

Chain Reaction

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Remembering
Lionel Keith Murphy

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a journal of sexual politics

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Chain Reaction

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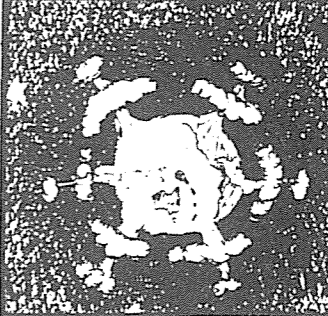
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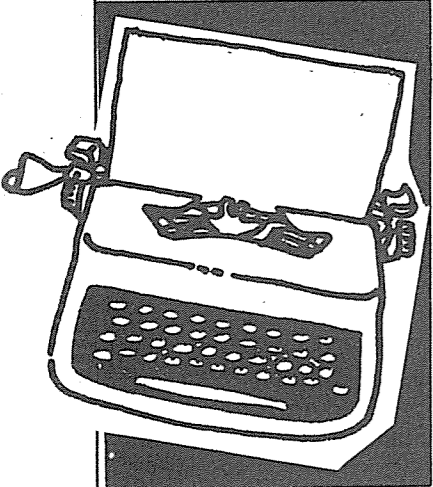
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LETTERS



Errata CR 48

In the personal account of the happenings at the Women For Survival Peace Camp in Canberra on pages 12 and 13 the author's name was not stated. Nothing could convey more adequately the seriousness of this omission than Renee Leon's letter which we have published in full. Sorry Renee.

I was quite surprised to see my article on the Women For Survival Camp in Canberra printed in the summer edition of *Chain Reaction* without my name.

Written as it was in the first person, the article was obviously a personal not collective report, yet who was the person? It seemed that the writer did not have the courage to stand up and be named for her statements. An article published thus anonymously lacks all credibility.

The mainstream media launched a quite vicious attack on Women For Survival during the Camp, seeking to trivialise us, misrepresent us and damage our credibility, a campaign which no doubt has

had its effect even within the Women's Movement and Peace movement. While I am not suggesting that *Chain Reaction* in any way intended to further that campaign, this carelessness or oversight certainly does not help us.

Further there will be those within the movement who will disagree with opinions I expressed or will want to discuss points I made. Yet how can they without knowing who produced this article or indeed if anyone within Women For Survival is responsible for it?

I trust you will do something about this error in your next edition either by reprinting the whole article with the writer's name, or at least informing your readers who wrote it.

Renee Leon
Moruya NSW

And now to Bob James whose letter was published on Pages 2 and 36. Errors/omissions occurred on Page 2—these have now been corrected. Sorry also to you too Bob.

I notice Sarah puts 'anarchist' in quote marks the first time she uses it and I guess that's her point throughout—that here on Palm Sunday, calling themselves or being seen as Anarchist, while doing things that don't seem to have anything to do with 'free-cooperation'.

So, I tend to agree with Sarah on this point. Those demonstrators who attacked the pro-Anzus group showed no knowledge of anarchism in what they did. They might have been anarchists, they might not have been. They would have to have done much more positive and constructive things for me to be convinced that they knew anything at all about voluntary cooperation and self-management. But there are

other points to be made. The negative, false image of anarchism has been used by centralised socialist groups because it suited them, for example to undermine the social revolution in Spain.

Anti-truth activist

The Murdoch press continues to excel itself with a never-ending procession of greenie-bashers, peace-bashers and general human-rights bashers.

The latest in this long line of anti-truth activists is one Lauchlan Chipman, with his retrospective assault on the International Year of Peace, gross slanders against peace organisations and his heaping of abuse on children for daring to question the morality of nuclear arms. (*NT News* 3 January 1987).

If, as Lauchlan Chipman alleges, there is a coincidence between what he calls the Soviet agenda in international affairs and the objective functions of the bodies he names—the Campaign for International Peace and Disarmament, Scientists Against Nuclear Arms, Pax Christi, the Victorian Association for Peace Studies, People for Nuclear Disarmament and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom—this can only be to the credit of the Soviet Union, not to the detriment of such organisations.

If we accept the logic that a strong nuclear deterrent is good, it is only a small step to accepting the logic that it is better to destroy the enemy before he destroys you.

In fact, it is the latter maxim that is used to justify the US-backed wars around the world. The outcome is self-evident—death, destruction and misery for millions.

Professor Chipman's figures are suspect e.g. 37.5 million dead from wars this century? It is a generally accepted fact that some 50 million

people lost their lives in the Second World War, which was caused by people with a similar philosophy to that of Lauchlan Chipman.

Lauchlan Chipman's attempt to differentiate between deaths caused by war and deaths caused by governments to their own citizens is meaningless. All of these deaths are the expressions of the arrogation by one person the right to determine whether some other person should live or die, based solely on his possession of some superior force.

To say that there has been no war between major powers since the Second World War ignores both the Korean War, where one of the world's major powers, China, fought the United States and Britain and their lap-dogs to a draw and the Vietnam war, where that country proved itself a major military power by first defeating France, one of the Big Five, and then destroying the forces of the US and its sycophants.

There is no historical record of a commonly accepted weapon of war becoming obsolete before it was extensively used and nuclear weapons are not likely to be an exception.

C. M. Friel
Alawa, NT

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.

EARTH NEWS

Lucas Heights Fire

'We have had minor accidents before, but nothing quite like this... but that is not to say the plant is not 100 per cent safe.' It was with these words that the Acting Director of the Atomic Energy Commission's (AEC) Lucas Heights nuclear facility attempted to downplay concern over a recent fire at the plant.

The fire in the early evening of March 18 resulted in two workers being unintentionally exposed to and contaminated by radioactive material. The AEC responded to media reports concerning this exposure by claiming the contamination was 'minimal and insignificant'. No doubt this glib claim will bring great comfort to those who were exposed, their families and all workers in the nuclear industry.

A number of very disturbing issues concerning Lucas Heights have again arisen as a result of this fire, the latest in a long line of such incidents. Lucas Heights was commissioned as a nuclear research reactor in the late 1950s, the heady period of 'the peaceful atom'. In the three decades since, Sydney has expanded its boundaries and Lucas Heights is now situated in the Sutherland Shire where its presence is a continual reminder to local residents of the nuclear age.



This accident has again proven, like Sellafield (ongoing), Three Mile Island (1979), Chernobyl (1986) and a myriad of other names and dates, that the nuclear industry is fallible and vulnerable. What real guarantee or assurance regarding safety can local residents have in this context?

Furthermore, the fire again illustrated the lack of training, equipment and liaison between the AEC and relevant emergency services. Seven fire engines attended the fire, but as one firefighter put it, 'we were not allowed in'. Firefighters later discussed moves to boycott future emergencies at the plant until they received 'adequate training, equipment and protection'. If this is the state of

preparedness to cope with all contingencies at the reactor then the AEC seems to have its policy based on hope.

The questions raised by local residents, environmental groups and anti-nuclear groups about Lucas Heights need to be seriously addressed in the context of this latest example of the inherent dangers of the nuclear industry. One of Lucas Heights main justifications is the production of medical isotopes. A submission prepared some years ago by concerned citizens presented a number of alternative processes, with fewer inherent dangers than a nuclear reactor. In the light of this we need to critically examine Lucas Heights, its role, reason for existence, safety record, and environmental/social impact and effects.

An enquiry has been established to examine the fire and Energy Minister Gareth Evans demanded that a comprehensive report be produced by the AEC. This enquiry will not address those questions mentioned earlier or basic questions about the nature and role of the plant. Already it is emerging that the AEC's main concern following this accident is its poor handling of the media!

We have had enough warnings and instead of heeding these and developing critical strategies about energy, the AEC seems pre-occupied with an image building exercise.

by Dave Sweeney
Dave Sweeney is anti-uranium co-ordinator for Friends of the Earth, Collingwood.

EARTH NEWS

Margarine Muddle



Those square or cube shaped margarine tubs will look strange to most Australians, who are used to seeing margarine in round or rectangular packs. But that's how the Western Australian Government insists table margarine must be sold in that state.

It means of course that margarine manufacturers are forced to incur additional packaging costs to satisfy WA's unique cube tub requirement.

Margarine is probably the classic case in Australia of regulations gone wrong. The Business Regulation Review Unit report lists no less than thirty — yes thirty! — different acts and regulations affecting margarine manufacture.

The legislation in question is riddled with non-uniform provisions in respect of the product, the package and the label. There is no doubt that the price of margarine is unnecessarily inflated by all this nonsense.

Source: *Packaging Today*

Polluted Sea

The Mediterranean Sea once with crystal-clear waters filled with an abundance of marine life is now one of the most polluted and contaminated seas in the world. Rapid industrialisation, linked with rapid urbanisation, is the major factor leading to this change.

It is an almost closed-off sea, with its only outlets being the 15 km wide Straits of Gibraltar and the Suez Canal which is only 60 metres in width. Due to these peculiar hydrological characteristics a great part of the pollutants that enter are trapped. The renewal period of the water is approximately 80 years, although long before this can happen most of the noxious substances have been deposited in the bottom sediments or have accumulated in living organisms. Most of the pollutants never leave the Mediterranean.

The sources of the pollution are many:

- Oil pollution — it has been estimated that 1.7 million tonnes of crude oil enter the Mediterranean each year, amounting to one-third of the total quantity of oil dumped into all the earth's oceans.

- Chemical pollution — there are two main sources of this type of pollution — industrial waste dumped into the sea and pesticides which are carried out by rivers from agricultural areas. Most of this pollution originates from the coast, first passing through coastal waters where 90 per cent of fish and shellfish are harvested. All of these substances are harmful to sea life and many accumulate in fish and shellfish and are passed on to the humans who eat them.

- Urban waste — increasing domestic waste content in the Mediterranean is reaching alarming proportions. Nearly 85 per cent of sewage is discharged into the sea without any previous treatment. Pathogenic micro-organisms contained in this sewage are causing diseases such as hepatitis, typhoid, polio and cholera among swimmers and seafood consumers.

Already affected by pollution, marine turtles and small cetaceans such as dolphins are being threatened by uncontrolled catches. The Mediterranean Monk Seal, the most endangered European mammal, is struggling for survival. Less than 500 remain.

If the Mediterranean is not to become a dead sea, devoid of all marine life, the pollution of its waters and the unthinking, greedy over-exploitation of its resources must stop. It would be a tragedy if the Mediterranean were to be added to the ever-increasing list of places on earth ruined by humankind beyond repair.

Source: *Greenpeace News*

Volta Dam fails

Volta Dam was intended to bring prosperity to the people and industries of Ghana. Kaiser Aluminium and Reynolds Metals formed a joint smelting operation (VALCO) that was to run with the electricity generated by the Volta project. VALCO hoped to be helpful in procuring a loan from the World

Bank for approximately 40 per cent of the cost of constructing the dam. They were given a substantial electricity price discount for a thirty year period, which as of 1976 was still below the cost of generating the electricity and considerably below world standard. Since VALCO is contracted to purchase 60 per cent of the total electricity produced by the Volta project, it has never been profitable. Repaying the World Bank loan has caused a severe drain on Ghana's economy, particularly its foreign exchange costs. Because the anticipated profits never materialised, subsequent projects, such as a massive irrigation scheme for the Accra Plains south of the dam, have been dropped.

Eighty thousand people were displaced by the dam and reservoir, which covers five per cent of the country. Of those 80,000, only 2,000 were employed by the VALCO smelting operation, approximately 10,000 were able to work in the new fishing industry created by the reservoir and the rest experienced the most severe effects of the displacement: loss of their land, livelihood, and traditional way of life. Additionally, Ghana has been experiencing a severe drought, with below average rainfall for over ten years, and the level of water in the reservoir has fallen so low that severe cutbacks in power production were necessary. Experts now believe that the climate of West Africa may be changing to such a degree that water resources should not be considered a reliable long term power source.

Source: *International Dams*

Batteries Ban

The new Law on Substances Harmful to the Environment has come into force in Switzerland. Accordingly, batteries and small accumulators containing mercury, cadmium and nickel which are highly toxic substances can no longer be discarded along with the ordinary rubbish which is usually burnt. Consumers are required to return used batteries to the shops and shops selling such batteries are obliged to take back used ones for subsequent safe disposal. The law, however, does not include an obligatory 'deposit' which would have acted as a good incentive for the return of the batteries.

Source: *Consumer Currents*

A view of earth

Speaking at a UN symposium in the US last year 1986 in which a Soviet cosmonaut and a US astronaut took a prominent part, a US State Department Officer reported: 'Both made vivid for all of us in the hall what is possibly the most inspiring and poignant image of our century: planet Earth as seen from outer space, this beautiful sphere radiating life and light, alone and fragile in the still vastness of the cosmos. From this perspective, the maps of geopolitics and diplomacy vanish, and the underlying connectedness of all the components of this unique living system — animal, vegetable, mineral, air, water, climate — becomes evident.'

Source: *Peace Priorities, Tasmania*

'Litterati' War

Florence and Venice have declared war on the droppers of plastic bags and bottles — most of them dropped thoughtlessly in streets and canals by tourists.

'In Florence we're being submerged in rubbish,' complained city councillor Fabrizio Chiarelli. 'It's growing too much for our collection services.'

From 1 June 1987, the height of the summer tourist season, it will be illegal in the city to sell beverages in popular litre-sized plastic bottles. Most of the throwaway containers have ended up on the streets and alleyways of the Renaissance City creating a huge daily mess.

Venice has a different problem with plastic — millions of carrier bags are floating in the canals and lagoons. They often get caught up in the propellers of the 'vaporetto' boats which serve as public transport. Venetian authorities are awaiting the signing of a law which will outlaw plastic bags from January 1988. Italian plastics manufacturers are worried about the statute, which could cripple the domestic market for their products.

Landfall Antarctica

In late January 1987, Greenpeace began building the first permanent non-government base in Antarctica as part of its campaign to have the continent declared a World Park.

The completed base will consist of private rooms for each of the four overwinterers with communal recreation and service areas. All installations and associated waste eventually will be removed from the site, leaving no trace of the Greenpeace presence.

Source: *Greenpeace News*



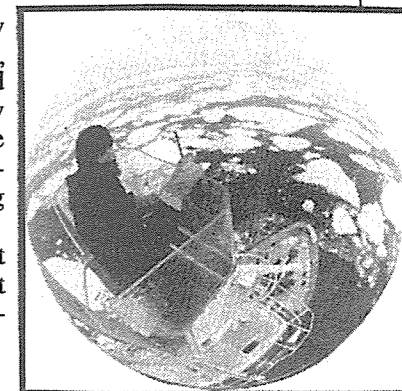
Venice did get tough with tourists last summer, banning backpackers from sleeping rough and, in a lighter moment, cracking down on gondoliers who sang Neapolitan instead of Venetian songs.

The Italian League for the Environment is getting into the act, sending letters to the country's 8000 mayors, imploring them to adopt similar bans on plastic. 'We don't have anything against plastic; it's a useful material,' said league official Ermete Realacci. 'But we are against

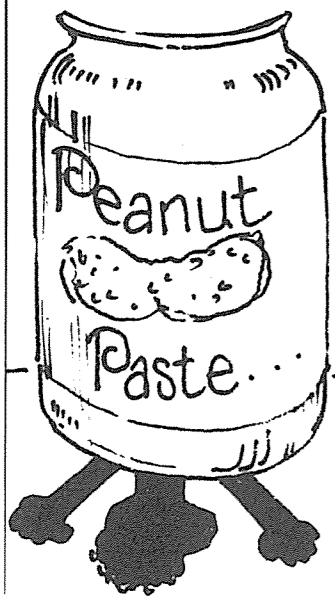
bottles and sacks which are easily discarded. The whole idea of use-and-toss is damaging.'

Italy's vast plastics industry is planning a consumer-education campaign in the face of possibly tougher sanctions. One senator has proposed a law requiring public offices to use only recycled paper, to cut down in the millions of tonnes of solid waste produced nationally each year.

Source: *The West Australian*



'No Frills' Fiction



Members of Campaign Against Racial Exploitation (CARE) Illawarra have been exerting pressure on Franklins Limited regarding jars of peanut butter bearing the brand name 'No Frills' — a brand name of the Franklins Company. CARE have discovered that they are in fact made in South Africa and that the assurance given on the label that they are 'packed and produced by the People's Majority' is a complete fiction.

Black people in South Africa are employed under conditions of virtual slavery. Their wages are miserably low, occupational health and safety measures in black workplaces are all but unheard of, and black labour is prevented by 'legal' and extra-legal means from freely organising itself into trade unions.

The importation to Australia by Franklins of products made in South Africa amounts to its collusion with the apartheid regime of South Africa.

In view of the above considerations CARE has called on Franklins to cease forthwith the sale of South African-made peanut butter in its supermarkets and to also stop selling immediately any other products made in South Africa.

A letter on the same topic was sent to Franklins by Byron Cominos, Industrial & Training Officer of the Australian Bank Employees Union in Sydney and Franklins' Customer Services Manager replied advising that the company would be severing all ties with suppliers of products from South Africa when existing stocks are exhausted.

The Australian Anti-Apartheid Movement (NSW) ask all readers to write to Franklins continuing to exert this pressure upon them to ensure that they do, in fact, carry out their statement.

Source: CARE Newsletter

Time for Action



Although the French Government is still 'categorically' denying any plan to move nuclear testing from Muroroa to the Kerguelen Islands, 3400 km southwest of Australia, rumours continue.

Heinz action



Officials at HJ Heinz Co, in the US notified food growers in November 1986 that the company will no longer purchase fruits and vegetables grown for their babyfood products if they are treated with pesticides under special review by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). Although the pesticides the company has singled out are not banned under US law, the EPA is presently evaluating the twelve products banned by Heinz for possible health hazards.

'It was a decision based on the uncertainty of regulatory agencies and regulations concerning tolerances,' said a Heinz spokesperson.

The impetus for the move was the fear that liability actions might be brought against the company if the EPA should decide to take the chemicals off the market in the future.

