent with Brian's purpose in the book.

Brian is fairly well known as a promoter of the idea of social defence in Australia. As a member of Canberra Peacemakers, Brian was one of the compilers of a four-page broadsheet on social defence which has been circulated widely through the peace movement over the last few years. The central concept in *Uprooting War* is social defence.

Social defence, in essence, involves nonviolent grassroots direct action and organising techniques applied to develop a more liberated, cooperative, less dominated and dominating lifestyle. A more restrictive definition of social defence would limit it

to describing a civilian-based nonviolent national defence strategy which would involve a nation training itself in nonviolent tactics to be used in an invasion-type situation to erode the very basis upon which the invader's domination of the invaded nation depends: the habitual or coerced, but generally reliable, obedience of the dominated people. If prepared and rehearsed in advance, the deterrence potential of social defence appears to be high.

One of the fascinating questions about social defence turns on whether or not an Australian government would, at some stage in the future, embrace even a limited form of social defence, as the Swiss and Swedish governments have done, even as an adjunct to conventional defence options. Would an Australian government trust its citizens with a wide range of grassroots empowerment, organising, and resistance strategies and tactics which could, and almost certainly would, be used to significantly improve resolution of social conflicts far removed from strict national defence? I hardly think that any sensible government would seriously contemplate officially tooling its citizens up with the means already being used by oppositional movements struggling against some of its own policies.

Dr Ross Babbage in his excellent book, *Rethinking Australia's Defence* (1980), wrote in his brief discussion of nonviolent civilian-based defence that for an Australian government to even contemplate the idea would be tantamount to admitting to its people that it could not conventionally defend them. Babbage dryly remarked that such realistic admissions are not usual from governments.

I remain curious why governments seem eager to train (usually) men in how to use military tactics and weapons in armed combat which could just as easily be used against the government in some extreme situations. They seem ready to trust people with guns and unwilling to trust people with nonviolent training and organising skills.

The lesson to be learned, as Brian points out in *Uprooting War*, is that appeals to elites — focusing campaign attention on those sectors of our society which have

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much to lose as a result of effective challenges to their interests — is a dubious strategy to exclusively pursue. We should ask: 'Whose interests are being defended — our general interests or the interests of some elite groupings who have conned us into thinking that our collective interests are identical to theirs?'

A more realistic strategy is to appeal to elites, but not put too much faith in them, and simultaneously work more on independent, pro-active, grassroots resistance strategies. For people with a libertarian persuasion, thinking along these lines raises all kinds of interesting notions about the nature of the state and the origins and maintenance of routine domination which we call 'government'.

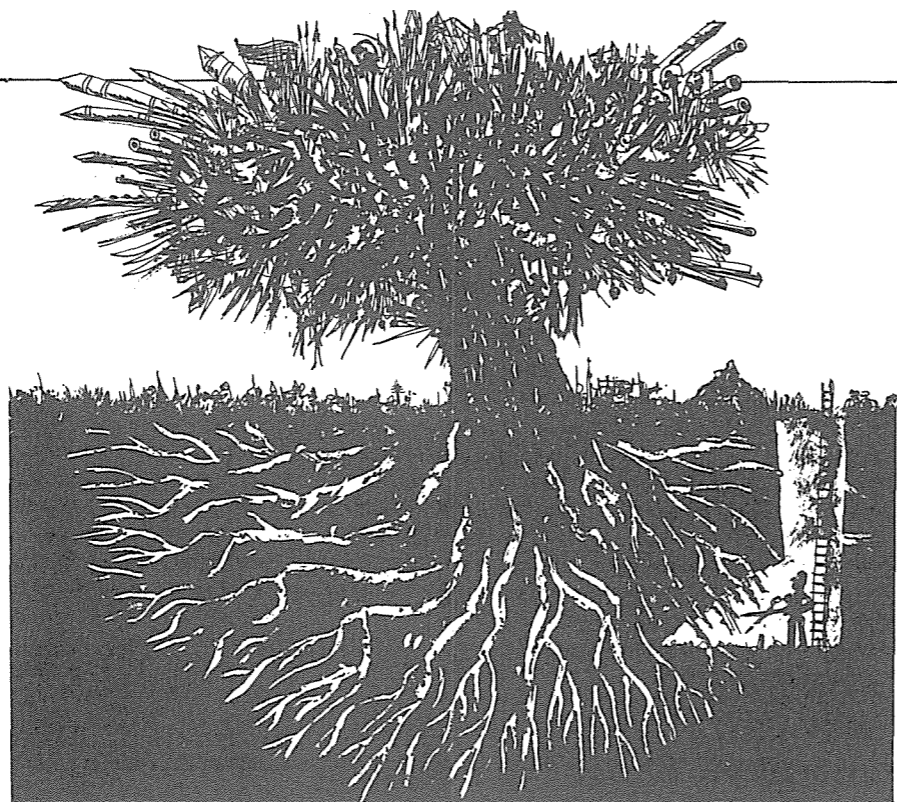
Brian's case for social defence is set in the far wider context of its relationship to and relevance for oppositional struggles. In this sense, 'social defence' can be interpreted as a citizen's defence strategy against domination and its manifestations.

He starts with an incisive critique of standard anti-war methods, reconstructs those strategies, applies them to social defence, peace conversion, grassroots mobilisation, and then works through a series of libertarian case-studies of the individual, the state, bureaucracy, the administrative class, the military, patriarchy, state socialism and other issues such as capitalism, racism, the domination of nature, innate violence and size of institutions and social structures.

Scattered throughout the core of the book are appealing and insightful personal asides and comments from Brian and friends in Canberra Peacemakers which help ground the theory and assist enormously in removing the book from the theoretical heavenlies. *Uprooting War* is burdened by what amounts to enlightened commonsense.

In the section headed 'The Individual', for example, are four short personal histories from Robert Griew, Janet Hunt, Brian Martin and Rosemary Walters which address the general question: 'What makes an activist?' All four are longterm social change activists now based in Canberra. Their stories are highly useful.

It would be valuable for more activists to write their own personal histories using these as a general guide as an important



exercise in constant self-reflection. Some activists I know, often Christians actually, keep a regular personal journal or diary as an adjunct to their spiritual and activist development. If those histories could be gathered into group collections, shared around the group and amongst other groups, an informal movement written and oral historical data-base might be steadily created which would help us all to isolate common elements which appear to be central to successful, sustainable activism.