Environmental groups argue, however, that limiting the restrictions to only those under review by the EPA may not ensure a company adequate protection against future liability. Sandra Marquardt of the Washington-based National Coalition Against the Misuse of Pesticides said that while applauding Heinz's decision the Coalition hopes that they take it one step further and start monitoring other pesticides that are also in their products because it is only a matter of time before those chemicals are on that same list. In the past, she said the EPA has taken chemicals off the market suddenly and without such a review process. More and more data are coming in demonstrating that the chemicals that we once thought were essentially safe are extremely toxic.

Heinz has made no plans to extend the restrictions to crops used for other products. Baby food is the extreme case, the one that is the most sensitive in the marketplace.

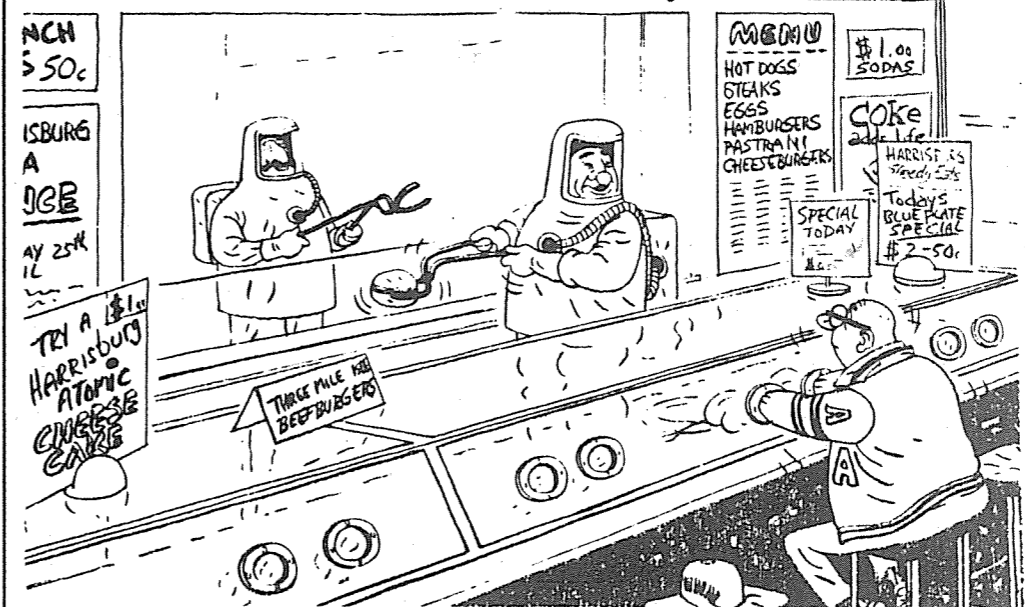
Source: International Monitor

Asian-Pacific symposium in New Zealand. Dr Behar said that contacts within the French army and scientists from its nuclear program believed a move was imminent either to another Polynesian island or to the Kerguelen Islands in the Indian Ocean. France will abandon Muroroa perhaps within the next few months or in 1988 because the area is so leaky and contaminated.

Source: The Age

Action: Write to the French Ambassador, French Embassy, Canberra, 2600; boycott products made in France.

HARRISBURG SPEEDY EATS



Nuclear 'Safety'

A new study released by Public Citizen's Mass Energy Project, a non-profit and advocacy organisation founded by Ralph Nader, reveals that according to every major measure available to measure nuclear plant safety, the nuclear industry's record has worsened considerably. The year 1985 was the worst on record for nuclear safety and 1984 was almost as bad.

The 1984-1985 Nuclear Power Safety Report is based on dozens of government documents obtained by Public Citizen through the Freedom of Information Act and from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC). They reveal that the safety of the 96 million Americans who live within 50 miles of one of the 100 licensed-to-operate nuclear power plants was threatened daily by numerous accidents, near-misses, emergency plant shutdowns and cases of inept management.

Key findings presented include:

- There were almost 3,000 mishaps reported to the NRC by nuclear utilities in 1985, a 23 per cent increase over the previous year. For the two year period more than 5,400 mishaps were reported. As many as 35 per cent more may have gone unreported.
- The average number of mishaps at nuclear power plants was 26 per plant in 1984; in 1985 the average rose to 31 mishaps per reactor. No operating reactors were mishap-free in either year.
- There were also eighteen nuclear accidents during this period — a record number — that were so serious that the NRC was compelled to report them to Congress.
- There were over 750 emergency plant shutdowns in 1985 — a 28 per cent rise over 1984. These shutdowns averaged about

two per day or nearly one every six weeks at each plant. Over a third of these emergency shutdowns were 'unintentional' meaning they were caused by human error or malfunctioning equipment.

- In 1985, nine plants — accounting for twelve per cent of the country's nuclear capacity — were indefinitely closed due to various safety problems in management shortcomings.

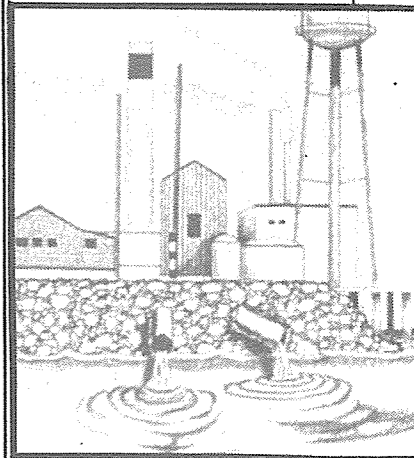
'There is every reason to believe that an accident as serious as Chernobyl can happen here,' according to Ken Bossong, Director of Public Citizen's Critical Mass Energy Project. 'The likelihood and consequences of a major accident were dramatically demonstrated by the Chernobyl disaster and that accident, coupled with the finding of this report, strongly argue for rapidly phasing out the US's nuclear power program.'

Source: Public Citizen

Clean-up

Industrial and municipal discharges, toxic waste dumps, agricultural runoff and airborne toxic chemicals all contribute to pollution problems in the Great Lakes Basin, Canada. A clean-up has been planned of the most affected areas.

Environment Canada and the Ontario Ministry of the Environment under the Canada Ontario Agreement on Great Lakes Water Quality are developing remedial action plans (RPA) to tackle seventeen Canadian 'Areas of Concern' in the Great Lakes Basin. The problems are considered resolved when all uses have been restored to a site and the site can be removed from the Areas of Concern List. To date (March 1987) remedial action plans are in various stages of development and an area has yet to be removed from the list.



Scientists working on the plans which are better designed to track and measure progress than those formulated in earlier years, hope that they will lead to the restoration of the Great Lakes Basin.

Source: Environment Update, Canada

FOE National Meeting

Representatives from FOE groups got together in early January for the FOE Australia National Meeting at the Excalibur Conference Centre at North Richmond outside Sydney. This annual event tends to be the only time that FOE activists get together to catch up on what everyone has been doing and to talk of future activities. The meeting also decides the fate of any grants which may be forthcoming from anywhere, usually the Federal Department of the Arts, Heritage and the Environment.

This year the meeting was of two days duration rather than the previous four and was pressed for time to discuss everything. Nonetheless the meeting did make some decisions.

One major decision was to agree to support the visit to Australia in July of this year by Des Wilson, International

Campaign Director of FOE and President of the British Liberal Party. It will only be a brief visit with two days in Sydney, one in Melbourne and the possibility of a day in Canberra. Details of events are yet to be planned, however it is hoped that his visit will give us all a perspective on how FOE operates in other countries.

In 1987 no national FOE campaigns were envisaged, rather each group would continue to do its own thing.

- FOE Adelaide has been concentrating on food irradiation and energy issues, this work will continue.
- FOE Newtown is proposing to do a report on the potential of paper recycling in Australia. This will be distributed to ALP groups later this year.
- FOE Willunga is continuing its campaign to save the Willunga reef south of Adelaide.

- FOE Canberra is concerned with food irradiation and nuclear issues and may also host the next national meeting.
- FOE Sydney is continuing to campaign on sewerage and water related issues.
- FOE Collingwood will probably be moving to new premises in 1987 and will continue campaign work on hazardous chemicals, food irradiation, soft energy and uranium mining. The grant of about \$13,000 was divided up among these activities, but the major proportion went to Chain Reaction (see *Backstage* in this issue), with other money going to limited national and international liaison. If you are interested in knowing more about the national meeting or the activities of FOE contact the group in your state.

Meeting the Minister

There has been a certain amount of discussion about the Federal Government's attempts to 'woo' the environment movement and other groups who have traditionally supported Labor but who are becoming increasingly bewildered and angered by the policies of the Hawke Government.

The Minister for the Arts, Heritage and the Environment, Mr Barry Cohen, has been having peak meetings with representatives of conservation and environment groups since early 1985. This followed the realisation by the Minister that he did not have good relations with the environment movement and the meetings were established to develop a dialogue between the parties.

The group which meets with the Minister has expanded from twelve to eighteen and includes the Conservation Councils from each State and Territory, Friends of the Earth, Australian Conservation Foundation, Ecofund, National Trust, World Wildlife Fund, International Union of Consumer Networks and the most recent meeting included people from two environment centres — Victoria and Big Scrub.

The meetings take place over two days, generally a Monday and Tuesday so people can get to Canberra over the preceding weekend. The first day is taken up with meetings with officials and this has been beneficial in that conservationists are developing contacts in

the Department and can put faces to names. The Minister attends the second day of the meeting and attempts to put aside the best part of a day for it.

There have been five meetings and the next meeting will be held in mid-April. The agenda for the meetings is prepared by each organisation putting forward areas of concern, and these are culled by looking for overlap and generally about a dozen items are considered. This is developed into a formal agenda and the Department prepares Ministerial briefing papers.

People wishing to discover issues that have been discussed should contact one of the groups involved in the meetings.

Yes but...

By THE YEAR 2000
IT WILL BE TOO
LATE!

THAT'S WHAT THE
CONSERVATIONISTS
SAY.

AND I BELIEVE 'EM!

A MERE TWENTY
YEARS FROM NOW...

...THE EARTH WILL
BE ONE VAST
DESERT...

UNLESS SOMETHING
IS DONE!



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Undermining National Parks



Recommendation One

National Parks throughout Australia are under threat from mining companies. In Western Australia a government committee has recommended a set of guidelines that would open up the state's parks and reserves to exploration. **Rick Humphries** looks at the recommendations and how they place the national estate at risk.

The committee recommends that geoscientific survey work should be permitted without holding an exploration licence in National Parks and A class reserves under permit issued by the Minister for Conservation and Land Management.

In early 1986, the West Australian State Government, under increasing pressure from the mining industry, established a committee, chaired by Environment Protection Agency (EPA) member, Dr. John Bailey, to recommend an appropriate policy regarding exploration and mining in National Parks and Nature Reserves. The Bailey committee's report, released three days before Christmas 1986, essentially recommended a set of procedures for allowing access to National Parks for mineral exploration. The most important deficiency in the recommendations is that they ignore the fundamental reason for establishing National Parks and Reserves; that they are areas protected from destructive exploitation. A virtual silence from the usually vocal mining industry lobby indicates that miners are not entirely dissatisfied with Bailey's recommendations.

conservation areas and State forests. At present in WA, access to explore in National Parks and reserves is granted on an *ad hoc* basis. The committee's recommendations seek to define a procedure by which these areas are opened formally for exploration.

This form of survey work is the first stage of defining an ore body. As such, it constitutes the 'thin end of the wedge', being the initial stage of what could be full scale production mining.

The Australian Conservation Foundation, the Conservation Council of Western Australia and other conservation groups are opposed to mineral or petroleum exploration or production in National Parks, Nature Reserves, other

Should the Government adopt this procedure as policy, it could only be interpreted as an attempt to legitimise the mining industry's claim that it has a 'right' of access to minerals wherever they occur in the state. Also, exploration being the first step in full scale production mining, the Report's recommendations undermine the 1986 legislative amendment which now requires the approval of Parliament before production mining is allowed in any of the State's National Parks or 'A' class reserves. The Government should build on this earlier initiative. National Parks and other conservation areas need *more* protection, not less.

Exploration can be destructive in its own right. Vehicular access, test drilling, associated infrastructure and general sample collection are destructive by their very nature and are therefore unacceptable inside reserves.

In all, the Bailey committee's report contains eighteen recommendations. Of these, five are of particular concern, recommendations one, two, three, four and eleven.

Being concerned with the presence/absence of marketable minerals, such a survey would not contribute in any way to the management of conservation areas and would be of little value to anyone other than those who exploit mineral deposits. If any work is to be carried out in a National Park or reserve it should be performed by the National Parks and Nature Conservation Authority (NPNCA) as part of a management plan.

This recommendation would allow survey work to be carried out by private mining companies or the Department of Mines (DOM) without any public consultation.

Recommendation Two

The committee recommends that exploration licences should not be granted over a National Park or A class Nature Reserve unless that park or reserve has individually either been declared open for the granting of exploration licences or reclassified as provided for in recommendation four. The committee further recommends that areas of the highest biological or landscape value should not be open for the granting of exploration licences.



This recommendation is the basic premise of the report. In it the committee advocates allowing full blown exploration programs in our National Parks and Reserves. It attempts to justify this stance by assuring us that such activities will not be permitted in the areas of highest value. How can this be guaranteed?

In essence this recommendation contradicts the statement on page eight of the report which supports the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) assertion that conservation areas should include whole ecosystems. The recommendation advocates a park system pockmarked and scarred by exploration activities. Such activities would be confined to areas of 'lesser value'. This is the identical argument being used by GeoPeko to gain access to Stage Three of Kakadu National Park. The argument that areas have less value is irrelevant if a park is designed to protect an ecosystem. 'Lesser value' is a purely subjective term with no justification in this context as each section of an ecosystem is of equal value because each plays a vital role in maintaining the health of the whole system.

Recommendation Three

The committee recommends that if the Mines Department believes that a particular National Park or A Class Nature Reserve or part thereof is of sufficient prospectivity, then they should submit to the EPA a proposal to open for the area for the granting of exploration licences. A program of non-destructive research should then be carried out with the objective of compiling an inventory of the biological, landscape and geological resources of the area.

The purpose of this is an attempt to reassure the sceptical that damage to an area will be minimal. An undefined 'inventory' is proposed which would involve a non-destructive program of research. There are several problems with this proposal.

Most importantly, it would create a formal mechanism by which an exploitative industry could gain access to parks whereas at present no such mechanism exists. This would have the effect of appearing to legitimise the industry's self-perceived right to get access to these areas.

Secondly, the task of compiling the inventory is given to private consulting firms chosen by the proponent, be it the DOM or a mining company. The objectivity of such an inventory is questionable.

Thirdly, the inventory would be co-ordinated by an inter-departmental committee consisting of officers of the Department of Conservation and Land Management (CALM), the Department of Conservation and Environment (DCE) and, incredibly, the Department of Mines! This committee would assess the inventory before it goes to the EPA who would then make its recommendations to the Minister for CALM. This leads to several major problems.

If the inventory is to be beneficial to the management of the area the EPA, in

conjunction with the NPNCA, should be responsible for its compilation and it should be made available for public comment. Also, why is the DOM, with its vested interest, suggested for inclusion?

The DOM's inclusion amounts to nothing more than insurance for the proponent. If there was disagreement over the assessment of an inventory prior to its submission to the EPA, it is unlikely that anything less than consensus would be acceptable. Thus the DOM could substantially influence the assessment in favour of opening a park.

Recommendation Four

The committee recommends that in reporting to the Government the EPA would recommend that the area in question (a) not be declared open for the granting of exploration licences if it is considered to be of the highest biological or landscape value or (b) be declared open for the granting of exploration licences subject to appropriate conditions but remain part of the National Park or nature reserve if it is considered to be of intermediate biological or landscape value or (c) be removed from the National Park system if it is considered to be low value.



The adoption of this recommendation would result in 'swiss cheese' parks throughout Western Australia. The committee has opted for a grading system to facilitate exploration. In doing so they recommend excision of areas of a park considered to be of low value. Criteria to define what is a low value cannot be enshrined in legislation. Similar ambiguity applies to the term intermediate. Who, then, using what criteria, will define these areas? The opportunity for abuse is obvious.



RICK HUMPHRIES

TOP: CRA mining camp on boundary of Rudall River National Park. BOTTOM: Exploration inside the park.

Recommendation Eleven

The committee recommends that the Government initiate a public review of the National Park and nature reserve boundaries with a view to rationalisation. This process should have as its primary objective the setting of ecologically sensible and manageable boundaries while maintaining the values and area of the reserve system. A secondary objective would be to avoid areas of high prospectivity wherever this can be accomplished without prejudice to the primary objective.

The committee further recommends that the review proposed be undertaken by the Department of Conservation and Land Management with the Mines Department and the Department of Conservation and Environment.

This is extremely dangerous because rationalisation will not be carried out on

purely ecological grounds but also on the basis of mineral prospectivity. The following points must be made;

- criteria for such rationalisation cannot be enshrined in legislation and is a matter of administration. Therefore it is open to alteration without consultation and can be abused.
- a future government could use rationalisation to placate the mining industry.
- the undefined procedure of rationalisation would no doubt include a direct input from the DOM which is totally unacceptable.
- the rationalisation would be used by the industry to gain access to deposits currently inside parks.

Other important criticisms must be made. The Petroleum Act is not addressed by the committee. Petroleum exploration, one of the most destructive forms, is not considered. Petroleum leases cover large areas of the state including vast areas of National Parks.

It is apparent that the committee has attempted to separate mineral exploration from production mining by recommending a separate approval mechanism. As Kakadu has demonstrated, the mining industry is committed to getting access to reserved areas. It is unrealistic to suggest, as the report attempts, that if an ore body is defined, it may not be mined. If mining is not the ultimate aim why allow exploration in the first place?

The committee presents what it regards as 'the simple choice'. Either accept these recommendations and 'thus achieve a more representative reserve system', or we strive for greater security with no hope of getting any more National Parks, in effect, a blackmail clause.

Should we compromise our existing parks in the faint hope, with no guarantee, that we will get additional parks? This would result in a system of 'swiss cheese' reserves, severely diminished in value and would set a disastrous precedent for future reserves in Western Australia and indeed the whole country. Such a compromise is totally unacceptable.