One point which appears relevant is that the activists maintain some sort of hobby or non-movement interests which help keep them fairly sane. Brian Martin plays a number of instruments in a quartet called (love the name) 'Windpower'. As something of a lapsed musician myself who still enjoys occasionally tinkling the ivories, I can relate to that. He mentions this group as an example of cooperative organising far removed from the peace movement.

Another common point which strikes me as important about the four histories in *Uprooting War* is that having children or maintaining a longterm intimate relationship might be difficult if one also wants to be a serious, longterm activist. Brian and his friends *do not* suggest that serious activists should remain childless or embrace contingent or complete celibacy. It just seems that either or both of these life-choices are common in their histories. We would all know longterm activists who are neither childless or celibate, who remain quite sane, and rarely, if ever, contract burn-out. If strategies can be worked out which creatively address these kinds of questions, a healthier and saner movement might eventually emerge.

The last two chapters in *Uprooting War* are the ones which might upset most activists. They criticise the notion of 'Nuclear Extinction', almost a 'received truth' in the peace movement. We all know the general argument: 'We're all gonna die in a nuclear war or soon after so the only struggle worth waging is against nuclear war. Talking about post-holocaust survival reproduces the ideology of militarism we're struggling against.'

Brian's own scientific expertise has led him to the conclusion that nuclear extinction is by no means certain, 'nuclear winter' data notwithstanding. He argues that basing a peace movement strategy on the notion of nuclear extinction and then appealing to elites to act in the light of this information is dangerous, not the least because elites have a habit of failing to act logically in response to eminently sane and sensible arguments advanced by opposition movements.

I had a lot of trouble initially coping with Brian's anti-nuclear thesis when he sent me the early drafts of his papers on the topic. Over a few years, I learned a lot more about the possible and probable effects of nuclear war. One thing I did was to work out what a worst-case three-megatonne nuclear attack on Brisbane would do, basing my detailed analysis in the 1982 Ambio reference scenario for global nuclear war. What surprised me at the end of the study was *not* that about half of the population of the Greater Brisbane area would probably die, but that about half of the population would survive in good to excellent condition, along with much of the industrial base of the region.

In short, despite the scientific debate about nuclear winter data remaining very lively, a lot of people will die in a nuclear war and civilisation as we know it will be seriously disrupted. Everybody except the US Defense Department is agreed on that general point. More to the point, a lot of people will survive in good to excellent physical condition and much of our civilization, especially in Australia, will remain surprisingly intact. This means lots of refugees. The state, in Britain, Western Europe, the USA, Eastern Europe, the USSR, and apparently now in Australia as well, is preparing for domination of those refugees along brutally totalitarian lines.

A task urgently required by the movement is for somebody who can get their hands on the relevant data to do what Duncan Campbell has been doing for years in *New Statesman* and what Peter Laurie did in *Beneath the City Streets* (1979) for Britain: uncover the secret and not-so-secret plans being prepared in Australia for a post-nuclear war or extreme civil emergency 'strong-state' scenario. One day, we might wake up, or be dragged from our beds at 2.00 am, to find ourselves existing under a strict martial law regime imposed because the state has blundered or lurched into a serious emergency to which it feels the only possible response is to obliterate the very liberties and freedoms it is supposedly tasked by the rest of society to protect.

Rest assured that, as the well researched BBC-Nine Network telemovie *Threads* vividly showed for Britain, peace activists will be amongst the first to be rounded up in the event of a possible nuclear war emergency. We're too experienced in popular organising and resistance tactics to be allowed loose to inflame the population against the state's preparations for its self-destruction. Why do you think Special Branches and ASIO keep all those dossiers on us?

One angle of this investigation 'beneath Australia's streets' would be to trace who is currently doing what kinds of detailed, officially-financed policy research on state emergency services' responses to the combination of massive bushfires, earthquakes, severe cyclones, major industrial accidents such as oil refinery, gas or chemical plant leaks, explosions and fires. The closest artificial example of such combinations of natural and/or artificial disasters and mass population control scenarios is nuclear attack.

Also relevant are a range of mass population control strategies such as evacuation, detainment and internment of large numbers of dissidents, as well as intimidation or control of the rest of the population which was the central point of

the British government's booklet, *Protect and Survive*. All of this comes under the delightful misnomer of 'civil defence'.

Aside from criticising the 'nuclear extinction' belief-statement widespread throughout the movement and wider society, Brian argues that social defence strategies can significantly assist resistance to such civil defence nonsense, dormant and escalating preparations for the 'strong state', and the wider struggle against nuclear war, as well as perform a vital function in assisting civilian recovery in the event of a nuclear war, including struggle against the depredations of the post-war totalitarian state.

If we are realistic about it, there is a distinct possibility that there *will* be a nuclear war irrespective of all our heroic efforts against it. Depressing though it might be, we should all think realistically about our individual and group responses to all the unpleasant possibilities. We are kidding ourselves if we embrace nuclear survivalism or repress the possibility of nuclear war or state emergency and write them off the movement agenda completely.

Joanna Rogers Macy's vital contribution of 'Despairwork' helps creatively address despair or angst which can and does overtake activists from time to time, as I can personally testify having been wracked by intellectually paralysing despair on occasion and having done despair and personal empowerment workshops to help heal my psyche. That Brian Martin does not mention 'Despairwork' in *Uprooting War* is something of an oversight on his part, but by no means a major one as many elements of 'Despairwork' are mentioned throughout the book in discussions of practical group work and cooperative organising strategies.

*Uprooting War* comes with a very useful 'Terminology' section, in which Brian clarifies a range of concepts such as 'strategy', 'social defence', 'war', and 'the state', an annotated 'References' section which is itself a handy document to have available in any form; and an 'Index'. This last item will be exceptionally helpful as *Uprooting War* will be a book to which its owners will want to refer often. Just be careful with the paperback book because its binding does not appear overly strong.

In short, *Uprooting War* is a most thoughtful, comprehensive, well-written and, in my opinion, *must read* addition to the literature on practical social change, grassroots organising, and peacemaking.

Strongly, unreservedly, warmly recommended and endorsed.

Mark D Hayes is a post-graduate student at Griffith University and is a member of the Peace Research and Education Centre of Queensland.

**Outbreak of Peace: Poems and Notes from Pine Gap** by Wendy Poussard, Billabong Press, Melbourne, 1984, 44 pages, \$3.95 (paperback).

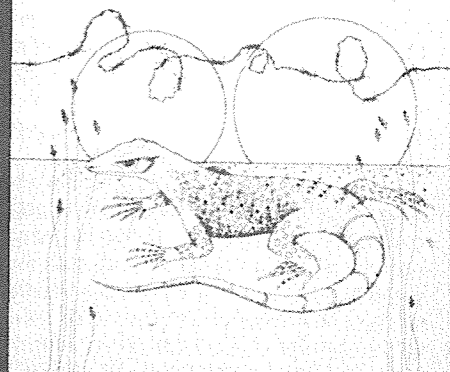
Reviewed by Sarah St Vincent Welch

Everyone involved in the Pine Gap women's peace camp was conscious they were part of an artistic and myth-creating political action. The living nature of the camp — the singing, dancing, banner-making, graffiti-writing, photography, theatre, workshops, eating, sleeping, meeting, planning and protesting — opposed the hidden and malignant 'Joint Defence Space Research Facility' of Pine Gap. The base represents the forces of US militarism and imperialism, and Australia's link to the possibility of nuclear holocaust. The camp brought the hopes and creativity of everyday life to the gates of an installation that only promises death.

Every action at the camp was symbolically charged. The march of 700 women to the gates of Pine Gap on the eleventh day of the eleventh month and their keeping of eleven minutes silence at the eleventh hour subverted and gave new meaning to the traditional silence of remembrance of suffering in war and armistice. In the words of Wendy Poussard in *Outbreak of Peace*, the women 'in a place of death, remembering future wars . . . break the silence'. The daring symbolism of the camp summoned women from all over Australia, compelling them to participate.

## Outbreak of Peace

Poems and Notes from Pine Gap



Wendy Poussard

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Poussard comments on her reasons for joining the action: '... the truth is that I thought the reasons out afterwards (which do not make them untrue). As soon as I heard about the Pine Gap action I knew that I should go.'

I felt a similar compulsion, and was privileged enough to make the pilgrimage to Pine Gap. I feel that all artworks, reports and personal memories of that time are important, to help us remember the history of our struggle for peace and help us look forward. The reasons for the Pine Gap protest of course still exist, and need to be thought out again and again as long as such installations exist. The thousands of women who organised and agonised to get those 700 women there, and all the friends and families who supported them, felt and must feel the same. Everyone involved confronted large, and psychologically almost impossible, political issues, and related them to their personal lives.

Wendy Poussard's *Outbreak of Peace: Poems and notes from Pine Gap* faithfully traces the events and the symbolic impact of the first week of the action. The first section of the book is a series of poems, the second section is in the form of a diary. At times her work has the immediacy of oral history and the cadence of spoken language. As Judith Rodriguez in her introduction writes, Poussard's poems find the 'unforced strength of actuality'.

Each poem deals with a symbol of the protest. This includes the journey to the centre of Australia and the centre of the self, personal life confronting and meeting the political. The Boston Tea Party, the name for the first action where women went over the fence, and the assuming of the name Karen Silkwood by all the women arrested, are dealt with, emphasising the link between present and past protests.

*Rock Fern*, the culminating poem of the book, creates new symbols from the poet's individual perception of the women's action rather than only reproducing the inherent and communal imagery of the event. The leaves of the rock fern wait, ready to unfurl with the touch of rain, as peace and the continuance of life are ready to be touched by those who want to live.

Wendy Poussard's writing, however, displays a curious lack of involvement and a sense of distance from the action. As she

admits in the introduction, 'as I read through my diary I'm a bit shocked to realise what a beginner I was at Pine Gap, even a bit of a drone. But I was there, and I learnt'. Indeed, the diary section is a mere record of what the narrator did, rather than of what she felt or what she confronted. Unfortunately the diary section weakens the impact of the poems. It really only chronicles the events of the women's action from a rather irritating and politically naive perspective, which evokes a holiday atmosphere involving an inordinate amount of ice-cream eating, beer drinking and swimming, rather than the personal sacrifice and political commitment that the action actually involved. I admit that in times of stress the moments of relief become very important, but the diary does not record the stress, the fear, the hardship, or the corresponding joy and empowerment of the camp.

Finally though it should be remembered, to again quote Judith Rodriguez in the introduction to *Outbreak of Peace*, this 'plain account is part of the vital material of our times'.

*Sarah St Vincent Welch is currently New South Wales coordinator of the Women's Electoral Lobby. She participated in the Pine Gap action.*

**The Crisis Deepens: A Review of Resource and Environmental Management in Malaysia 1975-1985**, Sahabat Alam Malaysia, Phoenix Press, Penang, 1985, 50 pages. Available from: SAM, 37 Lorong Birch, Penang, Malaysia.

Reviewed by Eileen Goodfield.

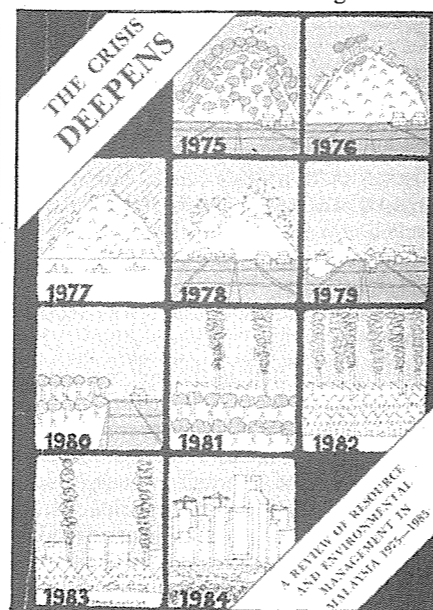
Sahabat Alam Malaysia (SAM), a non-profit, non-government organisation campaigning for environment protection and conservation of natural resources in Malaysia and the Asia-Pacific region, have done an excellent job in this, their fifth report on the state of the Malaysian environment. *The Crisis Deepens* is a book to be read by those who require an overview of the environment crisis, for those who mistakenly assume that it is confined to specific areas. It highlights the problem of over-consumption and waste of resources by developed nations and the privileged minority in the Third World which pose an increasing threat to the environment. Just in case there is a mistaken belief that environmental laws are being applied with good success, SAM report an intensity of feedback indicating serious deterioration in the situation.

The report is divided into ten sections, and is well set out with wide margins containing major points in bold print. The well researched, informative text takes

major resources such as forestry, fishery, wildlife and agriculture showing their depletion and the adverse consequences resulting from their use. Government attempts to rectify the deteriorating situation are described and the successes of environmentalist campaigns are highlighted.

It is a report which makes you feel involved, not one that you read and forget about. It affects you to the extent that you want to follow up the issues, and hope that with the growing public consciousness which SAM reports is evident over the past decade, that public opinion and participation will have an increasing influence in decision-making.