We need to achieve the highest standard of security excluding exploration and mining in accordance with IUCN criteria. We must secure our existing reserves first thus avoiding a dangerous precedent and giving us a sound basis to get other areas secured. The public will demand additional areas in the future. Areas of significance will speak for themselves.

The Bailey committee has attempted to make the compromises look as attractive as possible. However, the vague assurances given in its recommendations are totally unrealistic and would open up our parks to the mining.

Around Australia, the National Park estate is under threat from mining interests. Exploration is often destructive and always incompatible with National Parks. It is an essential part of the mining process and is not a land use tool, as an Australian Mining Industry Council pamphlet claims, but rather a precursor to mining.

Rick Humphries is an activist working for the Australian Conservation Foundation in Perth.

Solar, So Good

Renewable energy can be reliable, convenient and accessible, all of which are needed in Australian agriculture. In many circumstances, it can also be the most economic form of energy. **Bob Fuller** reports on its present use and future prospects.

The agricultural sector uses four per cent of the total primary energy demand of Australia, yet is responsible for approximately 40 per cent of the export earnings.

Currently, about 90 per cent of the energy used in rural areas is provided by petroleum based products, much of the remaining ten per cent coming from electricity. Most of the liquid fuel use is for transport and tillage, but some is used in operations where other forms of energy would be suitable. The average farm fuel bill in 1979-80 was estimated by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics to be approximately 10 per cent of total costs and savings in this area would help lower the price of produce. Some agricultural operations could adopt more energy efficient practices and there are some examples of successful application of renewable technology.

Heating

At present approximately 80 per cent of Australia's dairy farmers use off-peak electricity to heat water for a number of cleaning applications. Research undertaken by the State Departments of Agriculture has found that:

- standard solar hot water heaters in southern Victoria, the *most unsuitable location for solar systems*, have an eight year payback time. Payback periods for other mainland locations are less than one third to one half of this.
- improvements in boiler design could make wood heating a viable alternative to electricity in Victoria.

Thus either direct or indirect solar energy could meet the energy demand of the dairying industry — about half the energy used by all farms in Victoria.

A total of 2.2 million pigs and nearly 43 million chickens are housed largely in high density production units around the country. Both animals need some form of heating for optimum production and both produce wastes that pose a disposal problem.

A 1979 study has found that the use of biogas technology is an economic proposition for medium and large poultry farms. In Victoria alone \$5 million (17 per cent of the industry's costs) is spent on fuel, mainly LPG, for broiler production.

Another study recommends that new piggeries be constructed with a total energy methane system — one that supplies about half the electrical energy for lighting, cooling and ventilation and 100 per cent of the energy for heating. The adoption of biogas technology by these two industries would mean significant savings in both energy and money.

Many grains, nuts, fruits and vegetables are subjected to low grade heat to reduce moisture content to safe storage levels. While a variety of methods and energy sources are currently used, ample scope exists for the use of renewable energy.

Simple solar air heaters are economically competitive with fossil fuel systems presently used for drying rice and a combination of solar energy and burning of pulverised Macadamia nutshells can supply sufficient energy for the drying requirements of this expanding system.

The year-round process of drying timber makes solar energy eminently suitable for this industry and at least one commercial operation in NSW uses this system. Using wood waste to fire drying kilns is gaining acceptance in Tasmania where five such kilns are in operation.

Three commercial banana drying plants in Coffs Harbour NSW use solar technology and the largest of these estimates a payback period of 2.5 years.

Approximately two thirds of Victoria's greenhouses use some form of heating and even in Queensland where heating requirements are only 10 per cent of those in South Australia, growers are adopting renewable energy technologies.

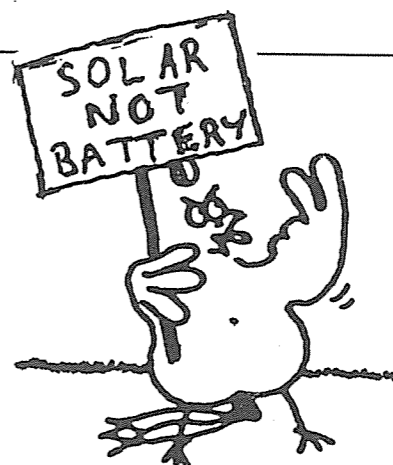
The CSIRO has researched greenhouse solar energy since the early 1970s and has shown that simple solar air collectors can be used effectively in conjunction with excess heat generated in the greenhouse itself to supply the major portion of the greenhouse's night-time heating load. As a result of this work, some twenty solar systems, both air and water, are operating around the country.

Energy savings of over 80 per cent have been reported for a Griffith greenhouse and a West Australian propagating system had a reduction in oil consumption of 42 per cent over an eighteen month period. This latter system has a claimed payback of six years and growers who build their own systems can reduce their payback period even further. It seems that renewable energy technologies have a lot to offer the nursery industry.

Fencing and Irrigation

The improved reliability of solid state electronics has increased the acceptance of electric fencing and with it the use of photovoltaic cells as an energy source. With only 23 per cent of Australia's land mass serviced with a public electricity supply grid, considerable potential exists for this use of photovoltaic cells.

Piesse (1986) documents how several huge outback properties already use solar technology for fencing. With the advent of commercially available solar trackers for photovoltaic panels, this use will be even more attractive. Implementation of this solar technology on the South Australian 'Dog Fence' dropped costs from \$5000 to \$1000 per kilometre with increased reliability and effectiveness. With the cost of photovoltaic cells dropping in real terms, and with improved cell efficiencies (now over twenty per cent) and increased reliability, it is possible that electric fences could become a major use of solar cells.



The main energy sources for irrigation in Australia are liquid fuels and electricity. Wind energy has been traditionally used for small quantities of water, such as for stock requirements, but its use has declined dramatically over the past 25 years.

The commercialisation of photovoltaic cells has made large scale photovoltaic pumping, allied with storage systems, a viable alternative. Storage is necessary because of the poor match between the time of the energy availability and the optimum time for water application. Energy can either be stored as electrical energy in batteries or gravitational potential energy by pumping water to elevated storage tanks.

An alternative renewable energy source for irrigation is methane gas. At least twelve biogas plants are operating in New Zealand and compressed methane is fuelling stationary irrigation engines. Another advantage for farmers in producing and using methane gas is digester effluent, possibly a better nutrient than conventional fertilizer.

Domestic Use

Solar water heating is now an established technology and is increasingly being accepted by the community. When used in conjunction with a wood stove, which is still a common form of cooking and heating appliance in rural Australia, a well matched system can result.

Space heating using solar air heaters could also become common if costs could be reduced. At present solar air collectors are more expensive than solar water systems, despite their inherent simplicity and lower material and fabrication costs. However, the use of good passive solar design in rural hous-

ing, where orientation and space limitations are not as restrictive as in towns and cities, would obviate the need for active systems.

Given that rural dwellings comprise thirteen per cent of all housing in Australia, and that 65 per cent of all domestic energy use is low grade heat, either for space or water heating, there is considerable scope for renewable energy to provide much of this requirement and make a significant contribution towards satisfying overall domestic energy requirements.

The agricultural sector has many characteristics favourable to the introduction of renewable energy technologies. These include:

- availability of land for renewable energy equipment such as solar collectors, wind machines and waste processing plant;
- the low temperature of many thermal applications;
- ready availability of waste materials for processing into required energy forms;
- heavy reliance on liquid fuels, often costly and with vulnerable supply situations.

The preceding brief examination of some sections of the agricultural sector shows that many of the renewable technologies are already being implemented, and given further commercial development, their usage will continue to grow.

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Bob Fuller is a member of the FOE Collingwood Soft Energy Group.

Recycling in Bondage

The only legislation in Australia requiring deposits on containers is that in South Australia, and it is being threatened by the huge Bond Corporation, which is trying to increase its share of the South Australian beer market. Ian Grosser outlines the issues.

The Bond Corporation is currently mounting a High Court challenge against South Australian government regulations concerning non-refillable beer bottles under the Beverage Container Act. The Corporation is seeking abolition of the Beverage Containers Act despite its widespread acceptance as being beneficial to the public interest and the economy.

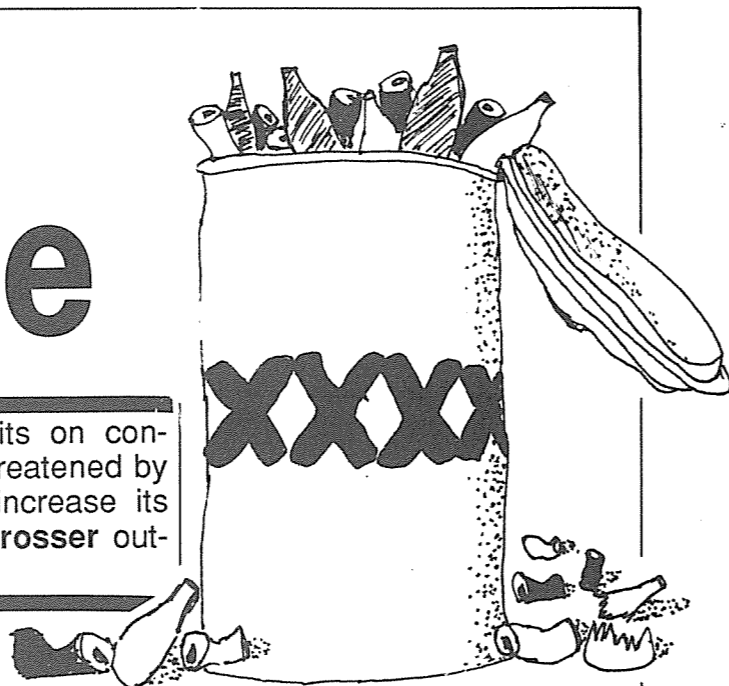
A High Court action was initiated by the Bond Corporation in October 1986 on the grounds that regulations under the Beverage Containers Act contravened the constitutional guarantee of freedom of interstate trade. The centre of contention was a regulation passed by the Parliament in 1986 which differentiated deposit charges on refillable and non-refillable beer bottles. The non-refillable bottles attracted a deposit of fifteen cents compared to four cents for refillable bottles with the emphasis on encouraging the use of re-usable, ecologically sound beverage containers rather than wasteful 'one trip' packaging. The Bond corporation argued that being a large national producer, it couldn't cater to the specific requirements of the South Australian system by producing a refillable container, and that its ability to trade in South Australia was being discriminated against by the introduction of the higher deposit.

Other interstate brewers such as Carlton and United Breweries are operating successfully in South Australia using refillable bottles. In fact, in 1986

they supplied 25 per cent of the South Australian beer market. The South Australian Government, fearful that it might lose the legal action and face millions of dollars in legal costs, initially backed down and offered to reduce the deposit on non-refillable containers from fifteen cents to six cents, but this move was blocked in Parliament by the Democrats and Liberal Opposition and the High Court challenge will proceed. The Bond Corporation is seeking to have the whole Act declared invalid rather than just the provisions causing difficulty.

The Beverage Containers Act came into operation on 1 January 1977, after years of lobbying by conservation groups and despite opposition from breweries and soft drink companies. The emphasis of the legislation has been to encourage washing and re-use of bottles, rather than promotion of non-refillable 'one trip' containers which involve greater use of resources. This legislation has already done a lot towards conserving resources, creating jobs and reducing the litter problem in South Australia. Since its introduction many breweries and soft drink manufacturers have come to support it, having realised that it does not threaten their interests. Defeat of the legislation in South Australia would mean that similar legislation in other states would be less likely to follow.

Ian Grosser is with the Conservation Centre in South Australia.



WHAT YOU CAN DO

- Write to the Bond Corporation Pty Ltd, 26 St Georges Tce, Perth 6000 expressing disapproval of its actions;
- Boycott all Bond products including XXXX, Tooheys, Castlemaine and Swan Beer;
- Write to The Premier of South Australia, The Hon. John Bannon, Parliament House, Adelaide 5000 and the Minister for Environment and Planning, The Hon. Don Hoggood, 55 Grenfell Street, Adelaide 5000. Voice your opposition. Urge them to expand the legislation to include all milk, wine, spirit and fruit juice containers;
- If you are not a resident of South Australia, write to politicians in your state asking them to introduce legislation similar to that of the SA Act;
- Write to the Federal Minister for the Environment, Barry Cohen, asking him to initiate Federal legislation;
- Separate your household wastes into different materials, ensuring that glass, paper products, metal and organic materials are kept separate from each other and recycled — look in the yellow pages for recycling depots;
- Contact the Conservation Council of South Australia, 120 Wakefield St, Adelaide 5000 or phone (08) 223 5155 to find out more info;

Operation Deep Freeze

Because of the New Zealand Government's ban on visits by nuclear ships, the US is reviewing a number of its operations there. One, the US Antarctic Research Program, is considering shifting its base from Christchurch to Tasmania. Pat Florence tells how the real reason for the move is the fact that the base has a covert military role, a role threatened by the stand of the Lange Government.

Late in 1986 Hobart played host to the visitors John F. Lehman, US Naval Secretary, and Vice-Admiral Paul McCarthy, Commander in Charge of the Seventh Fleet (CINPACFLT). Despite the official reason given for the visits of 'protocol only', there are many reasons to suspect the motives of both the host, the Tasmanian State Government, and the visitors. Vice-Admiral McCarthy's visit a few weeks prior to Lehman's was, in reality, a fact-finding mission to assess Hobart's suitability as the site for the US Antarctic supply facility now located in Christchurch, New Zealand.

The United States Antarctic Research Program, code-named Operation Deep Freeze, is run by the US Navy for the civilian National Science Foundation (NSF). The navy also uses this role as a cover for its military operations. In 1976 the then US President Gerald Ford noted that 'The US national interests in the Antarctic go well beyond the normal range of responsibilities of the National Science Foundation'. The US program also has the highest proportion of military personnel of any country conducting polar research.

Using the Deep Freeze agreement, the US Air Force operates Military Airlift Command (MAC) aircraft, usually C-141 Starlifters and C-130 Hercules, at Christchurch and has been known on occasions to be contracted for flights to Antarctica. According to figures from the Christchurch City Council, in the period June 1983 to

March 1984 only 32 per cent of flights were connected with the NSF. The destinations of the remaining 68 per cent included Richmond, North West Cape, Nurrungar and a weekly flight to Pine Gap.

The MAC has the slogan 'Lifeline to Freedom'. It is a 'lifeline' that routinely carries the basic ingredients of annihilation — nuclear weapons — through a global network of domestic and foreign airfields numbering in their hundreds. When the US Government is asked whether or not the MAC cargo planes are carrying nuclear weapons through Christchurch the response is to neither confirm nor deny the presence of those weapons.

MAC aircraft carry couriers responsible for the delivery of computer discs to keep Tomahawk Land Attack Missiles operational. Unless a warship is within helicopter distance of Hawaii, a transit forward base or airfield is necessary. As the development of the Tomahawk spreads through the Pacific it is possible that Deep Freeze could function as a forward base for the transit of these missile guidance packages. This possibility must be added to the list of military uses of Deep Freeze.

The flights between Hawaii and Australia average about eighteen per month and serve CIA and other de facto bases. Their cargos are secret. The aircraft themselves are sovereign US territory, immune from any kind of inspection. In 1981, animal and plant



F. LEONARD

products were detected in Deep Freeze mail and a strong letter of warning about illegal imports was sent by the New Zealand Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries to the US Naval Support Force. In October 1983, New Zealand customs officials in a search for drugs used a set of bolt cutters to gain access to a US Hercules. This dawn raid became a full-blown international incident. In the end the Minister for Customs said that the officers had no legal authority to search the aircraft and assured the US that it would not happen again.

The diplomatic immunity provided under Deep Freeze allowed Bernie Houghton, an American who lived in Australia for twenty years, to maintain his CIA links with operatives in Australia during the years of the Whitlam Government, flying in and out of Australia on US military aircraft as a civilian.

New Zealanders in the employ of Deep Freeze have to swear an oath of allegiance to the US Government and have been denied the option of belonging to a trade union in their own country. The US Government has persistently invoked the sovereignty of its 'Deep Freeze territory' in refusing to yield to worker and union complaints. Wage and retirement schemes for civilian employees have long been in

contention and in mid July 1985 the issues came to a head. Unhappy civilian employees talked of direct action and an appeal to local unions for support. The US embassy finally bowed to the demands for a more substantial pay rise than had been offered.

Although Deep Freeze is not acknowledged as a military operation it is treated as such in all the official documents and its command personnel are authorised to act in capacities identical to those of officials at acknowledged military bases elsewhere. For example, a document distributed to Christchurch Base Naval Support Antarctica went also to many other commands including North West Cape and bases in Guam, Thailand and Japan. The document covered defense readiness and other emergency conditions relevant to 'safeguarding ships, facilities and national defense... a task of growing concern. This responsibility is aggravated by activities of political extremists and terrorist groups'. During the October 1973 Middle East crisis, the US base at Christchurch was put on alert along with other US bases in Australia and around the world. Neither the New Zealand nor the Australian Governments were informed of this until after the alert.

The Naval Communications Unit (NAVCOMU) handles Antarctic research related messages. In the 1970's the facility contained code-handling devices and, although the staff say these are now not used, the powerful radio equipment still runs twenty-four hours a day with a complete staff of over twenty personnel. The unit continues to be a part of the US Department of Defence global communication network. NAVCOMU has the capability to provide high frequency radio back-up for the primary station at North West Cape, an acknowledged nuclear target.

Another military connection was the holding of the TRIAD exercises in 1984, a large scale sophisticated ANZUS air-war exercise that involved 61 aircraft, four NZ bases and over 3000 personnel. Deep Freeze facilities were used during the exercise including hangars and communication and meteorological facilities. This overt military use was flatly denied by Deep Freeze but later partially conceded. Again it was seen that the Deep Freeze contract to carry out scientific work involves military duties.

According to Norm Sanders, Australian Democrat Senator for Tasmania, the Christchurch Antarctic Supply Base is part of a massive violation by the US of their obligations under the Antarctic Treaty which states that Antarctica can be used for peaceful purposes only. Sanders maintains that the US military activity in Antarctica includes the testing of extra low frequency radio transmissions for submarine navigation, detailed research



Starlifter at Christchurch on its way to Pine Gap.

into geo-magnetic forces important to missile guidance and even basic low temperature military training. He also maintains that the US have even operated a heavily polluting nuclear reactor at their McCurdo base which has necessitated the removal of thousands of tonnes of contaminated rock.

In the middle of August 1986 Operation Deep Freeze received a lot of media attention. It all began with the A-US Council meeting in San Francisco. The Shultz-Hayden joint communique touched on possible problems of access to New Zealand by US military aircraft as well as warships. The Lange Government has yet to introduce legislation declaring New Zealand a nuclear weapons free zone al-

though it remains firm in its ban on visits by nuclear warships. However, the government has not made any mention of military aircraft. The warship visits, though highly visible, were infrequent. The movement of aircraft through Christchurch is eighteen a month.

The New Zealand connection in the Western Alliance and its domination of the Pacific region is important but the implications of severing that connection are not as dramatic as would be the case should Australia 'do a Lange'.

A base in this region is seen to be vital in US Pacific forward defence posture and Tasmania is the only Australian state not at present playing host to a 'joint facility'.

Tasmania already has an Antarctic connection. Since 1981 the Australian Government Department of Science has operated a supply facility some twelve kilometers south of Hobart for the Australian National Antarctic Research Expeditions (ANARE). The headquarters of the Commission for the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources is in Tasmania and for the last few years the French base at Dumont D'Urville has been supplied from Tasmania.

The Federal Member for Denison, Mr Hodgman, was allegedly instrumental in the transfer of ANARE from Melbourne. It has further been alleged that it was built on land purchased by the Federal Government from Mr Hodgman's brother-in-law, Mr Geoff Pearsall, now Deputy Premier and Minister for Tourism, Police and Emergency Services in the Tasmanian State Government.

Hodgman has been having his own private discussions on the transfer of Deep Freeze with the US Ambassador, Mr William Lane, urging the merits of Tasmania. According to Mr Lehman, these merits have not gone unnoticed by visiting US sailors. 'There is no other place where US sailors are made to feel more at home.'

New Zealand peace activists have never campaigned for the removal of Deep Freeze — they ask that the operation be demilitarised. If Deep Freeze is forced to leave New Zealand because of current policy, as Lehman states, this would only confirm what peace activists have known all along — that Deep Freeze is involved in the transiting and handling of nuclear weaponry.

R. LEONARD

Peace and the Environment

Whilst Australia mines uranium, supplying the raw material of nuclear war, it is very much a part of the arms race. Judy Spokes addresses the Youth Peace Conference in Melbourne, December 1986, and had this to say about the myth of the peaceful atom.

The theme of this conference is about making links — about recognising the connections which exist between Peace and a range of other issues which are important to us all.

When we think about the links which exist between 'peace' and the 'environment', they appear mind-bogglingly simple. The impact of nuclear war on the environment for instance would be devastation and destruction of the most frightening and unimaginable kind. In the nuclear age we can be sure of one thing — that there can be no environment without peace. This is the extreme of course and something which this conference is part of preventing. But the links go much deeper than that.

Warmakers and peacemakers alike agree that nuclear war would destroy the world. Yet all the politicians, the scientists, the businessmen and all the other so-called experts who are steering us at breakneck speed towards this destruction, try to make us believe that there is no link between the military use of nuclear technology and the so-called 'safe and peaceful' use in the generation of power.

What they have called the peaceful atom we know to be a violent myth. This has been proved over and over again. The uranium Canada sold to India in 1974, for example, was sold un-

der safeguard arrangements for 'peaceful purposes'. India used that uranium to make and explode its first atomic bomb.

When we're talking about links in the context of peace and environment, I think that perhaps the most important of all to expose and remember is the undeniable link that exists between nuclear weapons and nuclear power. We cannot believe the lie that we can have one without the other. There can be no peace with nuclear power.

We know that nuclear power is not peaceful and not safe. If the nuclear reactor meltdown at Three Mile Island seven years ago did not prove it then the disaster at Chernobyl last year certainly did, and we won't forget.

The violent destruction of the environment is most easily seen in the nuclear arena. Through the whole nuclear cycle from the mining of uranium to the explosion of nuclear weapons, radioactive materials are released into the air, the land, the rivers and the seas.

In the last two hundred years, since the rise of capitalism and the dominance of industry, we have watched our environment being slowly tortured. We have seen rivers dammed, forests cut down, the air poisoned by toxic chemicals, the list goes on. But we were not so efficient in our destruction of the environment until the advent of nuclear power.

Our modern western culture has the arrogance to take from the land without giving anything back. Its values are ones of power, control, domination, exploitation and conquest of nature. There are other ways of being — other ways of perceiving and using our environment. Aborigines have used this land for thousands of years. They know it and understand it better than we do, and

they are not obsessed as we are about conquering and controlling it. Their dreamtime reality of the land is not one which we can dismiss lightly as some quaint folklore or fairy story, as has happened in the past. The knowledge of the dreaming is real knowledge. I don't understand it and can not expect to. However, I think I learned something about it at the blockade at Roxby Downs a couple of years ago. One of the elders of the Kokotha people, the traditional owners of the land there, came and spoke to us at our camp. He talked about sacred tribal sites, he said that it is no surprise or coincidence that sacred sites are located on or near uranium deposits. 'White men think we are stupid', he said, 'They think we don't know about uranium, but we do. We know that there is something special in the land here and we do not disturb it. That is why this land is sacred. That is why there are laws about sacred land. We know the power of this land and its power is more important than us.'

The whites of Australia are no experts on the environment. Our expertise is in destroying it. Aboriginal expertise may save it, if only we could learn to listen.

I'd like to conclude then, not with my words but with the words of an Aborigine, taken from the book *Kakadu Man* by Bill Neidjie.

'Our story is in the land... it is written in those sacred places. My children will look after those places... that's the law. Dreaming place... you can't change it no matter who you are. No matter you rich man, no matter you king. You can't change it...'

Judy Spokes is a former co-ordinator of the FOE Collingwood anti-uranium collective.

Remembering

Justice Lionel Murphy

Lionel Keith Murphy,
of William an Irish immigrant
and Lily born Murphy,
Sydney 1922.

Outstanding student, budding larrikin
— early scholastic achievements
encouraged his questioning,
sharpened the tools
for the liberation of the spirit.

An oddity? an early resister?
a Jew-lover? Or simply a man
destined to think otherwise.

Honours graduate in science, Sydney 1945.
Foreshadowing: "The road to civil liberties
and public affairs is through the law".
In 1947 at the Bar.
First class honours in law, Sydney 1949.

Lionel — the blamey, the charm,
the generosity of heart,
father of Lorel.

Fifteen years in practice,
always loyal to his origins
and his commitment.
On a speech on civil liberties
chosen among forty four for the Senate.

In times of unfriendly fascism,
always the activist,
he transformed that stolid chamber
by the kindly optimism of his nature
the charming strength of his logic
the conquering seduction of his advocacy.

Murphy the civil libertarian —
defender of OZ in obscenity trials.
The public man — Leader of the Senate
Opposition.

Lionel the charmer —
husband of Ingrid,
who gave him Blake and Cameron.

Against aggression on Vietnam,
early in 1969
amidst rascist, rampant sycophancy
a warning: the war is lost.
At home: "Let there be a war on crime,
but not a war on citizens' rights."

Dreamer of justice and liberty
— from the State of the rum corps
the cat-o'-nine-tails in the closet
and "the Catholic Tammany mob
running the Labor Party."
Agitator against the malefactors of great wealth,
confidently preparing for government.

Attorney-General in the Whitlam Government
— his very first act
was to release seven youths
who had preferred jail
to the national gamble
in one more, meretricious war.

Victorious at The Hague Court
against nuclear France,
committed in Canberra
to restore dignity
to the majority of Australians:
the *Family Law Act*.

Against Mammon's priests
and the keepers of "security intelligence"
— the respectable society would not forget.
The hit-man for capitalism, counsel to them all,
will long remember.

Murphy the social dreamer —
marriage as a civil compact,
legal aid as a fundamental right,
law reform as an instrument
for the advancement of society
— not of the few, powerful and moneyed.

"Let the seller beware",
disclosure to combat lawlessness,
the government duty to account
— his cornerstone Acts remain,
many alas disfigured, defiled.

A National Companies Bill
and a Bill of Rights,
seized upon by the vandals
after the royal ambush of 1975,
left to the inept care
of moral and civic pygmies
who in time of testing
would pass the buck on Lionel.

Murphy the revelation —
out of the rarified air of the Sydney Bar
the coming of a New England libertarian,
in the Senate
the blossoming of the Antipodean Brandeis,
on the High Court
the arrival of an Australian common weal defender
in the mould of William O. Douglas.

Mr. Justice Murphy,
the scourge of philistines,
trail-blazing by dissent.

"Australia's independence: 1901" *Bisticic v. Rokov (1976)*
"The Privy Council: the judicial arm
of British imperialism . . .
an eminent relic of colonialism . . .
no court in Australia . . . bound . . .
by the House of Lords or the courts below it
in the English system." *Viro v. The Queen (1977)*

Rejecting the tradition of the wig
which is the mark
of Origines-like judiciousness,
against a perpetuation
of colonial servility and intellectual sloth,
publicly speaking of the responsibility of judges
in *plain* language
for *the people* to hear:
"Then there is the doctrine of precedent . . .
a doctrine eminently suitable for a nation
overwhelmingly populated by sheep."

Murphy the egalitarian:
"one person, one vote"
in "as nearly as practicable equal
[divisions in each state]"
— as Jefferson warned,
attempting not to blank the living constitution
by construction. *The McKinlay's Case (1975)*.

Offending the judicial establishment
by favouring the accused,
against "verballing" and "confessions":
Burns v. The Queen (1975); Cleland v. The Queen (1982)
against denial of legal representation:
Bunning v. Cross (1978); McInnis v. The Queen (1979)
against "conspiracy charges as a dragnet":
The Queen v. Hoar (1981)
against political trials: *Alister v. The Queen (1983)*
against witch-hunting: *The Chamberlain Case (1984)*

"The history of human freedom
is largely the relationship
between the individual and the State
(that is the Government or the Crown)
in the administration of criminal justice.
. . . in Australia . . . a judgment of acquittal
is as between the State and the accused
a complete clearance of the accused from the charge
. . . no mere immunity from further prosecution
as might be obtained by a pardon
. . . but a judgment of innocence."

Prophetically:
"If this were not so,
once a person is charged,
he can never be cleared; there is no way
in the criminal justice system
to establish his innocence.
Although he would be presumed innocent until verdict,
if he is acquitted
his innocence becomes questionable."
The Queen v. Darby (1982)

But who cares?

Offending the religious establishment
in *The State Aid Case (1981)*.
Who cares beyond the zealots?

The populace mostly believe in nothing
— certainly never heard of Jefferson.

Mammon's zealots care. Every judgment against the tax avoidance industry another log on Lionel's pyre. In *The Westraders Case (1980)* he clashed with the "literalists" — the strict interpreters, who made a bundle from the Bar and were defending such malpractice from the Bench in "a feat of modern magic, successful only because observers allow themselves to be deceived."

All of a sudden many began to care, prodded by what are called the media — foreign funnels for filth, fulfilling and fuelling feeble feelings with film-like features of fairness.

What is going on? everyone began to ask.

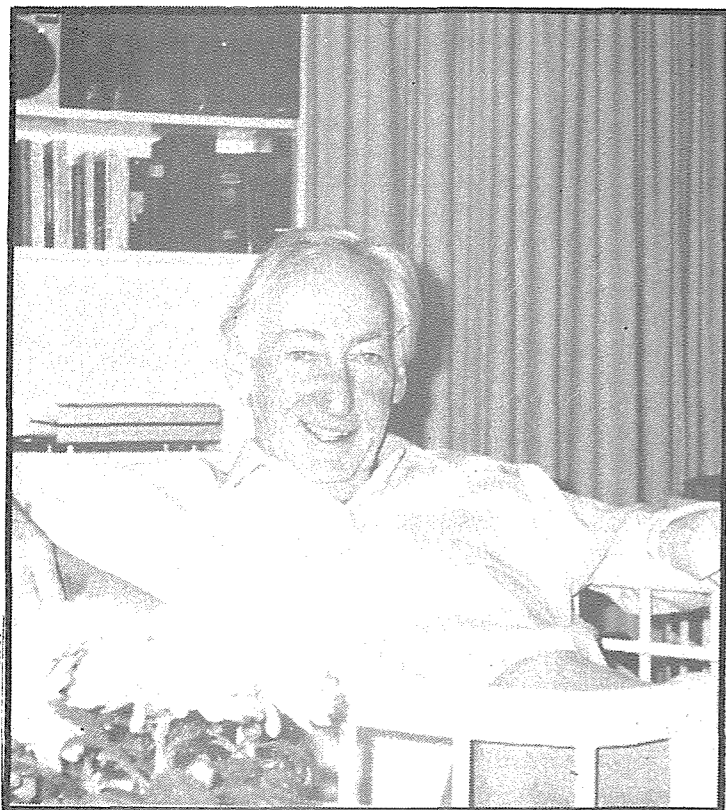
For here was the son of the Irish immigrant upsetting everyone's hopes of quick riches, of ripping off the common weal, threatening everyone's continuous treatment of Australia as a whore, disturbing everyone who is only interested in the availability of her beaches, beer, boobs, bums and bountiful bamboozlement.

Justice Murphy, from the beginning a man of intellectual candour, quoting — as he repeatedly did in his judgments — from American decisions: "Legislators represent people, not trees or acres. Legislators are elected by voters, not farms or cities or economic interests." *The McKinlay Case (1975)*

Murphy, always a man of liberation — successful in making law "rational, humane and just": the *Racial Discrimination Act* in 1975, committed as ever in 1982 to put an end to the brutality against Aborigines: *Koowarta v. Bjelke-Peterson (1982)*

Murphy, publicly, plainly, movingly speaking out: "Two hundred years ago, Europeans came to a country inhabited by peaceful people living in harmony with their environment, with an ancient system of Law and a highly developed system of social justice. They had no need of the goods, the laws or the ideas of the invaders. The British government took their land, killed most of them, and brutalised and degraded them. We continue to degrade them, to discriminate against them, and to deny them elementary human rights. They constitute only one per cent of our population."

Murphy the internationalist: *The Franklin Dam Case (1983)*



Murphy — to his end the dissenter, the man who thought otherwise one hour before passing. In his heart he had civil liberties, and the common weal — not s. 92.

Murphy carried on unconcerned that he was a marked man. Never let up. Never would have resigned.

In a sense he marched himself to his end.

Was it because of the power of money, or of the born to rule, or of the "Catholic Tammany mob" which runs the splitless Labor Party in the Premier Colony, or of the "intelligence" industry, or of some multinational — or all of them?

Throughout his ordeal he never lost his charm, his contagious optimism, his secular faith.

"A criminal trial is not conducted as a contest between guilt and innocence . . . It begins with the presumption that the accused is innocent. The presumption is of course rebuttable, but only by proof of guilt beyond reasonable doubt. If the prosecution fails to adduce such guilt and the accused is acquitted, the presumption is said to become irrebuttable or conclusive. In truth the presumption is replaced by a judgment of innocence." *The Queen v. Darby (1982)*

Lionel Keith Murphy died an innocent man.

Should questions be asked — again?, they should be directed to the Attorney-General: why did he not enforce the *Telecommunications (Interception) Act 1979* which makes it illegal to intercept, authorise, suffer or permit to divulge or communicate any information obtained by intercepting a communication unless in special cases as permitted by law? and to the minister responsible for the rum corps police at the time "the tapes" used in the witch-hunt were being manufactured: was anyone prosecuted for such an illegal activity?

There never was a *Murphy Case*. For two and a half years the media ran, under different name, a *Hawke and Others Case* for allowing trials by committee in the Senate and by commission, after acquittal in the courts.

In these times of friendly fascism, amidst the indifference of an uncaring and unfeeling post-colonial arrangement for wealth extraction by shifting patrons such as Australia, malgoverned by a mob of punters on popularity, polls and pragmatism, little men acting "most foolishly and contemptibly" would not risk drawing the line — without counting heads and probable losses — and say right from the outset: ". . . if anybody has an allegation to make about Justice Murphy, let him make it publicly and precisely."

Nobody ever did.

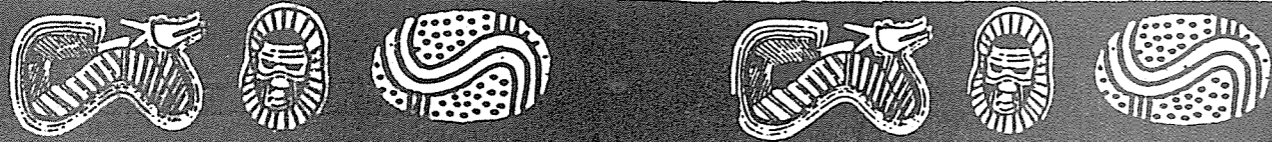
"The Government should have stood up to the Senate inquiry. It's not a job of Senate committees to decide if people have broken the law. It's not for parliamentarians to decide those issues. That's what the courts are for."

Who can really tell what words Lionel Keith Murphy might have chosen to mark his passing: 21 October 1986 c.e.?

This is my choice. The words are from his judgment in *Neal v. The Queen (1982)*. Mr Neal, an Aborigine, had been sentenced to two months imprisonment for assault. He appealed against the sentence and, although the prosecution did not argue for an increase, the Queensland Court of Criminal Appeal increased the sentence to six months. On appeal to the High Court, Mr Justice Murphy favoured a fine rather than imprisonment. He said:

"That Mr Neal was an 'agitator' or stirrer in the Magistrate's view obviously contributed to the severe penalty. If he is an agitator, he is in good company. Many of the great religious and political figures of history have been agitators, and human progress owes much to the efforts of these and the many who are unknown. As Wilde aptly pointed out in *The Soul of Man under Socialism*, 'Agitators are a set of interfering, meddling people, who come down to some perfectly contented class of the community and sow the seeds of discontent amongst them. That is the reason why agitators are so absolutely necessary. Without them, in our incomplete state, there would be no advance towards civilisation'. Mr Neal is entitled to be an agitator."