Malaysian environmental organisations are becoming more experienced and networks or information-sharing and co-operation have been established with similar groups all over the world. But in opposition to this, development policies of the Government remain unchanged. Com-



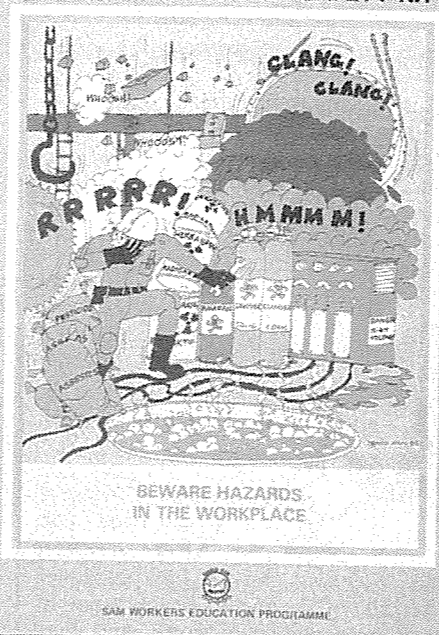
mercial values and the short-term perspective of rapid urbanisation and industrialisation continue to discount the long-term impact on the environment. In SAM's own words:

The message which needs to be received and put into practice by government and the people is that the central question is not whether to choose between development/industrialisation and the environment. Rather, it is to formulate patterns of development that not only minimise adverse impacts, but are actually designed to stabilise and improve environmental and economic conditions.

*The Crisis Deepens* leaves the reader with a sincere hope that SAM will never have to compile such a depressing report again.

*Eileen Goodfield is a member of the Chain Reaction collective and assistant treasurer of Movement Against Uranium Mining in Melbourne.*

## WORKERS HEALTH AND SAFETY KIT



**Workers Health and Safety Kit**, SAM Workers Education Programme, Sahabat Alam Malaysia, Penang, 1985. Available from: SAM, 37 Lorong Birch, Penang, Malaysia.

Reviewed by Sheril Berkovitch

Sahabat Alam Malaysia (SAM), the Malaysian Friends of the Earth organisation, have produced an excellent *Workers Health and Safety Kit* as part of their Workers Education Programme. Although the kit is aimed at Malaysian workers, it also contains a great deal of material of use to workers worldwide.

The kit is divided into three sections: 'General Health and Safety', 'Chemical Hazards' and 'Health and Safety Problems in Industry'. The first section gives general information about the functions of the human body, and the effects of stress, noise, radiation and pollution, and suggests ways in which workers can increase their occupational safety and prevent occupational diseases. It gives suggestions for a survey of the workplace and methods of education to help workers become aware of the hazards they face and to take action.

The 'Chemical Hazards' section deals with lead, benzene, chloride, arsenic, asbestos, industrial solvents and epoxy resins, amongst others, and the 'Industry' section not only takes workers through a list of industries and what they involve, but also describes the hazards workers face and suggests precautions for each of them.

SAM have produced many publications over the years, among them *State of the Malaysian Environment* which stands out as an excellent resource. *Workers Health and Safety Kit* is another one of these, because of its compact style, brief but

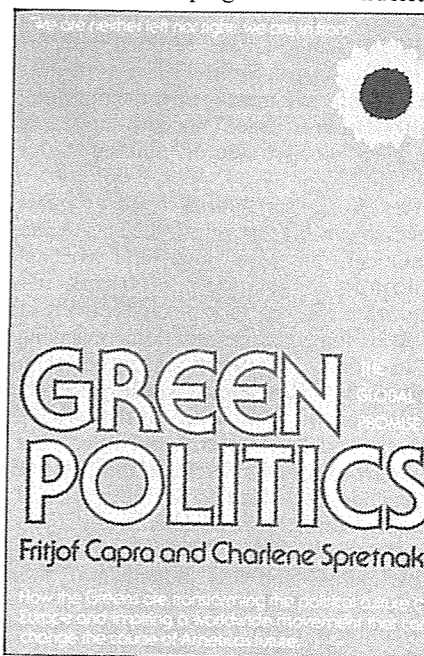
informative nature, and its universality. Whilst workers in Malaysia and other parts of South East Asia face hazards more frequently than their Australian counterparts and have greater difficulty in organising effectively against the companies to remove work hazards, there is still a lot to be done here, especially in the worker education area. The *SAM Kit* could easily be adapted for use in Australia (and, in any event, is well worth a look).

*Sheril Berkovitch is Education Officer for Australia Asia Worker Links, Melbourne.*

**Green Politics** by Fritjof Capra and Charlene Spretnak, E P Dutton, New York, 1984, 244 pages, \$17.95 (hardcover).

Reviewed by Ric Sissons

In March 1983, 27 members of *Die Grunen*, the Greens, entered the Bundestag, the West German parliament. They were the first ecologists to win seats in a European national legislature. With more than two million votes the Green Party has become a vibrant new force in German politics and presents a stark contrast to the traditional, male career-politicians. The Greens are the parliamentary voice of diverse social movements and campaigns — anti-nuclear



groups, ecologists, feminists and the peace movement.

*Green Politics* is an excellent introduction to the history, policy and practices of *Die Grunen* and raises the question of whether that German Green experience is exportable to the rest of the world. According to the authors the glue that holds the Greens together is their perception of themselves as 'fighting for survival' —

hardly surprising in a country which is the prime site for a potential nuclear battle and which is also beset by environmental problems such as the destruction of forests by acid rain.

The Green Party filled a vacuum on the left of German politics vacated by the Social Democratic Party during its years in government. Obviously a similar process is happening in Australia. When the Greens emerged six years ago they ran on a two-issue platform. They called for a decentralised continent based on regions not states. But by January 1983 they had evolved a comprehensive 39-page program, which rests on four basic tenets — ecology, social responsibility, grassroots democracy and non-violence.

Perhaps their most controversial proposal is their peace plan. This calls for West Germany to be non-aligned, leave NATO, ban nuclear weapons and reduce troop numbers. While they advocate the retention of a small army, backed by a large popular reserve, the country's defence policy would centre on civilian non-violent resistance and non-cooperation which the Greens argue has a notable precedent when the Ruhr was occupied by Belgian and French troops in 1923.

*Green Politics* has two major political problems. First, the two American authors dislike of the radicals within the German Green Party is all too transparent. And second, when they conclude the book by taking the reader on a package tour of the world's greens (incidentally Australia is omitted) their judgements are marred by eco over-optimism. To contemplate, as Capra and Spretnak do, that the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, with its hundreds of thousands of supporters, might at some point fuse with the minuscule and marginal Ecology Party is to see the world through green-tinted spectacles!

*Ric Sissons is a writer and editor living in Sydney.*

**House of Words: The Very Last Neos**, (*Neos* issue 9/10), Gleebooks, Glebe, April 1985, 80 pages, \$6.00 (softcover).

Reviewed by Anna-Maria Dell'oso

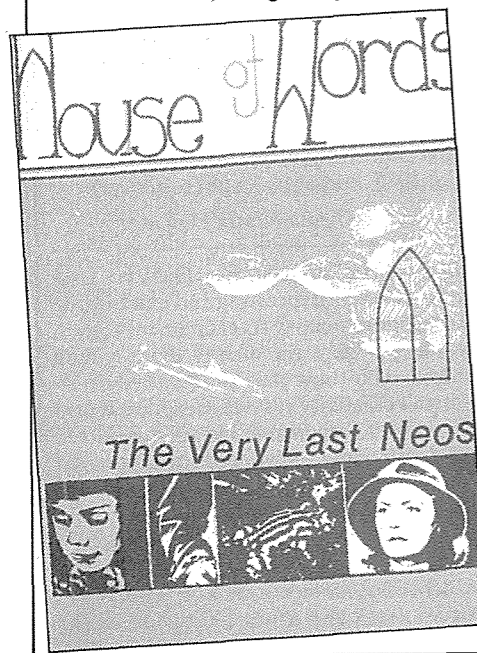
*House of Words*, subtitled 'The Very Last Neos', is both a depressing and exhilarating anthology of poetry. Its excitement comes, as always, from the energy of its young writers, who show that handcrafted do-it-yourself creativity survives despite a world where Art is bought and sold and considered more efficiently produced by approved cliques of professionals on grants of \$20 000 a year. The sadness comes from realising this volume of poetry is, in fact, a farewell from the voices becoming familiar to browsers, bookworms and word-scavengers that hang around Gleebooks, the

# REVIEWS

Cornstalk and The Crocodile and The Phoenix in Glebe, now taking over from Balmain as the word-smith centre of Sydney.

*Neos*, a poetry and prose magazine for young writers (under 25), began in 1981, from the inspiration of Neil Whitfield, a teacher at Fort Street High School. Whitfield sent me a copy of the first *Neos* because in my own youth (which was not that long ago really, I was just barely out of the Under 25 category then myself) I had been deeply affected by being published in Marcia Kirsten's *Youth Writes*, then the only anthology which took young writers seriously. Marcia Kirsten was a formidable personality with her own distinctive vision of literature. She believed in the quest for excellence, for putting 110% of one's soul into any creative endeavour, and was devoted to encouraging what she saw as young talent before the blandness and mediocrity of suburban culture ironed out all our interesting crinkles and creases. One might not always have agreed with her editorial policies but she struggled, and succeeded in giving young writers a voice. Without Marcia Kirsten and *Youth Writes*, I am sure I would not have got very far, for being published puts ideas into your head — and reading others of your generation puts even more ideas into your head.

Neil Whitfield, in beginning *Neos* shortly



before Marcia's death, understood this process perfectly and in this sense, the work of *Neos* has been more vital than that of the big literary magazines such as *Meanjin* and *Southerly*.

Youth is hope, and in young art lies the seeds of the future. As a society, we feel easier with the physical, and so we recognise the need for training performing artists and athletes from babyhood understanding that freedom of execution and the quest inside oneself for expression is fostered by challenge and stimulation. But where is a young writer, who is often considered to be on the dubious borderline between lying and 'making things up', to find this encouragement, the push-pull needed for growth? English courses are designed for the passing of exams and the stylised expression of 'objective' reality. We study Shakespeare as though the words were ancient ruins, icons of creativity, without being replenished by finding that poetic source, that magic within ourselves.

With technology and the rise of the cinema as the major art form of the twentieth century, the person whose facility lies with words is ignored. It is an increasingly mute society seeking new voices, for words have the power to heal, to inspire; when we can give something a name, we give it life, we bring it out of the dark, as George Orwell testified with his vision of Winston Smith's diary as the last words of the last man against the numbing control of *newspeak*, the anti-language, the black sinister side of 'making things up'.

*The House of Words* features guest pieces by 'the grown-ups' such as Anna Couani, Frank Moorhouse and Michael Wilding. Says Couani, 'I think it's important for writers to engage actively in book or magazine production, reviewing or in writer's organisations, rather than wait to be "discovered" within a system which may be antithetical to the writer's interests and development', and the content of the *House of Words* reflects this creative independence. Whitfield is a receptive and flexible editor; run co-operatively by a team of young editor-writers, *Neos* is more experimental and less judgemental, less concerned with success and failure, or the perfection of form. One has to read *Neos* with new eyes if one is not to miss its true value.

The poetry (and the rarer pieces of prose — do young prose writers need their own magazine for longer hauls?) encompass a wide area of experience, from Linda Neil's electric *Five Berlin Poems*, which chart her experiences on both sides of the Berlin Wall, to John Hawke's extraordinary *The First Man Into Hiroshima*, to Mark Roberts' witty improvisation on writer's



block, *Stepping Out Of Line*. Nicholas Sykes talks of 'the poetic spirit' as 'a pair of glasses on a puddle of words' and Jane Meredith, in *Once*, writes with a wry-sad understanding of the cool gulf between young men and women, where even the threatening turbulence of sex is absent: 'late at night/you massaged my legs/having talked 'til 3/about relationships/& being celibate/i knew you were, i loved/you didn't see . . .' 'This is a generation of narcissistically sterile men while women, denied, watch the dying flames: '& part to sleep/i am lonely/in your empty bed of you/wear your dressing gown/& you dream on the couch/through the television/-not about me . . .'

In *There is Nothing Hung* Nguyen tries 'to write a song/about a devastated land/-defoliated vegetables/about some trembling people/in some nervous city/. . . the rhythm/of our demented lives/the foreign knives/that sank in our ribs . . .' while in suburban Australia, Evelyn Tsitas gives a wonderfully wise and poignant analysis of the sparring stasis of a marriage in *Duet*, a finely constructed song about a husband and wife who 'tormenting each other/in the name of duty/Together they drift into middle age/a two car family/with two kinds of emptiness . . .' The poem captures the oddly balanced rhythm of two voices confronting each other. Sad, frustrating but never strident, they make a complementary whole, as 'they yell again/a constant duet/their perfect disharmony of marriage'. Deceptively simple, the poem demonstrates a highly intuitive view of relationships, an ability to balance seemingly irreconcilable points of view. Tsitas has a gift for paradox, for revealing the truth in the nature of opposites.