V. G. Venturini



Pay the Rent

The call for land rights in Australia has been misunderstood. It is not a question of returning token parcels of land but of recognizing that the land is not ours in the first place. Aboriginal activist, Denis Walker talks about what the call for land rights means.

Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Clyde Holding, speaking to a resolution in Parliament, December 1983.

'the prior ownership of Australia by the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people must be acknowledged by this Parliament and understood by all Australians.

... there is no issue of sovereignty and I have made it clear to Aboriginal people that neither the grant of land rights nor the recognition of Aboriginal prior occupation and ownership in any way puts Australian sovereignty into question... Sovereignty is vested in the Crown and Parliaments, for a single people united in the Commonwealth'.

What do you say to Holding's statement that sovereignty is vested in the Crown and Parliaments for a single people united under the Commonwealth?

Clyde Holding asserts that the sovereignty of this nation is vested in the Crown, which is the Queen of England and her Parliaments, for a people united under the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth of nations which has since fallen apart drastically with independence movements in the Pacific and all around the world. Quite obviously they didn't want to be united under the Crown, and I would say that Aboriginal Australia, on the deals that we've got in the last 200 years wouldn't be too pleased to be united under the Crown either.



Why won't the Australian Government recognise (Aboriginal) Sovereignty?

They do recognise that there was an invasion, they do recognise that there was an occupation, those basic premises have been recognised. What has happened is that they've come up with the wrong conclusion. Recognising invasion and occupation is tantamount to recognising sovereignty. In order not to follow that, they have adopted a schizoid attitude. Yes, Aborigines did own this land. Somehow, by magic I suppose, they were dispossessed of it and now having been dispossessed the whole attitude has been to deny their existence. It's a schizoid position now because of the way they tried to commit genocide. That's got to be remembered because the way in which they were going to settle this country was to wipe us off the face of the earth. That hasn't succeeded.

What are the implications for the Australian Government and capitalist interests in recognising sovereignty?

The implications are enormous not so much for the non-Aboriginal people living in this country but the big moneyed interests and in them I'd include uranium... A whole range of big money wheelings and dealings would have to come back to earth, so to speak, if they were to continue to deal with us from our sovereignty. I'd say that the ones to suffer the most would be the bourgeoisie and they have a lot of methods, through the media, through all their information channels, to stop the real story getting out and having the reality dealt with.

The capitalist system can deal with this simply by paying the rent and continuing to carry out business as they see fit, except for businesses that are detrimental to the people... The pay the rent concept, the recognition of sovereignty, the basic recognition of property, is fundamental to capitalist society. So, if they are going to be true to their own capitalist system even, they've got to pay the rent.

Now, if you've got a government in

this country paying rent to the owners of this country, they can continue to govern their own people without interference from us, except when we want to influence decisions of people's importance. For instance, we don't want our people contaminated with radioactivity just as you don't. We don't want big companies ripping off our resources just as you don't. The more influence you give to the Aboriginal people, the more Aboriginal people are likely to keep resources in Australia, more likely than any white Australian.

Given that Australia is refusing to recognise your sovereignty, can the issue be taken to the international political arena in order to exert pressure?

There is the International Court of Justice and the National Aboriginal and Islander legal service are now developing a case to take before them, basically on the question of sovereignty. There are other forums that exist, for instance, the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific mob. In 1978 we represented the case to them of land rights for Aboriginals being a major underpinning to stopping this stupidity in mining uranium and was given a great deal of support. They're still interested in what Aboriginal people can do in this country to assist in the whole nuclear free Pacific debate because Australia and New Zealand are becoming the major colonisers of the Pacific and they're not doing it through a physical presence but through economics. That is being discussed at some length in the Pacific forums as well. The Pacific nations are very aware of what effect the Aborigines could have on the whole Pacific region because of the colonialist nature of the Australian Government.

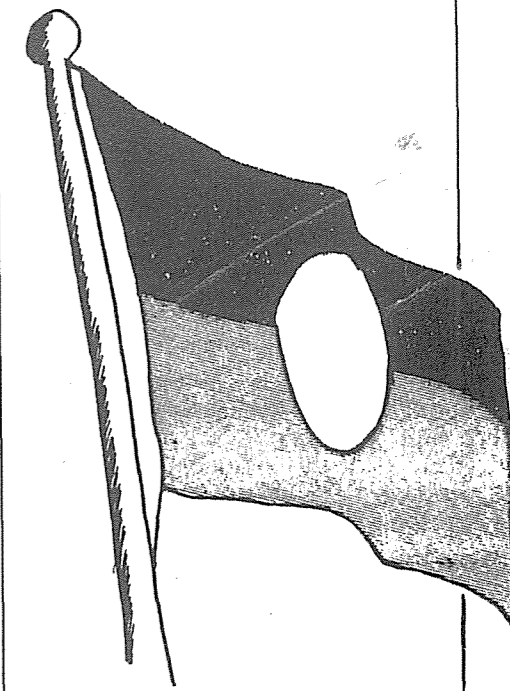
What clout does the International Court of Justice have in terms of effecting any change in recognition of sovereignty?

The Australian Government would be hard put if the International Court found in our favour. It would force the government to show its hand quite clearly, the way South Africa has been forced to

show its hand. They could only maintain their control over the land through naked force and it would become apparent to everyone.

So to effect Pay the Rent in Australia you have to get the Government to recognise sovereignty. That's the first step?

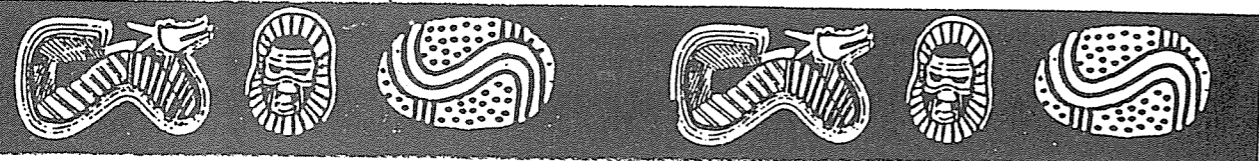
No. A number of white people have already indicated that they are willing to



discharge their responsibility to Aboriginal people. Individuals and organisations are willing to, want to... What we've got to do is work out the logistics, to develop a methodology by which the rent can be paid. The main problem is in the bulk of the work that needs to be done and the lack of resources that we've got to do it with.

Won't that take pressure off the Government in terms of their responsibility to recognise sovereignty?

No, it will put it on because the more people that pay the rent to us, the more it legitimates the whole sovereignty question. Eventually there will be that many the leaders will lead from behind as usual.



What will the revenue bought in from Pay the Rent do for Aboriginal Australia?

Given the money and the resources there would be an enormous beneficial effect on the total Aboriginal community in developing services, being able to have resources to do political action as well as having a spill-over effect on the white community. Most of the money we get now is coming down through bureaucracies and inevitably they don't want to fund political activity. This money will be free of all that.

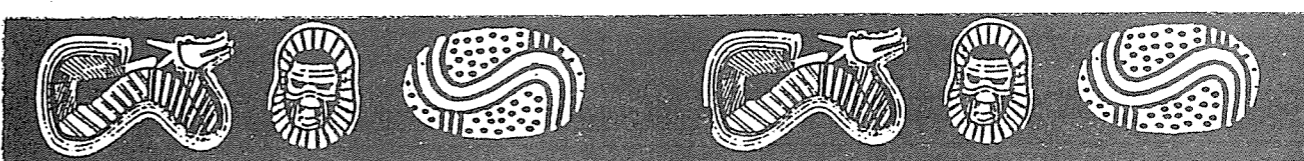
Can Pay the Rent be used as a tool to

effect a wider change within white Australian society?

Just as non-Aboriginal Australians are cheesed off at having their resources ripped off and sent overseas and being milked dry by the bourgeois ruling class elements within and outside the country, so too are Aborigines. They don't enjoy that happening either. Just as Aborigines started off their own health services because they believed that health care should be free for all, just as large elements of non-Aboriginal Australia recognised that as an inherent right of individuals, we see it more in a community sense. I think that's what we can teach the white left; developing a sense

of community. We've never lost that. They've tried to shoot it out of us, tried to poison it out of us, they've tried to buy us out of it but they haven't been able to destroy it. That sense of community we've still got after two hundred years of the most devastating oppression that any people on earth have been subjected to. We're still holding on to it and that's something that we can hand on to white Australia once the rent is paid and the recognition is given.

On the Pay the Rent poster you say that white Australia has answered the land rights call with tokenism because it basically doesn't understand the issue. Is that true with the handing back of



Uluru (Ayers Rock)?

Not Uluru as much as other sections of land. Every Aborigine has their land to identify back to. They can eventually work out what land base they came from and what community they came from. That is something that white Australia didn't realise. They thought they were individuals like themselves, not based in community situations.

That misunderstanding has led to a situation where the land rights call, and the land rights call is a recognition that the Aboriginal people owned this land, must be dealt with to redress the imbalances that have gone on. I say that the only way that it can be dealt with is

in paying the rent because I cannot give away any of my land. It's not within the Aboriginal psyche to sell land or to allow other people to control the land in a way that will be detrimental.

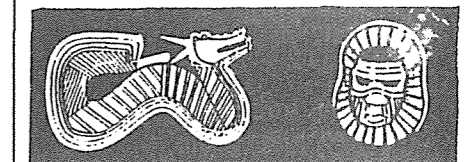
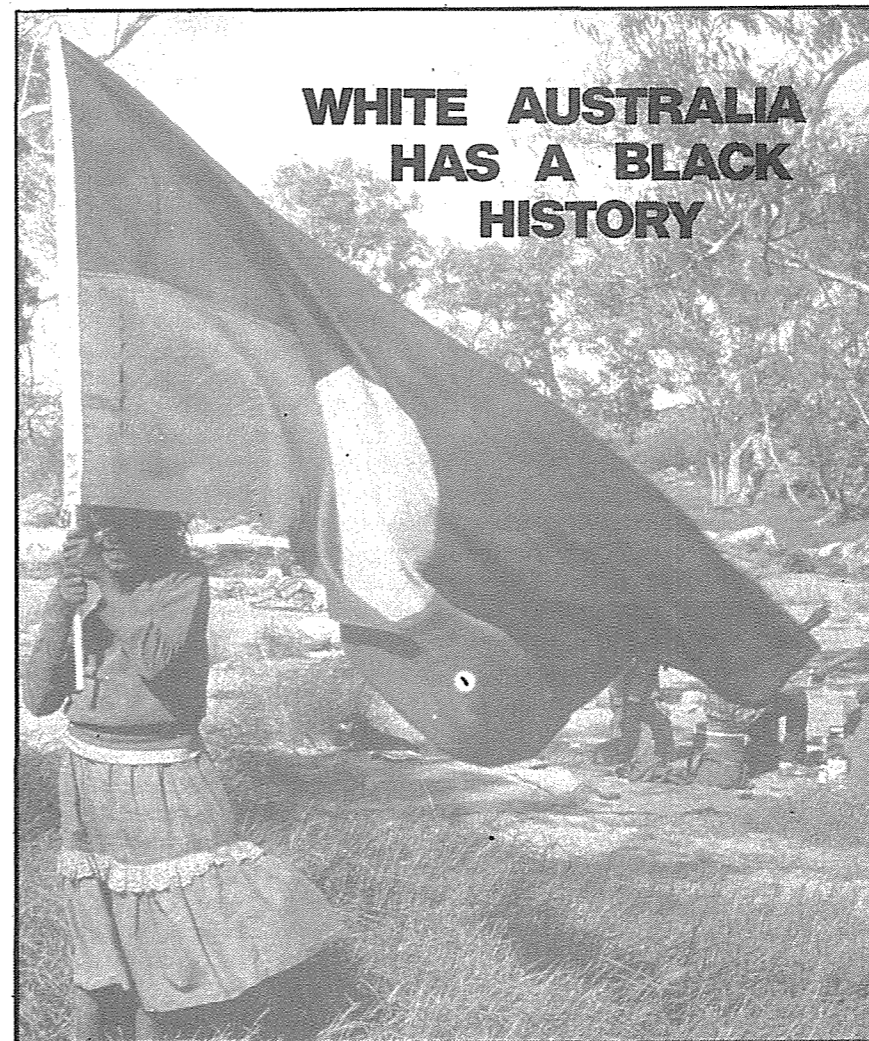
In the Pitjantjatjara land rights song it asks 'How can I sell my Grandfather?' I think that express how we're bound up by our land. It's a significant cultural difference. Given that difference, what has to go on is an educational process to get people to understand our relationship to the land. It's not a relationship of power over the land, it's a relationship of responsibility to the land. What the non-Aboriginal person has done, pulling everything back to a commodity base, has bought land back to a commodity

base, just as they've done with women and with workers. They've dehumanised the whole process and they've done that with the land. We don't do that. We don't relate things back to a commodity base so that we can have power over it. We relate on a total basis, with the land, what's on it and what's around it. We are responsible for generations past and future. Our perception of things is vastly different to the white one.

So the white perception of things said 'Okay, we've taken over this land. It is ours now. We'll be generous to the Aboriginal people and give them a bit here and a bit there', similar to what South Africa is trying to do and trying to satisfy our perceived needs. But these bits and pieces of land have been encroached upon by the white perceptions, putting in roads here and there, gradually recolonising the whole thing. They can do that with tokenism. They can make these tokens and then cut right across them.

With the Uluru thing, in the Labor Government's perception of making this significant token gesture, they've given the rock back and the surrounding lands and they've also agreed to rent back bits that they want to use. In fact they've come in and created a precedent for Pay the Rent. That's the significance of the rock! Up until then everything was tokenism.

The Government of this country today is conceding all the elements of sovereignty and, at the end of the argument, refusing to concede sovereignty. It is ridiculous in the extreme. It is not an involved intellectual argument, not that I'm saying that politicians are either involved or intellectual.



Denis Walker is co-ordinator at the National Aboriginal and Islanders Health Organisation.

Don't celebrate 1988

WHY WE WON'T PARTICIPATE IN THE BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS

In excess of 40 million dollars of taxpayers money have already been spent on Bicentennial celebrations. One group of Australians, the Aborigines, the original owners and custodians of this continent for thousands of years will have nothing to celebrate.

After two centuries of being dispossessed of our land and to a large extent separated from our traditions, there is nothing to celebrate.

1988 should have been a time when a just and proper settlement with the original owners of Australia was signed, a settlement based on mutual understanding and respect, recognising the desire for sovereignty and self-determination by Aboriginal communities. Such an agreement should include acknowledgements of the land rights of the Aborigines who have never surrendered those rights.

Instead of such an agreement, the government has backed down on the Labour Party platform on Land Rights, a platform on which the government was elected.

One of the main arguments used by the government in backing down on its election promises on Land Rights was the lack of public support. In its infinite wisdom the government tried to tell us that National Land Rights Legislation would do more harm than good to the Aborigines if such legislation does not have widespread public support.

So how does one go about achieving public support and creating public awareness? The mining companies have managed to do so by placing full page advertisements in newspapers all around Australia and by placing commercials on prime time television. These advertisements have managed to create confusion and fear among non-Aboriginal Australians that their back-yards or churches would be subject to land rights claims.

WHAT HAS THE GOVERNMENT DONE TO COUNTER THIS OFFENSIVE BY THE MINING COMPANIES? Nothing. While it is prepared to spend millions on bicentennial celebrations, it has not been prepared to spend anything on explaining the aspirations of Aborigines to the rest of the community.

Why have Aboriginal communities not countered the offensive themselves? A public awareness campaign costs money. Funding of Aboriginal communities have declined in real terms since Labour took office in 1983. The conditions associated with funding are also so stringent as to not allow the funding to be used for such purposes.

Enough is enough. Aboriginal communities across Australia are now in the process of giving a political voice to our long and hard political struggle. In order to be heard, not only within Australia but also internationally, this voice will need money as well as commitment from individuals and organisations.

Reprinted From a Victorian Aboriginal Rights Solidarity Group leaflet. For further information or for giving donations contact:

Koorle Information Centre, 120 Gertrude St Fitzroy 3065.

Animal politics

Zoos are often justified on the basis of the large amount of research, conservation and public education they carry out. But according to **Jon Lark** these functions are in doubt at Adelaide Zoo in South Australia as the Zoo has a problem with accountability.

When you gaze through the bars or look through the glass at the captive inhabitants at the zoo are you looking at a responsible effort at conservation? How much do we really know about what goes on at the zoo, its structures, its standards and its levels of accountability?

At the end of October 1986 a letter to the editor appeared in Adelaide's daily paper *The Advertiser*. It was a letter written by a concerned member of the public reflecting on the welfare of a number of 'live Australian fauna' being displayed by the Adelaide Zoo in the front window of the city office of the South Australian tourist bureau. There were two young kangaroos, two potaroos, two echidna, four lizards and a koala, all sharing an area of roughly three metres by three metres. The letter made points regarding the 'physical and mental suffering' endured by the animals — 'the kangaroos hopping around frantically from one side of the confine to the other... the lack of secluded areas for the animals to retreat to' with an 'army of passersby tapping relentlessly on the window'. Two days later an article in the same paper quoted the director of Adelaide Zoo as describing these comments as 'misinformed and distorted'. He went on to justify this display by saying that the animals were 'all tame and accustomed to people... attended by people at all times... and they were removed at the end of the day and returned to the Zoo'.

At the time of these events, I was working as a keeper at the Adelaide Zoo and amongst other duties was responsible for the day to day keeping of the koala mentioned. During this time I and

other keepers were aware and had commented on the stress shown by the koala in its daily removal for inclusion in this display. About three days after the Director's comments in *The Advertiser*, the koala whilst being delivered to the city shop front, lashed out and attacked the two young kangaroos. A colleague and I immediately removed the koala and rang the Zoo informing them that we weren't prepared to leave the koala on display, particularly considering that the only person present during the day would be, as usual, a volunteer zoo guide. Zoo guides are members of the Zoological Society who volunteer to take tours around the zoo and talk to the general public. Although they are a valuable asset to the Zoo they have no experience in animal management nor would they be likely to recognise symptoms that would be obvious to an experienced zoo keeper.

The koala on returning to the Zoo was diagnosed as suffering from stress and it was agreed by the keepers involved and the Superintendent of Mammals that it would not return to the display. For some time after this the koala showed poor condition and spent time in the Zoo hospital almost certainly suffering from stress related illness.

The whole point of this display and lack of proper supervision for the animals was quite simply cheap advertising.

There are many more examples like this to be told about Adelaide Zoo — they recently vasectomised a male Syrian Bear, one of a breeding pair. According to the International Zoo Year Book, there are less than one hundred Syrian Bears in captivity and their

status in the wild is doubtful. This vasectomy creates a serious blow to an already small gene pool.

The Zoo Director and the Superintendent of Mammals, who both reside at the zoo have between them three pet cats. In a memo to the Society Board the Director made a reference to the death from toxoplasmosis of three yellow footed rock wallabys (an endangered species found only in the Flinders Ranges). Toxoplasmosis is a disease carried by cats. He went on to say that he 'attributed' their deaths 'almost certainly' to feral cats, but neglected to mention that after having the three pet cats tested, the Superintendent of Mammals' cat was found to have been a carrier of this disease.

Considering what damage free ranging cats do to a breeding program of rare and valuable birds and the loss on numerous occasions of small animals from the Children's Zoo through feral/domestic cats, then the keeping of pet cats on Zoo premises is a strange practice. On 11 June 1986 a petition from the keeping staff was submitted to the Society Board asking for a solution to this cat problem, but to date the cats remain.

In bringing to light the problems that exist at Adelaide Zoo it is important to recognise the lack of accountability that the Zoo has in regard to fulfilling its stated aims of 'Conservation, Research and Education'. The Director and Assistant Director are responsible for the day to day running of the zoo and are accountable only to the Zoo Board. Although there is a representative from the SA Department of Environment and Planning on the nine member Board, the majority is held by members of the Zoological Society. It is interesting to note that these Society elected members, including the President, were elected last August by less than 15 per cent of its membership. None of the Board have any animal management experience. Ultimately it is

the staff below management who have the clearest picture of the daily happenings at the Zoo.

In a memorandum to all staff from the Director dated 21 November 1986 he instructed that the 'loyalty of all staff must be to the Zoo itself and to its management' and 'I would remind all staff that to give a story to the media without permission is a very serious offence. It is grossly disloyal to the Zoo and can be punishable by dismissal' (emphasis added). Therefore the keepers in a position to be critical of Zoo management are very reluctant to speak out for fear of jeopardising their employment.

The accepted modern Zoo philosophy incorporates the three main objectives of research, education and conservation. It is therefore important to understand the relationship between a modern zoo and conservation. To begin to consider the conservation of an endangered species it is necessary to have a knowledge of its requirements and how it functions. Zoos are in a very good position to amass this vital biological information, and a well run Zoo should provide facilities for this work. In recognition of this fact, how can we be

content that zoos are properly accountable for fulfilling this important role of information gatherers — researchers and conservationists?

The Senate Select Committee on Animal Welfare has considered this question in relation to oceanaria keeping cetacea (dolphins and whales). In its report on this subject it gave some ideas on how to enhance this role which could be considered in relation to zoos. Included in the report were some recommendations that should be applied to oceanaria wishing to keep these animals. These recommendations were:

- Existing oceanaria be required to submit to more **stringent assessments of educational/research functions and that they be able to show that these functions are a significant part of their activities** (emphasis added).
- Oceanaria display programs be designed so as to present only natural forms of behaviour and the facility to approximate more closely the cetacean's natural environment.
- National standards for the maintenance of captive cetacea be drawn up which would include standards for

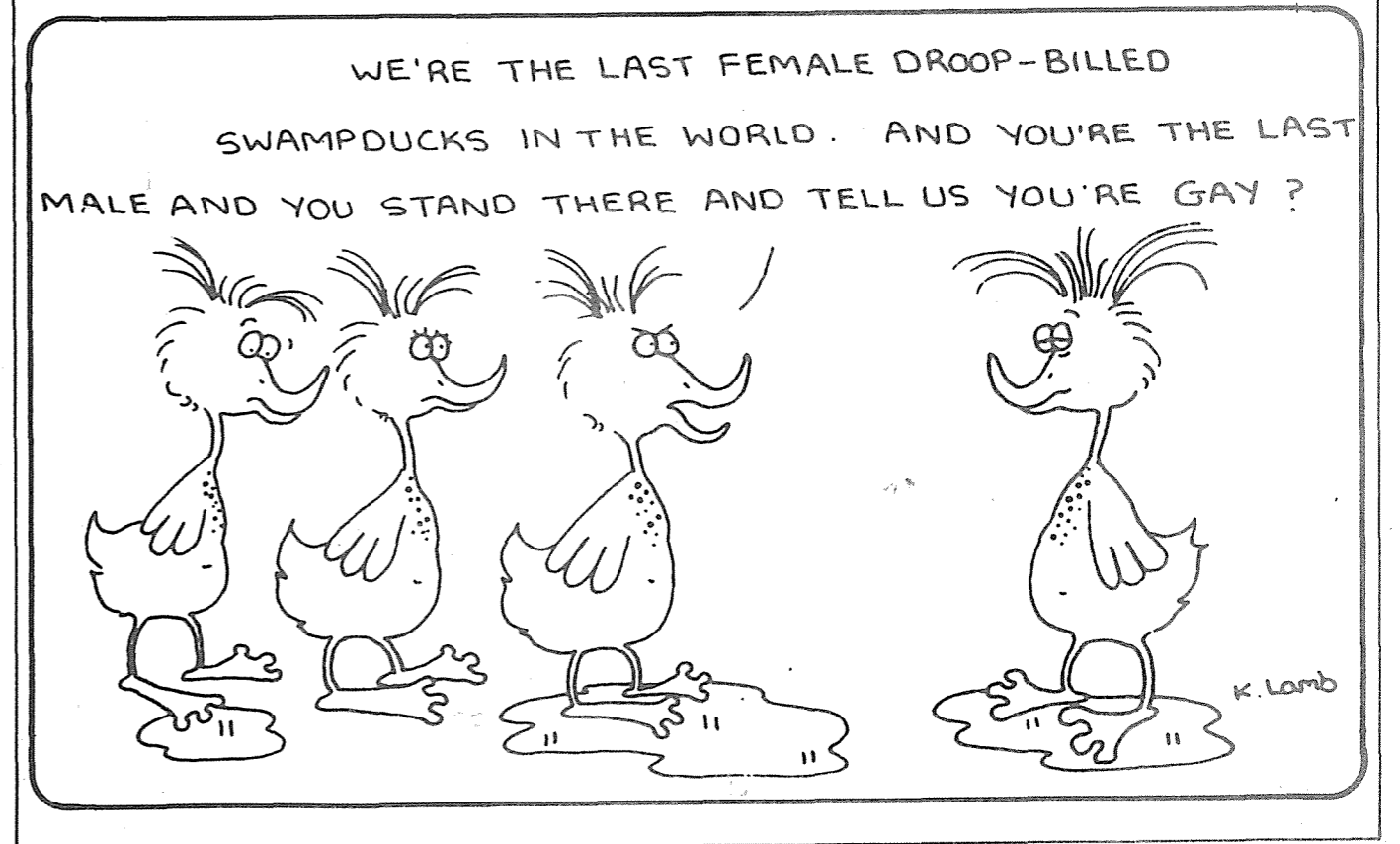
assessment of all aspects of husbandry, natural display, financial viability and education/research components.

- Authorities responsible for captive cetacea in each State assess oceanaria within that State against the established national standards and close down, after further negotiation, any captive cetacea facility unable to meet those standards.

To realise that these are only recommendations and that similar controls don't already exist to cover the keeping of any animal in captivity in Australia is frightening to say the least, especially from my personal experience of the standard of research, conservation and welfare at Adelaide Zoo.

The question of accountability as a whole needs to be resolved, and until it is, a justifiable input into the conservation of animals through captive research at Adelaide Zoo will not eventuate.

Jon Lark is a former zoo keeper at Adelaide Zoo who now lives in a West Australian desert.



by Ted Trainer

There seems to be a resurgence of interest in forging a more unified alternative or 'new age' movement. Many people are saying the time is right and various initiatives are under way, perhaps most notably from the Getting Together group. There are, however, difficulties ahead, mainly set by the wide range of goals and perspectives held by the many groups having some general interest in social change. It is therefore very important that we try to work out the common ground which might make a viable coalition possible.

The biggest potential source of difficulty lies in the gap between basically red groups and basically green groups; more accurately between those who take a Marxist view of society and the many groups concerned with specific social issues such as the environment, peace and disarmament, aid and Third World development, women, aborigines, prisons, welfare and so on. This division has giving rise to heated debate in Europe, especially within the Green Party, and is capable of being quite destructive.

I want to argue that it is extremely important to recognise that these two general perspectives are not contradictory but *complimentary*. Each has crucial insights but remain deficient by neglecting the themes the other deals with. Only by combining the two can a satisfactory analysis be reached. One thing many 'green' activists tend not to see is that the many apparently separate problems are not independent, they are all different consequences of the one basically mistaken social system. The environmental problem, the resource and energy scarcity, the 'need' for nuclear energy, the many Third World problems, the threat of nuclear annihilation and the many problems of quality of life and social breakdown in rich countries can be seen as largely due to the pursuit of affluence and economic growth. These apparently separate problems are being directly caused, not always solely but primarily, by outrageously unnecessary levels of production and consumption on the part of a very few of the world's people. My *Abandon Affluence!* is just one of the many recent books which attempt to demonstrate this in detail.¹

Ted Trainer is a lecturer in education at the University of New South Wales.

Getting red & green together

Green to Red

Unfortunately, most green activists don't seem to realise that no solutions can be expected before we carry out quite radical social change. Reforms which leave the growth and greed society intact can solve some of our problems but they cannot solve any of the big ones. For instance, there is no possible way of solving the greenhouse problem and the consequent probability of catastrophic climatic change without reducing the world's fuel burning.² The Third World's problems cannot be solved without a massive redistribution of world wealth.³ It is also absurd to expect peace in the world without a much more just global economic system, and that also is not possible without a radical redistribution of wealth.⁴ This point is very difficult for nice middle-class people in environment, aid and peace groups to accept. Many of them 'just came in to save furry animals', and good on them for that. What these people usually fail to see is that the issues which they are working on are being generated by an economic system in which profit, market forces and free enterprise are allowed to determine production and distribution. Such an economy must *inevitably* result in massive waste, in the production of the wrong things and in neglect of urgent human needs. There is little point in fighting to save this river or that forest if we do nothing to turn off the growth economy because, even if you do save that forest, the economy will just move on to devour some other.

This is not an economic system that can permit us to reduce production and consumption to sufficient levels. We work about forty hours a week when ten or twenty might do. The rich nations use most of the world's resources while tens of millions die because they are deprived of necessities those resources could provide — but the economic system will not allow us to change these things.

An even more critical point is that this is an economic system which *cannot get the most important things done*. It is characterised by massive contradictions; for example, take the desperate and unmet needs for food experienced by 500 million people or more alongside the 540 million tonnes of grain fed to animals in rich countries each year, or the 5000 oranges the EEC dumps every minute. This economic system does that which will return most on investment, not that which is most needed. This explains what is wrong in the Third World; most of the world's precious resources flow into rich countries. Each Australian gets eighteen barrels of oil a year while ten

million children die because of contaminated water which could have been sterilised with more fuel. Much of the Third World's land, labour and capital produce luxuries for export to rich countries. The wrong industries are developed — Volkswagon factories and Hilton Hotels are built when people need food and tools. These are not accidents or mistakes; they are *inevitable* consequences of market forces, the profit motive and free enterprise determining what is developed and who gets resources. It is more profitable to use Columbian land to grow carnations for export to the US than beans for hungry Columbians.

Most green activists totally fail to attend to these sorts of underlying causes. They are *reformers* who proceed as if goals such as healthy ecosystems, satisfactory Third World development and a peaceful world order can be achieved without fundamental change in the socio-economic system when it is precisely this system which generates the problems.

Free enterprise, the profit motive and market forces do have some notable merits; they do some things well and there could be an important place for them in a satisfactory economy (although I would prefer to try to do without them), but it would have to be within a framework of priorities and guidelines planned (hopefully democratically) in view of what needs doing.

These have, of course, been basically Marxist points. One cannot make sense of the problems that society has got itself into without reference to concepts like class interests, contradictions, ideology and the dynamics of the market and production for profit. It is crucial to business interests that there be as much production for sale as possible. When capitalists invest \$1 and get back \$1.10 or more they can't invest that profitably without increasing productivity capacity somewhere, so economic growth is essential to capitalist interests. The continued pursuit of higher living standards and limitless economic growth is in the interests of the few who own or control the capital. It is not in the interests of most of us: indeed, I firmly believe it is reducing our quality of life now and has a good chance of terminating our lives before long.

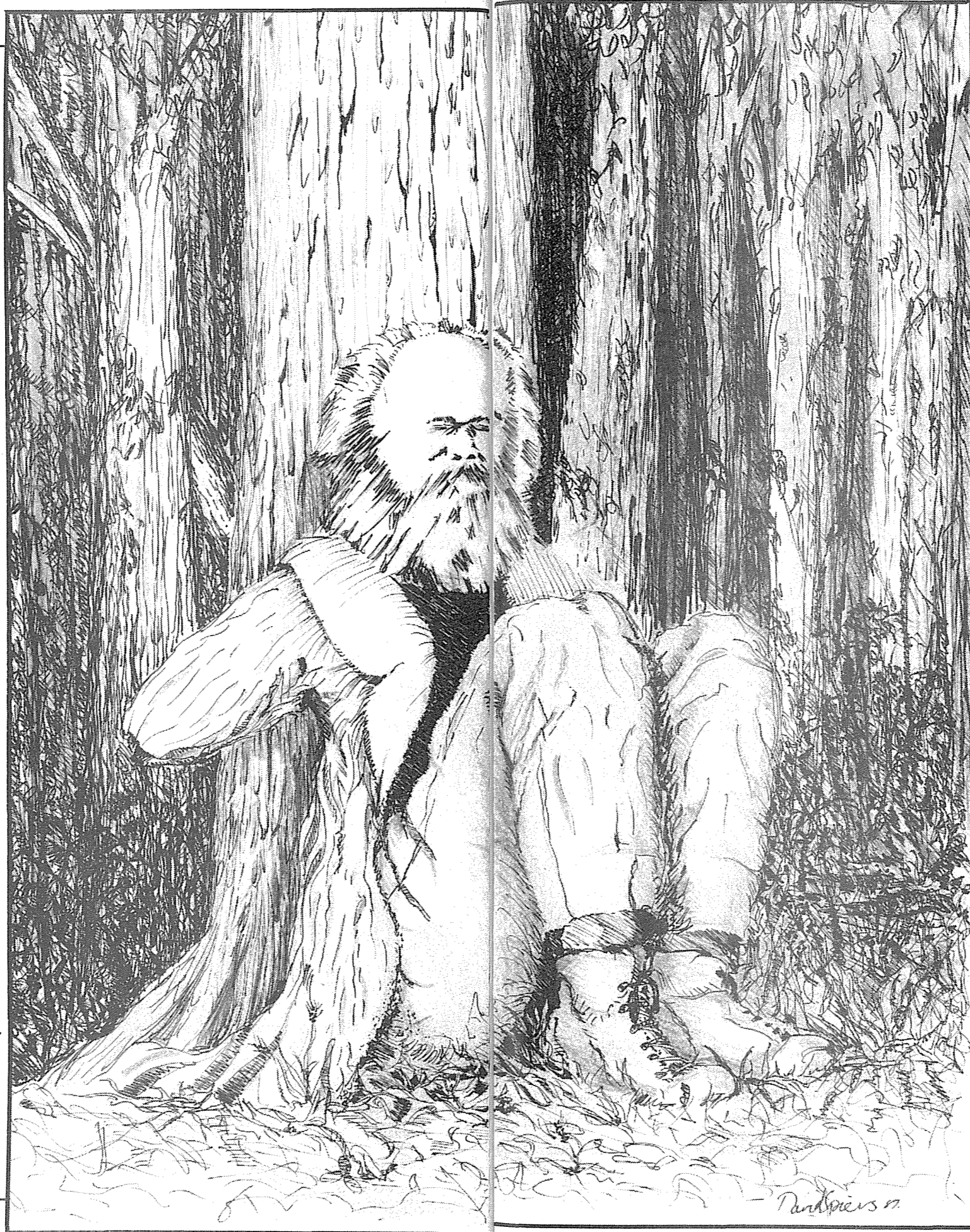
But most of us have become victims of an ideology which says that this is the path to the solution of social problems and a better quality of life for all. This ideology is of incredible power. It has fooled us into working forty hours a week in boring factories and offices when maybe only five or ten hours

might produce all we need for a comfortable life; into paying \$200,000 plus (when interest payments and tax are taken into account) for an ordinary house when \$10,000 is more than enough to build an adequate mud-brick house, therefore giving the total of *five years work* as interest payments to the capitalist whose money was borrowed; into accepting the legitimacy of something like \$10 billion in interest and other payments going each year to the five to ten per cent of Australians who own most of the capital and have to do no work at all for their income. We've been fooled into accepting 600,000 people being dumped onto the scrapheap of unemployment and between two and three million living under the poverty line. It has convinced us that the best way to solve these problems is not by redistributing the abundant wealth but by baking a bigger cake. Our faith is not dented by the fact that real GNP per capita has grown to *three times* post-World War Two levels while one fifth of Australians live in poverty and the number is increasing. And what a tribute to the dominance of capitalist ideology that 20 million Americans accepted hunger while 40 per cent of crop land was kept out of production in 1983 at a cost of \$18.3 billion in public money.⁵

Unless green activists come to terms with key elements in Marx's analysis of how capitalism works and of the need for a fundamental change to *some sort of* socialist system, they will fail to understand the problems they grapple with and will forego any chance of solving them. (Perhaps no *existing* socialist system is very satisfactory either.) This does not mean that immediate conservation, aid and disarmament campaigns should be abandoned. It means that their goals should be broadened to include raising public understanding of the need for radical social change if anything more than band-aiding is to be achieved.