*Neos* has, naturally, bred its stars, two poets now recognised in the mainstream of Mod-Aust-Lit by Literature Board grants. They are Richard Allen, who, according to an editor's footnote, is currently living in

New York, and John Hawke, whose poetic development has been, to my mind, perhaps the most dramatic. Only 19 years old, Hawke is already accumulating fans and followers of his work, of whom I am one. This young poet, as they say in the movies, will go far. Hawke's *In Celebration* and *The First Man Into Hiroshima* are the most inspiring pieces of Australian writing I have read this year; through a personal and collective pain, one senses that Hawke has touched the limitless well of the poet who can take us through images to the hidden areas of the psyche, the dark side of the moon that is reborn again and again to the new.

Hawke's is a questing inner world, steeped in imagery that approaches dream in the mind's cycle of time and tide — it is not a literal, dismembered or alienated world, for it is not springing from an exclusively masculine Logos but a more receptive and older wisdom. It is exciting to find here the beginning of poetry that is coming from deeper levels than the academic intellectual culture that forms, dominates and underpins Australian creativity. Yet one feels at the same time, uneasy, for the poet, as Australia is not comfortable with its poets, whether he/she be Manning Clark or Peter Weir or any person working with the intuitive or prophetic, hidden and spiritual in any form. It is still a violent country for the artist, one still feels the rape of land, the blood and the lash of 1778. We run the danger of continually silencing our rarest voices; I watch Hawke's development with a deeper interest than simply 'literary success'.

*The Very Last Neos* is a great buy at only \$6; read it if only to get the feeling that here lies an endangered ecology of another sort — that of the new growth, the small individual plants of young human creativity.

Anna-Maria Dell'oso is a film reviewer with the Sydney Morning Herald and the Financial Review.

**In Defence of Animals**, edited by Peter Singer, George Allen & Unwin, 1985, 224 pages, \$9.95 (paperback).

Reviewed by Phil Shannon

Animal rights often becomes an issue for many people whilst chewing a mouthful of cow. Something is morally wrong. A worrying contradiction niggles against the enjoyment and 'necessity' of meat-eating. Henry Spira, cat-owner and carnivore, speaks for many contributors to *In Defence of Animals* when he begins 'to wonder about the appropriateness of cuddling one animal while sticking knife and fork into others'. Donald Barnes, animal experimenter loves his pets but his 'conditioned ethical blindness' from years of using

animals for human benefit allows him to maim monkeys for war-related research whilst the casual horror and banality of evil of eating a chicken gains acceptability through the very language we use — 'meat' distances ourselves from the animals we eat'. 'Meat', as Harriet Schleifer argues, 'is murder' but the sights and sounds of slaughter are hidden from us in the lamb chop.

Peter Singer, Australian philosopher and animal liberation activist (the Karl Marx of animal liberation), has edited a book of essays that will set off ethical light bulbs in many readers' heads and will cause snorts of derision or worse amongst the Meat and Livestock Council.

Singer 'expands our moral horizons' by arguing the case for animal rights. Moving beyond the narrow concern of established animal welfare bodies concerned solely with limiting excessive and visible cruelty to the cute and popular species, Singer

## IN DEFENCE OF ANIMALS

Edited by PETER SINGER



argues, rationally and without reliance on sentimentality, that it is wrong to harm others and that, to be consistent, we shouldn't limit who those others are. If they can experience pain (physical or psychological) they have a right not to be harmed. The question is 'nor can they reason, nor can they talk, but can they suffer?'. Are infants or mentally retarded human 'vegetables', asks Singer, 'to be fattened for the table, if we should fancy the taste of their flesh, or to be used to find out if some new shampoo will blister human eyeballs?'. The answer, morally, is no. Animals, rationally, have the same rights.

Some contributors go beyond this purely moral philosophy to the political philosophy of 'human imperialism'. Tom Regan argues

for animal rights whether or not pain is inflicted — 'what's wrong isn't the pain, isn't the suffering' but 'the system that allows us to view animals as our resources, here for us — to be eaten, or surgically manipulated or exploited for sport or money'. Schleifer questions whether there is any ethical difference between exploitation that is benign (humane abattoirs) and 'necessary' (cancer research) and exploitation that is cruel (vivisection) and unnecessary (hunting). A humane gas chamber is (as Jews will be the first to attest) a moral absurdity yet Schleifer's absolutism, if not combined with a practical strategic perspective, can be used by opponents of animal liberation to argue for no change to any exploitative practices — 'you call yourself an animal liberator because of your vegetarianism but you still wear leather shoes' smirk the lovers of veal escalope.

Nevertheless, whilst the animal liberation movement hasn't resolved all its own contradictions (should all vegetarians renounce dairy products, leather goods and woolly jumpers?), this is no argument against vegetarianism. We can be 95% consistent in giving up meat. Are we to be damned for our 5% inconsistency in drinking milk? It is surely better for most people to be 95% pure than for a handful to be 100% pure — the difference being about four billion food animal lives (in the USA alone) each year.

This debate within the animal liberation movement between the all-or-nothing 'ultras' and the elimination-through-the-steady-accretion-of-reforms 'moderates' is reflected in the book. Regan believes that 'you don't change unjust institutions by tidying them up'. He is against factory farms and traditional farms, toxicity tests of cosmetics and cancer research. Schleifer opposes keeping pets. 'Domestication is slavery', she says. She is surely right to raise this issue despite its unpopularity. The lean and competent feral pig, cow or dog bears no relation to its enslaved, overfed, dependent domestic counterpart whose natural lifestyle has been violated to provide profit or amusement for humans. All domestic animal species were once wild and have a right to their original state. The tactical status of the pet issue, however, must at this stage rank lower for the animal liberation movement than the more widely supported issues.

Other contributors argue for the value of working for significant reforms with regard to, for example, laboratory experiments, battery 'farms', zoos, circuses, etc. Richard Ryder, summing up the debate, rehearses the perennial question of whether 'half a loaf of progress today' is better than a full loaf in the future. Do reforms multiply and inevitably become more radical, he



## REVIEWS

asks, or do they 'take the wind out of the sails' of the movement? They can, of course, do both. Ryder, demonstrating a sense of the possible and a passion for the desirable, believes that both reform and abolition benefit the animal liberation movement. Alex Pacheco, campaigner against monkey experiments, agrees — 'we must fight for today's reforms while aiming for and advocating abolition'.