Red to Green

What most basically-Marxists fail to grasp is the centrality of resource and environmental considerations in thinking about alternatives to which we should move. They tend to see these as other problems that will disappear when we get rid of capitalism. They tend not to see that the major premises in social analysis now must be the limits set by mineral, energy and environmental resources. The most important thing the green side brings to the discussion and the thing which Marxism neglects is the concept of a *sustainable* society conceived in terms of living on renewable energy and resources and in harmony with ecosystems. Among other things, this implies the need to shift from modern agriculture to permaculture food producing systems, to alternative technologies, to high levels of regional self-sufficiency and to a more 'rural', labour intensive and village way of life.⁶ These are thoughts that disturb Marxists who have thought about the post-revolutionary society mainly in terms of industrial abundance. They are strongly inclined to attribute all our troubles to the capitalist control of the means of production and therefore to assume that the revolution will liberate the means of production and give us an even higher standard of living. Marxists can be and often are rabid growth maniacs and staunch believers in technological fixes.⁷



In other words, our typical Marxist makes their greatest mistake in failing to grasp that *the good society cannot be an affluent one*. Present mineral and energy resource estimates would have to be widely invalid before there was any chance of extending present Australian living standards to all people.⁸ It is the green camp that is more ready to accept that we must eventually 'de-develop'; that it is not possible for all to live as affluently as we do now and that if we try to do so (let alone strive for economic growth) all the big problems will accelerate — and therefore that 'the rich must live more simply so that the poor may simply live'.

The Marxist view of the good society is excellent regarding equity and democracy and the planning of production and distribution according to needs. It is at its weakest concerning material 'living standards'. If we get rid of capitalism but remain obsessed with affluence and growth then we will have the same range of potentially catastrophic resource and environmental problems as we do now. Perhaps even more important, Marx was simply wrong about the need to achieve high levels of output before socialism becomes possible; Australia passed the necessary per capita levels decades ago. Alternative lifestyle and sustainable society literature (and my own record of household expenses) indicates that we could have a very satisfactory lifestyle on one fifth or less of the GNP per capita that Australia now chalks up.⁹ Of course Marx can not be blamed for not seeing our resource and environmental constraints, contemporary Marxists have less excuse.

My main concern has been to emphasise the need to combine these two general perspectives and to head off fights. A sound foundation for analysis and improvement of our precarious situation can only be built by coupling an understanding of the contradictions of capitalism with an understanding of our resource and environment situation.

Notes

1. *Abandon Affluence!* F. E. Trainer, Zed Books, London, 1985.
2. See op. cit, pp. 96-98.
3. See op. cit, Chapters 6 & 7.
4. This case has been elaborated in F. E. Trainer, 'Where disarmers miss the point', *Science and Public Policy*, August 1983, pp.173-183; R. Sharp & F. E. Trainer, 'The End or New Beginning', Chapter 13 in *Apocalypse No*, R. Sharp (ed), Pluto Press, Sydney, 1984; 'Affluence and Militarism', *Peace Studies*, May 1984, and *Abandon Affluence!*, Chapter 9.
5. *New York Times*, 31 Jan 1983, p.5.
6. These and related implications are considered at length in Chapter 13 of *Abandon Affluence!*
7. This is especially true of Soviet writers. See for example V. Kosolapov, *Mankind and the year 2000*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.
8. op. cit, Chapters Three and Four.
9. 'How cheaply can we live?', F. E. Trainer, *Ekistiks* 57, 304, 61-65.

Death of the party

Green electoral alternatives

by Roman Orszanski

The Federal Government is clearly worried about the conservation/environment vote. The electorate is undeniably disappointed with the lack of choice between Labor/Liberal parties. What choices are there then in parliamentary politics for environmentalists? How can we put pressure on the Government to act on environmental issues?

Three possible alternatives are currently being discussed by green electoral groups around Australia; a Federal Green Party, a Social Justice Party (the 'Major New Initiative') and a Coalition of Independents. At the same time, the Australian Conservation Foundation (ACF) is planning a conference midyear to consider a possible combined electoral strategy. Also, let us not forget the Democrats who are turning greener by the bushel as conservative elements leave the party. Will any of these possibilities make a real difference to politics in Australia, or are they the last gasps of a dinosaur: the modern political party?

Party Solidarity

I recently wrote to Senator Nick Bolkus, a member of the ALP left, concerning the issue of plant variety rights. In his reply, after indicating he shared my concern, he concluded, 'the Government has decided to pass this legislation'. In short, adherence to party line is more important than individual conscience.

This is, of course, one of the reasons for a party, to ensure the numbers to pass legislation. Unfortunately, when coupled with the concepts of Caucus and Cabinet solidarity, to say nothing of the prestige of the offices of Prime Minister or Treasurer, this leads to positions which are often in conflict with party policy or electorate expectations. Remember when the ALP had an anti-nuclear policy? When the party relied upon a populist figure who has long been pro-uranium mining, guess which was most important, policy or popularity?

The requirement for discipline within party ranks weakens any argument for the creation of a new party. In the modern state, loyalty to the party now transcends loyalty to an electorate or to a policy. If a new party (green, red or black) is

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DAVID SPIERS

needed, how will it avoid this trap? How can it indulge in party politics yet remain pure of taint?

This dominance of the party is one of the problems all proposals for new parties must face. As Rudolf Bahro wrote in reference to Die Grunen in West Germany:

The Green Party is becoming more and more conventional; I am not at all saying this out of disappointment, but simply that it is almost bound to be so.

If nothing happens outside the parliamentary political work, we shall not get any further... what people are trying to do here is to save a party — no matter what kind of party and no matter for what purpose. The main thing is to get re-elected to parliament in 1987.

Bahro was so disappointed with the prospects for Die Grunen that he left the party to concentrate on other avenues for political and social change.

At the Easter 1986 Getting Together conference there was a strong push from some participants, notably the Sydney 'Greens' who have even registered the name 'Green Party' federally, for the creation of a Green Party. The final plenary session explicitly declined to endorse such a party but those interested have continued discussions on the various possible electoral strategies. Now, with a federal election looming, three proposals are being discussed by groups interested in green electoral politics.

A major new initiative

Joe Camilleri is well known as a peace and anti-nuclear campaigner who has worked through the ALP. When the ALP did its 'U-turn' and decided to sell uranium to France he resigned from the party in disgust. He has circulated a proposal *A Major New Initiative: Towards an Alternative Australia*, which canvasses the possibility of an alliance between various social justice groups into a party/movement for change.

What is needed is a new stream in Australian political culture, a movement of people and ideas capable of welding together a great many issues and concerns and of speaking a new language which inspires trust and hope in the future. At this historical moment there is sufficient common ground amongst thinking and caring Australians to permit a new political formation unlike anything we have previously experienced, which combines the functions of movement and party and acts as a catalyst for the eventual realignment of power in Australian society.

Although the paper refers to both movement and party and doesn't focus exclusively on electioneering, the general impression it conveys is that of founding a new, improved

Labour (sic) Party. Camilleri suggests a national meeting at the end of March to launch his 'Major New Initiative'.

Many of the groups that he wishes to convince are wary of diverting their time and energy to a new movement/campaign; they are already busy with existing campaigns and don't want to overload themselves. Any proposal to establish a new party has two other major problems; the structure of our electoral system and the lack of discussion and preparation at the grass-roots level.

Unlike some countries which use proportional representation, or multi-member electorates in their lower houses, Australia elects only one member from each region. Unless candidates receive more than fifty per cent of the vote (after preferences) they stand little chance of being elected. With very few exceptions seats are held by one or other of the two major parties. In West Germany once a party receives more than a certain percentage of the vote it is entitled to a proportional share of the available seats. This allows smaller parties to obtain representation in the Bundestag. Similarly, the quota system in our Senate allows the Democrats to win a few seats.

Green Parties also do not spring ready formed. In West Germany, Die Grunen formed after several years of 'alternative lists' where citizens groups, anti-nuclear groups, social change groups and others combined to present lists of alternative candidates for elections. The development of Green parties in Europe is quite instructive.

The processes and rise of these green organisations have been quite similar throughout Europe. The parties usually began as networks and alliances of small citizens' movements and political groups formed around social and environmental issues. The newly formed Green Parties would then, typically, establish local bases and use their grass-roots strength to run in local and regional elections, gradually extending and broadening their bases through electoral successes at these levels. I suspect that we in Australia have a lot more work to do before considering Green Alliances let alone a party. Certainly there is a lot more to be done on the local level.

Queensland activist Drew Hutton has suggested a charter of principles to which Green Party/Movement candidates might affiliate (swear allegiance?). He proposes a National Conference to settle on a charter. Organisations and individuals would affiliate with the charter; local organisations would select local candidates, state conferences worry about state elections and national conferences decide upon federal candidates.

On the question of coalitions, Hutton suggests that they not be formed unless they would achieve a major breakthrough such as removing the US bases or stopping uranium mining. The question of coalitions has led to deep divisions in Die Grunen between the 'fundis' who oppose any compromise of principles and the 'realos' who are willing to share power with the Social Democrats (SPD).

More important is the question of how policy is decided. The British Green Party has been looking at structure and recommended organisation at an 'appropriate' level; the size of local party groups is entirely up to those groups, household, street, shire or whatever is thought best by the group. This is an admirable example of decentralisation.

If, however, the aim is to decentralise and organise on appropriate levels, what happens to the ideology? British Green Party activist Mark Kinzley suggests that a conflict arises:

When the local party is representing to the local community the ideas of a national party then the local party can't represent the local community. Which is it? Is the local party a tool of neighbourhood self-government? Is it neighbourhood self-expression? Or is the local party a sales team selling a new national brand to a passive electorate?

... The decentralisation of ideology means its death. Ideology is generalisation. The language of local manifestos is the language of common sense because they talk about the problems which all local people have in common seen (sensed). They propose solutions which all local people can see. Local manifestos describe alternatives to specific problems in specific places. National manifestos are lists of generalisations... Imposing national ideas on a local situation is to impose generalisations on a unique situation. This is authoritarian.

Kinzley goes on to suggest that what is needed is not one manifesto but thousands, A Manifesto for a Sustainable Glebe or a Sustainable Barossa Valley. Such local manifestos would be produced by local conferences by people from all alternative groups. It would then be up to the Green Party to adopt these policies.

Neither Camilleri's Social Justice Party nor Hutton's Charter of Principles have addressed this question of localism; there are overtones of a central, hierarchical structure to the

Social Justice Party and considerable more discussion is required on the organisation of any Green Party.

A Coalition of Independents

The third paper is, I think, the most promising. Independent Tasmanian State member Bob Brown proposes a coalition of independent candidates. He points out that there doesn't seem to be enough strong support at the moment for an immediate build-up of a Green Party yet there is a widespread yearning for an alternative to the Labor-Liberal non-choice. He suggests that

the next step should be a coalition of independent greens. In Tasmania, as in the Sydney City Council, such a coalition is proving attractive to voters with successive elections showing rapidly growing support.

This key idea returns us to the now obsolete concept that people should vote for their individual representative rather than for a party. Brown suggests that the public is sceptical about parties and may well be interested in the idea of electing independents. In recent by-elections in NSW, independent candidates did quite credibly; the environment independents scored approximately twenty per cent of the vote in the Treasurer's Bankstown electorate.

A coalition of independents would have many advantages. Independents will not be held to a party machine, they will not drain as much energy from community groups as a Green Party might and the independents would have to keep in touch with their electorate's wishes.

There are some problems of selection and accountability — witness the National Party's 'democratic socialist' candidate in the recent Victorian by-election. Also, the focus on individuals may cause problems of personality cults. On the other hand, it is far better that an electorate identify with an individual who is directly accountable than with a remote party.

In the words of Bob Brown:

I believe the coalition of independents idea is fresh, exciting and, because it is not mapped out, a breakthrough for our Westminster democratic system which has been stuck in the mud since Federation.

Help Close the Gap

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REVIEWS

Books

American Lake: Nuclear Peril in the Pacific by Peter Hayes, Lyuba Zarsky and Waldon Bello. Penguin Books, Melbourne, 1986, 529pp, \$14.95.

Reviewed by Peter Springell

This book is undoubtedly a must for all local peace activists because it puts the Australian scene into its proper Pacific perspective. It would be good if one could persuade others in our community, politicians in particular, to read it as well but that, of course, is too much to be hoped for.

American Lake is packed with technical detail for those who want it. The last hundred pages or so are devoted to appendices and references and the main text is amply laced with tables and figures. The layout of the book makes all this information easily readable without the mass of detail being at all distracting.

The only criticism one could make is that the index of less than nine pages, in a book of this size, is too small. In these days of computerisation there is no excuse for not having a more comprehensive index. This would have greatly increased the book's value as a quick and handy reference manual.

The early part of the work is devoted to giving a detailed historical account in terms of which present day events become much more understandable. It is horrifying to learn how easily a nuclear war could have started in the Pacific in the past. Indeed, we can consider ourselves lucky that some trigger-happy admiral, operating under the incredibly lax rules that prevailed, had not initiated a nuclear conflict. Although controls have been tightened, the risks of a nuclear holocaust are now even greater than ever with ready access to a multitude of widely-distributed bases of all kinds, the bewildering array of new and

more sophisticated weapons systems coupled with increasing reliance on computer operations, and the inflexible attitudes of both the White House and the Pentagon.

The USA has repeatedly claimed that its Pacific nuclear weapons build-up since Hiroshima is in direct response to the Soviet military superiority in the region. The authors examine this claim in detail but find it quite unsustainable. Indeed, they are led to the conclusion that it is Russia's weakness rather than strength which contains the seeds of a nuclear war.

The USSR certainly has many problems in the Far East. As well as the fact that many of its ports are ice-bound for several months of the year, their fleet has access to the Pacific only through four narrow channels that are under constant surveillance by the US. The lines of communication are long and vulnerable with the bulk of war material having to be shipped through the Indian Ocean and via South-East Asia rather than overland through Siberia. Its hold on naval bases in the small number of friendly countries is tenuous and there is always the hostility of China to contend with.

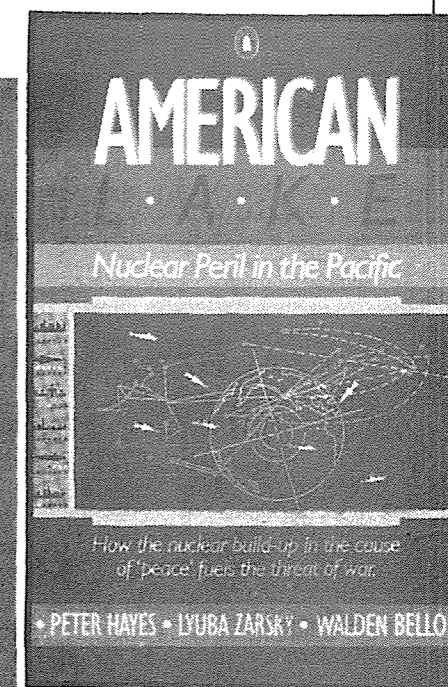
A realistic scenario of how a nuclear conflict could break out in the Pacific is described. Among the ingredients are a breakdown in communications leading to the misunderstanding and misinterpretation of actions by both sides. It is not difficult to envisage how a seemingly small and unimportant incident could easily escalate out of control.

American Lake is however not all doom and gloom. The chapter 'Charting a New Pacific' describes how a peaceful resolution in the Pacific is possible. Proposed are a North-West Pacific Nuclear Free Zone, Non-intervention Zones, a nuclear freeze in the Pacific together with what is termed a Regional Concert. It will require determined people power to overcome the likely stiff US and Soviet resistance to regional controls over their nuclear posturing. One would have to be a great op-

timist to imagine that these kinds of measures could be taken up rapidly. In the meantime one must just keep on hoping that there will at least be no further deterioration in the present precariously explosive situation.

There is no doubt that our government is missing out on a great opportunity of improving prospects of peace in our region, and indeed the world, by not joining Aotearoa in its bold stand on the issue of nuclear ship visits. In the Epilogue there is a discussion of what Australia's role in the Pacific has been and how, given the will, it could change for the better.

Peter Springell is a retired scientist living in Cairns and is a member of Scientists Against Nuclear Arms, People for Nuclear Disarmament and People for Peace.



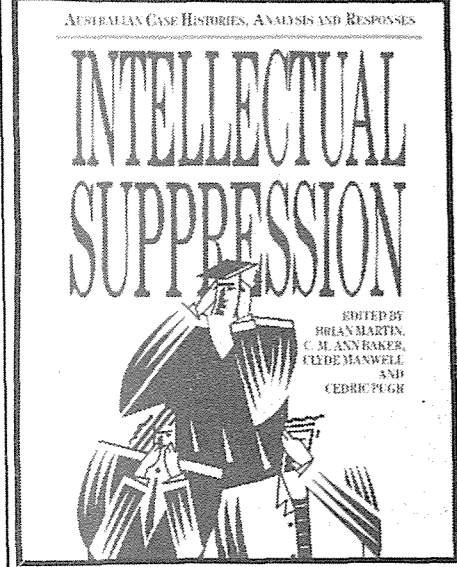
REVIEWS

Intellectual Suppression edited by Brian Martin, C.M. Ann Baker, Clyde Manwell and Cedric Pugh. Angus and Robertson, 1986, 304 pages. \$19.95 (paperback).

Reviewed by Ian Foletta.

In studying suppression one studies the structures of organisations and the methods of power distribution and communication within those structures. Suppression is the quelling of any dissent that may arise that could possibly threaten these structures. It is distinguished from repression, which involves physical restraint, and oppression, 'the institutionalised lack of justice or freedom' by the fact that it is more covert. As such, suppression is much more difficult to document.