The dispute over strategy is paralleled by the dispute over tactics. Pacheco believes that 'we must agree to disagree and get on with the work' referring to the legalists and lobbyists versus the guerillas of the Animal Liberation Front and other direct action groups. Both are valid. Certainly the 70 million animals tortured in US laboratories each year need both the militants who rescue them and damage the repressive machinery, and the patient persuaders plodding through the legislature.

Rejected as not valid by both wings is the so-called Animal Rights Movement in Britain sending letter-bombs to politicians. This shady outfit is believed to be composed of the harp seal slaughter in Canada. In seeking to discredit the animal liberation movement, they hoped to prevent the EEC parliament banning imports of seal products. A police cover-up was strongly suspected as well.

And where does the left — the classical left, feminists, etc — stand on animal liberation? The left, says Ryder, has often scoffed at the animal welfarists' 'middle class sentimentality' and 'preference for pets over people'. The new concept of animal rights, further, makes us, as human exploiters, feel uncomfortable. Few on the left are members of Animal Liberation and we feel more at ease in a demonstration of a dozen people against the US invasion of Grenada than a similar-sized demonstration against battery egg production. Nevertheless, as Spira, a trade union activist, sees it, animal liberation is a 'logical extension' of his identification with 'the powerless and vulnerable, the victims, domesticated and oppressed'. Organising to defend animals is a skill the labour left can offer the animal liberation movement.

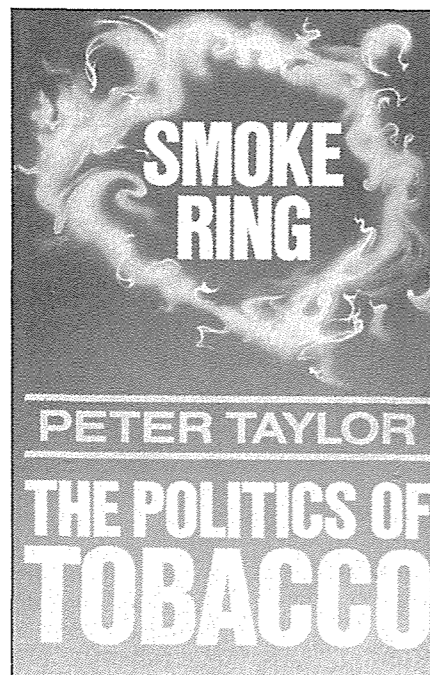
The many voices in this stimulating book (philosophers, activists, militant vegetarians) speak with logic and passion for the voiceless 'Fourth World' of animals.

*Phil Shannon is a public servant in Canberra and a member of the Communist Party of Australia.*

**Smoke Ring: The Politics of Tobacco** by Peter Taylor, Bodley Head, London, 1984, 329 pages, \$19.95 (hardcover).

Reviewed by **Phil Shannon**

Lighting up a cigarette is just as political as the general strike, the nuclear bomb, child labour and slavery. As political, indeed, as any issue that pits the interests of people against profits. Just as the apparently trivial issue of using 'chairman' instead of 'chairperson' reflects and compounds sexist culture, so the apparently insignificant act of smoking contributes to the rather more significant exploitation of the environment, the Third World and the health of people in the industrialised nations.



Peter Taylor's *Smoke Ring* documents the familiar facts of cigarette damage. Cigarette-related heart disease, respiratory diseases and cancer have prematurely 'killed more people than all the wars of this century'. Passive smoking, the involuntary intake of smoke by non-smokers, increases their risk of such diseases.

As obvious as the fact that cigarettes kill is that governments squib. The right-sounding rhetoric, the liberal earnestness of ineffectual educational campaigns and tokenistic action (health warnings on cigarette packets) merely lap at the edges of the grubby economic reality that 'cigarettes provide governments with one of their biggest and most reliable sources of revenue'. The annual \$800 million tax revenue from cigarettes in Australia vastly

outweighs government health costs associated with smoking. The dollar locks governments into the 'smoke ring', the 'ring of political and economic interests which protects the tobacco industry'.

Consumers too are captives of the six multinationals (three American, two British and one South African) that dominate the industry. Physiological addiction to nicotine is accompanied by psychological addiction to smoking as a coping behaviour for stress or boredom. In addition, advertising and sponsorship portrays smoking as socially desirable and a key to the Good Life. Advertising is crucial since breathing smoke is unnatural and must be a learned habit. Promoting tobacco is routine for an advertising industry that can sell everything from plant manure to prime ministers.

The tobacco industry also means jobs (100 000 in Australia) which governments like, and trade unions defend. For the latter, this narrow focus often conflicts with their broader progressive concerns. The Tobacco Workers Union in England, for example, which pioneered the fight for equal pay for women workers, was a founder member of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, is pro-abortion and anti-apartheid, and whose general secretary has a bust of Lenin in his office, scornfully dismisses the medical evidence against smoking and cooperates with the industry to protect its members' jobs.

Cigarettes mean money and jobs. So do nuclear weapons. Conversion from harmful products to socially useful products that don't give us cancer or nuclear holocaust is clearly needed. Unless governments apply appropriate financial incentives (each tobacco farm in Australia is subsidised by, on average, \$25 000 annually, whilst dairy farmers pour milk away in Victoria) then converting from tobacco to tomatoes will be just as difficult as converting from Tridents to tractors.

If we in the privileged world suffer from tobacco, it is the Third World that is at the butt-end of the tobacco trade. For the Multinational Marlboro Man, the poor countries represent 'new soils and markets'. Annual per capita consumption of cigarettes in the Third World is only 300, compared to our 2500, a vast market for new sales (and new cigarette-related diseases in addition to the traditional diseases of underdevelopment such as tuberculosis).

New soils for increased tobacco production is also bad news for Third World ecology. The social consequences of growing a cash crop for multinational profit instead of food for domestic consumption are bad enough but processing the tobacco disastrously upsets the ecological balance. Tobacco leaf has to be

cured at a temperature of 90°C for a week. Forests are stripped to provide the energy. Four hundred large trees are destroyed and burnt to cure one hectare of tobacco. As a result, water tables are lowered, springs dry up and deserts spread. Replanting with fast-maturing gum trees would tie up land for ten years — ten unprofitable years for the growers. Taylor estimates that a mere 300 cigarettes consumes one Third World tree. One hundred and seventy billion Marlboros alone are sold each year. That tiny cigarette has a huge environmental cost.

Taylor's tobacco tale is comprehensive, though its descriptive fly-on-the-wall reportage can become tedious. Taylor discusses actions to confront the tobacco industry such as government action on advertising and sports sponsorship, education campaigns, and consumer and union campaigns for smoke-free work-

places, public transport, restaurants, etc. Taylor, however, doesn't spell out the last line of the logic of his analysis, that (as eco-socialists have been saying) a society that doesn't place wealth before health is needed (socialism, to put it in an eco-nutshell).