Intellectual Suppression is a collection of essays which study cases of suppression in Australian universities and research institutions. This section of society was chosen because of this covert nature of suppression. In the corporate world, due to the lack of avenues open with which to oppose suppression, it is seldom noted. In academia there are many well documented cases. The editors do point out however that suppression is common in all bureaucracies and at all levels and even possibly more



so outside of academia purely because of this lack of mechanisms to oppose it.

Through a series of case histories, written in some instances by those involved, one gets an idea of the subtlety of the methods of suppression; the disparity between the acts and their justifications. For example, Peter Springell, when working for the CSIRO attempted to publish through CSIRO two papers on environmental topics but was prevented. When he later criticised CSIRO for its lack of involvement in environmental research moves were made to dismiss him on the basis of inefficiency despite his having a better publications record than many of his colleagues. These case histories demonstrate the various methods of suppression and a number of thumb-nail sketches show the extent.

After the case histories, which take up just over half of the text, is an analysis of suppression; the role of elites and patriarchy and the relationship between suppression and human rights. As the editors state in the introduction, they

do not wish to draw any conclusions about the motivations... We prefer to emphasise the social dynamics of the process, including mechanisms, contexts, power relationships and opposition to it.

The analysis looks at suppression from this perspective and offers quite a few insights because of this approach. The authors are writing from the viewpoint of one involved and not from the outside so that the discussion is quite dynamic.

What comments are offered on the motivations of suppressors says that:

Many of those who carry out suppression genuinely believe they are acting on proper grounds, such as ensuring top quality scholarship or preventing harmful public statements. Others carrying out suppression may justify it by appealing to what for them are higher goals, such as maintaining professional decorum or organisational efficiency.

These motivations are, of course, very much a part of the structure of bureaucracies and professional organisations and is, in a lot of cases, the reasons for their existence. By looking at the dynamics of suppression and the structure of the suppressing bodies, quite a good deal is said, albeit implicitly, about motivation.

The third section of the book is entitled Responses and outlines action that

can be taken by those who are subjected to suppression; how to use the media and gain publicity etc. Detailed information is provided on how teaching and research are evaluated so that dissidents can challenge the official excuses given for dismissal or blocked promotion. Many of these ideas for responsive action are readily transferable to other sectors.

Intellectual Suppression is an excellent resource for anyone who is involved in or who wants to learn about suppression. The activist approach of the authors and editors, people who are involved with suppression cases, means that *Intellectual Suppression* does not read as a dry text. Royalties from the sale of the book are being donated by most of the contributors to the establishment of a Fund for Intellectual Dissent.

Ian Foletta is a member of the Chain Reaction collective.

Television

Edge of Darkness. A five-hour television mini-series screened twice (so-far) on the ABC. Written by Troy Kennedy Martin. Produced by the BBC.

Reviewed by Chris Sanderson

I loved *Edge of Darkness*. For a hundred reasons (at least) it was simply the best television I have ever seen. In fact, I enjoyed it so much that I couldn't do a proper review without descending into the bottomless pit of superlatives. But I did have some problems with it, problems that have nagged me on and off in the six months since the ABC first screened it. Particularly, I am disturbed by the Gaia philosophy.

Gaia is a lovely myth. It's the myth of the garden on the Sixth Day, of the planet without us; in fact, of the planet better off without us. But it has a powerfully fatalistic element embedded within it too; the image of Gaia is of the planet shedding itself of us, transforming our remains into something new, recycling us. There is something seductively tranquil about the thought that we are just a species, and that species don't go on forever. Why fight? We can leave it all to nature. (The resulting passivity

Troy Kennedy Martin has received international attention since the screening of *Edge of Darkness*, and was recently in Australia to give the keynote address at the Perth Festival of Television. In an interview in *The Age* in February this year he said that 'Edge of Darkness was conceived in a kind of despair. I began to write it on the assumption that it was unlikely to be made... in the belief that a television script is a valid form of expression even though it may never be produced'. The article continues:

The script developed out of his 'projections of unease': unruly eruptions of ideas which were gradually

capped and coded. The ideas were, of course, political—his concern at Reagan's Star Wars speech which seems to commit the human race to the colonisation of space at the expense of the Earth, escalating plutonium production and the growth of the nuclear state, and so on.

But they were also environmental. Kennedy Martin was deeply influenced by Professor James Lovelock's book *Gaia: A New Look At Life On Earth*, with its theory that our planet is a complex living organism which acts to defend itself when threatened by society's destructive ways.

can't differ much from that induced by total nuclear paranoia or by a lifetime in the public service!) But the real truth is that Gaia (which is a lovely expression for planetary balance and homeostasis) shrugs and millions starve. Gaia holds its breath and we perish. So let's not be romantic about this—Gaia is not interested in our human problems.

It is good to be able to be reminded of how deeply we are embedded in the biological world, what Marx called our species life. We are dependent on our ecosystem, on our habitat, and in danger of forgetting that fact. But the Gaia idea goes further—and I think Jedburgh is right to be suspicious about people whose first loyalty is to 'trees 'n flowers' as he rather contemptuously puts it. If humanity is a biological weed then ultimately we have to go. The idea is off the scale in human terms, essentially amoral, and I don't believe those black flowers are capable of sustaining a human politics. It becomes a question of faith—of faith that the planet can out-survive us, is infinitely resilient and the source of a kind of biological wisdom that we can plug into. It seems to me to lead to a kind of stoicism which doesn't suggest any human meanings for death or injustice, just biological explanations. Finally, the Gaia idea directs our attention away from the workings of the machinery of human power.

But it is this machinery that *Edge of Darkness* glimpses, mainly through Jedburgh. He sees that the logic of our present direction, and the inevitable entrepreneurial next step, is off the planet. In fact, listening to Grogan (the nuclear entrepreneur), only the idea that the whole galaxy is out there to make a profit in can successfully explain all the

destructive investment here—we're just a launching pad. And, when you think about it, isn't that what all those sci-fi movies are preparing us for? Think of all the movies in which the planet is never seen at all. The hypothesis is that it is possible to leave this planet and continue to survive, and be human. Once this is thinkable at all it is a reality that can be constructed.

Clearly we have two counter-ideologies here. There is of course at least one more possibility with none of the comforts of either of these; that we can blast ourselves and our environment into total oblivion.

An imperialist culture can only survive by continually finding new sources of wealth to rip off and new sources of power to plug into. Plutonium is the finest flower of such a culture—it is uniquely dense in potential value and power (both political and electrical). Our science, which is our culture's most important tool, provides us with the myth of Control. We can control, even harness, the power of plutonium, it whispers to us. It provides us with the equations for doing so which are like incantations of power.

But magic has always been an elitist art. So is science. Some may be able to control plutonium, but the rest of us will be controlled by it. Plutonium supersedes the existing power arrangements and thus the basis of politics. The old politics continues like a charade whose purpose is to conceal the real action, a distraction for the populace while the ownership of the future is being sorted out behind the scenes.

Technocratic society, as it develops into the Plutonium State in *Edge of Darkness*, has become a form of ex-

And there was a third underlying level of archetypal myth: the characters had all met before in previous lives and all fought much the same battles. Grogan, the nuclear processing company boss, and Darius Jedburgh, the swashbuckling Texan from the CIA, had fought before as medieval knights from different orders. And Craven, described by Jedburgh as 'freeze dried from an earlier epoch', was on one level a mythical representation of nature: 'I wanted him to be a reincarnation of the Green Man, which is quite difficult for a Yorkshire detective.'

tremist terrorism (to use its own language). Through it we have, as a species, become the controllers and breakers. The anti-nuclear movement is the speaking voice that announces our fear of ourselves and so we urgently need the resources of hope to balance this fear. The planet may save itself but not us; if we are to be saved then we must do it. So sayeth Darius Jedburgh.

But the Gaia idea is very attractive because it offers us a kind of sense and a kind of transcendence. Even, I suspect from *Edge of Darkness*, a hint of a hereafter. The reason the philosophy is so powerful in the context of the series is that it makes sense of Emma's death and her father's grief. All the mysterious and ambiguous sweetness with which their relationship is handled spills over into the political ideals of Emma's activism in Gaia. The total effect is knockout TV which asks real political/philosophical questions. And the most basic question is *in what do we hope?* The arrogance of our species and of our culture seems to me to be self-evident, but to wish us off the face of the earth is simply cheap nihilism. It makes all our politics senseless and hopeless. If we have any obligations to our planet then we also have obligations to our own kind. How we conduct ourselves in the environment and what we do about our lethal talents for invention and oppression I can't fully answer, but I am definitely not yet ready to hand the human project over to the forces of nature! So, in the end, I guess I'm on Jedburgh's side, I think...

Chris Sanderson is a Chain Reaction subscriber.

BACKSTAGE

This occasional page is meant to inform *Chain Reaction* readers of what's going on behind the scenes of the magazine. We don't have editorials, and we don't even always agree with everything we print, but we do like to give you some idea of how and why the magazine is like it is.

'We' means the collective, members of which are: Eileen Goodfield, Ian Foletta, Clare Henderson, and Larry O'Loughlin. We are also the directors of Chain Reaction Co-operative Pty Ltd. The collective usually meets on Tuesday afternoons to discuss content of the next issue(s); finances, subscriptions and promotions; feedback on previous issues; and what's going on in Friends of the Earth Collingwood. The Chain Reaction office and layout area is in a shed at the rear of FOE Collingwood's premises.

It is quite likely that we will be moving with FOE Collingwood to new premises before the next issue, but our address will remain the same:

Chain Reaction
GPO Box 530E
Melbourne 3001

The collective was officially approved in January this year by FOE Australia at its annual meeting held in Sydney. The FOE national meeting allocated about \$5,000 to *Chain Reaction* which we will be using to produce the magazine, effectively subsidising the cover price. Delegates from FOE groups at that meeting were quite pleased with the magazine but indicated that they would like to reduce the grant to zero over the next few years. We agree, recognising that this means we will have to either increase the number of magazines sold, or make a concerted effort to find appropriate advertising.

A less attractive alternative would be to raise the cover price. We have also considered lowering our production costs by printing the magazine on cheaper paper, and not having colour anywhere, including the cover. This proposal has some attraction in terms of resource use, but we would still be using similar amounts of trees and chemicals, and we can not be sure whether these steps would make the

magazine less attractive and fewer people would buy it.

But other than finances, most aspects of the magazine are going well. There has been a steady flow of material for publication and we are able to make sketchy plans for future editions and solicit articles to suit. We always welcome good, original material on the environment and related issues, and we also appreciate original graphics. Contributors receive our gratitude and are never told that the cheque's in the mail.

In this edition we have featured a poem, which is something we don't often do. We feel that we all owe Lionel Murphy a debt, even if only for his role in stopping atmospheric nuclear tests, so we have published George Venturini's poem as a mark of our respect.

There is one problem that we are having with our readers. We are not getting enough letters. If nothing we print stirs you to think and write, then maybe we should give up. And if you're an activist who's too busy to write, perhaps one of your activities should be to inform people through the pages of *Chain Reaction* of your campaigns. Letters do not have to be related to specific articles, they could refer to the general direction of the magazine, if you can see one. Or they could suggest design changes or suggestions for future ar-

ticles. They could disagree with Backstage or ask for more information. They could be for making a general call to people with a like interest to get together to do something. Letters could even be a friendly greeting telling us that we're doing a good job, it's a pity we don't get paid for it.

The next edition is the 50th *Chain Reaction* and we hope to present some anecdotal history from people who have been involved with FOE and *Chain Reaction* through the years. We may also have a big fundraising/subscription drive to make sure we can get to number 53, which is where finances start to look uncertain again. If you want details, write us a letter and we will publish them.

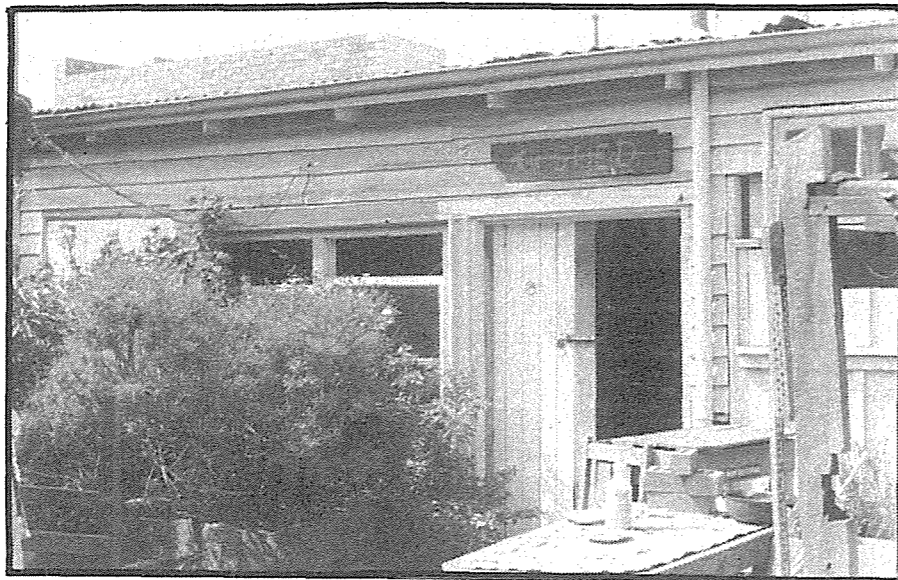
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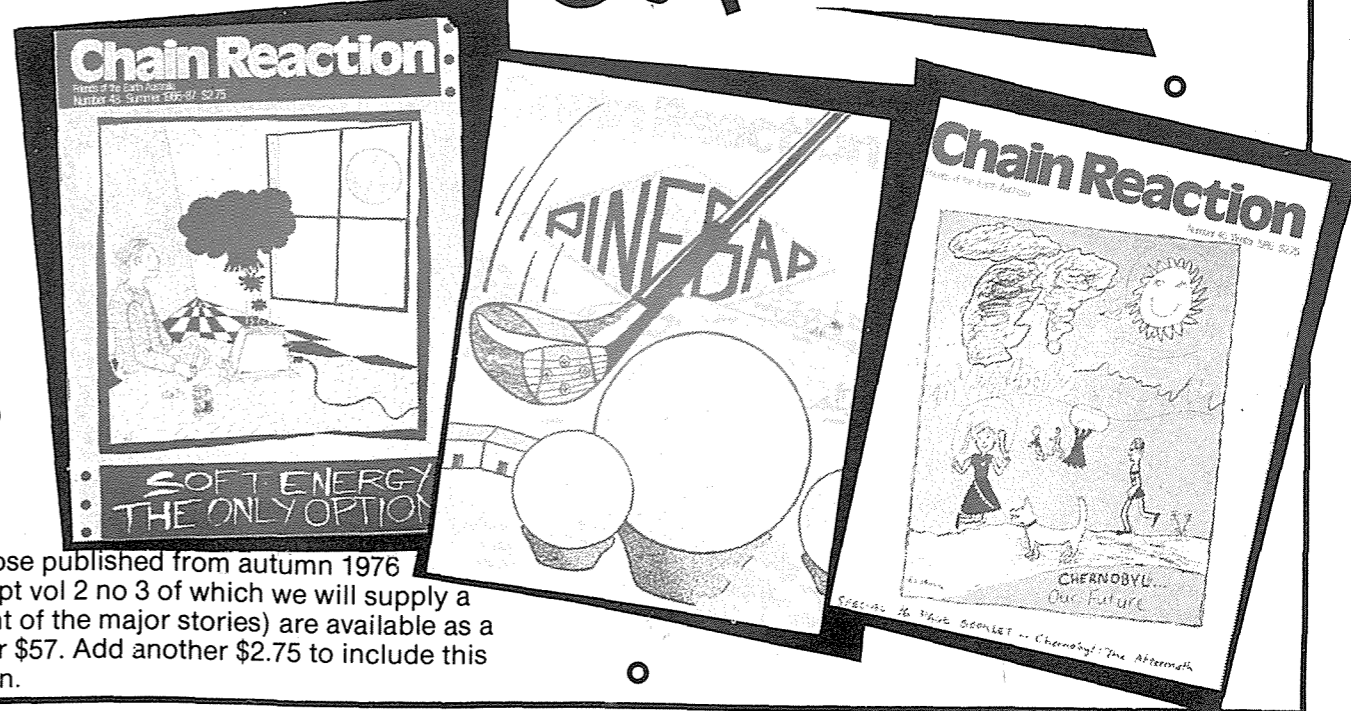
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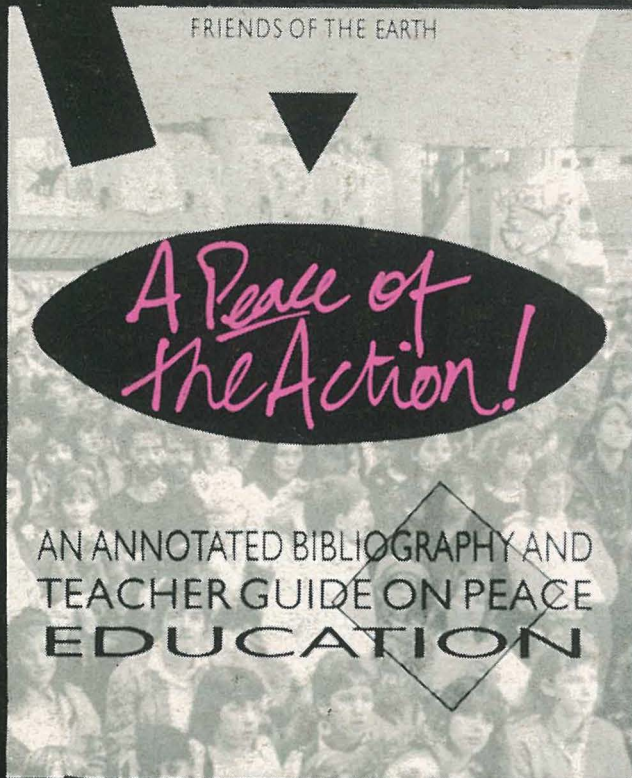
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