Often the first target of the eco-socialists is the rest of the left. Flesh-eating, cigarette smoking socialists do not consistently apply the principle that the personal is political to all areas of their practice. To fight the political battle over personal smoking can make the non-smoker feel like an obsessive crank who can't see past the smoke at the end of their nose but, as Jonathon Porritt of the British Ecology Party has said, cranks may be bent but they are quite useful for starting revolutions.

*Phil Shannon is a member of the Communist Party of Australia and a public servant in Canberra.*



**Marlboro versus Montecarlo in the Dominican Republic. Illustration from *Smoke Ring*.**

## Film/ video

**The Four Corners: A National Sacrifice Area?**, produced by Christopher McLeod, Glenn Switkes and Randy Hayes, colour, 16 mm film and VHS and Beta video, 59 minutes. Available from: Friends of the Earth, 366 Smith St, Collingwood, Vic 3066. Tel: (03) 419 8700.

Reviewed by **Bert King**

Produced in the USA and the winner of several awards, *The Four Corners* details the impact of energy development in the adjacent states of Colorado, Utah, New Mexico and Arizona. For viewing in Australia it has been renamed *National Sacrifice*.

Another appropriate name would be *Navajo Disaster*. It is a graphic picture of the effect of uranium mining on the Colorado Plateau on the lives of the Navajo Indians. In the 1950s there was an uranium boom in this area, akin to a gold rush. Individual prospectors hoped to become millionaires overnight. They were followed by the mining companies, among them Kerr-McGee (employers of Karen Silkwood) and Union Carbide. Now the mining is slowing down and Navajos are being left with wind-blown tailings dumps. The film shows the effects of nuclear greed on the culture of an indigenous people.

*National Sacrifice* also looks at strip mining of coal and extraction of oil from shale. Amory Lovins, a well-known energy researcher, appears in the film. Coal is not 'produced', he points out, it is 'extracted' — once extracted there is no second crop. The 'national sacrifice' theme arises from the capitalist sharks' hopes for massive profits from exploiting an area that would be exempt from usual environmental laws.

The film shows the evils of unlimited energy development, but does not really show the way ahead — maybe that requires a second film. However it is a powerful film and is highly recommended. There are lessons for Australia, especially on the question of Aboriginal land rights in relation to mining, and it should be shown widely to schools, unions, councils, politicians and residents action groups.

*Bert King is an experienced engineer.*

# REVIEWS

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sails' of the mover  
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National Sacrifice  
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empire, that much of  
experience of the ANZUS  
similar to Australia's.

*Islands of the Empire* is a brilliant  
collage, providing a good balance between  
talking heads and action. The photography  
is of a high standard, showing clearly  
various US bases and military facilities.  
Images of Hiroshima, World War II, and  
test-firing of nuclear arsenals, although  
they have been used in other films, posters  
and books dealing with the nuclear threat,  
are always in context and used sparingly,  
avoiding a potential staleness.

Vanguard Films (Alister Barry, Russell  
Campbell and Rod Prosser) handle one of  
the hottest issues in New Zealand politics  
without sensationalising it. There is a fine  
line between sensationalism and tension,  
but I think Vanguard have steered clear of  
sensationalism at the price of losing the  
tension which keeps you guessing what will

next. They also do not tap into the  
nal side of the campaigns, the anger  
passions and the fears of the  
ers. The personal aspect of the  
ets lost because the people  
were all figure-heads in some  
ment, of ships, of campaigns,  
his is an excellent style for  
ation, but it removes itself  
ly relevant to its audience.

exceptions to this lack  
of the brilliant cutting  
of Hiroshima in 1945,  
post-war celebrations.  
leader urging his  
New Zealand army  
killing 'their own',  
the Pacific. The human  
'nuclear issue' was bought  
very acutely by the callousness of a  
sailor on one of the nuclear submarines.  
He explains that practising is no different  
from actually launching a nuclear attack.  
Except, suggests the interviewer, 'you don't  
kill people'. The sailor didn't think even  
that would be different in his mind at the  
time, 'only the blip would stop'.

With the exception of the first few  
Hiroshima shots, the reality the film is  
talking about — nuclear war — seemed to  
get lost in details of campaigns, ironic  
comments and information about the  
functions of the bases. A few more clear  
reminders, perhaps from Hiroshima, woven  
into the body of the film, may have helped  
to keep that in focus.

A lot of time is spent documenting the  
various functions (official and unofficial)  
of US military facilities in New Zealand,  
and the campaigns against them. These  
include the campaign against the proposed  
Omega communications project (subse-  
quently built in Gippsland, Victoria), the  
Mt John Observatory, Black Birch, 'Project  
Longbank' at Woodbourne, and the visits  
by US nuclear ships. An air of enthusiasm

and strength permeates the portrayal of  
these campaigns.

The fallacy of 'victories' that effectively  
only transfer the problem to another part  
of the Pacific, struck me when looking at  
the almost manic grin of the coordinator of  
the Omega campaign as he told of their  
'victory'. Omega for me is a close and real  
problem, far from a victory. I realise now  
that the 'victory' of Hawke backing down  
over the MX tests does not remove the MX  
as a problem.

Contrary to the blurb Vanguard pro-  
duced on *Islands of the Empire*, I don't  
think the film 'ends with a challenge to the  
audience to think about the future from a  
Pacific perspective. Although there were  
several times in which persons from Pacific  
nations made comments on the US presence  
in the Pacific, I don't think these were  
linked conspicuously enough with New  
Zealand's actions, and the way problems  
shift around the Pacific.

Neither does the film finally challenge  
the audience. Little attempt is made to play  
on our conscience to get involved in the  
peace movement. We are left with a sense  
that the major campaigns have been fought,  
and some 'won', but questions remain.  
What is happening now? Where is the  
peace movement in New Zealand going?  
What has been learnt about responding to  
developments in the military alliance?

I left the film with an understanding of  
what had previously been an unexpected  
and mysteriously radical position from a  
country I had considered innocuous.  
*Islands of the Empire* expanded my  
awareness of the sorts of issues New  
Zealand has and is facing. It is a docu-  
mentary which every person interested in  
peace and disarmament in the Pacific  
should see.

*Susan Taylor is a member of People for Nuclear  
Disarmament and is currently helping organise  
a peace fleet for Melbourne.*



PEACE STUDIES

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